

Summer 2023

University, City, and Community: Athletics Urban Renewal Projects and the University of South Carolina's Carolina Coliseum and Blatt Physical Education Center, 1964–1971

Theresa M. Harrison

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/etd>



Part of the [Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Harrison, T. M.(2023). *University, City, and Community: Athletics Urban Renewal Projects and the University of South Carolina's Carolina Coliseum and Blatt Physical Education Center, 1964–1971*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/etd/7462>

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you by Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact digres@mailbox.sc.edu.

UNIVERSITY, CITY, AND COMMUNITY: ATHLETICS URBAN RENEWAL
PROJECTS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA'S CAROLINA
COLISEUM AND BLATT PHYSICAL EDUCATION CENTER, 1964–1971

By

Theresa M. Harrison

Bachelor of Science
East Tennessee State University, 2007

Master of Science
University of Nebraska at Kearney, 2010

Master of Public Administration
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2017

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Education in

Educational Foundations and Inquiry

College of Education

University of South Carolina

2023

Allison D. Anders, Director of Thesis

Michelle Bryan, Committee Member

Amber Fallucca, Committee Member

Nancy Tolson, Committee Member

Ann Vail, Dean of the Graduate School

© Copyright by Theresa M. Harrison
All Rights Reserved

DEDICATION

Philippians 4:13—I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me. There have been many times throughout my higher education journey when I did not think I could finish the proverbial race. Yet I always knew I would. My life circumstances have shown me time and again that God will make a way when there seems to be no way. Circumstances change at just the right time to allow you time and space to evolve; people get put in your life at just the right moment and provide the necessary encouragement to see you through difficult times. Although my faith in religious institutions may have faltered and faded during my doctoral journey, my faith in God never ceased, and I am encouraged to know He has a plan for my life. To all my ancestors, those I knew and the countless people I will never know, who persevered in the face of struggle and who made it possible for me to have this opportunity, thank you.

I would not have had the confidence nor motivation to complete this process with its challenges and setbacks without the support of my family. My parents, Benjamin Victor Harrison and Barbara Jean Ebo Harrison, instilled in me and my sister, Alicia, from an early age that we can do anything we set our minds to do. This mantra played over and over in my head most mornings of my doctoral program as I would look in the mirror preparing myself for the day ahead. Whether I was unsure if I would be able to juggle work, class assignments, and research projects or I was finding it difficult to gather the energy to write, I knew I could do it. I would turn to my family at various times for a comforting ear or kick in the rear, respite, a laugh, or a hug—all things I needed to get

this process done—and I am so thankful for their willingness to give me what I needed when I needed it. Thanks to my dad, who was always willing to talk sports to get my mind off the task at hand and the primary encourager of taking much-needed breaks along the way. Thanks to my sister, who was willing to pick up meals so I could get in an extra hour of writing and who allowed me to stay over and write in the comfort of her screened-in porch on way too many weekends. I am extremely grateful for God’s timing in finding a way for my sister to find employment in Columbia prior to the devastating time of March 2020 that brought us the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent murder of George Floyd. During that extremely stressful time, being able to have my sister close by was truly the support I needed to make it through.

I would be remiss if I did not extend a special thanks to my mom, who was willing to read my many drafts, from literature review and proposal to the final dissertation, providing feedback and suggestions at every stage. She helped me stay on top of things, reminding me to check deadlines and submit paperwork throughout the doctoral program to avoid any unnecessary missteps in an already stressful process. My mom showed extreme patience, understanding, and kindness even when I was stressed and not at my best. I will forever remember that it is because of her love and desire to see me succeed at a goal that I had set for myself that I was successful in achieving this degree. I will cherish those memories forever.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Amber Fallucca, Dr. Hilary Lichterman, and Dr. Dottie Weigel, who provided the initial encouragement or recommendation letter for me to pursue this PhD program. I especially want to thank Dr. Fallucca for giving me the advice to find a “rabbit” in my doctoral program to chase toward my completion—it was great advice. Thank you to my fellow classmates Kate Blanton, Molly Bloom, Frank Gause, Aimee Herring, and Vann Holden (my rabbit), who were instrumental in creating and sustaining joy and happiness throughout the doctoral program. Additionally, these classmates challenged me to push myself in research and writing projects and aided my understanding of course content. I am so thankful we had one another to lean on at various times during our programs, especially as we experienced personal losses, reminding us that life goes on even as we feel bound to the doctoral process. I would like to thank Dr. Toby Jenkins and J.T. McLawhorn for introducing me to my research participants and Aida Rogers for her connection with Ms. Danya Ochoa, the daughter of Dr. Dorothy Perry Thompson, whose poem I used in my dissertation. Thank you to my friends and colleagues who have offered so much encouragement throughout this process: Lisa D. Camp, Elizabeth Finchum, Sandra Greene, Sarah Matthews, Sarah Morgan, Shirisha Mudunuri, and Sarah Jusiewicz. I am thankful for the many lunches, brunches, and dinners! Thank you to my friend and work supervisor Karen Utter, JD, who showed a genuine interest in my research and gave me the time I needed away from the office to focus on writing. Thank you to all the archivists that provided me assistance

in navigating the archives and special collections: Margaret Dunlap, Edward Blessing, Elizabeth West, and Andrea L’Hommedieu. And last but certainly not least, to my professors, advisors, and mentors Dr. Allison D. Anders, Dr. Kara Brown, Dr. Michelle Bryan, Dr. Aaliyah Baker, Dr. Bobby Donaldson, and Dr. Nancy Tolson, thank you for the constant words of encouragement and confidence boosters that helped me know that I was on the right path. Special thanks to a dear friend with whom I completed my University of Nebraska at Kearney master’s program, Nicole M. (Smith) Frerichs, who completed her doctoral degree in 2019 and subsequently lost her battle with cancer in 2021.

ABSTRACT

Higher education institutions (HEIs) often are characterized by how they compete with other institutions. Institutions try to secure the most resources for their benefit, and this often includes expansion and land accumulation.¹ Increasingly common is land acquisition for athletics expansion or enhancement, because successful athletics programs build perception and prominence.² Historically, for large public universities in urban centers, athletics expansion or enhancement has negatively affected surrounding areas. Often, city centers are populated by Black and Brown community members due to the migration patterns of Blacks after World War II and subsequent racial segregation efforts that further segregated Communities by Color.³

This historiography of one urban university's athletics venue expansion into surrounding predominantly Black communities addresses two urban renewal projects in Columbia, South Carolina from 1964-1971, the processes of displacement and expansion, and the effects on former and current residents of surrounding communities. Using archival materials from the University of South Carolina (USC) and the Columbia Housing Authority (CHA), state records and documents, and interviews with former and current residents, the researcher reveals a complex system of collaboration across federal,

¹ Wayne K. Yang, *A Third University is Possible* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

² Devin G. Pope and Jaren C. Pope, "The Impact of College Sports Success on the Quantity and Quality of Student Applications," *Southern Economic Journal* 75, no. 3 (2009): 750-780.

³ Paul R. Mullins, "Racializing the Commonplace Landscape: An Archaeology of Urban Renewal along the Color Line," *World Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (2006): 60-71.

state, and local officials and deleterious effects on community members. Specifically, analyzing events surrounding USC's creation of the Carolina Coliseum, which opened in 1968 as the site for intercollegiate athletics, and the Solomon Blatt Physical Education Center, opened in 1971 as a site for intercollegiate athletics and intramural sports, these urban renewal projects displaced thousands of people living in the Ward One and Wheeler Hill communities.⁴ The researcher amplifies voices from Black communities that have been long silenced in community histories in the South. This historiography represents a complex historical account of the events that took place and generates key insights for contemporary community-university relations regarding university athletic venue expansion and the potential impact on nearby communities. The researcher argues that HEIs must find ways to sustain their operations while working in relation with their surrounding communities. Histories of exploitation and dispossession must not be repeated.

⁴ USC Archives, Student Affairs: Student Activities, Office of the President Thomas F. Jones, Box 6 (1970-1971).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Abstract	vii
List of Tables	xiii
List of Figures	xiv
List of Abbreviations	xv
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Athletics Venue Expansion.....	1
1.2 Historical Context of University Expansion	3
1.3 Contemporary Context of University Expansion.....	5
1.4 USC History Snapshot	7
1.5 Statement of the Problem.....	8
1.6 Positionality	10
1.7 Purpose of the Study	18
1.8 Research Methodology and Questions.....	18
1.9 Significance of Study	20
1.10 Delimitations.....	22
1.11 Limitations	23
1.12 Project Outline	28
Chapter 2 Literature Review	29
2.1 Introduction.....	30

2.2 Key Terms.....	36
2.3 The Materiality of Expansion	39
2.4 Expansion Effects on Local Communities.....	42
2.5 University Administrators.....	43
2.6 Eminent Domain in the 20th Century	50
2.7 Section 112 of the Federal Urban Renewal Act.....	53
2.8 Carolina Coliseum and Blatt P.E. Center History.....	58
2.9 The Ward One Neighborhood.....	60
2.10 The Wheeler Hill Neighborhood	63
2.11 Lack of Support for Displaced Black Community Members	70
2.12 University and City Collaboration	72
2.13 Urban Renewal, Athletics, and Desegregation	76
2.14 Higher Education	79
2.15 Prestige Seeking.....	82
2.16 Research Questions.....	85
2.17 Conclusion	86
Chapter 3 Intercollegiate Athletics	87
3.1 Introduction.....	87
3.2 College Sports in America	89
3.3 Athletics Situatedness in the University Structure.....	93
3.4 Intercollegiate Athletics vs. Physical Education.....	95
3.5 Religion, Masculinity, and Racial Superiority.....	99
3.6 War and Sport	103
3.7 Power and Prestige.....	105
3.8 Race.....	108

3.9 Frank McGuire.....	112
Chapter 4 Theoretical Framework	118
4.1 Life, Liberty, and Property.....	118
4.2 Whiteness as Property.....	119
4.3 Defining Whiteness as Property.....	122
4.4 Right to Disposition	123
4.5 Right to Use and Enjoyment.....	123
4.6 Conception of Reputation as Property	124
4.7 Right to Exclude	125
4.8 Whiteness as Property in Our Institutions	126
4.9 Whiteness as Property and the NCAA.....	132
4.10 Conceptual Framework: Plantation Politics.....	133
4.11 Conceptual Model.....	136
Chapter 5 Methodology	139
5.1 Research Study.....	139
5.2 Historiography	145
5.3 Data Collection	152
5.4 Participant Sampling.....	158
5.5 Data Analysis	164
5.6 Trustworthiness, Credibility, and Validity.....	167
Chapter 6 Interpretations.....	173
6.1 Introduction.....	173
6.2 Site and Participant Context.....	174
6.3 Findings.....	177
6.4 Research Questions.....	191

6.5 Researcher’s Analysis and Reflection	222
6.6 Resistance	229
6.7 Room for Tensions.....	232
Chapter 7 Summary, Recommendations, and Conclusion.....	238
7.1 Summary of Literature	239
7.2 Conclusions from Findings	240
7.3 Implications for Practice	246
7.4 Areas of Potential Research and Inquiry	258
7.5 Research and Inquiry Design	265
7.6 Study Limitations.....	266
7.7 Conclusion	266
Bibliography	275
Appendix A: Permission to Reprint.....	307
Appendix B: Power Five Conference Members	309
Appendix C: Interview Guide.....	312
Appendix D: Summary of Codes.....	315
Appendix E: Urban Renewal Project No. 2	316
Appendix F: Letter from President Thomas Jones to CHA Administrator John Chase.....	317
Appendix G: List of Wheeler Hill Committee Members.....	318

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Interconnectedness in Administration Roles across Sectors.....	49
Table 5.1 Participant Group Demographic Overview	163
Table 5.2 Summary of Codes.....	166
Table 6.1 Interview Participant Homes and Purchase Prices	217

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 USC Map of Ward One Neighborhood	62
Figure 2.2 USC Map of Wheeler Hill Neighborhood.....	66
Figure 2.3 HOLC Map of Columbia, South Carolina.....	68
Figure 2.4 Notice of Public Hearing on the USC Campus Development Plan.....	73
Figure 3.1 Frank McGuire with University Administrators	114
Figure 4.1 Conceptual Model	137
Figure 6.1 Wheeler Hill Map in Framework for a Residential Development	176
Figure 6.2 Coliseum Brochure Page 12	182
Figure 6.3 Map of Wheeler Hill Neighborhood Lots	218
Figure A. 1 Permission to Reprint	308
Figure B.1 Power Five Conference Members.....	311
Figure D. 1 Summary of Codes	315
Figure E.1 Urban Renewal Project No. 2	316
Figure F.1 Letter from President Thomas Jones to CHA Administrator John Chase.....	317
Figure G.1 List of Wheeler Hill Committee Members	318

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACE.....	American Council on Education
AAU.....	American Association of Universities
AAU.....	Amateur Athletic Union
AAUP.....	American Association of University Professors
ACC	Atlantic Coast Conference
ACE.....	American Council on Education
AME.....	African Methodist Episcopal
Big 10.....	Big 10 Conference
Big 12.....	Big 12 Conference
BOT.....	Board of Trustees
BTW.....	Booker T. Washington
CBA	Community Benefits Agreement
CRDF	Carolina Research and Development Foundation
CHA	Columbia Housing Authority
CHE.....	Commission of Higher Education
CRT.....	Critical Race Theory
FBS	Football Bowl Subdivision
HEI.....	Higher Education Institution
HBCU	Historically Black Colleges and Universities
HOLC.....	Home Owners' Loan Corporation

HWCU	Historically White Colleges and Universities
HWI.....	Historically White Institutions
NBA	National Basketball Association
NIL	Name, Image, and Likeness
NCAA	National Collegiate Athletic Association
PE.....	Physical Education
POC.....	People of Color
PWI.....	Predominantly White Institution
ROTC.....	Reserved Officers' Training Corps
SCDAH.....	South Carolina Department of Archives and History
SEC	Southeastern Conference
UCA	University Cheerleading Association
URED.....	University Real Estate Development
USC.....	University of South Carolina
USC.....	University of Southern California

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I share the historical and contemporary context of both athletics venues and universities expansion efforts. I also provide a brief snapshot of University of South Carolina (USC) history and my interest in exploring university expansion efforts that displaced Black communities.

1.1 ATHLETICS VENUE EXPANSION

Large urban institutions are constantly navigating the inherent tensions in continuous campus expansion and their surrounding communities' interests, because the biggest barrier for the physical growth of colleges and universities is not money but space.⁵ As universities increase enrollment and the prestige of their athletics programs grows, administrators grapple with these tensions. Due to longstanding economic and racial power dynamics, historical and present-day expansion of athletics venues often comes at the detriment of Communities of Color.⁶ In past and present cases across the nation, universities (e.g., University of Pennsylvania, University of Chicago, New York University, Stanford University) poorly managed expansion efforts in relation to surrounding communities. Why is this the case? Historical economic and racial dynamics are explored in more depth in Chapter 2.

⁵ Barbara Sherry, "Universities as Developers: An International Conversation," *Land Lines* 17, no. 1 (2005): 11-13.

⁶ Davarian Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower: How Universities are Plundering Our Cities* (New York: Bold Type Books, 2021).

Although many may assume that university expansion and displacement of Communities of Color on a large scale is a vestige of the past, significant expansion and displacement is occurring in cities around the nation with no foreseeable signs of slowing. Currently, the top five U.S. university construction projects taking place are in San Diego, California (San Diego State University, \$3 billion); Alexandria, Virginia (Virginia Tech University, \$1 billion); Seattle, Washington (University of Washington, \$1 billion); Manhattan, New York (City College of New York, \$583 million); and Austin, Texas (University of Texas, \$500 million) with three of these top five explicitly stating they include some type of athletics facility enhancement.⁷ The communities most likely to be disparately affected by these university expansion efforts are Communities of Color, due to people of color historically being situated in urban centers. Some of these institutions recognize the potential disparate impact of their expansion projects and have developed initiatives to mitigate some of those effects, but only time will tell whether the expansion truly benefits all.⁸ At the same time, others have dug in their heels and refused to play nice with their surrounding community, straining already fraught university–community relationships.⁹ As such, the issue of race has been at the forefront for researchers seeking to understand university–community dynamics as they relate to education and urban redevelopment.¹⁰

⁷ “The Top 5 Universities Undergoing Expansion,” *BCI BuildCentral*, March 18, 2020, <https://www.buildcentral.com/the-top-5-universities-undergoing-expansion/>.

⁸ Anna-Kay Reeves, “Expansion and Impact: Austin’s Community First! Village Strengthens Fight against Homelessness,” *The Daily Texan*, November 12, 2018, <https://thedailytexan.com/2018/11/12/expansion-and-impact-austins-community-first-village-strengthens-fight-against/>.

⁹ Josh Cohen, “UW Expansion Sharpens Debate Over City’s Power,” *Crosscut*, August 13, 2018, <https://crosscut.com/2018/08/uw-expansion-sharpens-debate-over-citys-power>.

¹⁰ Pauline Lipman, *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race, and the Right to the City*, (New York: Routledge, 2013). Rachel Weber, “Extracting Value from the City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment,” *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 519-540. Shawwna Laureen Thomas-El, “In My

1.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF UNIVERSITY EXPANSION

The concept of university as real estate developer is not a new one. Universities have long partnered with cities and private investors to redevelop city centers.¹¹ Some of the most well-known examples are Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut; Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland; Columbia University in New York, New York; University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and various universities in Chicago, Illinois (e.g., University of Chicago, University of Illinois Chicago, Illinois Institute of Technology). Unfortunately, early university–community engagement efforts were aided and abetted by federal resources that had a devastating impact on already under resourced surrounding communities.¹² Many articles have critiqued university expansion efforts during urban renewal; however, most of those critiques have been of Northern institutions (e.g., Columbia University¹³; University of Chicago¹⁴). Urban renewal refers to the period from 1949 to 1974 in which the U.S. government declared a national objective to eliminate urban blight through federally funded redevelopment. Scholars such as Pauline Lipman have argued that housing and education policy are

Neighborhood, But Not for Me”: Long-Standing African American Residents’ Perceptions of Gentrification, Anchor Institution Expansion and the Paradox of Civic Engagement (Philadelphia: Drexel University, 2019).

¹¹ David C. Perry and Wim Wiewel, *The University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis: Case Studies and Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

¹² Megan M. Ehlenz, “Neighborhood Revitalization and the Anchor Institution: Assessing the Impact of the University of Pennsylvania’s West Philadelphia Initiatives on University City,” *Urban Affairs Review* 52, no. 5 (2016): 714-750.

¹³ Michael Carriere, “Fighting the War against Blight: Columbia University, Morningside Heights, Inc., and Counterinsurgent Urban Renewal,” *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 1 (2011): 5-29.

¹⁴ LaDale Winling, “Students and the Second Ghetto: Federal Legislation, Urban Politics, and Campus Planning at the University of Chicago,” *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 1 (2011): 59-86.

integral to how urban environments have been and are continuing to be restructured and therefore, it is important to consider how these societal issues function together.¹⁵

Universities have always faced pressure to expand, not only to accommodate increasing student enrollment but also to generate revenue for the institution.¹⁶ After World War I, a stadium-building boom occurred in the Northeast as a result of colleges and universities wanting to build community among alumni, increase development efforts, as well as recruit future students.¹⁷ Even following World War II, as returning soldiers took advantage of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (i.e., G.I. Bill) to attend college, stadium expansions continued; universities enlarged existing stadiums and built new ones with the rationalization that more students would want to attend games.¹⁸ Although student enrollments also increased at USC, administrator Donald Russell argued enrollment was "well below what it would have been had the University had enough modern dormitory facilities" to attract students to the institution.¹⁹

Colleges and universities competitively built athletics facilities in relatively short timeframes to avoid falling behind in competing for students both in the classroom and on the playing field.²⁰ Further, Southern institutions felt the need to modernize and make their stadiums bigger to compete with stadiums in the Northeast and Midwest.²¹ By

¹⁵ Pauline Lipman, "Contesting the City: Neoliberal Urbanism and the Cultural Politics of Education Reform in Chicago," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 32, no. 2 (2011): 217-234.

¹⁶ Sayoni Bose, "Universities and the Redevelopment Politics of the Neoliberal City," *Urban Studies* 52, no. 14 (2015): 2616-2632.

¹⁷ Patrick Tutka and Chad Seifried, "An Innovation Diffusion Ideal-Type on the History of American College Football Stadiums," *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics* 13 (2020): 312-336.

¹⁸ Tutka and Seifried, "An Innovation Diffusion."

¹⁹ Henry H. Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina, 1940-2000* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001).

²⁰ Brian M. Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012).

²¹ A. Doyle, as cited in Tutka and Seifried, "An Innovation Diffusion."

hosting large-scale sporting events in these newly built stadiums, Southerners could make visible that they were keeping up with what were considered more progressive and modern institutions.²²

The sequential effects of increasing enrollment, generating revenue, and expanding facilities are indicative of the entrepreneurial mentality of universities of the past and present and reflect the drive and desire to accumulate.²³

1.3 CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT OF UNIVERSITY EXPANSION

Since the 1970s, following urban renewal, cities have increasingly competed with one another to attract capital investments. Universities in these cities participate in restructuring what these cities look like and how they function to serve their interests. Universities are now seen as key players in what has been termed neoliberal urbanism.²⁴ Neoliberal urbanism is the utilization of neoliberal market logics focused on efficiency, competition, and entrepreneurialism as applied to urban processes such as redevelopment.²⁵ Redevelopment is an accumulation strategy used by universities to attract value to the institution, but most importantly, it requires making strategic alliances to employ plans and efforts to exclude along racial and class lines.²⁶

Since the 1990s, more than half of all Division I schools (i.e., universities that tend to have the biggest student bodies and largest athletics budgets and are uniquely different from Divisions II and III because it is subdivided based on football sponsorship) have either opened a new football stadium or undertaken major renovations of their old

²² Winling, "Students and the Second Ghetto," 59-86.

²³ Bose, "Universities and Redevelopment Politics."

²⁴ Bose, "Universities and Redevelopment Politics."

²⁵ Bose, "Universities and Redevelopment Politics."

²⁶ Bose, "Universities and Redevelopment Politics."

stadium.²⁷ Ironically, on September 25, 1990, USC received an invitation to join the Southeastern Conference (SEC).²⁸ At the time, Roy Kramer, SEC Commissioner from 1990–2001, identified USC’s sports facilities as the primary challenge to be addressed.²⁹ In discussing USC’s athletics facilities with John Moore, senior associate athletic director for administration, Kramer stated, “They are woefully lacking and it’s going to cost a lot of money to bring them up to the standards of the SEC.”³⁰ According to historian Henry Lesesne, the 1990s saw a construction boom that rivaled the 1960s and 1970s.³¹ In 1991, USC became a member of the SEC, and by 1993, university leadership had developed a master plan to centralize the campus to create a better living and learning community, one of the largest projects of this plan being the Strom Thurmond Wellness Center.³² The new fitness center would be allocated for recreational use, whereas the facilities at the Blatt Center would be used for varsity and intramural sports.³³

Several recent trends are taking place in athletics. Since 2003, new facilities focused on providing academic services for athletes were built at Texas A&M University (\$25 million), the University of Michigan (\$12 million), and the University of Oregon (\$41.7 million).³⁴ Another recent trend by athletics venues is to incorporate halls of fame and guided tours of facilities to build revenue, publicity, and relationships.³⁵ Some

²⁷ Lawrence W. Judge et al., “An Examination of Division I Athletic-Academic Support Services Facilities and Staffing,” *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education* 12, no. 3 (2018): 220-239.

²⁸ Chad Seifried and Clay Bolton, “The University of South Carolina Football Stadia through the Founding of Williams-Brice Stadium,” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* (2017): 289-316.

²⁹ Seifried and Bolton, “The University of South Carolina Football Stadia.”

³⁰ Seifried and Bolton, “The University of South Carolina Football Stadia.”

³¹ Bose, “Universities and Redevelopment Politics.”

³² Lydia M. Brandt et al., *USC South Campus: A Last Look at Modernism* (Columbia: USC Department of Art, 2016).

³³ Brad Walters, “Russell House Expansion to Follow Wellness Center Construction,” *The Gamecock*, March 15, 1999.

³⁴ Bose, “Universities and Redevelopment Politics.”

³⁵ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

colleges that have already successfully added to their facilities in these ways are the University of Arkansas, Georgia Institute of Technology, and University of Mississippi.³⁶

1.4 USC HISTORY SNAPSHOT

USC was originally established as South Carolina College in 1801. Henry Lesesne, noted USC historian, stated that the college was formed to bring South Carolinians together after the American Revolution.³⁷ Interestingly, “with the support of South Carolina’s Radical Republicans, USC became the only southern state university to enroll and grant degrees to Black students during the Reconstruction era.”³⁸ Yet when Republicans insisted Black students be admitted, faculty members resigned and white elites in the state pulled their support for the institution.³⁹ Further, white conservative leaders led by Governor Wade Hampton closed the institution from 1878–1880. The university administration reopened the university as the South Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanics in 1880 as a Morrill Land Grant institution that served only white students.⁴⁰ The university’s status oscillated from college to university and back again (i.e., rechartered as the University of South Carolina in 1865, University of South Carolina from 1887–1890, and South Carolina College 1890–1905), before the University of South Carolina officially became and remained the name of the university since 1906.

³⁶ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

³⁷ Seifried and Bolton, “The University of South Carolina Football Stadia.”

³⁸ Seifried and Bolton, “The University of South Carolina Football Stadia.”

³⁹ Seifried and Bolton, “The University of South Carolina Football Stadia.”

⁴⁰ Seifried and Bolton, “The University of South Carolina Football Stadia.”

1.5 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Solutions to the challenges of present-day university expansion are bigger than simply one or two institutions having a change of heart in how they do business. Systemic and sustainable change between universities and communities requires a collective effort on multiple levels to disrupt further displacement of residents by higher education institutions (HEIs). My position regarding expansion projects is not one of anti-growth or anti-expansion but more so anti-white supremacy culture (e.g., power hoarding, progress means bigger is better), resistance to accounts of histories that do not include Black perspectives, and policies of anti-Blackness. HEI actors must acknowledge structural asymmetries in power dynamics that perpetuate white supremacy on their campuses.⁴¹ I hope this dissertation contributes to the continuous need to raise awareness about the impact of past harms perpetrated by universities on communities and their present-day impact, encourages HEI leaders and community members to have critical conversations about how university expansion efforts affect both universities and communities, and brings about equitable solutions for both universities and communities moving forward. I believe public universities should serve the public interest, and a multiracial public has diverse interests and needs that must be considered.

When a university chooses to exert its power and influence to benefit only the university, I find that to be highly problematic. Ample literature has documented the displacement of residents by universities during the urban renewal period; some of the

⁴¹ Jade Agua and Sumun L. Pendakur, "From Resistance to Resilience: Transforming Institutional Racism from the Inside Out," in *Student Activism, Politics, and Campus Climate in Higher Education*, eds. Demetri L. Morgan and Charles H.F. Davis III (New York: Routledge, 2019), 164-181.

most notable studies are by Bromley and Kent⁴² and Dixon and Roche,⁴³ who reviewed Ohio's public universities; Ehlenz,⁴⁴ who studied the University of Pennsylvania's West Philadelphia initiatives; and Lipman,⁴⁵ who examined University of Chicago's expansion efforts. Of note, most of the well-known universities that pursued urban renewal projects that have been written about extensively (e.g., Yale University, Harvard University, Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, University of Chicago) are private institutions.

Private institutions, which rely on tuition and endowments, have historically served the elite and well connected, whereas government-funded public institutions have served the masses. Yet most HEIs, whether public or private, would probably contend that they seek to meet the call of Ernest Boyer, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, to serve a larger, democratic purpose.⁴⁶ I would argue all universities must serve the public good while simultaneously serving their own interests and contending with economic and social challenges, which informs how they carry out their institutional mission and purpose.

What makes this research study different from other notable studies is that I focused on a Southern public university and explored athletics venue expansion. From urban renewal to the present, universities have expanded for many reasons (e.g., housing,

⁴² Bromley, Ray, and Kent, Robert B. "Integrating beyond the campus: Ohio's urban public universities and neighborhood revitalisation." *Planning, Practice & Research* 21, no. 1 (2006): 45-78.

⁴³ Dixon, David, and Peter J. Roche. "Campus Partners and The Ohio State University." *The University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis: Case Studies and Analysis* (2015): 268.

⁴⁴ Ehlenz, "Neighborhood Revitalization."

⁴⁵ Lipman, "Contesting the City."

⁴⁶ John Saltmarsh and Matthew Hartley, eds. *"To Serve a Larger Purpose": Engagement for Democracy and the Transformation of Higher Education* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011).

academic buildings), but scholars have tended to lump expansion efforts under one umbrella. However, I believe there is benefit in understanding the purpose behind expansion initiatives regarding athletics expansion, their effects on the surrounding communities, and what resources are being used to fund those initiatives.

As I explain in Chapter 3, athletics and housing are considered auxiliary services, meaning they are not considered central to the academic mission of an institution and must be self-sufficient in terms of funding. Yet studies like the Delta Cost Project at the American Institutes for Research found that colleges spend money to provide services they believe students want, which results in increased costs for students. This spending results in campus expansion projects for new fitness centers and residential complexes.⁴⁷ In other words, universities tend to spend in ways they believe will attract students, even in areas not critical to the educational mission of the institution. Moreover, they tend to pass those costs on to students.

1.6 POSITIONALITY

As a Black woman who was raised in East Tennessee, I have no direct ties to the communities in which I am pursuing this research. Yet I am a product of the rich history of South Carolina. Both my mother's and father's families have deep ties to South Carolina via Greenwood and Orangeburg. I grew up hearing my grandmother and parents talk about how they could not walk across the USC campus because of the color of their skin. Blacks were quite literally prevented from not only accessing the education

⁴⁷ Donna Desrochers, "Think Again: Is Rampant College Spending behind Skyrocketing Tuition Bills? Or Not?" *American Institutes for Research*, last modified August 4, 2014, <https://www.air.org/resource/think-again-rampant-college-spending-behind-skyrocketing-tuition-bills-or-not>.

provided by the university but also excluded from the very place and space that the university occupied in the city blocks of Columbia.

When I considered whether to accept my job at USC in 2011, I balanced the desire of moving back to the South to be closer to family with the knowledge that I would be choosing to live in a city that still flew the Confederate flag at its state house and navigating the personal history my family had with this institution. Although moving to be close to family won, I still had uneasy feelings about what life would be like working at USC.

For the past 11 years, I have served as an HEI administrator at USC, primarily in roles requiring that I build strong connections to the surrounding Columbia community. For my first few years as an administrator on campus, I was responsible for coordinating service projects for students near campus. It did not take long for me as an outsider to understand the racial tensions that still existed in Columbia, the sense of distrust that some in the Black community had toward the university, and the oblivious and sometimes patronizing nature in which administrators treated engagement with local community members and organizations.

During this time (i.e., late 1990's to 2010), the field of community engagement in the United States was becoming more critical of how HEIs engaged with communities, whether through structured service-learning courses⁴⁸, unstructured student organization service projects, or international service trips. Although I had been having these conversations with colleagues in the field, beginning in 2019, I took classes in USC's

⁴⁸ Tania D. Mitchell, "Critical Service-Learning as Social Justice Education: A Case Study of the Citizen Scholars Program," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 40, no. 2 (2007): 101-112.

Educational Foundations and Inquiry program where I was challenged to think about these issues more critically. In my participatory action research class, I first started to seriously question the supposed benevolence of HEIs. Until that time, I had rarely questioned whether HEIs aimed to do good in their communities; I simply assumed that over time, institutions, just like people, learn more and do better. My thought process was, “Yes, colleges and universities have behaved problematically in the past, but they have made tremendous strides.” What I failed to interrogate is why colleges and universities functioned the way they did, who made that possible, for what purpose, and to whose benefit. Once I started to put those aspects together, I also started to wonder about how universities perpetuate inequities related to community engagement.

Often, scholars speak about the benevolence of HEIs being perpetuated in the civic and academic missions of universities to produce students who are good citizens and the best in their fields,⁴⁹ while simultaneously disappearing and silencing voices of those that have been displaced by those same institutions.⁵⁰ As USC and other HEIs continue to expand their footprint through building new residence halls through public–private partnerships, athletics venue expansion, and development of research parks and innovation districts, we must ask those same questions: Who is advocating for these projects? For what purpose? For whose benefit?

⁴⁹ National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, “A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy’s Future,” *Association of American Colleges & Universities*, published 2012, accessed March 20, 2015, http://www.aacu.org/sites/default/files/files/crucible/Crucible_508F.pdf.

⁵⁰ Robert Mark Silverman, Jade Lewis, and Kelly L. Patterson, “William Worthy’s Concept of ‘Institutional Rape’ Revisited: Anchor Institutions and Residential Displacement in Buffalo, NY,” *Humanity & Society* 38, no. 2 (2014): 158-181.

I have an expressed interest in better understanding university–community partnerships due to my passion for community engagement and desire to work in higher education. Additionally, HEIs are situated in every type of community across the country and thus, have an extensive and commanding presence in our lives. Further, I believe social institutions (e.g., schools, churches, hospitals) are foundational to building community. How social institutions are integrated into and serve their communities reflect our societal values, which is why I also believe they are optimal sites to interrogate social issues. Thus, HEIs need to act in a responsible manner toward the communities of which they are a part. HEIs have long been critiqued for how they function as it relates to admission policies, funding allocations, and other domains, and more recently, how they engage with communities has come under increasing scrutiny. All oppressive practices of universities need to be continually analyzed so that effective strategies to intervene can be employed and university resources are used to benefit the whole community.⁵¹ Ultimately, USC’s expansionist goals resulted in insurmountable challenges faced by Ward One and Wheeler Hill residents reminiscent of long-fought battles for human and civil rights in our country. For displacement of communities to become a thing of the past, their occurrences must be documented, researched, and examined.

This project also relates to my love of sports. I was born and raised in Tennessee during the Pat Summit basketball and Phillip Fulmer football era. I remember well the glory days of University of Tennessee Volunteer football and their dogged determination

⁵¹ Abigail Boggs, Eli Meyerhoff, Nick Mitchell, and Zach Schwartz-Weinstein, “Abolitionist University Studies: An Invitation,” *Abolition Journal* 1 (2019): 29.

to win. However, if you would have told me that after the University of Alabama won six of nine college football championships in the past 15 years and started the 2022 season with a 5-0 record,⁵² whom I would bet money on to win the game between Tennessee and Alabama it would have been a no-brainer: Alabama. College sports culture could very well be summarized by the fall football game on October 15, 2022, between Tennessee and Alabama. Many of the 102,000 University of Tennessee fans in attendance at this game stormed the football field upon Tennessee beating Alabama 52-49 after 16 years of failing to beat their SEC opponent. There is no other American-invented sport, collegiate or professional, that draws the same numbers or provides the same fan experience as college football.⁵³ Sports bring people from diverse backgrounds and perspectives together, even if for 60 minutes and even if they are rooting for different teams. For the 60 minutes that game is being played, fans experience a shared moment that is difficult to replicate elsewhere. Why do sports bring so much joy? Is it the competition, athleticism, fight, or school pride? The potential economic impact of this one game weekend is upward of a \$42 million boon to the Knoxville, Tennessee, community.⁵⁴ The memorable scenes of fans rushing the field after the game will be memorialized and sold as mementos for University of Tennessee graduates and fans for untold years. For many students, this may be the most memorable thing that will happen for their university

⁵² “College Football Championship Game – List of National Champions,” *TicketCity*, accessed November 13, 2022, <https://blog.ticketcity.com/college-football/college-football-championship-game-list-of-national-champions/>.

⁵³ “The Most Watched and Loved College Leagues in the USA: Sports Economist,” *The Sports Economist*, December 15, 2022, <https://thesportseconomist.com/the-most-watched-and-loved-college-leagues-in-the-usa/>.

⁵⁴ Dominic Webster, “Tennessee Football Games Bring Big Economic Boost to Knoxville,” *WATE 6*, published September 15, 2022, accessed November 12, 2022, <https://www.wate.com/news/knox-county-news/tennessee-football-games-bring-big-economic-boost-to-knoxville/>.

during the next 4 years. As much as we love sports, do we love them to the detriment of all other things? Is that why we allow universities to constantly expand to accommodate athletics indulgences?

On Saturday, November 19, 2022, unranked USC shocked U.S. sports fans with a big home win in Columbia, SC against top ranked (#5) Tennessee beating the Volunteers 63-38, only 5 weeks after Tennessee shocked (#3) Alabama 52-49. While few sports analysts and fans anticipated USC beating Tennessee, as betting trends gave an 88% advantage to the Vols,⁵⁵ Gamecock fans were excited about the match up. USC set an attendance record at Williams-Brice Stadium with a sellout crowd of 79,041, the largest crowd of the season.⁵⁶ The anticipation for a match up with a top five team, even if you expect to lose, brings an electric excitement to the campus and community. However, I viewed the Tennessee vs. USC game differently, as I watched the pregame show, I wondered about the impact of the football festivities on the communities in which they are situated. I have heard those that live near large entertainment venues remark how they feel trapped in their homes when events take place because it is too much of an imposition to get out and fight the traffic congestion. Yet, how much more might the inconvenience from a large-scale sporting event be when dealing with an hours-long tailgate prior to the event in which you have to contend with noise and parking, etc. Additionally, dealing with the post sporting event aftermath of additional traffic, left over trash in your community, etc. On the other hand, there are instances where residents in

⁵⁵ “Tennessee vs. South Carolina - College Football Game Summary - November 19, 2022,” *ESPN*, accessed February 11, 2023, https://www.espn.com/college-football/game/_/gameId/401403953.

⁵⁶ “South Carolina vs. Tennessee Post Game Notes,” *Gamecocks Online*, accessed February 20, 2023, https://storage.googleapis.com/gamecocksonline-com/2022/11/3acc1682-11_tenn_postgamenotes.pdf.

these communities might be able to use these games for their financial benefit to allow fans to park in their yards for a reasonable fee. These are just a few of the aspects that those communities in proximity to sports venues have to deal with.

I share my love for sports to demonstrate that we can love things and at the same time, be critical of them. As U.S. citizens, we can love our country, yet be critical of the wars in which we engage. The hope is that our critical eye makes us collectively more attuned to our posture, and by examining our shortcomings and realigning our values, we ultimately aim to make things better. I am fundamentally concerned about the processes and dynamics at play in HEIs when we allow our passion for sports to affect significant decisions, such as whether to expand our campus footprint and disrupt communities.

Many research studies that reflected on the urban renewal period seemed to conclude that decision makers (e.g., predominantly white city mayors and local housing administrators) were simply a product of their time and that ultimately, the cities and institutions that engaged in urban renewal benefited.⁵⁷ However, my contention is that it is an oversimplification to state that these decision makers were a product of their time because the same incidents are occurring today. Although the way policies and practices that are enacted may have changed, the racial sentiment and institutional enactment of racial animus have remained. The contention that “all’s well that ends well” ignores the harm done to Black communities and misdirects attention away from the repairs needed to make those communities whole. The inability to recognize the humanity, dignity, and worth of Black communities is indicative of anti-Blackness.

⁵⁷ Seifried and Bolton, “The University of South Carolina Football Stadia.”

Additionally, one question I have been pondering during my research is why most of the literature on university expansion during urban renewal has focused on Northeastern and Midwestern universities. Why is there a dearth of literature on Southern universities? To date, I have only come across one study in the South involving the use of eminent domain for university expansion: Vanderbilt University (another private institution) in Nashville, Tennessee.⁵⁸ The answer may also be explicitly tied to race. Typically, the urban renewal period refers to the time between 1949 and 1974. While the Great Migration refers to the period between 1910 and 1970, it is divided into two waves of migration. During the second wave of migration between 1950 and 1960, nearly 1.5 million Southern Blacks ventured to U.S. cities in the Northeast and Midwest.⁵⁹ As a result, business leaders in the Northeast and Midwest became fearful that an influx of Blacks would lower property values in those cities and planned for redevelopment of already blighted areas in the heart of their cities.⁶⁰ This redevelopment strategy, now federally supported with urban renewal funds, prevented Blacks from settling in those areas⁶¹ and incentivized cities and private developers to work together to remove already established Black communities through slum clearance.

In summary, as a Black HEI administrator with a love for both sports and community, I want to contribute a new perspective to researching university expansion during urban renewal by focusing on athletics expansion at a Southern institution. I want

⁵⁸ N.T. Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power: The Private University and the Power of Eminent Domain,” *Vanderbilt Law Review* 27, no. 4 (1974), 681-813.

⁵⁹ Lemann, 1991, as cited in Derek S. Hyra, “Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal: Comparing the Past to the Present,” *Urban Affairs Review* 48, no. 4 (2012): 498-527.

⁶⁰ Hyra, “Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal.”

⁶¹ Hyra, “Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal.”

to encourage more community engagement professionals to consider university–community relationships from a historical lens to understand where we are presently and to move forward in more just ways. Finally, in moving forward, I want to challenge HEIs to consider what responsibility they have to rectify past harms, particularly when they continue to expand and profit to the detriment of the communities in which they are situated.

1.7 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

My proposed study aims to analyze information that has been shared and archived regarding USC land acquisition for athletics expansion, inquire about the motivations and decision-making processes that allowed the dispossession of predominately Black neighborhoods to take place, and understand the resulting impact that dispossession had and continues to have on residents of those communities. I also seek to identify systemic barriers that prevented the Black community from successfully advocating on their behalf to keep their land, thus enabling the development of potential strategies and needed changes in institutional policy.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND QUESTIONS

Historiography is less fact than framework and asks whether the narrative the historian weaves together resonates with all known complexities.⁶² Although urban renewal historiography is another type of historiography that could have been employed in this research, central to my understanding of my research questions is a focus on race and how it was and is deployed to affect people. Urban renewal historiography would

⁶² John R. Gold, “Modernism, Narratives of Renewal and the Historiography of Urban Regeneration,” In *The Routledge Companion to Urban Regeneration*, eds. Michael E. Leary and John McCarthy (New York: Routledge, 2013), 43-52.

establish the importance of the intersection of racial discrimination and disinvestment that has resulted in complex social problems in American cities, but the focus would be on the cities.⁶³ As such, I used Black historiography, which employs a critical lens to evaluate documentary evidence to reveal the continuity between our past and present by unveiling how past structural inequalities at the intersection of race are repeated in the present.⁶⁴

What is particularly appealing about Black historiography is a recognition that Black people in the United States have always had to navigate the ambiguity of living in a society of “American ideals” accessible to dominant whites and often exclusive of Black people.⁶⁵ As William Wright suggested, Black historiography provides a space in which to eliminate the tendency to think in either–or terms as it relates to the Black experience.⁶⁶ Consequently, Black people can love the United States, a country that purports freedom and justice for all, but continue to raise concerns and collective expectations about how our country can better serve all people. Similarly, Black people can simultaneously love athletics at historically white colleges and universities (HWCUs) and detest the negative impact of these institutions in their communities.

My research questions are as follows:

RQ 1: What were the motivations among USC, the City of Columbia, and the Columbia Housing Authority (CHA) in urban renewal efforts from year to year?

⁶³ Guian McKee, “Urban deindustrialization and Local Public Policy: Industrial Renewal in Philadelphia, 1953–1976,” *Journal of Policy History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 66–98.

⁶⁴ William D. Wright, *Black History and Black Identity: A Call for a New Historiography* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002).

⁶⁵ Wright, *Black History and Black Identity*.

⁶⁶ Seifried and Bolton, “The University of South Carolina Football Stadia.”

What role did the desire for secondary effects of athletics expansion play in university expansion efforts?

RQ 2: What were the decision-making processes among USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA in urban renewal efforts from 1964 to 1971? How were constituents living in urban renewal areas involved in urban renewal efforts?

RQ 3: How did community members displaced by USC's athletics expansion through urban renewal describe (a) the efforts to build athletics facilities and (b) the impact of displacement and the destruction of their communities on their lives?

1.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

The significance of urban renewal on the landscape of U.S. cities has been well documented. The literature is replete with various stakeholder accounts of their use of urban renewal funding and how it ultimately benefited their sector (e.g., real estate, business, government, higher education) sans direct accounts from those who were detrimentally affected. The role that many universities played in securing federal funding for their urban renewal projects and how those projects transpired in their respective cities have also been documented. However, there has been a lack of research in general regarding urban renewal projects initiated by Southern universities (i.e., beyond Vanderbilt University). Even less attention has been paid to university athletics venue expansion during this time. Although athletics venue expansion is subsumed in higher education, it also functions as business and entertainment. Scholars have suggested that providing billions in direct investments in sport stadiums supported by business leaders and other influencers rather than cheaper services that could help positively transform

under resourced communities should be seen as a misallocation of resources.⁶⁷ In essence, institutions that focus solely on development to the detriment of finding ways to invest in opportunities that benefit residents who have been historically disenfranchised will spend more money to make money without improving the livelihood of residents.⁶⁸ I believe these types of athletics venue expansions are important to highlight and interrogate further, because historical and contemporary discussions have occurred about the role and function of athletics in higher education. Additionally, this can highlight the societal implications of the displacement of thousands of Black residents as a result of athletics venue expansion, which primarily has served or serves as a source of entertainment and also generated and continues to generate revenue. These USC athletics sites displaced thousands of people living in the Ward One community, which had 198 families, and the Wheeler Hill community, which housed 3,190 people.⁶⁹ In these predominately Black communities, community members did not receive sufficient compensation for their homes.⁷⁰ Moreover, the destruction of these communities included homes, businesses, and churches.

Further, the critique of any historical analyses centers on how the topic is framed. Although several studies have examined how various stakeholders worked together across sectors to protect shared interests and other studies have investigated the disparate impact of urban renewal on Black communities, few works have combined these two

⁶⁷ Alan Mallach, *The Divided City: Poverty and Prosperity in Urban America* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2018).

⁶⁸ Mallach, *The Divided City*.

⁶⁹ USC Archives, Student Affairs: Student Activities, Office of the President Thomas F. Jones, Box 6, (1970-1971).

⁷⁰ Modjeska M. Simkins, "A Protest Against the 1969 Award Being Given to Columbia," November 1, 1969, Manuscripts of the Richland County Citizen's Committee, Folder 4, South Caroliniana Library.

topics conceptually. Even fewer studies have looked at how the intense collaboration at the local, state, and federal levels among renewal advocates helped secure public and judicial support for the use of eminent domain to further urban renewal projects. First, this historiography considers the roles and collaboration both horizontally and vertically among USC administrators, the City of Columbia, and CHA (i.e., horizontal context) to aid USC athletics venue expansion and further demonstrates how the close ties between university and city administrators helped successfully secure and implement urban renewal projects. Second, this study demonstrates how universities worked in concert with one another, state and national organizations (e.g., American Association of Universities, South Carolina Higher Education Commission), and the federal government (e.g., Housing and Urban Development [HUD]) to lobby congressional leaders to carve out allowances for HEIs (i.e., vertical context). Finally, this study examines the relationships between these various entities and documents new accounts from individuals detrimentally affected by urban renewal.

1.10 DELIMITATIONS

The delimitations of this historiographic study included the choice to study only the impact of displacement of Black communities by two facilities created through urban renewal. Between 1961 and 1974, USC added approximately 59 new buildings totaling about 1.5 million square feet of physical space.⁷¹ Future research might also examine other USC expansion projects that happened during this time. This study explored the stories of five Black community members, regarding their experiences with urban renewal. Some of the community members would have been young children, teenagers,

⁷¹ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

and college students when their displacement took place. As such, displacement had a profound impact on these individuals' educational experiences and choices of where to attend school, which may be a worthwhile lens from which to explore this topic in the future. Further, other methodologies might have been used to study this topic, but I chose Black historiography because I believe it is important to develop a more accurate picture of historical periods through engaging silenced voices. Finally, although various theories can be used as interpretive frameworks to study this issue, I have chosen whiteness as property⁷² from critical race theory (CRT), in conjunction with plantation politics. I chose whiteness as property because it examines how a social construct can be deployed in tangible ways to affect policy and practice and used plantation politics because of its emphasis on the role of race and labor in the higher education context.

1.11 LIMITATIONS

Several extensive studies have explored the effects of urban renewal at USC; however, most theses and dissertations focused on the specific communities affected (e.g., Ward One, Wheeler Hill), the role of the City of Columbia in pursuing urban renewal projects, or some combination of the two with limited reference to the role of USC. Yet none of the studies looked at the collaboration among the university, City of Columbia, and CHA in pursuing urban renewal projects or how both communities were displaced due to the expansion of buildings used for athletics and physical education. Additionally, none of the studies looked at the role of university administrators and how their motivations influenced their decision to utilize Section 112, the provision that allowed universities to use eminent domain to purchase land for development.

⁷² Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106, no. 8 (1993): 1707-1791.

In terms of the broader literature on universities that engaged in urban renewal, few studies have looked at similar variables such as athletics expansion or collaboration between cities and universities.

The first relevant source, *University Expansion in Urban Neighborhoods: An Exploratory Analysis*,⁷³ is a dissertation from 1972 that looked at campus expansion at several large urban universities (i.e., Illinois Institute of Technology, University of Chicago, Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, and Harvard Medical School). This exploratory study analyzed the potential causes of expansion and attempted to differentiate the reasons for expansion among schools over time. Additionally, this author was concerned with the impact of expansion efforts on the ability of elderly residents to find housing.

The second source is a working paper titled *University Real Estate Development: Campus Expansion in Urban Settings*⁷⁴ supported by the Lincoln Institute of Land policy in 2007, whose mission is to improve quality of life through the effective use, taxation, and stewardship of land.⁷⁵ This paper focused on introducing university real estate development as a new area of academic and applied inquiry that aims to explore higher education expansion outside of campus boundaries. The authors outlined certain university real estate projects in depth, considering their purpose, trends, and how universities address governmental regulations. This paper was of particular interest because it interrogated why universities sought to acquire property, such as academic,

⁷³ Mark Joel Winkeller, *University Expansion in Urban Neighborhoods: An Exploratory Analysis* (Waltham: Brandeis University, 1971).

⁷⁴ Wim Wiewel, Kara Kunst, and R. Dubicki, *University Real Estate Development: Campus Expansion in Urban Settings* (Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2007).

⁷⁵ Sherry, "Universities as Developers."

administrative, arts, athletics, research, residential, student centers, and new or satellite campuses. Of the 604 institutions researched in this study, approximately 6% acquired property for athletic purposes.

The third source is a dissertation titled *Urban Universities' Campus Expansion Projects in the 21st Century: A Case Study of the University of Southern California's "Village at USC" Project and its Potential Economic and Social Impacts on its Local Community to Provide a Template for Future Expansion Projects*,⁷⁶ completed in 2013. This paper is a departure from the others in that it aimed to serve as a template for universities contemplating expansion by exploring political, social, and economic impacts. In essence, it takes the approach that universities will continue to expand; therefore, how can they do so while mitigating the potential negative impacts on communities?

The fourth source is a 2015 book by Perry and Wiewel titled *University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis*.⁷⁷ This text was broken into four main sections: (a) From Campus to City: The University as Developer; (b) The Campus and the City: Neighborhood, Downtown, and Citywide Development; (c) University Development Practices: Acquisition, Finance, Development, and the Deal; and (d) Lessons Learned. This text emphasized seeing university real estate development as a political process with a need to understand local politics. Additionally, throughout the case studies, it is clear

⁷⁶ Jeffrey S. Wiginton, "Urban Universities' Campus Expansion Projects in the 21st Century: A Case Study of the University of Southern California's 'Village at USC' Project and its Potential Economic and Social Impacts on its Local Community to Provide a Template for Future Expansion Projects," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013).

⁷⁷ Perry and Wiewel, *The University as Urban Developer*.

that success in university real estate ventures requires both strong senior institutional leadership and institutional commitment.

Finally, the last source is a 2020 dissertation titled *Urban Universities on Contested Terrain: Racial Academic Capitalism, Gentrification, and the Politics of Expansion*,⁷⁸ which looked at a specific neighborhood in Baltimore and its experience with Johns Hopkins University's expansion. The author focused on neoliberalism as a root cause of increasing inequality in urban working-class communities and the drive for university expansion efforts. Additionally, the author used race as a guiding framework due to the disproportionate harm inflicted on Communities of Color in urban areas related to neoliberalism, even as urban universities state that they aim to serve minoritized communities through urban redevelopment.

Some lingering questions and concerns expressed by researchers in these previous studies regarded the need for deeper exploration of spending priorities and resource allocation of universities that are serving a public good, the responsibilities of universities in their local communities, and the effectiveness of university–community relations organizations. Additionally, the literature highlighted the distressed nature of the communities in which revitalization efforts and displacement of residents took place. As such, economic interests of both cities and universities have been served to the detriment of majority Communities of Color. Race and class continue to be distinguishing factors across cases of university expansion; therefore, an intersectional analysis (i.e., an assessment of the impact of converging identities on opportunities and access to rights

⁷⁸ Lauren Ashley Mariano Ilano, *Urban Universities on Contested Terrain: Racial Academic Capitalism, Gentrification, and the Politics of Expansion* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 2020).

and how policies, services, and laws that affect one aspect of our lives are inextricably linked to others⁷⁹) is needed. In addition, this brings to the forefront the need to analyze processes deemed to provide some semblance of equality such as community benefits agreements (CBA) (i.e., “a CBA is a legal contract between a developer and a set of nongovernmental groups whose support the developer considers necessary to obtain key public approvals or subsidies”⁸⁰) to determine what benefits are deemed appropriate and reasonable.

This research study fills a gap in the literature by exploring in depth a Southern urban institution. Most of the literature on university expansion during the urban renewal period has examined densely populated institutions in the Northeast or Midwest; however, urban sprawl is bound to look different and have different visible impacts on a city and the institution. My research intently explores the relationship between the city and university by examining both city documents and records, USC archives, and is balanced by also gathering former and current residents’ stories.

Further, although some studies of urban university expansion mentioned athletics tangentially, none of these studies centered athletics in their analysis. University expansion for residential housing, academics, athletics, or research parks may be lumped together by the general public and even university administrators, but the purpose for expansion and perceived benefits to the institution can have varying impacts on the

⁷⁹ Alison Symington, “Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice,” *Women’s Rights and Economic Change* 9, no. 1-8 (2004): 1-8.

⁸⁰ Laura Wolf-Powers, “Community Benefits Agreements and Local Government: A Review of Recent Evidence,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 76, no. 2 (2010): 141-159.

community. By focusing on athletics venue expansion, this study also explores the cultural significance of sports and how that played a role in the decision-making process.

Finally, when exploring university athletics venue expansion construction projects, the literature has focused more on the benefits to college athletics (e.g., winning seasons) or fundraising efforts required to build multimillion-dollar facilities, with less emphasis on university–city relations (beyond bond referendums) or university–community relations. Perhaps at some point these literatures will coalesce, but they currently remain bifurcated.

1.12 PROJECT OUTLINE

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. In Chapter 2, I provide a review of the literature on land expansion, urban renewal, and collaboration across the university, city, and housing authority and explore the limitations of the existing literature. In Chapter 3, I highlight relevant aspects of intercollegiate athletics and how the desire for power and prestige drives athletics venue expansion. In Chapter 4, I focus on framing the issue of athletics venue expansion through plantation politics⁸¹ and theoretical concepts of CRT—specifically, whiteness as property.⁸² Then, in Chapter 5, I share my methodological process regarding the use of Black historiography. In Chapter 6, I present the findings and analysis. In the final chapter, I finish with implications for future research and concluding thoughts.

⁸¹ Bianca C. Williams, Dian D. Squire, and Frank A. Tuitt, eds., *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions: Power, Diversity, and the Emancipatory Struggle in Higher Education* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2021).

⁸² Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Traditionally, while striving to be a part of providing solutions to public problems, HEIs have done so with the belief that expertise resides in academia instead of finding ways to acknowledge the value of community experience and knowledge.⁸³ As a result, the attention of HEIs to many public problems (e.g., urban poverty, racial unrest) have tended to serve and cater to the needs and desires of those in power at these institutions.⁸⁴ In this chapter, I introduce the development of HEIs in the United States and how Western notions of expansion and white supremacy were deployed to obtain land and labor in the creation of a vast network of HEIs. I specifically examine how these logics have been built on and deployed to maintain power in these institutions and the impact on communities vis-à-vis urban renewal. It is also for this reason that I choose to capitalize Black and Brown when referring to race, ethnicity, or culture and not white, because there is less consensus on whom the term white includes or excludes. Additionally, capitalizing the term white is done by white supremacists and risks conveying an affirmation of such beliefs. Furthermore, I chose to use Black when referring to U.S. populations of people who are descendants of enslaved people and

⁸³ Amy Wade and Ada Demb, “A Conceptual Model to Explore Faculty Community Engagement,” *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* 15, no. 2 (2009): 5-16.

⁸⁴ Ernest L. Boyer, “The Scholarship of Engagement,” *Journal of Public Service and Outreach* 1, no. 1 (1996), 11-20.

recent immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean, because Black is more inclusive of the collective experience of these people in the United States.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The notion of a campus is made manifest not only in the physical space it occupies as an ensemble of buildings for higher education, but also in its ideology of self-containment to achieve an intellectual mission.⁸⁵ Historian Thomas Bender suggested that U.S. universities strove for “Anglo-American academic pastoralism” wherein the academic mission occurred around the quad.⁸⁶ Thus, the university was separate and apart from the city, furthering the Anglo-American tradition based on the Oxford and Cambridge models of anti-urbanism (e.g., critical of the city).⁸⁷ As such, the university was viewed as located in but not of the community, and some higher education scholars have suggested hoarding the knowledge it produced and defending it against outside influences.⁸⁸

In the West, the philosophy of academic pastoralism was interwoven in the doctrine of manifest destiny, the belief that white, capitalist, Christian settler expansion was divinely inspired, therefore justifying any means to achieve that end.⁸⁹ Christian settlers’ beliefs can aptly be summarized by John Locke’s second treatise on civil government, which states:

⁸⁵ Perry and Wiewel, *The University as Urban Developer*.

⁸⁶ Thomas Bender, ed., *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁸⁷ David Perry and Natalia Villamizar-Duarte, “Universities as Urban Anchor Institutions and the Social Contract in the Developed World,” in *Anchored in Place: Rethinking the University and Development in South Africa*, eds. Leslie Bank, Nico Cloete, and Francois van Schalkwyk (Capetown: African Minds, 2018), 23-41.

⁸⁸ Perry and Villamizar-Duarte, “Universities as Urban Anchor Institutions.”

⁸⁹ Rosalie Z. Fanshel, *The Morrill Act as Racial Contract: Settler Colonialism and US Higher Education* (Berkeley: Joseph A. Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues, 2021).

God and his reason commanded him to subdue the Earth, i.e., improve it for the benefit of life, and therein lay out something upon it that was his own, his labour. He that in obedience to this command of God, subdued, tilled, and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it something that was his property, which another had no title to, nor could without injury take from him.⁹⁰

The government declared the land terra nullius, or nobody's land, and thus, open to be made property by white settlers.⁹¹ Just as Christian doctrine was carried to the colonies via the settlers, so too were racist ideologies regarding white supremacy interwoven in the philosophy that slavery, whether of Indigenous Africans, Blacks, or Native Americans, was justified and assimilation was the ideal.⁹²

Indigenous scholars Eve Tuck and Marcia McKenzie reminded us that place matters in furthering our understanding of how land and environment intersect with social issues.⁹³ Moreover, Tuck and Monique Guishard, a community social psychologist, clearly linked the settler colonial project and erasure of people whose land is more valued than their bodies.⁹⁴ Their argument underscores the significance of place in this dissertation; by "researching back," we can turn our gaze back on the institution.⁹⁵ Tuck and Guishard asserted that a society based on the production of capitalism will always feature those who accumulate to the detriment of those who are displaced and that laws

⁹⁰ John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Civil Government* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2015).

⁹¹ Winkeller, *University Expansion in Urban Neighborhoods*.

⁹² Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (London: Hachette UK, 2016).

⁹³ Eve Tuck and Marcia McKenzie, *Place in Research: Theory, Methodology, and Methods* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

⁹⁴ Eve Tuck and Monique Guishard, "Uncollapsing Ethics: Racialized Sciencism, Settler Coloniality, and an Ethical Framework of Decolonial Participatory Action Research," in *Challenging Status Quo Retrenchment: New Directions in Critical Qualitative Research*, eds. Tricia M. Kress, Curry Malott, and Brad J. Porfilio (Charlotte: Information Age, 2013), 3-27.

⁹⁵ Tuck and Guishard, "Uncollapsing Ethics."

and policies, such as eminent domain, will ensure that the Native is replaced by the settler.

Thus, inherent in the call to decolonize means, we must reprioritize Indigenous and land-based prospects for our future rather than concede to settler and colonial desires, which are based on expansionist, capitalist, and racist assumptions.⁹⁶ According to noted history professor Lorenzo Veracini, one concept of settler-colonialism is settler denial, which affirms that settlers are active participants in an ongoing settlement and occupation of unceded Indigenous land.⁹⁷ Settler colonial societies also refer to colonialization as happening in another time, not here and now.⁹⁸ Settler emplacement is concerned with settlers' attempts to live on stolen land, making it their home. As a result, a core strategy of emplacement is made evident in laws and policies such as eminent domain. This is important to keep in mind because it directly links the settler colonial logic of displacement and settlers' (e.g., white settler colonial law that became U.S. law, land-grant institutions and other HEIs) continual occupation of stolen land⁹⁹ and explains, to some extent, the fortification of policies and procedures such as expansion at HEIs.

Further, as I demonstrate throughout this dissertation, coordination among various levels (e.g., federal, state, local) to serve the interests of those in power (e.g., USC, City of Columbia, CHA) was and is orchestrated. As such, with the help of other institutions,

⁹⁶ Eve Tuck and K. W. Yang. "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1 no. 1 (2012), 1-40.

⁹⁷ Lorenzo Veracini, "Introducing: Settler Colonial Studies," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011): 1-12.

⁹⁸ Veracini, "Introducing: Settler Colonial Studies."

⁹⁹ Gerald Torres and Kathryn Milun, "Translating Yonnonidio by Precedent and Evidence: The Mashpee Indian Case," *Duke Law Journal* 1990, no. 4 (1990): 625-659.

HEIs used the federal policy of eminent domain at the local level to displace and acquire land for their universities.

The use of eminent domain by the government to take private property from its owners and transfer it to another private party as part of an economic development project (i.e., public use) was established in the *Kelo* decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court on June 23, 2005.¹⁰⁰ Prior to this time, the federal government had placed two restrictions on the use of eminent domain: first, that the landowner must receive just compensation, and second, that the taken land must be put to some public use. In 1949, Congress defined public welfare or public use to include slum clearance and urban redevelopment.¹⁰¹ Philosophically, urban renewal was designed to revitalize cities by removing slums and rebuilding the city.¹⁰² The definition of slum was classified as “any area where dwellings predominate which, by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements or design, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health or morals”.¹⁰³ The word “slum” developed in the early 19th century London Cockney vernacular (i.e., accent and dialect of English language mainly spoken in London by working-class individuals), which was then exported to other English settler societies like the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Dick M. Carpenter and John K. Ross, “Testing O’Connor and Thomas: Does the Use of Eminent Domain Target Poor and Minority Communities?” *Urban Studies* 46, no. 11 (2009): 2447-2461.

¹⁰¹ Winkeller, *University Expansion in Urban Neighborhoods*.

¹⁰² Winkeller, *University Expansion in Urban Neighborhoods*.

¹⁰³ “Slum Clearance: 1932–1952,” *CQ Researcher*, accessed May 15, 2023, <https://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre1952112200>

¹⁰⁴ “Slum Clearance: 1932–1952,” *CQ Researcher*.

By understanding the dominant logic used to remake urban places and how to go about remaking places to fit a vision of the ideal society, we can best confront the violence and racial dimensions of this work. Urban planning in colonized cities in many cases results in bulldozing Indigenous cities to assert occupiers' or settlers' control¹⁰⁵; often, this bulldozing is done in the name of modernization, freeway construction, economic development, hygiene, or the improvement of a city's image.¹⁰⁶ Katherine McKittrick, scholar of Black studies and cultural geography, suggested a clear link between Blackness and geographies via racial violence intended to harm or coerce a group of people.¹⁰⁷ Insomuch as a politics of exclusion in destroying buildings prevents the return of displaced people, the new buildings built in their place mark the domain of who now controls the space.¹⁰⁸ Cultural critic Paul Smith contended that the state has always used violence to accumulate collective social resources like land, labor, and energy for its use.¹⁰⁹

Ken Hewitt, professor of geography, referred to the killing of cities as "place annihilation" and surmised that for social scientists, "it is actually imperative to ask just who dies and whose places are destroyed by violence."¹¹⁰ Other scholars have used the term urbicide, which they defined as the "deliberate denial or killing of the city" through environmental, social, and infrastructural deterioration and geographic surveillance of

¹⁰⁵ Winkeller, *University Expansion in Urban Neighborhoods*.

¹⁰⁶ Sheela Patel, Celine d'Cruz, and Sundar Burra, "Beyond Evictions in a Global City: People-Managed Resettlement in Mumbai," *Environment and Urbanization* 14, no. 1 (2002): 159-172.

¹⁰⁷ Katherine McKittrick, "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place," *Social & Cultural Geography* 12, no. 8 (2011): 947-963.

¹⁰⁸ Martin Coward, "'Urbicide' Reconsidered," *Theory & Event* 10, no. 2 (2007).

¹⁰⁹ Paul Smith, *Primitive America: The Ideology of Capitalist Democracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

¹¹⁰ Stephen Graham, "Postmortem City: Towards an Urban Geopolitics," *City* 8, no. 2 (2004): 165-196.

Black geographies.¹¹¹ As McKittrick further suggested, Black geographies may not be inhabited only by Black bodies but also are marked as dangerous spaces.¹¹² She noted “narratives of displacement” that reward and value particular forms of conquest (e.g., owning land, invading territories, possessing someone). In the United States, the most powerful tool the state has to accomplish accumulation is eminent domain.¹¹³

The direction of current scholarship on university expansion and displacement of community residents has focused heavily on gentrification. Gentrification is one of the few analytic frameworks that incorporates eviction, displacement, demolition, and redevelopment.¹¹⁴ A key purpose of gentrification studies is to push back on the notion that gentrification is simply the way cities are, as though the resulting displacement of targeted populations and changing demographics are a natural occurrence.¹¹⁵

As noted by architectural educator Tahl Kaminer, history writing helps to disrupt the assumption that shifts in the urban population simply follow the cyclical nature of capitalist booms and busts.¹¹⁶ Critical history writing is concerned with affecting current conditions by examining historical meta-processes and laws. My aim is to center Black voices and experiences by combining critical history writing using Black historiography with the theoretical concept of whiteness as property¹¹⁷ and plantation politics.¹¹⁸ I seek

¹¹¹ Coward, “‘Urbicide’ Reconsidered.”

¹¹² McKittrick, “On Plantations.”

¹¹³ Timothy A. Gibson, “Primitive Accumulation, Eminent Domain, and the Contradictions of Neo-Liberalism,” *Cultural Studies* 24, no. 1 (2010): 133-160.

¹¹⁴ David Ley and Sin Yih Teo, “Gentrification in Hong Kong? Epistemology vs. Ontology,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 4 (2014): 1286-1303.

¹¹⁵ Ley and Teo, “Gentrification in Hong Kong?”

¹¹⁶ Tahl Kaminer, “Postscript: Towards a Critical Historiography of Gentrification,” *City* 26, no. 2-3 (2022): 542-552.

¹¹⁷ Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

¹¹⁸ Dian Squire, Bianca C. Williams, and Frank Tuitt, “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism in Higher Education: A Framework for Reconstructing Anti-Racist Institutions,” *Teachers College Record* 120, no. 14 (2018): 1-20.

to present a fuller picture, allowing for explanatory analysis of university athletics venue expansion through the lens of race and racism in the field of higher education.

2.2 KEY TERMS

Although the following concepts are not explored in enough depth in this dissertation to warrant significant inclusion in the literature review, they are key terms that are commonly mentioned when discussing university expansion. The first is neoliberalism, which envisions that the government should shift its priorities from a focus on social welfare to the free market to allow, through entrepreneurialism and private market development, the growth of the economy.¹¹⁹ In essence, a central tenet of neoliberalism is a disavowal of collective, public-sphere solutions to privately defined problems.¹²⁰ Neoliberalism and divestment, according to some higher education scholars, share the same aims as settler colonialism.¹²¹ As such, neoliberal arguments position urban social problems as a result of a lack of work ethic or responsibility on the part of Blacks and other Communities of Color, rather than structural inequality.¹²² Additionally, neoliberalism creates an environment in which reforms are seen as easy fixes if one is willing to pay the right price. For example, in higher education, neoliberal scholars have asserted that changes need to take place (e.g., admissions policies, student loan debt) but often opt for reform (e.g., test-optional policies, deferment programs) instead of abolishing what is no longer working.

¹¹⁹ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹²⁰ Christopher Mele, "Neoliberalism, Race and the Redefining of Urban Redevelopment," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 2 (2013): 598-617.

¹²¹ Ilano, *Urban Universities on Contested Terrain*.

¹²² Lipman, *The New Political Economy*.

The second term, coined by higher education scholars Shelia Slaughter and Gary Rhodes, is academic capitalism, which these scholars theorized as public universities increasingly expending their human capital to compete in the private sector.¹²³ The increasing marketization of higher education extends this concept to the institution in terms of endowment funds, university–industry partnerships, etc. As Ilano pointed out, academic capitalism frames the university as an active player in a changing economy.¹²⁴ Thus, a focus on revenue-generating behaviors superseding a larger public good mission is an ideological shift by universities that has continued over time due to social and economic factors.

Academic capitalism is noticeable in athletics, where unpaid student-athletes are constituents of revenue-generating sports and until recently, have had few rights or protections, demonstrating that the increasing commercialization of intercollegiate sports is profitable for the university at the expense of the student.¹²⁵ Even with new policies such as name, image, and likeness (NIL), which allows players to be compensated for their athletic talents, there is increasing competitiveness among HEIs and businesses to find ways to limit and benefit from these new policies.

The third term is racial capitalism, coined by Cedric Robinson, a Black studies and political science professor, to explain the uniquely pernicious type of capitalism cultivated in Western civilization, which was already infused with racism.¹²⁶ Robinson

¹²³ Sheila A. Slaughter and Gary Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

¹²⁴ Ilano, *Urban Universities on Contested Terrain*.

¹²⁵ Erianne A. Weight, Coyte Cooper, and Nels K. Popp, “The Coach-Educator: NCAA Division I Coach Perspectives about an Integrated University Organizational Structure,” *Journal of Sport Management* 29, no. 5 (2015): 510-522.

¹²⁶ Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

suggested racial capitalist structures have reshaped the urban process, as seen in uneven development. As communications professor Armond Towns asserted, race and capitalism are mutually dependent systems of exploitation, particularly in institutional settings like HEIs that relied on slavery and dispossession.¹²⁷ Racial capitalism features two processes: dispossession (e.g., explicit taking of both physical land and property and the erasure of symbolic forms of occupation) and displacement (e.g., physical removal of people, including the shifting institutional environment), which are both at work in reshaping urban environments. Racial capitalism is a means to produce social separateness and differentiation, which limits the ability of people to live full lives.¹²⁸

The fourth term is gentrification, coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 and then taken up by others in Anglo-American cities where postindustrial economies were reclaimed by a returning professional–managerial middle class.¹²⁹ Gentrification is defined differently based on whether the focus is on property or people.¹³⁰ Some define gentrification in terms of unusually high rates of real estate transactions or increased property value,¹³¹ whereas others define gentrification as people with wealth and capacity to sustain a higher rent or tax base, often but not always predominately white families, moving into lower-income, often predominately Black communities.¹³² Although some scholars have rejected the notion that gentrification is always bad because it is driven by

¹²⁷ Mallach, *The Divided City*.

¹²⁸ Prentiss A. Dantzer, “The Urban Process under Racial Capitalism: Race, Anti-Blackness, and Capital Accumulation,” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and the City* 2, no. 2 (2021): 113-134.

¹²⁹ Ley and Teo, “Gentrification in Hong Kong?”

¹³⁰ Ley and Teo, “Gentrification in Hong Kong?”

¹³¹ Shirley Bradway Laska, Jerrol M. Seaman, and Dennis R. McSeveney, “Inner-City Reinvestment: Neighborhood Characteristics and Spatial Patterns over Time,” *Urban Studies* 19, no. 2 (1982): 155-165.

¹³² Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard, *Gentrification: Practice and Politics*, (Washington, DC: Local Initiatives Support Corporation Center for Homeownership and Knowledge Sharing Initiative, 2001).

market conditions, it is important to keep in mind that the state manipulates the housing market to benefit gentrifiers.¹³³ The state is not concerned with redistributing resources to better serve under resourced communities.¹³⁴ As a result, concentrated poverty is ignored and pushed out, which only intensifies concentrating wealth.¹³⁵ It is not a coincidence that gentrification is now occurring in the same neighborhoods that experienced white flight and urban renewal during the 1950s and 1960s.¹³⁶ This is partly due to whites with financial means fleeing neighborhoods, causing an initial depression in home and property values and resulting in increasing isolation from goods and services. Yet once a neighborhood becomes sufficiently distressed and is seen as a good investment, then an influx of whites tends to drive up property values, pricing out Black and Brown homeowners.¹³⁷

In this section, I introduced the key terms of neoliberalism, academic capitalism, racial capitalism, and gentrification to provide context for how race, place, and capitalism are intertwined and have real-world implications for how HEIs interact with communities in the present day.

2.3 THE MATERIALITY OF EXPANSION

Presently, at about a third of urban HEIs, university expansion efforts are taking place outside campus boundaries.¹³⁸ These expansion efforts have caused some institutions to be somewhat critical of how they attend to their physical resources (e.g.,

¹³³ John A. Powell and Marguerite L. Spencer, "Giving Them the Old One-Two: Gentrification and the KO of Impoverished Urban Dwellers of Color," *Howard Law Journal* 46 (2002): 433-490.

¹³⁴ Powell and Spencer, "Giving Them the Old One-Two."

¹³⁵ Powell and Spencer, "Giving Them the Old One-Two."

¹³⁶ Kennedy and Leonard, *Gentrification: Practice and Politics*.

¹³⁷ Kennedy and Leonard, *Gentrification: Practice and Politics*.

¹³⁸ Sherry, "Universities as Developers."

facilities) by increasingly shifting the focus to reusing or repairing existing infrastructure rather than focusing on new construction.¹³⁹ In 2015, HEIs spent more than \$11.5 billion on facilities upgrades and development of 21 million square feet for new facilities, a new all-time high.¹⁴⁰ Amid the rapid increase in new facilities, the largest and most expensive have been for intercollegiate athletics.¹⁴¹ The same year, the University of Pittsburgh suggested that updates to existing facilities on its campus was in part due to “program space needs for an improved fan experience as well as the delivery of intercollegiate athletic programs on par with peer institutions in the Atlantic Coast Conference” (ACC).¹⁴²

The decision to renovate old athletics facilities or build new ones is likened to competing in an athletics arms race.¹⁴³ As cited in Teel and Fairbank,¹⁴⁴ the “athletic arms race” as defined by Carolyn Callahan, former faculty athletics representative at the University of Virginia, is to “build the grandest stadiums, arenas, and support structures.”¹⁴⁵ The mindset of having to build bigger and better facilities to attract prospective recruits is rampant.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ David Dymecki, “Discovering Transformative Opportunities for the Athletic Facilities at the University of Pittsburgh,” *Planning for Higher Education* 43, no. 1 (2014): 47.

¹⁴⁰ Matt Ryan Huml, N. David Pifer, Caitlin Towle, and Cheryl R. Rode, “If We Build it, Will They Come? The Effect of New Athletic Facilities on Recruiting Rankings for Power Five Football and Men’s Basketball Programs,” *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education* 29, no. 1 (2019): 1-18.

¹⁴¹ Will Hobson and Steven Rich, “Why Students Foot the Bill for College Sports, and How Some are Fighting Back,” *The Washington Post*, November 30, 2015; Will Hobson and Steven Rich, “The Latest Extravagances in the College Sports Arms Race? Laser Tag and Mini Golf,” *The Washington Post*, December 21, 2014.

¹⁴² Hobson and Rich, “Why Students Foot the Bill.”

¹⁴³ Robert V. Johnson, “The Athletic Arms Race at the University of Southern California,” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004).

¹⁴⁴ David Teel and Dave Fairbank, “Construction Boom While Colleges Spend Millions of Dollars to Upgrade Their Athletic Facilities, Academic Departments Face Budget Cuts,” *Daily Press*, December 16, 2001.

¹⁴⁵ Teel and Fairbank, “Construction Boom.”

¹⁴⁶ Slaughter and Rhodes, *Academic Capitalism*.

It seems quite obvious that the benefits of engaging in this arms race can be futile if universities similarly outbuild one another so that there is still little differentiation among schools and their facilities.¹⁴⁷ Two examples of schools that have not given into the arms race but nonetheless achieved athletics success are the University of Miami's football team and Duke University's basketball teams. Both play in relatively modest facilities compared to their peer institutions.¹⁴⁸ The perception that successful athletics programs result in overall university benefits such as increased admission of high-achieving students or more funding from alumni has been examined and dismissed due to weak evidence, if not outright debunked time and again, but the myth persists.¹⁴⁹ Several studies throughout the 1970s and 1980s found that successful sports programs did not raise the average SAT scores of students in those schools.¹⁵⁰ Economist Andrew Zimbalist found that increased donations tend to go directly to athletics programs¹⁵¹; thus, any potential benefit is tied to the program, not the school. Additionally, Turner et al. found no statistically significant relationship between the winning record of a university's football team and the giving of nonathlete alumni.¹⁵² However, one study by economics professor Brad Humphreys suggested that having a successful Division-I-A football team resulted in increased state appropriations relative to schools without such programs.¹⁵³ He contended that one explanation for increased funding in these instances uses Becker's

¹⁴⁷ Persis C. Rickes, "Make Way for Millennials! How Today's Students are Shaping Higher Education Space," *Planning for Higher Education* 37, no. 2 (2009): 7.

¹⁴⁸ Weight et al., "The Coach-Educator."

¹⁴⁹ Benjamin Baumer and Andrew Zimbalist, "The Impact of College Athletic Success on Donations and Applicant Quality," *International Journal of Financial Studies* 7, no. 2 (2019): 19.

¹⁵⁰ Derek Bok, *Universities in the Marketplace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

¹⁵¹ Baumer and Zimbalist, "The Impact of College Athletic Success."

¹⁵² Baumer and Zimbalist, "The Impact of College Athletic Success."

¹⁵³ Brad R. Humphreys, "The Relationship between Big-Time College Football and State Appropriations for Higher Education," *International Journal of Sport Finance* 1, no. 2 (2006): 119-128.

1983 model of competition for political influence among pressure groups.¹⁵⁴ The model examines the efficiency of groups at exerting pressure to outcompete others for political influence, and athletics programs are one way of exerting political pressure to receive more funding than other schools.¹⁵⁵

Regardless of whether scholars agree on the benefits of engaging in the athletics arms race, it is also important to note that continuous expansion has ramifications. The first is the practical implication wherein U.S. HEIs increasingly use technology to operate virtually and meet students' preference for online learning, which may decrease the need for campus facilities.¹⁵⁶ The second is the economic changes that befall communities that are targeted by university expansion resulting in gentrification.¹⁵⁷ Sheryll Cashin, a professor of law, asserted that geography is central to U.S. caste in structuring social and racial divisions by heavily investing in white spaces while divesting elsewhere.¹⁵⁸

2.4 EXPANSION EFFECTS ON LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Recently, former residents of a Black neighborhood in Athens, Georgia, sought redress from the University of Georgia for their houses being destroyed during urban renewal.¹⁵⁹ Like in Columbia, South Carolina, and neighborhoods across the country, urban renewal made way for highways, stadiums, and public housing projects and was

¹⁵⁴ Humphreys, "The Relationship between Big-Time College Football."

¹⁵⁵ Humphreys, "The Relationship between Big-Time College Football."

¹⁵⁶ J. David Chapman, Stuart T. MacDonald, Allen G. Arnold, and Ryan S. Chapman, "An Analysis of Higher Education Facility Expansion." *Journal of Business and Educational Leadership* 8, no. 1 (2018): 66-85.

¹⁵⁷ Ilano, *Urban Universities on Contested Terrain*.

¹⁵⁸ Sheryll Cashin, *White Space, Black Hood: Opportunity Hoarding and Segregation in the Age of Inequality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2021).

¹⁵⁹ Lee Shearer, "Linnentown: Just One of Many Black Communities Erased by Urban Renewal," *Athens Banner-Herald*, published February 22, 2020, accessed November 19, 2022, <https://www.onlineathens.com/story/news/education/2020/02/22/linnentown-just-one-of-many-black-communities-erased-by-urban-renewal/1657328007/>.

preceded by cities refusing to pave streets or provide plumbing, making certain areas prime targets for blight and slum clearance.¹⁶⁰ As more cases like this come to light and force institutions to acknowledge their complicity in displacement, further conversations are sure to occur regarding the cost and benefits of engaging in this arms race. Further, in some communities another consequence of university expansion is an increased police force presence wherein campus police have increased authority in nonresidential areas that buttress the university, with the stated aim of protecting the university and its interests.¹⁶¹

2.5 UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATORS

It is important to examine those who wielded leadership within USC from 1949–1974 to understand some of the decisions made by the university during urban renewal, including who the decision makers were, what their beliefs were, and how that affected USC. Four central figures, all white and male, during this period were key decision-makers regarding campus expansion and race relations: Thomas Jones, Harold Brunton, Solomon Blatt Sr., and Charles Whitten.

At the helm was Thomas “Tom” Jones, who was president from 1962–1974, a truly tumultuous time for the nation in terms of race relations and the civil rights movement.¹⁶² At the start of the fall semester of 1963, USC was the last major university in the country to desegregate.¹⁶³ This is informative because although USC avoided the

¹⁶⁰ Ernie Suggs and Eric Sturgis, “Former Residents of Black Neighborhood in Athens Seek Redress for Razing of Homes,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, published October 29, 2021. <https://www.ajc.com/news/former-residents-of-black-neighborhood-seek-redress-for-razing-of-homes/5RPRHKBKOBICIJLTO5CLKXCZCXU/>.

¹⁶¹ Teona Williams, “For ‘Peace, Quiet, and Respect’: Race, Policing, and Land Grabbing on Chicago’s South Side,” *Antipode* 53, no. 2 (2021): 497-523.

¹⁶² Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

¹⁶³ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

need for federal intervention, unlike the University of Alabama, which required the president of the United States to deploy the National Guard to desegregate in early summer 1963, white resistance and defiance continued on the part of South Carolinians who refused to yield to desegregation efforts.¹⁶⁴ In 1963, President Jones formed an ad hoc committee on university affairs to oversee what was nicknamed I-Day (Integration Day).¹⁶⁵ Some observers viewed this preparation as one reason why “integration” went smoothly at USC compared to other Southern institutions.¹⁶⁶

In terms of land expansion efforts, in 1968, Jones wrote: “For many years, it has been a goal of the University and the City of Columbia to attempt to wipe out the entire slum area of approximately twelve blocks known as Wheeler Hill.”¹⁶⁷ President Jones’ correspondence with other university administrators and city leaders featured no acknowledgement of the thriving Black community in Wheeler Hill that was destroyed by the university through expansion efforts. Jones resigned as university president in 1974, as Board of Trustees’ (BOT) members became increasingly disgruntled with how he was handling controversial issues of the day such as student protests against the war and desegregation.¹⁶⁸

President Jones and the next key administrator in USC’s urban renewal projects, Harold “Hal” Brunton, who was vice president for business affairs, had an interesting relationship, captured by the following exchange:

Shortly after I joined the University in 1963, I was walking across the Horseshoe with President Jones. He stopped at a large area of bare ground and said: “You’re

¹⁶⁴ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

¹⁶⁵ USC Archives, Thomas Jones.

¹⁶⁶ USC Archives, Thomas Jones.

¹⁶⁷ University History, February 18, 2021.

¹⁶⁸ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

from the North and I'm from Mississippi. You don't know this yet, but in poverty areas, the sign of Southern gentility is well swept bare earth. I want to challenge you to get rid of every piece of bare earth on this campus." I tried to capture this dream; but it was not easy.¹⁶⁹

Brunton's duties included management of the physical plant, oversight of university land and property acquisitions, new construction planning, procurement of funds from the South Carolina Legislature, and campus security.¹⁷⁰ Brunton perceived the work he was doing as not only for the campus but also for the larger Columbia community. In his memoir, he recounted,

South of Blossom and west of Assembly were solid blocks of depressed black housing--row houses, "shot-gun" shacks, crumbling-black tenements--much of it was owned by absentee white landlords. Occasionally there was a neat little house, with a carefully tended mini-scale garden but these were the exception. This tightly packed sub-standard housing was within six blocks of the state capital and two blocks of Heyward St. and a six and a half block project around Assembly so we could build the Coliseum and the Law School.

Between 1961 and 1974, the university added 59 new buildings totaling about 1.5 million square feet of physical space.¹⁷¹ Brunton became a legend for his ability to manage an ever-expanding bureaucracy to keep up with the growing physical plant; at the same time, multiracial groups of students and predominantly Black community members alike vilified him for his cutthroat approach to campus expansion.¹⁷²

The next key figure is Solomon "Sol" Blatt Sr., who was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives and eventually became South Carolina's Speaker of the House from 1937–1973 (except for a 4-year gap from 1947–1951). He was considered one of the most powerful men in South Carolina, and any legislation opposed

¹⁶⁹ Harold Brunton, *Memoir of the Restoration of the Historic Horseshoe of the University of South Carolina, 2000-2003* (2003).

¹⁷⁰ USC Archives, Vice President of Operations, SCU-SCL-UA-005.

¹⁷¹ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

¹⁷² Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

by him was sure to fail.¹⁷³ Blatt was a supporter of USC, especially the athletics department, and became chairman of the athletics committee at the university while initially serving in the legislature. It is noted that he gained BOT approval to “keep all athletic department financial reports secret” and thus, paid the head football coach as much as the college president.¹⁷⁴

In terms of his stance on educational and political issues, Blatt opposed desegregation and any anti-Vietnam sentiment as both issues kept cropping up on campus through student protests and statements in *The Gamecock*.¹⁷⁵ He blamed President Jones and said, “legislators are disgusted [by the coverage of student protests and statements, and] ... the University would have a hard time getting any funds. ... Some changes must be made and made now.”¹⁷⁶

The following statement, made in 1959 by Blatt, is one of many that demonstrate his resolve that desegregation never take place in South Carolina and that outside agitators simply did not understand the Southern way of life.

The fact is that nowhere else on the face of the earth are Negroes happier, more prosperous, more contented, more a part of the general way of life than in South Carolina. ... We know that in South Carolina the already excellent relations between the races have been so sound and friendly that all of the misrepresentations in national newspapers, magazines and over television and radio have not so much as dented the good will existing down here.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

¹⁷⁴ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*, 66.

¹⁷⁵ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

¹⁷⁶ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*, 234-236.

¹⁷⁷ Timothy D. Renick, “Solomon Blatt: A Segregationist in Moderation?” in *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, ed. Peter Becker (Columbia: South Carolina Historical Association, 1991), 61-68.

The final figure of interest is Charles Whitten, who was a former commanding officer in the U.S. Navy and one of the Navy's younger captains.¹⁷⁸ His exceptional leadership as commanding officer of USC's Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps, when he was obtaining his master's degree at USC's College of Education, caught the eye of President Jones, who named him the new dean of students in 1963.¹⁷⁹ As dean of students, Whitten was more connected on a day-to-day basis with students than any other administrator. His ability to interact with students of all races, his interest in understanding people's perspectives, and his talent for finding consensus seemed to be things at which he was particularly skilled. One example of Whitten putting aside others' biases and making decisions for himself was recounted in the university's oral histories:

When I bought this house, it had been vacant for eighteen months and there was a black area right over here. ... And people said what are you buying a house there for, it's all going to be taken over. I said, well, I know one place it isn't going to be, and I said that's my house. And I bought this place and we fixed it up to live here but the [invisible Black-white] border was there a couple of blocks away.¹⁸⁰

These are only short summaries of the administrators who led "integration" or land expansion efforts during this time, but they illuminate how their life experiences and overlapping job duties influenced the decisions they made. Additionally, it is equally important to understand how university administration and local government were entangled. For instance, after his time as university president, Donald Russell moved on to become South Carolina's governor (1963–1965) and chairman of the state's budget and control board (1964–1965). The chairman position was responsible for releasing

¹⁷⁸ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

¹⁷⁹ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

¹⁸⁰ Oral history interview with Charles Whitten, March 7, 2013, Interview 30, *University History Interviews*, South Carolina Oral History Collection, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

funds for urban renewal projects from the same bond deal Russell had helped set up as university president.¹⁸¹ The interconnectedness between university administration positions and state and local government leadership played a substantive role in the university's land acquisition efforts during urban renewal.¹⁸² Other notable city and university administrators who advocated for university expansion projects are captured in Table 2.1.

Political involvement from state officials in USC affairs is nothing new. Even though the Constitution of South Carolina in 1989 restricted holding multiple offices in Article VI, Section 24, which states, “No person shall be eligible to a seat in the General Assembly while he holds any office or position of profit or trust under this State,”¹⁸³ the provision had long been ignored. Even in 1946, there were specific concerns regarding dual office-holding when members of the legislature also held positions on the BOT of state institutions.¹⁸⁴ The lack of respect for this rule became so contentious that it led to a lawsuit against Blatt and six other trustees, who were claimed to be in violation.¹⁸⁵ Although the lawsuit was eventually dismissed, the controversy forced Blatt from his seat as house speaker in 1947 due to pressure from Governor Strom Thurmond.¹⁸⁶ Further, measures to end dual office holding was touted as one of the major accomplishments of the 1947 General Assembly of South Carolina. In Thurmond's address he states, “I desire

¹⁸¹ USC Archives, Vice President of Operations, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

¹⁸² Brandt et al., *USC South Campus*.

¹⁸³ “The Constitution of the State of South Carolina 1895,” *South Carolina State House*, accessed November 20, 2022, <https://www.scstatehouse.gov/scconstitution/SCConstitution.pdf>.

¹⁸⁴ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

¹⁸⁵ *Littlejohn's Political Memoirs*, as cited in Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

¹⁸⁶ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*; George D. Terry, *The Bridge Builder: Solomon Blatt Reflects on a Lifetime of Service to South Carolina* (Columbia: Solomon Blatt Papers, South Carolina Political Collections, 1986).

to call to your special attention several of the enactments which I consider of vital importance to our State.” One of these enactments related to dual office holding, Thurmond states,

“Our State government has long suffered from the undue concentration of power and influence possessed by certain individuals who acquired two or more public offices. The Constitution intended to prevent the baneful results of this practice by provisions against dual office holding, but all of us know that this practice has been prevalent. At the session just closed, the greater part of the dual office holding involving members of the General Assembly was ended through executive efforts and legislative action cooperating to attain the desired result. There are still several instances which appear to be violations of the State Constitution, and if they are not soon rectified, I shall be at liberty to employ the executive power to end them.”

Table 2.1 Interconnectedness in Administration Roles across Sectors

Administrator	Government or Private-Sector Role	University Role
Jeff. B. Bates (1896-1966)	South Carolina senator 1934-40, state treasurer 1940. South Carolina Commission on Higher Education Facilities (state budget and control board) 1965	President of USC Alumni Association 1951-1953 President of the USC Educational Foundation 1958-1966.
Lester L. Bates, Sr. (1904-1988)	South Carolina Mayor 1958-1970. Columbia Housing Authority Citizens Advisory Committee	
Solomon Blatt Jr. (1921-2016)	Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of South Carolina, May 28, 1971–May 7, 1990 *preceded by Donald Russell	Chairman, USC Athletics Committee, 1939–1947; USC Board of Trustees, 1939–1947
Solomon Blatt, Sr. (1895-1986)	South Carolina speaker of the house, Dec. 1932–Dec. 1974	USC Athletics Committee, USC Board of Trustees, 1936–1948
Harold Brunton (1921-2016)	Carolina Research and Development Foundation secretary and treasurer	USC dean of administration/vice president of business affairs 1963-1983
James F. Byrnes (1882-1972)	South Carolina governor, 1951-1955	USC Board of Trustees, 1947

John A. Chase, Jr. (II) (1902-1976)	CHA secretary 1934, commissioner/head 1949, administrator 1952.	USC dean of administration, retired in 1952
Douglas I. Fitzgerald	Assistant secretary-treasurer of Carolina Research & Development	USC assistant vice president for operational services
Warren E. Giese (1924- 2013)	South Carolina senator 1985-2004	1956-1960 USC head football coach, 1956-1960 USC athletic director
Thomas F. Jones (1916- 1981)	CHA citizens advisory committee	USC president, 1962-1974, founding member of USC Business Partnership Foundation
Samuel L. Latimer, Jr. (1891-1975)	CHA director, vice-chairman 1957- 1970, citizens advisory committee <i>The State</i> , managing editor 1938- 1961	USC Educational Foundation, trustee and member of development board
Trelawney Eston Marchant, Jr. (1920-2006)	Adjutant General of South Carolina 1977-1994, lawyer	USC Board of Trustees, 1965-1978, elected chairman of BOT in 1970
C. Wallace Martin (1916- 2006)	CHA commissioner 1971-1976, chairman 1974-1976, Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce president 1959, WIS Radio, Columbia 1947-1950.	USC Educational Foundation, 1960- 1977, USC director/vice president of development, 1966-1977, founding member of USC Business Partnership Foundation, 1969-1977
Robert Sumwalt (1895- 1977)	Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, professional staff, CHA commissioner and board member, 1965-1969	USC dean of the School of Engineering 1945-1957, USC president, 1957-1962
David W. Robinson	Carolina Research and Development Foundation chairman 1969-1970 Helped establish CHA in 1930s. Lawyer	
Donald Russell (1906- 1998)	South Carolina governor, Jan. 15, 1963-April 22, 1965	USC president, 1952-1957

2.6 EMINENT DOMAIN IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Congress approved the Housing Act of 1937 to provide federal grants to states to clear slum areas and replace them with housing for low-income families.¹⁸⁷ Due to the lack of funding in the initial act and the national focus and funding on World War II, a more ambitious version of this legislation emerged in the Housing Act of 1949.¹⁸⁸ Although the 1937 act provided for slum clearance by government agencies to further the development of low-income housing, the 1949 act stated that cleared land could be sold

¹⁸⁷ United States Housing Act of 1937, 42 U.S.C. § 1401 (1970).

¹⁸⁸ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

to private developers to achieve a master plan.¹⁸⁹ Known as “Title I-Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment,” this legislation urged private investors to clear slum areas and increase residential housing to meet the national housing policy and goal, which stated the intended outcome was to provide a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family.¹⁹⁰

Thus, the formerly narrow notion of public use as used by the public of the 1937 act ceased to be the standard. State courts (e.g., *New York City Housing Authority v. Muller*¹⁹¹) pushed court cases forward to assert that condemning areas for slum clearance was in fact a public good. The cases also required the courts to articulate a new way of determining what was meant by public use; by contending that “the purpose of government was to protect the health, safety, and welfare of the people, the court noted that the government could protect these interests through a trinity of powers—the power to tax, the police power, and the power of eminent domain.”¹⁹² Thus, after 200 years, U.S. legislatures had achieved the federal right to employ eminent domain on behalf of any group whose activities served the government interest.¹⁹³

Some of the more consequential aspects of these acts required state housing agencies to be responsible for putting together parcels of slum land for clearance.¹⁹⁴ The ramifications of delegating such authority to the states meant that similar to other federal policies that were left up to the states at the time (e.g., desegregation), were enacted with

¹⁸⁹ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

¹⁹⁰ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

¹⁹¹ 270 N.Y. 333, 1 N.E. 2d 153 (1936).

¹⁹² 270 N.Y. 341, 1 N.E. 2d 155 (1936).

¹⁹³ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

¹⁹⁴ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

racial animus and value propositions that served those in authority. Additionally, although state agencies were encouraged to negotiate to acquire land, the federal government also delegated the power of eminent domain to state agencies in case negotiations failed.¹⁹⁵ Eminent domain is the legal right of a government to compensate a private owner after seizing their land for public use, such as roads and public utilities.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, state legislatures in essence became the only limit to the power of eminent domain.¹⁹⁷

The Federal Housing Act of 1954 broadened the slum clearance and redevelopment program into what is now known as urban renewal by including federal assistance for rehabilitation and conservation of blighted and deteriorating areas.¹⁹⁸ Previous congressional legislation had restricted federal funding to address “slum” conditions; however, the inclusion of “blight”, which Congress chose not to legislatively define allowed local leaders discretion to determine where and what parts of their cities were targeted for clearance.¹⁹⁹ Further, local agencies could sponsor commercial and residential redevelopment.²⁰⁰ Inscribing how public use would be defined moving forward, the 1954 court case that upheld the constitutionality of urban renewal, *Berman v. Parker*, transformed public use to mean public purpose, which broadened the definition.²⁰¹ Thus, some state courts used this broadened definition to justify generating

¹⁹⁵ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

¹⁹⁶ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

¹⁹⁷ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

¹⁹⁸ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Major Legislation on Housing and Urban Development Enacted Since 1932*, published June 2014, https://www.hud.gov/sites/documents/LEGS_CHRON_JUNE2014.PDF.

¹⁹⁹ “Slum Clearance,” *CQ Researcher*.

²⁰⁰ § 1460(c) (Supp. 1954), as amended, 42 U.S.C. § 1460(c) (1970).

²⁰¹ Bullock (2004), as cited in Carpenter and Ross, “Testing O’Connor and Thomas.”

tax revenue as a public benefit and as a result, emboldened governments to use eminent domain to take homes and businesses on behalf of private entities to generate revenue.²⁰²

Interestingly, the Berman decision was decided 6 months after *Brown v. Board of Education*, which challenged the constitutionality of allowing public education to be separated by race.²⁰³ Although the Brown decision is much more well known nationally than the Berman decision, the latter was disastrous in fortifying racial segregation by creating additional barriers to achieving school desegregation.²⁰⁴

2.7 SECTION 112 OF THE FEDERAL URBAN RENEWAL ACT

As Perry and Wiewel aptly described in their book title *University as Urban Developer* in 2015,²⁰⁵ private developers also included private universities. However, this was not a recent development.

As early as 1957, leaders of many prominent institutions of the time (e.g., University of Chicago, Harvard University, Yale University, University of Pennsylvania) were conversing about their lack of ability to expand.²⁰⁶ Led by administrators at the University of Chicago, a detailed survey of 16 major universities was conducted by the American Association of Universities in 1958 and documented that one primary problem facing universities was the lack of available land on which to expand.²⁰⁷ In 1959, based on the results of the survey, private universities worked together to advocate an amendment to existing housing legislation to allow state agencies to employ eminent

²⁰² Bullock (2004), as cited in Carpenter and Ross, “Testing O’Connor and Thomas.”

²⁰³ Wendell E. Pritchett, “The ‘Public Menace’ of Blight: Urban Renewal and the Private Uses of Eminent Domain,” *Yale Law & Policy Review* 21, no. 1 (2003): 1-52.

²⁰⁴ Pritchett, “The ‘Public Menace’ of Blight.”

²⁰⁵ Perry and Wiewel, *The University as Urban Developer*.

²⁰⁶ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

²⁰⁷ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

domain on their behalf.²⁰⁸ Their proposal was accepted on September 23, 1959, with the passage of the Section 112 credits program, which provided a two-to-one federal matching grant for any urban renewal project on or near a college or university up to 5 years before the project began.²⁰⁹ Additionally, Section 112 was exempted from the requirement that former or future use be primarily residential.²¹⁰

Section 112 legislation was inspired by Julian Levi, a university administrator at the University of Chicago who wanted to find a way to get his city to support university plans for renewal and minimize the cost.²¹¹ Prior to Section 112, universities that wanted to expand sought relatively inexpensive land that was already cleared by local renewal authorities.²¹² Interestingly, the more aggressive universities were in their willingness to take advantage of urban renewal projects, the more they accrued credits. Ultimately, accumulation of credits benefited local cities in reducing their respective costs in city-led urban renewal projects.²¹³ The ability to secure federal funds fueled building efforts, which resulted in obtaining additional funds via credits to build even more, a self-perpetuating and sustaining cycle of excess. In essence, whatever USC was willing to pay for land and buildings would be credited to the City of Columbia's share of the urban renewal project cost, which also determined the federal subsidy. The more USC paid, the less the City of Columbia paid; and the less the City of Columbia paid, the more the U.S. government ended up paying. The mutual benefit for both the city and university relied

²⁰⁸ Adams et al., "The Private Use of Public Power."

²⁰⁹ Baldwin, *In the Shadow*.

²¹⁰ Baldwin, *In the Shadow*.

²¹¹ Baldwin, *In the Shadow*.

²¹² Bender, *The University and the City*.

²¹³ *Architectural Forum* (1963), <https://usmodernist.org/AF/AF-1963-01.pdf>.

on the fact that for every dollar of eligible university expenditure, two dollars of federal aid would accrue to the city for urban renewal. However, when the university's expenditures exceeded the city's one-third share of the cost of the urban renewal project, any surplus credits could be applied to other projects in the community.

The Section 112 university provision played a crucial role in the proliferation of university-supported urban renewal projects; approximately 50 universities and colleges took part in urban renewal programs under this provision.²¹⁴ Prior to this amendment to the Housing Act, universities profited from various other displacement efforts as early as the 1930s.²¹⁵ The federal codes that directed federal aid to colleges and universities in the 1960s made this collaboration even more solidified.²¹⁶ Thus, across the 20th century, HEIs became a "civic partner" in using federal funds to reshape urban America.²¹⁷ These codes provided the legal mandate and financial resources for university administrators and city leaders to physically and socially engineer their surrounding communities based on their notions of an appropriate university climate.²¹⁸

USC was no exception; in 1961, the university initiated its first urban renewal project. The prevailing philosophy of university and city leaders nationwide during this period was that ridding city centers of blighted communities was in essence performing a public service. Brunton expressed similar sentiments to other administrators of his time, noting that "historically, the immediately adjacent properties to Universities tend to

²¹⁴ Kenneth H. Ashworth, "Urban Renewal and the University: A Tool for Campus Expansion and Neighborhood Improvement," *The Journal of Higher Education* 35, no. 9 (1964): 493-496.

²¹⁵ Ashworth, "Urban Renewal and the University."

²¹⁶ Jodi A. Barnes, "The Materiality of Freedom: Archaeologies of Postemancipation Life," *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 14, no. 4 (2011), 28.

²¹⁷ Barnes, "The Materiality of Freedom."

²¹⁸ Barnes, "The Materiality of Freedom."

deteriorate, therefore, a controlled buffer zone is desirable around the edges of the University.”²¹⁹ This notion was further substantiated in correspondence between Logan Wilson, president of the American Council on Education, and Ashley Halsey, Jr., assistant to USC President Jones, in which Halsey wrote on behalf of Jones:

Urban Renewal is imperative to the essential growth of city-locked Universities such as ours. It has saved us here from considering the unhappy alternative of moving this University, 25th oldest in the country, from its historic campus to suburbia. Such a move would have had to compete for ground with military installations, industry and residential sub-divisions. Urban renewal as a disinterested third party has proven invaluable in working out the problems of growing Universities. Higher education would be hampered in many quarters without it.²²⁰

What is not captured in Brunton’s and Halsey’s assessments is an acknowledgement that the blight that was so detested around universities often was a direct result of the lack of investment of the city and university in these areas. Additionally, white flight (i.e., sudden or gradual migration of white people from areas becoming more racially or ethnoculturally diverse) from these areas in Columbia made the situation worse, because instead of investing in fixing problems, cities took advantage of demolishing established communities. In some circumstances, the university was the cause of the surrounding blight, as noted by author Davarian Baldwin regarding Columbia University in New York: “Columbia has basically blighted the neighborhood by buying it up and by keeping most of what they bought vacant.”²²¹

Although Section 112 provided some funding to secure land to build educational facilities, the Federal Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 provided loans and direct

²¹⁹ Carolina Research and Development Foundation, Board of Directors Meeting, 1969.

²²⁰ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, 1963.

²²¹ Baldwin, *In the Shadow*.

grants to construct the actual educational facilities.²²² Both the Carolina Coliseum and Blatt Physical Education (P.E.) Center provided academic classroom space, with the College of Journalism and College of General Studies housed in the Coliseum, whereas the Blatt P.E. Center housed what was then known as the USC College of Health and Physical Education, thus making them eligible for additional funding.²²³

Ultimately, federal funding for the Carolina Coliseum and Solomon Blatt P.E. Center was a result of the university, City of Columbia, and CHA working together to secure funds. The following are only a few of the other options they leveraged to fund construction efforts: institution bonds in 1966 and 1967; state revenue notes; City of Columbia and Richland County funds; a Title I Grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Plant Improvement Fund bonds.²²⁴ In pursuing federal funds, the university obtained almost \$1 million from Title I of the Federal Higher Education Act of 1965 for academic facilities purposely constructed under the Coliseum seat risers.²²⁵ In addition, the university netted a Title III loan of \$1.33 million.²²⁶

It should also be recognized that urban renewal laws were unique in South Carolina. At the time, it was the only state with a public reuse requirement. It was particularly difficult to substantiate what reuse meant in South Carolina laws, but further research of present-day legalese suggests that employing these methods resulted in the following sequence of events. An agency would sell property to the preferred developer

²²² Bender, *The University and the City*.

²²³ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30-Q6-Q18, 1968-1983.

²²⁴ USC Archives.

²²⁵ USC Archives.

²²⁶ USC Archives.

based on its fair reuse value as established by a reuse appraisal.²²⁷ The process established a value for the property based on the development cost of the project and the need to produce a reasonable return.²²⁸ However, if the fair reuse value was negative (i.e., a blighted property), the property would be sold for zero dollars.²²⁹ Therefore, the process of fair reuse incentivized state agencies to work with private developers to identify economic blight, because both entities would financially benefit while addressing blight-reduction goals. This policy made it beneficial for the university to work with the city and CHA to identify blighted property and acquire and develop the land.

2.8 CAROLINA COLISEUM AND BLATT P.E. CENTER HISTORY

In 1964, the concept for Memorial Hall (what is now known as the Carolina Coliseum) was only beginning to take shape. The Coliseum was fully realized as a multipurpose structure by 1968, but much had to transpire in those 4 years to make this a reality, including an unfortunate fire in 1968 at the Carolina Field House, which had been built in 1927. The loss of the Carolina Field House accelerated construction of the arena.²³⁰ Building Memorial Hall was seen as a benefit not only to USC but also the City of Columbia, which at the time lacked a large-capacity facility to host events, according to USC's president at the time, Thomas Jones, who expanded on this belief:

For years, the University of South Carolina had needed a first-rate facility for intercollegiate athletics and student assemblies. Because of its spectacular growth, the University has constant need for additional space. The City of Columbia, surrounding counties and, indeed, the entire State of South Carolina had, for a long time, needed a versatile arena with large audience capability in a central location to serve the cultural and entertainment needs of a growing community.

²²⁷ "Creekside Redevelopment Project," *Urban Renewal Agency of the City of Caldwell, Idaho*, published 2019, <https://www.cityofcaldwell.org/home/showdocument?id=12724>.

²²⁸ "Creekside Redevelopment Project."

²²⁹ "Creekside Redevelopment Project."

²³⁰ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963.

Happily, all of these needs could be focused and largely satisfied with the development of the Carolina Coliseum.²³¹

The purpose of Memorial Hall was often debated, especially in terms of which aspect needed to take priority. The facility was always meant to serve a general purpose to promote athletic, academic, cultural, and civic events; yet as a university building, all university events took precedence—and due to the popularity of men’s basketball, athletics often seemed to take priority.²³² Use of the Coliseum was even incorporated into a supplemental agreement of Coach Frank McGuire’s contract (i.e., priority use for games and practice, 100 complimentary tickets per game).²³³ Ultimately, however Memorial Hall ended up being used proportionally, the multipurpose concept qualified the project for a much larger federal grant, thus setting in motion events that included collaboration with various state and local entities to bring these plans into reality. For example, President Jones submitted a supplemental application for a grant under Title I of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 for construction of academic facilities in Memorial Hall requesting \$441,626.²³⁴

In 1971, construction began on the Blatt P.E. Center. The center was constructed on land obtained through an urban renewal effort known as SC R-2, the acquisition of six blocks south of Blossom Street.²³⁵ The construction project was divided into two phases; the estimated cost was \$2.3 million for Phase I and about \$3 million for Phase II.²³⁶ Phase I was designed in the late 1960s after the old Carolina Field House burned down and it

²³¹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963.

²³² USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 29.

²³³ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Supplemental Agreement, Box 4, 1970.

²³⁴ USC Archives, Records-Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1968-1969.

²³⁵ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 29.

²³⁶ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, USC PE Center Ad Hoc Advisory Committee, Box 8, 1970-1971.

was decided that intercollegiate basketball would move to the Carolina Coliseum. The Blatt facility was supposed to house the academic programs formerly housed in the Carolina Field House. Phase II of the Blatt P.E. Center began in 1975 and focused on constructing a regulation-size basketball court.²³⁷

The Athletics Department also contributed \$250,000 in funds to the Blatt project to pay for swimming pool seats and team locker rooms. The Blatt Center was designed to accommodate three functions: academic space (e.g., faculty offices, classrooms, limited laboratories); intramural and recreational space (e.g., staff offices, sports rooms, multiuse rooms); and intercollegiate athletics (e.g., swimming pool, closed basketball practice court, general-purpose gym with spectator stands).²³⁸

Although the Athletics Department had planned to only use the Blatt Center for the swim team and occasional basketball practice, due to the requirements of Amateur Athletic Union facilities specifications, its plans expanded.²³⁹ Additionally, the 1970s brought to the forefront a new emphasis on women's intercollegiate athletics, which were mostly housed in the Blatt Center.²⁴⁰ Further, the addition of an intercollegiate soccer program took over a former intramural field.²⁴¹

2.9 THE WARD ONE NEIGHBORHOOD

Once funds were secured and construction plans were in place, the need to relocate residents emerged. The primary land acquisition needed for building Memorial Hall, or the Carolina Coliseum, was a neighborhood referred to as Ward One. Ward One

²³⁷ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 29.

²³⁸ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, USC Physical Education Facilities History, Box 8, 1970-1971.

²³⁹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, USC Physical Education Facilities History, Box 8, 1970-1971.

²⁴⁰ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, USC Physical Education Facilities History, Box 8, 1970-1971.

²⁴¹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, USC Physical Education Facilities History, Box 8, 1970-1971.

was a predominantly Black neighborhood by the 1930s, with most residents working as skilled and unskilled laborers at warehouses, mills, and railroads or in domestic jobs.²⁴² The name Ward One refers to the first voting ward that designated the area, but it was also known as the Glencoe or East Glencoe area.²⁴³ The Ward One neighborhood encompassed much more than the land on which the Carolina Coliseum now sits (see Figure 2.1). Extending from Huger, Heyward, Main and Gervais streets, Ward One is now the site of the university's Coliseum, Strom Thurmond Wellness and Fitness Center, Greek Village, Colonial Life Arena, Darla Moore School of Business, and several academic and apartment buildings.

²⁴² Richland Public Library Census Records.

²⁴³ Sophie Kahler and Conor Harrison, "'Wipe Out the Entire Slum Area': University-Led Urban Renewal in Columbia, South Carolina, 1950–1985," *Journal of Historical Geography* 67 (2020): 61-70.



The urban renewal project in this area was coded SC R-5 and sought to acquire land from not only private residents but also Celia Saxon Elementary School, businesses, and churches (e.g., Union Baptist Church, St. Luke Baptist Church). The city declared Ward One the most blighted neighborhood in the city, alongside Arsenal Hill.²⁴⁴

Accordingly, the university had a provision stating,

It is considered that the temporary relocation of persons living in the University of South Carolina Extension No. 2, Urban Renewal Area SC R-5, and also the method for providing (unless already available) decent, safe and sanitary dwelling to be cleared from such area, at rents within the financial reach of the income groups displaced from such substandard dwellings, will be feasible.²⁴⁵

2.10 THE WHEELER HILL NEIGHBORHOOD

The primary land acquisition needed for building Solomon Blatt P.E. Center was the Wheeler Hill neighborhood. The Wheeler Hill neighborhood was established sometime in the 1870s, when Ezra Wheeler purchased real estate and built a home on what was then known as Pickens Hill.²⁴⁶ The area was named after him, and in 1871, he sold a piece of land to St. James African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church for a dollar, declaring in the deed that the land was only to be used for an AME church.²⁴⁷ By 1950, the neighborhood was home to more than 200 families,²⁴⁸ two churches, and more than 40 businesses, including two small grocery stores, a bar, a dry-cleaning establishment, and a beauty shop in a private residence.²⁴⁹ It was also home to Booker T. Washington

²⁴⁴ Sophie Kahler, “The Evolution of Columbia’s Neighborhoods: 1937 to Present,” Senior thesis (University of South Carolina, 2021).

²⁴⁵ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Urban Renewal, Box 27.

²⁴⁶ Dorothy P. Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems” (University of South Carolina, 1987).

²⁴⁷ Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems”; Brenna Reilly, “Church Draws upon Its Roots,” *The State*, August 8, 1996.

²⁴⁸ USC Archives.

²⁴⁹ USC Archives; Janice E. Jones, “Environmental Cognition and Satisfaction, Wheeler Hill, Columbia, South Carolina,” (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 1976).

High School. Clear boundaries existed between Black and white spaces, as follows: to the east, a high, vine-covered wall with a sign reading “Keep Out” separated Wheeler Hill residents from two affluent white neighborhoods, Wales Garden and Myrtle Court.²⁵⁰ To the north on the north side of Wheat St. a still-to-be-desegregated USC, and to the west, an industrial area that did not employ Blacks served as borders.²⁵¹ To the south were two white establishments, the Purple Onion club and the American Legion post.²⁵²

Esteemed Wheeler Hill resident Dr. Dorothy Perry Thompson (1944–2002), accomplished poet, and writer, expressed this divide in one of her poems, entitled “Wheeler Hill” (see Appendix A). The following is an excerpt:

Everything’s serious now
Wish I could go back to the time
When we laughed all over Barnwell Street
‘Cause Tank tore his pant
When he tried to climb the fence
To see what the white folks were doing
In those big, brick houses on the other side.
They had a sign on our side.
KEEP OUT, it read And we did...²⁵³

The poem in its entirety expresses Thompson’s frustration at USC both in terms of the university’s physical and psychological impact on the Wheeler Hill community, particularly it’s young people.²⁵⁴ Dr. Thompson also reflected back on being a six-year-old and coming to the realization that she could not cross Wheat Street at the bottom of Wheeler Hill.²⁵⁵ She states, “That was the dividing line between our territory and the

²⁵⁰ Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems.”

²⁵¹ Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems.”

²⁵² Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems”; Jones, “Environmental Cognition and Satisfaction.”

²⁵³ Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems.”

²⁵⁴ Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems.”

²⁵⁵ Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems.”

University of South Carolina campus.”²⁵⁶ In her PhD dissertation titled *Wheeler Hill and Other Poems*, Thompson described the neighborhood as having “a rich cross-section of types: bootleggers, midwives, schoolteachers, postmen, drunks, and cab drivers.”²⁵⁷

As early as 1968 Vice President Brunton discussed with President Jones that located on the corner of Marion and Wheat Streets will be the first phase of a physical education and recreation complex.²⁵⁸ The location of Wheeler Hill neighborhood (see Figure 2.2) is now the site of Solomon Blatt P.E. Center, tennis courts and athletic fields, Bates and Bates West residence halls, and Booker T. Washington Auditorium. The urban renewal project in this area was coded as SC R-11, and within 5 years, the university acquired the entire area and cleared the residents with approximately \$1 million.²⁵⁹ The project compounded ill will toward the university in Columbia’s Black community, which was already angered by the university’s long refusal to admit Black students.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems.”

²⁵⁷ Thompson, “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems.”

²⁵⁸ USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, Faculty Minutes, July 17, 1968.

²⁵⁹ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

²⁶⁰ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.



Figure 2.2. USC Map of Wheeler Hill Neighborhood

Additionally, Blacks were limited in their ability to move because they were restricted by de jure housing discrimination (i.e., legalized segregation of Black and white people) including mortgage redlining (i.e., the practice of denying a person a housing loan in a certain neighborhood even if they had good credit and were eligible for the loan); racially restrictive covenants (i.e., a seller's or real estate agent's promise to prohibit racial, ethnic, and religious minority groups from buying, leasing, or occupying homes); and unfair lending practices.²⁶¹ A federal agency, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), created "residential security" maps of major U.S. cities (see Figure 2.3) that documented how loan officers, appraisers, and real estate professionals should

²⁶¹ Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright, 2017).

evaluate mortgage lending risk.²⁶² HOLC gave color codes to rate sections: A was green (“Best”), B was blue (“Still Desirable”), C was yellow (“Definitely Declining”), and D was red (“Hazardous”).²⁶³

-A was almost always upper or upper middle class white neighborhoods, posed minimal risk for banks and other mortgage lenders, were “ethnically homogenous” and had room for further development.

-B was nearly or completely white, U.S. born neighborhoods and considered sound investments for mortgage lenders.

-C was often working class and/or first or second-generation immigrants from Europe, these areas often lacked utilities and were characterized by older buildings.

-D was considered “undesirable populations” such as Jewish, Asian, Mexican, and Black families.²⁶⁴

²⁶² “Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC) Neighborhood Redlining Grade,” *ArcGIS Online*, published November 10, 2022, <https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=063cdb28dd3a449b92bc04f904256f62>.

²⁶³ “Home Owners’ Loan Corporation.”

²⁶⁴ “Home Owners’ Loan Corporation.”

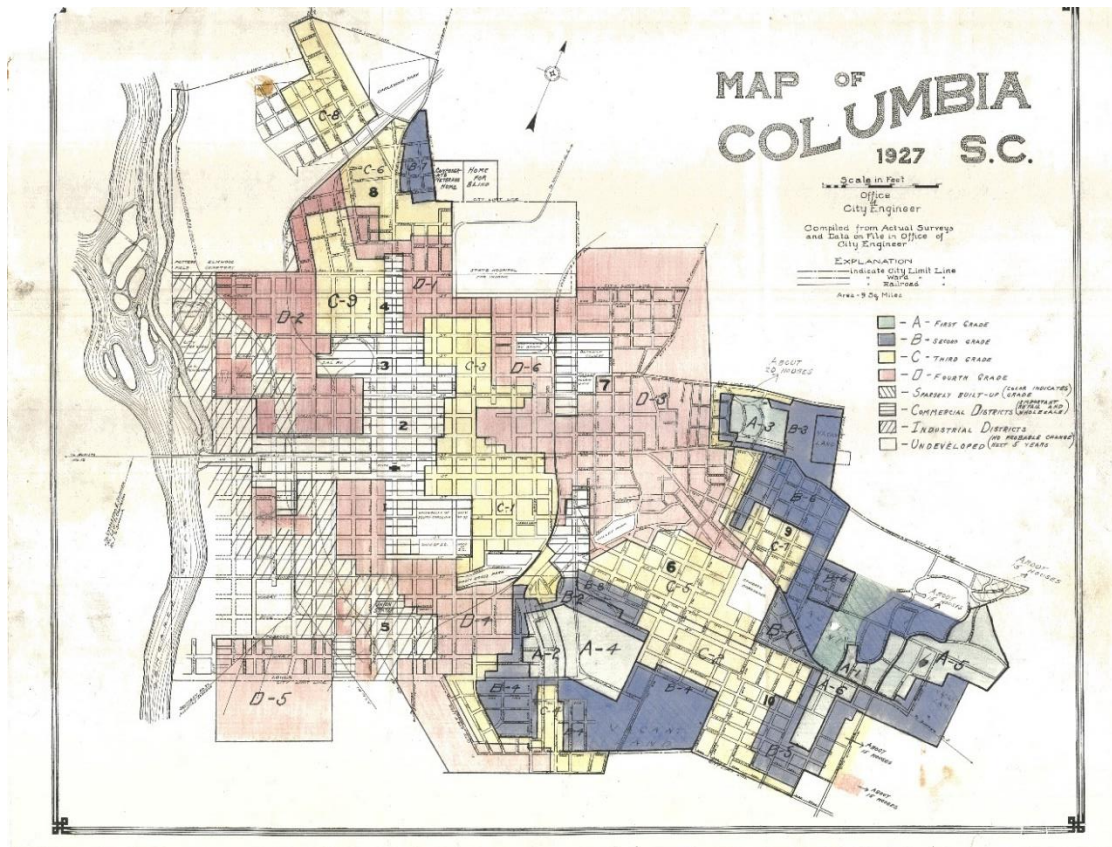


Figure 2.3 HOLC Map of Columbia, SC

Note: This HOLC map represents how local real estate developers and appraisers assigned grades to residential neighborhoods.²⁶⁵

Neighborhoods labeled as high risk or “hazardous” were often redlined by lending institutions, which prevented residents from improving their housing conditions and curtailing their economic opportunity.²⁶⁶

At the time, prominent civil rights activist Modjeska Monteith Simkins protested the Wheeler Hill urban renewal project, highlighting the questionable and inequitable land-purchasing practices that resulted in Black residents being paid as little as 40 cents

²⁶⁵ “Home Owners’ Loan Corporation”; The University of Richmond’s Digital Scholarship Lab mapped the location of urban renewal projects in Columbia, South Carolina, and around the nation.

²⁶⁶ Robert K. Nelson et al., “Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America,” in *American Panorama*, eds. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed November 10, 2022, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/>.

per square foot for land whereas white residents received \$1.50 per square foot.²⁶⁷

Additionally, Wheeler Hill was not entirely used for its urban renewal purpose, because a portion of funding went to redevelop an upscale residential area.²⁶⁸ The university, with the assistance of the City of Columbia, used its funds to obtain property in the Wheeler Hill neighborhood.²⁶⁹ CHA authoring head John A. Chase (the former dean of administration at the university) called the project “the largest-ever gift to the University.”²⁷⁰

It is also noteworthy that in 1974, the university, via the Carolina Research and Development Foundation (CRDF), bought a Columbia landmark, the Booker T. Washington High School complex, along Blossom Street.²⁷¹ This high school, which was the first public Black high school in the state, wielded a lot of support from the Black community in terms of strong family and community ties.²⁷² However, it was also surrounded by USC’s campus and needed to be dealt with by the university. Interestingly, the coveted USC Horseshoe (now used to host events like ESPN’s College Gameday) is paved with salvaged bricks from the high school.²⁷³ Much could be said about the statement the university sent by removing these bricks and using them in the manner it did, demonstrating a lack of understanding or concern for the Black community.

²⁶⁷ Monteith Simkins, Manuscripts of the Richland County, Folder 4.

²⁶⁸ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

²⁶⁹ USC Archives.

²⁷⁰ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

²⁷¹ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

²⁷² Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

²⁷³ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

2.11 LACK OF SUPPORT FOR DISPLACED BLACK COMMUNITY MEMBERS

The federal urban renewal program required that all projects have a long-range development plan, including a “workable program” to relocate displaced residents before funding could be approved. CHA passed a resolution in 1965 to reimburse property owners for the cost of moving expenses and loss of property value.²⁷⁴ According to the federal government: (a) a relocation payment was to be issued for reasonable and necessary moving expenses and property loss or a fixed payment according to a schedule to be posted; and (b) a relocation adjustment payment was to be provided if eligible under the regulations (e.g., aged 62 years old or older on the date they moved from the urban renewal area).²⁷⁵ These payments applied to few of the Ward One residents, and renters received no assistance.²⁷⁶ In 1959, multiple university urban renewal projects were taking place simultaneously and CHA stated publicly that it had enough affordable housing to accommodate relocating residents; however, to add insult to injury, by 1967, the city faced a housing shortage, which resulted in CHA requesting permission to build 800 more public housing units.²⁷⁷ At that time, more than 1,000 residents were on the city’s waitlist for housing.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ Ashley N. Bouknight, “Casualty of Progress”: The Ward One Community and Urban Renewal, Columbia, South Carolina, 1964-1974,” Master’s thesis (University of South Carolina, 2010).

²⁷⁵ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Major Legislation on Housing and Urban Development Enacted Since 1932*, published June 2014, https://www.hud.gov/sites/documents/LEGS_CHRON_JUNE2014.PDF.

²⁷⁶ Patricia G. McNeely, “East Glencoe Relocations Progressing Satisfactorily,” *The Columbia Record*, January 21, 1970.

²⁷⁷ McNeely, “East Glencoe Relocations Progressing Satisfactorily.”

²⁷⁸ Jones, “Environmental Cognition and Satisfaction.”

During urban renewal in Columbia, many voices of everyday residents, those directly affected, were never captured. For instance, Brunton stated regarding the urban renewal projects,

We had a required public hearing--nobody came--so we assumed the “public” approved the plan. Surprisingly, it was not until we announced the start of our first construction project that we finally had some negative reaction. I guess people had become so used to having plans announced that never materialized that they considered them all theoretical or hypothetical.²⁷⁹

University records provide evidence that legal notices were provided but were often done in ways that made them almost impossible to find unless you knew to look for them. For example, while the required legal notice for a public hearing was advertised on October 23, 1960, Thomas Faris, USC Director of Planning, communicated to CHA head John Chase, “As there is no law to my knowledge which would require multiple advertisements and as our previous handling of the public hearing was satisfactory to the Federal Government, I plan to advertise only one time in *The State* on the hearing on the new Campus Development Plan.”²⁸⁰

In a later urban renewal project, the university in coordination with the city scheduled a public hearing on May 19, 1965, to take place at City Hall; however, if community members wanted to examine maps, documents, or plans they were required to go to the University South Carolina Administration Building where items would be available for at least ten days prior to the hearing.²⁸¹ As I have discussed, space is highly contentious, Black children could not even walk across USC’s campus to their homes or parents’ workplace. Blacks were expected to walk around, not through the campus and

²⁷⁹ Brunton, *A Memoir of the Restoration*.

²⁸⁰ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Urban Renewal, Box 29.

²⁸¹ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Urban Renewal, Box 29

walk around Statehouse grounds, further the university had just desegregated in 1963. So, the notion that Blacks would feel comfortable coming on campus to view these documents or see the one advertisement about the public hearing is unlikely. It is hard to imagine that any pushback on behalf of Black residents to an urban renewal project supported by the trifecta—USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA—would have resulted in anything other than what eventually materialized.

2.12 UNIVERSITY AND CITY COLLABORATION

The Housing Acts of 1954, 1959, and 1961 allowed more federal funding to be used for nonresidential projects, which encouraged the use of urban renewal in the expansion of universities in cities.²⁸² The City of Columbia, CHA, and USC worked in concert with one another, yet each with its own economic interests in mind. Working together, they applied for federal urban renewal funds to demolish predominately Black neighborhoods situated around USC's campus.²⁸³

²⁸² Jon C. Teafor, "Urban Renewal and its Aftermath," *Housing Policy Debate* 11, no. 2 (2000): 443-465.

²⁸³ USC Archives.

NOTICE OF PUBLIC HEARING

Notice of Public Hearing on the University of South Carolina Campus Development Plan, as Amended, Columbia, South Carolina

The Mayor and City Council of the City of Columbia, South Carolina will hold a public hearing on the University of South Carolina Campus Development Plan as Amended at 11 o'clock A.M., on May 19, 1965 at the City Council Chamber, City Hall, Columbia, South Carolina.

The purpose of such hearing is to consider the proposed amendments to the existing Campus Development Plan. The Campus Development Plan as Amended with such maps, plans or other documents as form a part of said proposal shall be available for public inspection in Room 221, Administration Building, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina for at least ten days prior to the hearing.

Any person or organization desiring to be heard will be afforded an opportunity to be heard at such hearing.

Lester L. Bates
Mayor

Hyman Rubin
Councilman

R. E. L. Freeman
Councilman

W. C. Ouzts
Councilman

William H. Tuller
Councilman

From the collections of the South Caroliniana
Library, University of South Carolina.
Permission to publish required.



Share with us on social media: @uofscariniana

*Per H.B. after
meeting with
Burnett.
city should run
this. Brian
May 5, 65*

Figure 2.4 Notice of Public Hearing on the USC Campus Development Plan

The City of Columbia utilized eminent domain, which is the legal right of a government to compensate a private owner after seizing their land for public use, such as roads and public utilities. However, a property or neighborhood must be deemed “blighted” before a state authority can invoke eminent domain for urban renewal.²⁸⁴ Those supportive of blight and slum clearance perceived that blight was self-inflicted and slum conditions were the result of a lack of personal initiative from homeowners, landlords, and tenants to maintain their housing conditions.²⁸⁵

There were strong financial incentives for pursuing demolition over rehabilitation. For every public housing unit financed by the federal government, one “slum unit” had to be demolished.²⁸⁶ In essence, cities were incentivized to identify blight to establish new public housing units financed by the federal government in more “desirable” locations.²⁸⁷ According to the Congressional Record, as part of the general urban renewal program, universities did not have carte blanche to clear any territory; instead, determining areas for clearance had to be done under the supervision of the city, in accordance with the city plan, and as part of an approved local program.²⁸⁸ Basically, the federal grant directives made it impossible for universities not to collude with their respective cities. Everyone had to be on the same page about the long-term vision of the university and city, who should ultimately benefit, and what needed to be done to make their vision a reality.

²⁸⁴ Baldwin, *In the Shadow*.

²⁸⁵ USC Archives.

²⁸⁶ Emily Talen, “Housing Demolition during Urban Renewal,” *City & Community* 13, no. 3 (2014): 233-253.

²⁸⁷ Talen, “Housing Demolition during Urban Renewal.”

²⁸⁸ John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County: A South Carolina Community, 1740-1990* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).

For the City of Columbia, it seems the thought process was that by pushing Black residents out of the city center, the city could attract more businesses and corporations with a strong tax base downtown,²⁸⁹ whereas for USC, there was an opportunity to create a “buffer” zone between the university and community²⁹⁰ and also to make a profit on redevelopment,²⁹¹ either through building sports and physical education centers that would host athletics events or through student housing accommodations. USC took a common approach used by other universities at the time to create a private company that could assess and acquire property on its behalf. President Jones, Harold Brunton, and C. Wallace Martin chartered the CRDF, a private corporation designed to promote USC’s physical expansion.²⁹² Unlike much of the literature on urban renewal that showcases conflict between municipalities and universities regarding university expansion due to the loss of taxable property once land is owned by the university,²⁹³ USC and the City of Columbia seemed to have a mutually beneficial relationship as it related to urban renewal projects. I believe this was facilitated by the interconnected political networks and dual roles of many administrators at the university and in government or the private sector. Further, while much is made to justify why the CRDF is a private entity separate and apart from the university there is evidence that when the CRDF needed money to secure land they did not just rely on funds from private donors. A memorandum from Vice President Brunton to Mr. Howard Rhodes on June 27, 1967, confirms an agreement that

²⁸⁹ Brandt et al., *USC South Campus*.

²⁹⁰ Carolina Research and Development Foundation, Board of Directors Meeting, 1969.

²⁹¹ Brandt et al., *USC South Campus*.

²⁹² Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

²⁹³ Bender, *The University and the City*.

the Athletic Department would make available up to \$200,000 to the CRDF to be used to purchases land around the Carolina Coliseum.²⁹⁴

2.13 URBAN RENEWAL, ATHLETICS, AND DESEGREGATION

The construction of the Carolina Coliseum and Solomon Blatt P.E. Center are model cases to understand the coalescing of urban renewal, athletics, and desegregation at USC. According to university records, most of the designated urban renewal area under development during this time was for physical education facilities and athletics fields.²⁹⁵ However, there was no guarantee that all funds would go towards athletics expansion; Warren Giese (former USC head football coach and professor and dean of USC's College of Health and Physical Education) explained, "The actual go-ahead on the expansion [Blatt P.E. Center] depends entirely on student utilization of the complex."²⁹⁶ Yet as interest in sports continued to grow nationally and USC started to become known as a sports school, the expansion efforts continued. The Blatt P.E. Center development project, which was a 66,000-square-foot, three-story, multimillion-dollar investment, met the athletics needs of the university and the sports marketing effort to engage the local community in supporting USC's sports teams.²⁹⁷ The USC BOT decided the building was to be formally dedicated to House Speaker Blatt in 1973.²⁹⁸ USC also created a new women's athletics program that would primarily use the Blatt facilities.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1966-1967.

²⁹⁵ USC Archives, Vice President of Operations, 1954-1989, Box 30.

²⁹⁶ S. Borough, "University Opens New PE Facilities," *The Gamecock*, October 11, 1971.

²⁹⁷ USC Archives.

²⁹⁸ Brandt et al., *USC South Campus*.

²⁹⁹ USC Archives.

The ability to build new facilities was also used as a bargaining chip to get talent like Frank McGuire, who took the USC men's basketball head coach job. At the time, in the late 1950s, USC, Clemson University, and the University of Virginia were the only ACC schools to have outdated arenas.³⁰⁰ Yet McGuire was a nationally renowned coach, having coached at St. John's University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, along with one year in the National Basketball Association. Blatt Sr. promised McGuire that construction on the new Coliseum would be getting underway soon.³⁰¹

The need to compete was a common driving force for both urban renewal efforts and desegregation. Desegregation made the need for modernization imperative as predominantly white colleges and universities in South Carolina and nationwide began to compete with one another and Southern historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) for the best and brightest African American students.³⁰² Any universities that wanted to receive urban renewal funds were required to comply with federal regulations. Under Title VI, federal departments and agencies could only provide federal assistance if public schools met their respective department or agency regulations.³⁰³ Special attention at this time was paid to Section 601:

No person in the United States shall, on grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Dan Klores, *Roundball Culture: South Carolina Basketball* (Hunstville: AM Press, 1980).

³⁰¹ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

³⁰² Christina Jackson, "The Effect of Urban Renewal on Fragmented Social and Political Engagement in Urban Environments," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 41, no. 4 (2019): 503-517.

³⁰³ "Education and Title VI," *U.S. Department of Education*, published January 10, 2020, accessed November 20, 2022, <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/hq43e4.html>.

³⁰⁴ "Title VI, Civil Rights Act of 1964," *U.S. Department of Labor*, accessed November 20, 2022, <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/oasam/regulatory/statutes/title-vi-civil-rights-act-of-1964>.

As such, HEIs that wanted to receive funding had to comply by desegregating their campuses. Correspondence between USC administrators present at the time makes it clear that although the decision to desegregate seemed untenable³⁰⁵, it would be necessary if the university wanted to receive federal funds. Additionally, to avoid the violence that had taken place at many other Southern institutions, administrators would have to get the student body on board as well. The dean of students, Charles Whitten, stated,

The Board of Trustees wasn't going to do anything unless they were forced to do it and I wrote a letter I remember to each student who had been admitted to the university for the fall of '63, which in essence said we don't want to do this but we know it's going to happen and so the Board of Trustees has made this statement, which I wrote for them, and we're going to do it and we're going to do it right. If you feel you cannot go to a school that's also attended by colored students, don't come. I wrote another letter to all returning students, which in essence said the same thing.³⁰⁶

Racial attitudes prevalent prior to segregation held after desegregation. Whether in everyday interactions via student life or for athletes on the playing field, Blacks had to confront stereotypes that they were not fit to be on campus in any capacity, as recounted by Oliver Washington Jr., a Black USC student government member³⁰⁷:

It is very hard for blacks to attend a university that exploits their talents and isolates them from campus life. Time is past for blacks to play their hearts out on Saturday and be ignored and unappreciated the rest of the week.

As Dancy et al. stated, "for a black man to exist within higher education as a thinking being is oxymoronic in the white psyche."³⁰⁸ Blacks were deemed ill-suited to be

³⁰⁵ Charles Whitten, Interview 30, South Carolina Oral History Collection.

³⁰⁶ Charles Whitten, Interview 30, South Carolina Oral History Collection.

³⁰⁷ *The Gamecock*, December 11, 1970.

³⁰⁸ T. Elon Dancy, Kirsten T. Edwards, and James Earl Davis, "Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics: Anti-Blackness and Higher Education in the Black Lives Matter Era," *Urban Education* 53, no. 2 (2018): 176-195.

students, athletes or even fans. According to the Charlotte Observer, one of the students who initially desegregated the university Robert G. Anderson said, “We were told that we could attend the games, but we were advised not to for our own safety.”³⁰⁹

Nationally, white athletics departments benefited tremendously from desegregation by infusing their teams with Black athletes.³¹⁰ However, during early integration of collegiate sports, a strict quota system was in place.³¹¹ Blacks were limited to a few positions and if multiple black players were on a team, they all played the same position.³¹² Ultimately, there was a fear in college athletics that although teams of predominately Black players may win more games, white customers may refuse to support those institutions financially, and efforts were made to lobby for an ethnic makeup deemed suitable for their schools’ sports programs.³¹³

2.14 HIGHER EDUCATION

Prior to the 1800s, the purpose of higher education starting in the 1600s was to serve the elite by developing the intellect and character of students.³¹⁴ During this colonial period, higher education consisted of seminaries and liberal arts colleges.³¹⁵ In contrast, by the 1800s, state universities like the University of Georgia, established in 1785 and opened in 1800, were being conceptualized to promote social improvement.³¹⁶

³⁰⁹ USC Archives, William Patterson, A-Depts-D, Box 1, 1963-1964.

³¹⁰ Billy Hawkins, *The New Plantation: Black Athletes, College Sports, and Predominantly White NCAA Institutions* (New York: Springer, 2010).

³¹¹ Hawkins, *The New Plantation*.

³¹² Hawkins, *The New Plantation*.

³¹³ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

³¹⁴ Thomas Ehrlich, ed., *Civic Responsibility and Higher Education* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000).

³¹⁵ Carolyn D. Roper and Marilyn A. Hirth, “A History of Change in the Third Mission of Higher Education: The Evolution of One-Way Service to Interactive Engagement,” *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 10, no. 3 (2005): 3-21.

³¹⁶ John D. Pulliam and James J. Van Patten, *History of Education in America*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Merrill, 1995).

From this point forward, nation building and higher education became inextricably linked due to the government's forcible taking, then selling of land and establishing land-grant colleges.

The passage of the Morrill Act in 1862 created colleges to serve the needs of agriculture, industry, and business and was the foundation for many state university systems.³¹⁷ The Morrill Act was the first major federal funding initiative for higher education, resulting in the establishment of land-grant universities under the auspices of promoting equality and opportunity for education to U.S. citizens (i.e., white, male, Christian).³¹⁸ These HWCUs were established by the Morrill Act, a policy presented as race neutral in its language, but which charged states to enact the policy, resulting in most states excluding Blacks.³¹⁹ USC was one of a small number of Southern colleges that did not explicitly exclude Blacks from 1873–1877.³²⁰

Scholars use the term HWCU to explicitly refer to race, and although it is not a widely used term, it further suggests how white spaces are normed differently than HBCUs.³²¹ A HWCU, commonly referred to as a predominately white institution (PWI), is an HEI conferring academic degrees that has historically restricted enrollment to those who are racialized as white.³²² As such, the term *historically* acknowledges how certain white supremacy ideologies were instrumental in these institutions, which were founded

³¹⁷ Janice M. Beyer and David R. Hannah, "The Cultural Significance of Athletics in US Higher Education," *Journal of Sport Management* 14, no. 2 (2000): 105-132.

³¹⁸ Deondra Rose, "The Morrill Land Grant Acts and the Roots of Higher Educational Opportunity for African-Americans" (Presentation, Annual Meeting of the International Public Policy Association, 2017).

³¹⁹ Rose, "The Morrill Land Grant Acts."

³²⁰ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

³²¹ USC Archives.

³²² Stebleton and Alexio (2015), as cited in Candice Shields Fleming Powell, "Black (Counter-) Storytelling at an HWCU: Students and Personnel Coping with Racial Tension in 2020," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2021).

to educate, serve, and advance the social status of white men.³²³ Today, institutions find it valuable to highlight diversity, even when it results in the exploitation of Black athletes³²⁴; as a result, HWCUs tend to perpetuate their embeddedness in privileging whiteness, which is evidenced in how people of color are represented in the academy. Representation of people of color is dictated by the constraints of admission policies and the lackluster persistence, graduation, and attrition rates of Black athletes in particular.³²⁵ In this study, in alignment with CRT principles, I use HWCU instead of predominately white institution to bring attention to the white supremacist logic undergirding the foundation of these institutions.

William Rainey Harper, the first president of the University of Chicago, stated that the university is embedded in the issues and life of urban America, with the purpose of serving the city and country and fulfilling the university's democratic promise.³²⁶ Yet the history of U.S. higher education reflects a deep commitment to Black degradation as fundamental to the maintenance of a colonial order.³²⁷ Universities played a role in the elimination of Indigenous people, stealing land, and creating new wealth systems, which are fundamental organizing principles of the settler colonial project.³²⁸ As transdisciplinary scholar Leigh Patel suggests, settler colonialism is a "structure that

³²³ Lori D. Patton, "Disrupting Postsecondary Prose: Toward a Critical Race Theory of Higher Education," *Urban Education* 51, no. 3 (2016): 315-342.

³²⁴ Joseph N. Cooper, "Personal Troubles and Public Issues: A Sociological Imagination of Black Athletes' Experiences at Predominantly White Institutions in the United States," *Sociology Mind* 2, no. 3 (2012): 261-271.

³²⁵ Cooper, "Personal Troubles and Public Issues."

³²⁶ Lee Benson et al., *Knowledge for Social Change* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2022).

³²⁷ Michael J. Dumas, "Against the Dark: Antiblackness in Education Policy and Discourse," *Theory Into Practice* 55, no. 1 (2016): 11-19.

³²⁸ Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387-409.

arranges people relative to land, recast as property, and relative to each other, in the quest for empire.”³²⁹ Therefore, it should not be surprising that we see these same social structures deeply rooted in university departments. Even with calls for reform, intercollegiate athletics leaves a lot to be desired in terms of equity in the treatment of student-athletes, funding disparities between academic and athletic departments, and the preferential treatment of sports as a social institution to the potential detriment of the larger community beyond the university.

Professor emeritus of kinesiology and physical education Donald Chu suggested that an ill-defined “charter” (i.e., a societally legitimized understanding of what the college and university should strive to do and how to reach those goals) created the perfect conditions for the incorporation of radically different programs such as athletics into the academic structure.³³⁰ As critical scholars, we understand that higher education is only one function of the university. The university continues to take on ever-expanding functions in knowledge production, knowledge transfer, relationship building with the state and society, etc.³³¹

2.15 PRESTIGE SEEKING

Colleges and universities have always strived to obtain national prominence to attract the best and brightest faculty members and students. One of the ways institutions aim to achieve a more prestigious status is by modeling themselves after institutions

³²⁹ Leigh Patel, *Decolonizing Educational Research: From Ownership to Answerability* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

³³⁰ Donald Chu, “The American Conception of Higher Education and the Formal Incorporation of Intercollegiate Sport,” *Quest* 34, no. 1 (1982): 53-71.

³³¹ Ronald Barnett, ed., *The Future University: Ideas and Possibilities* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

deemed more prestigious,³³² whether through mimicking a stringent research culture or offering certain types of programs and activities for students. Economics of education scholars Dominic Brewer, Susan Gates, and Charles Goldman have categorized HEIs into three types: prestigious, prestige seeking, or reputation building. Those at the top of the academic hierarchy, prestigious institutions, maintain their positions through acquiring resources.³³³ Institutions in the middle, those seeking prestige, actively invest and seek opportunities to enhance their prestige.³³⁴ Those at the bottom of the academic hierarchy, reputation building, are mostly tuition dependent and most likely to be responsive to students as customers.³³⁵

Based on their research, Brewer et al. posited that specific market activities help institutions build prestige, which they term prestige generators: student quality, research, and sports.³³⁶ Prestige seeking institutions typically have a substantial reputation in one or more of these areas.³³⁷ Additionally, prestige is what economists call a rival good, in other words the consumption of a good by an individual or institution keeps another from enjoying that good.³³⁸ Prestige is also a zero-sum game, as one institution rises in rankings another will fall in rankings.³³⁹ For schools that focus on student quality selectivity in admissions may be one way of achieving prestige, while schools that focus on research must attract top-tiered faculty to obtain research funding. Competitive sports

³³² Dominic J. Brewer, Susan M. Gates, and Charles A. Goldman, *In Pursuit of Prestige: Strategy and Competition in U.S. Higher Education* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2002).

³³³ KerryAnn O. Meara, "Striving for What? Exploring the Pursuit of Prestige," in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, ed. Laura W. Perna (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007): 121-179.

³³⁴ Meara, "Striving for What?"

³³⁵ Meara, "Striving for What?"

³³⁶ Brewer et al., *In Pursuit of Prestige*.

³³⁷ Brewer et al., *In Pursuit of Prestige*.

³³⁸ Brewer et al., *In Pursuit of Prestige*.

³³⁹ Brewer et al., *In Pursuit of Prestige*.

teams can build an institution's prestige through investing in physical facilities and achieving high rankings in national competitions.³⁴⁰ However, Brewer et al. found that the pursuit of prestige is expensive and risky because it requires continuously outcompeting the competition in which everyone is trying to achieve rising industry standards.³⁴¹ Furthermore, institutions' expenditures tend to be inversely related to their level of current prestige, in other words, less prestigious institutions feel the need to spend more money in one or more of these areas to keep up with other institutions.³⁴²

Competing for top tier faculty and students by building new academic buildings or student housing is more aligned with the traditional academic (e.g., education and research) mission of a university, compared to seeking top tier athletic talent to build a sports program. After World War II, universities engaged in research and development initiatives in collaboration with the private sector, which eventually shifted into industry-university partnerships focused on knowledge production.³⁴³ Sociologist Henry Etzkowitz has argued that universities have taken on a third mission in addition to education and research as entrepreneurial entities.³⁴⁴ Perhaps, the turn of universities from missions focused on producing knowledge for a public good to missions that include a profit-making venture is why universities have sought prestige through sport.

Finally, it is important to note that the costs and benefits of prestige seeking is not borne equally by all stakeholders, because many with a voice in resource-allocation

³⁴⁰ Brewer et al., *In Pursuit of Prestige*.

³⁴¹ Brewer et al., *In Pursuit of Prestige*.

³⁴² Brewer et al., *In Pursuit of Prestige*.

³⁴³ Philippe Laredo, "Revisiting the Third Mission of Universities: Toward a Renewed Categorization of University Activities?" *Higher Education Policy* 20 (2007): 441-456.

³⁴⁴ Laredo, "Revisiting the Third Mission."

decisions (e.g., administrators, tenure-track faculty members) enjoy the benefits of building prestige, whereas those with little input in how resources are allocated (e.g., students, adjunct faculty members, state taxpayers) bear the costs of those investments.³⁴⁵ Ultimately, as it relates to sports, there is a limited amount of prestige to be gained due to finite number of conference or national championships to be won.

When institutions seek to build prestige through prestige generators like sports, it is a costly investment, especially for big-time sports programs.³⁴⁶ Further, when institutions focus their resources on seeking prestige in sports, that also means those resources are being diverted away from other activities.³⁴⁷ In an increasingly competitive higher education environment, who decides how the institution seeks prestige and who ultimately benefits from engaging in the athletics arms race?

2.16 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As a result of this literature review, I developed the following research questions to guide a relevant inquiry into the urban renewal process used by USC as it sought to acquire land for athletics purposes: What role did USC administrators play in working with the City of Columbia and CHA in urban renewal efforts? How would community members displaced by USC's urban renewal describe efforts to build athletics and physical education venues and the impact on their lives? What role did the desire for athletics and physical education amenities play in university expansion efforts? These questions uniquely address university expansion efforts at a large, urban institution

³⁴⁵ Brewer et al., *In Pursuit of Prestige*.

³⁴⁶ Welch Suggs, "A Look at the Future Bottom Line of Big-Time Sports," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 46, no. 12 (1999).

³⁴⁷ Suggs, "A Look at the Future."

located in a Southern city, and centralize the potential role of athletics in decisions made during urban renewal. Addressing both aspects will contribute to closing a gap in the literature.

2.17 CONCLUSION

The literature review completed for this research study clearly demonstrates the power of understanding historical accounts of institutional decisions and how it affects present-day expansion. Additionally, it highlights the need for both an interdisciplinary and intersectional analysis to address some of HEIs' most-pressing social problems such as university expansion resulting in gentrification. I reviewed literature from higher education, intercollegiate sports, urban planning, city governance, law, real estate, and geography, to name a few. Most of the studies in these fields engaged in a critical examination of their discipline's role in exacerbating racial and social inequalities, even if only in the past 20 years. I believe it is imperative for higher education scholars to read beyond their own field to understand how policies and practices are developed and intersect with educational policies and practices. Part of the work of abolition is to refuse to design, plan, or build systems that divide and oppress communities³⁴⁸ while also examining our complicity in systems such as racial capitalism (e.g., capitalism that emerged in a Western civilization already infused with racism via slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide).

³⁴⁸ Bettina L. Love, *We Want to Do More Than Survive: Abolitionist Teaching and the Pursuit of Educational Freedom* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2019).

CHAPTER 3

INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Only in the United States are collegiate sports taken so seriously, given large sums of money, and engrained in the fabric of HEIs.³⁴⁹ Athletics functions as “cultural forms” that carry and further many cultural meanings (e.g., community, competition) and reflect cultural ideologies of the wider society.³⁵⁰ Therefore, athletics can reflect functional and dysfunctional aspects of society as well. Society’s notions of right and wrong challenges intercollegiate athletics to continually seek reform and right past wrongs (e.g., segregation, gender inequality). Even with calls for reform, intercollegiate athletics leaves a lot to be desired in terms of equity in the treatment of student-athletes,³⁵¹ funding disparities between academic and athletic departments,³⁵² and the seemingly preferential treatment of sports as the paramount social institution to the potential detriment of the larger community beyond the university.

Throughout the 19th and 20th century, sports culture diverged in European and U.S. contexts.³⁵³ In Europe, sports were organized by clubs and associations, whereas in

³⁴⁹ Beyer and Hannah, “The Cultural Significance.”

³⁵⁰ Beyer and Hannah, “The Cultural Significance.”

³⁵¹ Donna M. Desrochers, *Academic Spending versus Athletic Spending: Who Wins?* (Washington, DC: American Institutes for Research, 2013).

³⁵² Desrochers, *Academic Spending versus Athletic Spending*.

³⁵³ Maarten Van Bottenburg, “Why are the European and American Sports Worlds so Different? Path Dependence in European and American Sports History,” in *Sport and the Transformation of Modern Europe*, ed. Alan Tomlinson, Christopher Young, and Richard Holt (New York: Routledge, 2013), 217-237.

the United States, colleges and universities took on that role.³⁵⁴ As such, in the United States, sports became embedded into schooling, becoming highly competitive and achievement oriented because it was governed by faculty members and administrators who saw it as a way to bring prestige to their colleges.³⁵⁵

In no other country are intercollegiate athletics and formal education so closely tied.³⁵⁶ Sport scholar Donald Chu suggested that the lack of a clear understanding of the purpose of colleges and universities in the 19th century created an atmosphere where business-minded presidents and trustees, along with academicians, government leaders, and the general public, determined athletics would be a means to rectify financial and enrollment struggles.³⁵⁷ Due to the lack of clear purpose, financial instability, and flexibility of what was deemed acceptable in U.S. higher education, university leaders had to find ways to recruit students while also funding their institutions. For example, the University of Notre Dame used football as a public relations tool to recruit students.³⁵⁸ By developing a winning intercollegiate athletics program, institutions gained publicity, attracted and unified a diverse student population under a common cause (a winning university), and increased ticket sales to students and the public-at-large.³⁵⁹ Further, colleges and universities developed athletics departments, which are a uniquely U.S. postsecondary education anomaly.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁴ Van Bottenburg, "Why are the European and American."

³⁵⁵ Van Bottenburg, "Why are the European and American."

³⁵⁶ Beyer and Hannah, "The Cultural Significance."

³⁵⁷ Donald Chu, "Origins of the Connection of Physical Education and Athletics at the American University: An Organizational Interpretation," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (1979): 22-32.

³⁵⁸ Chu, "Origins of the Connection."

³⁵⁹ Chu, "Origins of the Connection."

³⁶⁰ Matt Hinton, "Billionaire Ball: Epitaph for the Student-Athlete," *The Baffler* 20 (2012): 106-115.

Judith Ramaley, who has served as president of several colleges and universities, stated that becoming an engaged university requires institutions to reexamine their expectations for themselves, their aspirations for students, and their relationships with their communities.³⁶¹ The culture and priorities of a HEI from the highest leadership levels down will determine what actions are taken and whom they ultimately benefit. Additionally, because universities are, in the terms of some organizational theorists, “organized anarchies,” leadership is that much more crucial.³⁶² Leaders must manage the expectations of multiple constituencies who may perceive the work of the university differently; thus, accommodating internal (e.g., boards of trustees) and external (e.g., state legislature) stakeholders may prove particularly challenging.³⁶³ For example, considering the highly bureaucratic nature of universities and how athletics are situated in and more often alongside them, with external budgets and autonomy in oversight, one might assume coordinating with an external stakeholder like the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) would require a significant investment of time and resources and careful consideration of who engages with whom and for what purpose.

3.2 COLLEGE SPORTS IN AMERICA

In the United States, intercollegiate athletics is governed by the NCAA. Founded in 1906 and formerly known as the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States, the NCAA is a member-led organization that governs various aspects of student-athlete activities, from rules and policies of college sports (e.g., recruiting, compliance,

³⁶¹ Judith Ramaley, “Embracing Civic Responsibility,” *AAHE Bulletin* (2000).

³⁶² Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974).

³⁶³ Estela M. Bensimon, “The Meaning of ‘Good Presidential Leadership’: A Frame Analysis,” *The Review of Higher Education* 12, no. 2 (1989): 107-123.

academics) to overseeing major athletics events like championships.³⁶⁴ From 1906 to 1923, eight all-Black intercollegiate athletic conferences were formed as a result of Black athletes and athletic programs being excluded from the all-white National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA).³⁶⁵ HBCU's were not included into the major intercollegiate athletic conferences until 1953 (NAIA) and 1965 (NCAA).³⁶⁶

There are three NCAA divisions, Divisions I, II, and III, and universities in Division I tend to have the biggest student bodies and largest athletics budgets.³⁶⁷ Division I is uniquely different from Divisions II and III because it is subdivided based on football sponsorship.³⁶⁸ The Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) refers to the top half of Division I colleges that are the most competitive in the sport.³⁶⁹ The subdivisions apply only to football; all other sports are considered Division I and compete in NCAA-run championships.³⁷⁰ In essence, understanding the emphasis a school places on football dictates the trajectory of all other sports and their athletics accommodations. Additionally, there are many schools not a part of Division I FBS athletics (e.g., 131 schools) and are represented in Division I (e.g., 261 schools), Division II (e.g., 165 schools), Division III (e.g., 241 schools), and HBCUs (e.g., 52 schools). Further, the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) is a separate association that is

³⁶⁴ "Overview," NCAA, accessed October 20, 2022, <https://www.ncaa.org/sports/2021/2/16/overview.aspx>.

³⁶⁵ Joseph N. Cooper, J. Kenyatta Cavil, and Jeremy Cheeks, "The State of Intercollegiate Athletics at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs): Past, Present, & Persistence," *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics* 7, no. 1 (2014): 307-332.

³⁶⁶ Cooper et al., "The State of Intercollegiate Athletics."

³⁶⁷ "Overview," NCAA.

³⁶⁸ "Overview," NCAA.

³⁶⁹ "Overview," NCAA.

³⁷⁰ "Overview," NCAA.

the governing body of small athletics programs. The NAIA has approximately 250 member institutions representing 21 conferences.³⁷¹

Although many Division I schools appear and claim to make money on their football and men's basketball programs, many do not, particularly if considering the capital costs of facility upkeep.³⁷² Only approximately 20 universities bring in a profit on their entire athletics program.³⁷³ Due to the NCAA's requirement that Division I institutions support at least 14 sports teams,³⁷⁴ top revenue-generating sports end up subsidizing other sports.

Athletics and associated sport facilities and venues entrenched the notion of collegiate sports at universities.³⁷⁵ For example, prior to collegiate sports being played on campus, they were commonly played on nearby city grounds or open multipurpose campus fields.³⁷⁶ However, as college football gained popularity in the 1900s, colleges and universities saw the potential to create on-campus athletics associations and generate revenue from admissions fees.³⁷⁷ Additionally, for many institutions such as Baylor University or the University of Houston that previously played at municipally owned off-campus venues since the 1860s, the decision to build an on-campus venue (Baylor University in 2012 and University of Houston in 2010) was also influenced by their desire to compete in the athletics arms race and enhance campus spirit.³⁷⁸ A more recent

³⁷¹ "NAIA," accessed May 2, 2023, https://www.naia.org/conferences/files/2022-23_NAIA_Schools_By_Conference.pdf.

³⁷² Baumer and Zimbalist, "The Impact of College Athletic Success."

³⁷³ Baumer and Zimbalist, "The Impact of College Athletic Success."

³⁷⁴ "Overview," NCAA.

³⁷⁵ Oriad (1995), as cited in Tutka and Seifried, "An Innovation Diffusion."

³⁷⁶ Oriad (1995), as cited in Tutka and Seifried, "An Innovation Diffusion."

³⁷⁷ Tutka and Seifried, "An Innovation Diffusion."

³⁷⁸ Tutka and Seifried, "An Innovation Diffusion."

example is the University of Richmond, a private institution, that demolished an existing stadium to build a small stadium with only 8,700 seats for approximately \$25 million.³⁷⁹ The stadium will not accommodate an audience that meets the NCAA's FBS minimum, but the phenomenon of investing in athletics to build a culture of sports is ubiquitous.

As more colleges offered intercollegiate football, it prompted institutions to invest in cultivating a unique institutional identity through mascots, school colors, and local cheers to prove loyalty to the school.³⁸⁰ Greg Webb, vice president of the University Cheerleading Association, stated that "cheerleading for the large part really is small town patriotism; it's nationalism at the very local level."³⁸¹ The role of the cheerleader, always optimistic, represents the essence of American patriotism—they lead the crowd to cheer even when the team is beaten.³⁸²

For many sports fans, the mere mention of "the Horseshoe" at The Ohio State University or "the Coliseum," the home of the University of Southern California Trojans, evokes strong emotion for those who associate the nicknames of those facilities with winning traditions or major events like the Rose Bowl Game. Yet the decision to consider major stadium renovations or new construction projects is also motivated by a desire to meet Division I FBS design requirements.³⁸³ FBS members must maintain an average

³⁷⁹ "University of Richmond, Robins Center," *Richmond Region Tourism*, accessed December 17, 2022, <https://www.visitrichmondva.com/listing/university-of-richmond-robins-center/1440/>.

³⁸⁰ "University of Richmond," *Richmond Region Tourism*.

³⁸¹ Greg Webb, senior vice president/general manager, Universal Cheerleading Association; interview by Natalie Adams, tape recording, Memphis, Tennessee, June 24, 2002, as cited in Natalie Guice Adams and Pamela Jean Bettis, *Cheerleader!: An American Icon* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2015).

³⁸² Adams and Bettis, *Cheerleader!*.

³⁸³ Tiffany Demiris and Chad Seifried, "A Historical Study of the Path from Off-Campus to On-Campus Stadia: Stakeholders, Resources, and Contexts," *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics* 15 (2022): 50-74.

attendance of 15,000 in actual or paid attendance for all home football games over a rolling 2-year period to maintain FBS status.³⁸⁴

3.3 ATHLETICS SITUATEDNESS IN THE UNIVERSITY STRUCTURE

Historically, auxiliary services began in U.S. HEIs because most colleges and universities were in rural areas where services were not provided by the community.³⁸⁵ An auxiliary enterprise is defined as “an entity that exists to furnish goods or services to students, faculty, or staff, and that charge a fee that is directly related to, although not necessarily equal to, the cost of the goods or services. This includes Division I Intercollegiate Athletics.”³⁸⁶ In essence, the purpose of auxiliary departments is to provide services to the faculty, staff, and students that support but are not central to the academic mission of the institution.³⁸⁷ Most importantly, auxiliary services are supposed to be financially self-sufficient.³⁸⁸ Richard D. Wertz, professor and higher education administrator, has documented the various auxiliary enterprises found in colleges and universities, such as food services, student housing, faculty housing, campus stores, retail sales, vending, collegiate licensing, travel agencies, conferences, arenas, stadiums, college health services (if a fee is required), printing services, laundry services, parking

³⁸⁴ “Frequently Asked Questions: Football Bowl Subdivision -- Membership Requirements,” *National Collegiate Athletic Association*, published December 8, 2007, accessed October 19, 2022, <http://fs.ncaa.org/Docs/AMA/Division%20I%20Forms/2010-11%20FBS%20Forms/Football%20Bowl%20Subqa%2012%208%2010.pdf>.

³⁸⁵ Wertz (2000), as cited in Craig S. Johnson, “The Self-Sufficiency of Auxiliary Enterprises in Higher Education,” (PhD diss., Arkansas State University, 2011).

³⁸⁶ Kreon L. Cyros and Roslyn Korb, *Postsecondary Education Facilities Inventory and Classification Manual (FICM): 2006 Edition, NCES 2006-160* (Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, 2006).

³⁸⁷ Johnson, “The Self-Sufficiency of Auxiliary Enterprises.”

³⁸⁸ Wertz (2000), as cited in Johnson, “The Self-Sufficiency of Auxiliary Enterprises.”

asset management, sales and services of educational activities, college unions, mail services, intercollegiate athletics, childcare, and university presses.³⁸⁹

To increase athletics' ability to be self-supporting, university administrators make investments in their athletics programs to maintain their competitiveness.³⁹⁰ Many athletics departments operate as autonomous or auxiliary units separate from the rest of the university.³⁹¹ In fact, the NCAA states that a member of Division I "strives to finance its athletics program insofar as possible from revenues generated by the program itself."³⁹² The expectation for Division I schools to be self-sufficient is that they have substantial revenue generation compared to Division II or Division III institutions. Many athletics departments receive financial subsidies from their university,³⁹³ either through student athletics fees or university funds (e.g., direct general funding, indirect facilities funding, or administrative support).³⁹⁴ Some economists have found that building athletics facilities contributes to the rising costs of college³⁹⁵; the Center for College Affordability and Productivity even went so far as to recommend an end to the athletics arms race to make college more affordable for students.³⁹⁶

³⁸⁹ Wertz (2000), as cited in Johnson, "The Self-Sufficiency of Auxiliary Enterprises."

³⁹⁰ Wertz (2000), as cited in Johnson, "The Self-Sufficiency of Auxiliary Enterprises."

³⁹¹ Myles Brand, "The Role and Value of Intercollegiate Athletics in Universities," *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 33, no. 1 (2006): 9-20.

³⁹² NCAA, *Division I Manual*, Article 20.

³⁹³ Matthew Denhart and David Ridpath, *Funding the Arms Race: A Case Study of Student Athletic Fees* (Washington, DC: Center for College Affordability and Productivity, 2011).

³⁹⁴ USA Today Sports (2017), as cited in Willis A. Jones and Mike Rudolph, "Are Rising Athletics Allocations Associated with Student Costs: Evidence from Public NCAA Division I Universities," *Higher Education Politics & Economics* 6, no. 1 (2020): 56-80.

³⁹⁵ Ronald G. Ehrenberg, *Tuition Rising: Why College Costs So Much, with a New Preface* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

³⁹⁶ Richard Vedder et al., *25 Ways to Reduce the Cost of College* (Washington, DC: Center for College Affordability and Productivity, 2010).

So, although athletics resides in Division I schools as an auxiliary service and historically was seen as providing a holistic element to education, its increasing commercialization has led many to questions about how athletics fits in the larger higher education mission.³⁹⁷ Median athletics spending at public institutions in the FBS has grown 50% in 5 years (2005–2010), which translates into an additional \$6,200 per athlete per year, whereas academic spending grew less than half as fast, at an additional \$500 per full-time student per year.³⁹⁸ Additionally, there is increasing criticism about the exploitation of student athletes,³⁹⁹ pay scale of coaches,⁴⁰⁰ and the arms race⁴⁰¹ in building sports facilities that require further investigation.

3.4 INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS VS. PHYSICAL EDUCATION

College sports embeddedness in higher education is part of a much larger story about connecting physical activity to an intellectual endeavor. It is important to understand how and why sports and physical education became intertwined and ultimately how they have asserted their own spaces within the higher education context. Both sports and physical education in the academy and their subsequent growth have taken different trajectories which are connected to their respective intended purposes in the institution.

A formal sociological definition of sport is “a physical activity which is fair (fair meaning honest in that the contest is structured for all contestants to have a reasonable

³⁹⁷ Weight et al., “The Coach-Educator.”

³⁹⁸ Desrochers, “Academic Spending versus Athletic Spending.”

³⁹⁹ Jamal K. Donnor, “Towards an Interest-Convergence in the Education of African-American Football Student Athletes in Major College Sports,” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8, no. 1 (2005): 45-67.

⁴⁰⁰ Donnor, “Towards an Interest-Convergence.”

⁴⁰¹ Brand, “The Role and Value of Intercollegiate Athletics.”

chance to win), competitive, non-deviant, and is guided by rules, organization and/or tradition.”⁴⁰² Traditionally, one of the most enduring concepts of sport is the notion that it brings diverse people together around a common social interest.⁴⁰³ Sport as a bridge builder was more likely prior to the 18th and 19th centuries, before extensive rules and regulations were instituted, traditional sports were class-based leisure activities based on informal wagers and took place within different contexts of local customs and festivals.⁴⁰⁴ However, the rise of modern competitive sport coincided with the development of capitalism, formation of nation-states, and an impending era of world wars.⁴⁰⁵ As such, sport required a winner and loser fueling competition and tension as well as creating a barrier when viewing sport as a potential community-builder.⁴⁰⁶ Further, the literature is divided on the transformational potential of sport as it can serve as a tool to exclude individuals and groups further dividing communities.⁴⁰⁷ Sport can be good, bad, or indifferent based on how it is institutionalized, organized, and represented.⁴⁰⁸

According to the National Association of Sport and Physical Education (NASPE), physical education is “a content area with diverse learning goals that facilitate the holistic development of children.”⁴⁰⁹ It is through physical education that every child learns the

⁴⁰² “Sociology of Sport,” *University of Northern Iowa*, accessed February 4, 2023, <https://sites.uni.edu/greenr/soc/sportsoc.htm>.

⁴⁰³ Kevin Hylton, *‘Race’ and Sport: Critical Race Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

⁴⁰⁴ Brett Hutchins, “The Problem of Sport and Social Cohesion,” In *Social Cohesion in Australia*, ed. James Jupp (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 170-181.

⁴⁰⁵ Hutchins, “The Problem of Sport.”

⁴⁰⁶ Hutchins, “The Problem of Sport.”

⁴⁰⁷ Hutchins, “The Problem of Sport.”

⁴⁰⁸ Hutchins, “The Problem of Sport.”

⁴⁰⁹ National Association for Sport and Physical Education. *Moving into the Future: National Standards for Physical Education* (St. Louis: Mosby, 2004).

knowledge and skills related to physical activity unlike intramural or extramural sports.⁴¹⁰ Additionally, physical education incorporates the concept of sportsmanship and is concerned with moral and character formation. Sportsmanship is described by the NCAA as a collection of activities to be practiced by players, coaches, officials, administrators, and spectators in athletic competition.⁴¹¹ According to psychology professor Robert J. Vallerand et al., sportsmanship is predicated on the interrelatedness of the following: respect for the rules and officials, respect for social conventions, and concern for the opponent. Therefore, physical education serves as a good venue to inspire sportsmanship among students.⁴¹²

In the U.S. prior to 1905, physical education and intercollegiate athletics were separate entities at most colleges and universities, as they were created for different reasons and had their own identities.⁴¹³ However, physical education transformed from a focus on the health of students via fitness exercises to adopting new activities to achieve multiple objectives such as social and psychological development through intramurals and varsity athletics.⁴¹⁴ The transformation to focus on these other objectives began with the “athletics are educational” movement from 1906-1916 and “sports for all” movement 1917-1939.⁴¹⁵ Colleges and universities started developing physical education departments between 1890-1930, by which athletics was legitimized by connecting it to

⁴¹⁰ National Association for Sport and Physical Education, *Moving into the Future*.

⁴¹¹ NCAA, *Report on the Sportsmanship and Fan Behavior Summit*, published 2003, <http://www.ncaa.org/sportsmanshipFanBehavior/report.pdf>.

⁴¹² Louie Galvez Giray, “The Spirit of Sport: Exploring Sportsmanship among Physical Education Students,” *Acitya: Journal of Teaching and Education* 3, no. 2 (2021): 257-266.

⁴¹³ Guy M. Lewis, “Adoption of the Sports Program, 1906-39: The Role of Accommodation in the Transformation of Physical Education,” *Quest* 12, no. 1 (1969): 34-46.

⁴¹⁴ Lewis, “Adoption of the Sports Program.”

⁴¹⁵ Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

existing departments of physical education.⁴¹⁶ College sport was taught by coaches who served as faculty members in physical education programs.⁴¹⁷

In 1927, a committee of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) set a goal for intercollegiate athletics which included that “coaches (were) to be members of the faculty, assigned usually to physical education on a full-time basis”; (parenthesis added).⁴¹⁸ However, by 1929 a survey by the Carnegie Foundation found that physical education programs had been used to turn colleges and universities into athletic agencies by redefining the purpose of physical education and granting coaches faculty appointments.⁴¹⁹ At the same time, the NCAA was promoting that the combination of physical education programs and intercollegiate athletics was evidence that athletics was educational, which contrasted with the logics of the Carnegie report.⁴²⁰ This tension between how external entities saw athletics in higher education, one entity primarily academic and one entity primarily athletic, was similar to the tension HEIs were facing between academic faculty and coaches who were also faculty in athletics programs. It seems to me on one hand, it makes sense that a ‘try and see’ approach would prevail based on how prominent and significant athletics had become to institutions; however, it is only with the advantage of hindsight that we can look back and see that regardless of whether athletics had a home within an academic unit, it would find a permanent home due to its growing stature within the institution.

⁴¹⁶ Chu, “Origins of the Connection.”

⁴¹⁷ Chu, “Origins of the Connection.”

⁴¹⁸ Chu, “Origins of the Connection.”

⁴¹⁹ Lewis, “Adoption of the Sports Program.”

⁴²⁰ Lewis, “Adoption of the Sports Program.”

3.5 RELIGION, MASCULINITY, AND RACIAL SUPERIORITY

What is also noteworthy about the furtherance of sport and physical education in the university at this time was the hope by some national leaders to simultaneously develop ideal Christians and secure male dominance in HEIs.⁴²¹ Historian Clifford Putney traced the ideology of a concept called muscular Christianity, which linked religion, masculinity, and racial superiority to national progress and moral authority in the age of U.S. expansion.⁴²² Advocates of muscular Christianity had the notion that city life was itself problematic and prevented individuals from living godly lives.⁴²³ This ties back to the sentiment of urbicide and a need by some to avoid the city, ultimately leading to its demise.⁴²⁴

Notable figures in the muscular Christianity movement included Luther Gulick, a YMCA leader who disseminated this philosophy through sport and physical training in YMCAs across the country.⁴²⁵ Interestingly, the YMCA of Columbia opened in 1854 as one of the first YMCAs in the United States.⁴²⁶ This YMCA also had ties to USC, with the property donated for the downtown YMCA on Sumter Street, in close proximity to the university and state capital, provided by USC President James Woodrow. Sport and competitive athletics programs, along with the concept of playgrounds, expanded throughout the country via YMCAs, furthering the belief that these endeavors would

⁴²¹ Putney, *Muscular Christianity*; Beyer and Hannah, “The Cultural Significance.”

⁴²² Paul Emory Putz, “Tracing the Historical Contours of Black Muscular Christianity and American Sport,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 39, no. 4 (2022): 404-424.

⁴²³ Gregory J. Kaliss, *Men’s College Athletics and the Politics of Racial Equality: Five Pioneer Stories of Black Manliness, White Citizenship, and American Democracy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012).

⁴²⁴ Coward, “‘Urbicide’ Reconsidered.”

⁴²⁵ Lewis, “Adoption of the Sports Program.”

⁴²⁶ “YMCA of Columbia Celebrates 100 Years on Sumter Street,” *YMCA Columbia*, published December 8, 2011, <https://columbiaymca.org/ymca-of-columbia-celebrates-100-years-on-sumter-street>.

curtail the evils of urban life.⁴²⁷ At the same time, some Southern evangelical leaders adamantly opposed football and saw the sport as a bad influence on society, a turn toward “worldly amusements.”⁴²⁸ Putney noted that between 1880 and 1920 (i.e., Victorian era), the gospel became feminized, and when men returned from war, the feminized gospel kept them from embracing the church.⁴²⁹ As a result, there was a need to infuse a “manly” faith so that men would return to the church.⁴³⁰ Thus, he described the environment as perfect for the muscular Christianity movement to seize sports as a means to connect fitness with godliness.⁴³¹

Interestingly, in 1891, Canadian American physical educator James Naismith, under the tutelage of Gulick, created a new game called basketball, which spread quickly through YMCA networks.⁴³² Undoubtedly, these ideas of muscular Christianity and its relation to sports as a means of asserting masculinity and physical strength would have been disseminated through the practice and development of the game. Ultimately, Blacks and whites were diametrically positioned due to their place in society in how they viewed athletic success during the muscular Christianity movement. Some Blacks embraced muscular Christianity but reframed it to fit their reality in dealing with white supremacy.⁴³³ Blacks hoped that their success in a “fair contest” sports arena would demonstrate male equality, while at the same time, whites saw their success in the sports

⁴²⁷ Lewis, “Adoption of the Sports Program.”

⁴²⁸ Charles H. Martin, *Benching Jim Crow: The Rise and Fall of the Color Line in Southern College Sports, 1890-1980* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

⁴²⁹ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁴³⁰ Seth Dowland, “War, Sports, and the Construction of Masculinity in American Christianity,” *Religion Compass* 5, no. 7 (2011): 355-364.

⁴³¹ Dowland, “War, sports, and the Construction.”

⁴³² Putz, “Tracing the Historical Contours.”

⁴³³ Putz, “Tracing the Historical Contours.”

arena as an affirmation of their inherent superiority.⁴³⁴ Whereas some whites believed racial superiority extended beyond the classroom onto the playing field, Blacks saw sports as a way to achieve racial progress.⁴³⁵ According to sports historian Charles Martin, one Howard University student explained that through the “universal language” of sports, “we hope to foster a better and more fraternal spirit between the races in America and so to destroy prejudices.”⁴³⁶

Whereas some states and universities had adopted policies that prohibited competition with institutions that had Black players, others had so-called gentleman’s agreements in which non-Southern colleges would automatically bench any Black player on their roster when playing a Southern team, regardless of the geographic location of the game.⁴³⁷ The Black player was expected to play the role of the “good Negro,” graciously offering to not participate for the greater good of the team.⁴³⁸ Many whites in both the North and South saw any competition against Blacks as lowering their status by competing with people considered socially inferior.⁴³⁹ Yet Blacks often were caught in a dilemma by conceding to be benched so that their team could continue to compete. Ultimately, Black athletes’ willingness to not participate resulted in fellow Blacks (e.g., journalists, sportswriters, community members) questioning their masculinity for not sticking up for themselves and demanding to play.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁴ Kaliss, *Men’s College Athletics*.

⁴³⁵ Kaliss, *Men’s College Athletics*.

⁴³⁶ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁴³⁷ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁴³⁸ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁴³⁹ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁴⁴⁰ Atlanta Constitution, November 10, 1929; Pittsburgh Courier, November 9, 16, 30, 1929, *Crisis* 37 (January 1930): 30 as cited in Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

An excellent example of how all these issues converged involved University of Chicago head football coach Amos Alonzo Stagg. Stagg, a former football phenomenon at Yale University, embraced muscular Christianity, having attended a YMCA training school.⁴⁴¹ According to Chicago sports editor Sol Butler, when Stagg was asked in 1926 why a Black athlete had never played football for him at the University of Chicago, he stated, “Occasionally one finds a colored athlete who is a wonderful player in football.” Stagg further stated, “But they are less likely to be good in that sport, where fearlessness, aggressiveness, and dogged determination play a large part in the selection of positions.”⁴⁴² To another audience, Stagg made the following observation of the country’s male youth, stating that Southern boys were particularly courageous, but among “boys who come of the race which have a long history of subservience, there is often a curious lack of this sterling quality.”⁴⁴³ Ironically, Stagg was also instrumental in claiming a disciplinary space for sports in the university, writing the “Scientific and Practical Treatise on American Football for Schools and Colleges.”⁴⁴⁴ According to social and cultural historian Robin Lester, Stagg envisioned a new profession of physical educators who could provide America’s youth with moral guidance and discipline inspired by Christianity.⁴⁴⁵ Stagg was not only an early specialist in the field of physical education, but also would give the University of Chicago the distinction of being the first to recognize expertise in athletics in a tenured position⁴⁴⁶ while also serving as a coach.

⁴⁴¹ Robin Lester, *Stagg’s University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago* (Urbana: The University of Chicago Press, 1974).

⁴⁴² Putz, “Tracing the Historical Contours.”

⁴⁴³ Lester, *The Rise, Decline, and Fall*.

⁴⁴⁴ Lester, *The Rise, Decline, and Fall*.

⁴⁴⁵ Lester, *The Rise, Decline, and Fall*.

⁴⁴⁶ Erin A. McCarthy, “Making Men: The Life and Career of Amos Alonzo Stagg, 1862-1933,” (PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 1994).

3.6 WAR AND SPORT

The connection among war, Christianity, and sports has persisted in U.S. culture since World War I. And from the beginning, people sought to capitalize on the linkage. For instance, Elwood S. Brown, director of the YMCA's Department of Athletics, proposed to Colonel Bruce Palmer of the U.S. Army that they create an athletics program to cater to soldiers returning home from war.⁴⁴⁷ Records show that on average, soldiers participated in 15 athletics contests.⁴⁴⁸ Football was seen as a way to maintain traditional gender roles, particularly for Southerners who through athletics, could bring honor to them and prestige to their institutions.⁴⁴⁹ According to a 1917 article in the *Atlanta Constitution*, football was called "the most warlike of sports" and "the government encourages the playing of football as it not only hardens the players, gives them splendid training for the service, but it awakens the fighting instinct and teaches the men never quit under fire."⁴⁵⁰ Further, football was unlike many sports in its aggressive masculinity, affording even those who had not seen battle the opportunity to engage in a "dramatized war," sacrificing their body "like the ideal citizen soldier."⁴⁵¹ Jeffery Hardin Hobson, editor of *Civil War Book Review*, further suggested that college football developed as a

⁴⁴⁷ Dowland, "War, Sports, and the Construction."

⁴⁴⁸ Dowland, "War, Sports, and the Construction."

⁴⁴⁹ Patrick B. Miller, "The Manly, the Moral, and the Proficient: College Sport in the New South," *Journal of Sport History* 24, no. 3 (1997): 285-316.

⁴⁵⁰ "Every Member of Georgia's 1916 Eleven Now in Service," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 17, 1917, 10, as cited in Victoria Leigh Berkow, "'Let Honor Fall': Georgia Football and Lost Cause Mentality, 1892 to 1925" (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 2017).

⁴⁵¹ J. Hardin Hobson, "Football Culture at New South Universities: Lost Cause and Old South Memory, Modernity, and Martial Manhood," in *The History of American College Football: Institutional Policy, Culture, and Reform*, eds. Christian Anderson and Amber Falluca (New York: Routledge, 2021), 37-63.

result of a crisis in U.S. masculinity following the Civil War and the “collegiate revolution.”⁴⁵²

Whites also could demonstrate their dominance and masculinity in the post-Civil War South through sports, particularly football.⁴⁵³ After the Civil War and the defeat of the Confederacy, the South gained the stereotype that it was backward in every way—economically, politically, and socially—making Southerners particularly sensitive to any word or deed that may besmirch their honor.⁴⁵⁴ Unlike more refined activities that required time and money, like golf, sporting events allowed Southern white men of all class strata to challenge stereotypes, legitimize their power, and exhibit their masculinity.⁴⁵⁵ Additionally, sporting culture helped unite white men after the stark divisions left by the Civil War in a shared space where they could exclude others.⁴⁵⁶ Further, Jim Crow and segregation limited Southern Black men’s opportunities to engage in sports in the same leisurely way that white men enjoyed.⁴⁵⁷

The stereotype of southern athletes as Confederate soldiers was further perpetuated by sportswriters in both the North and South who used language and iconography to play up the Civil War imagery.⁴⁵⁸ Yet the regional pride that Southern teams expressed was very real and genuine, as reflected by several Southern schools

⁴⁵² Hobson, “Football Culture at New South Universities.”

⁴⁵³ Wes Borucki, “‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride’: American College Football and the Resurgence of Southern Identity,” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 10, no. 4 (2003): 477-494.

⁴⁵⁴ Borucki, “‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride.’”

⁴⁵⁵ Kenneth Cohen, *They Will Have Their Game: Sporting Culture and the Making of the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).

⁴⁵⁶ Cohen, *They Will Have Their Game*.

⁴⁵⁷ Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2004), as cited in Mark Okuhata, “Unchained Manhood: The Performance of Black Manhood During the Antebellum, Civil War, and Reconstruction Eras” (PhD diss., UCLA, 2014).

⁴⁵⁸ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

using confederate emblems (e.g., Confederate flag), unofficial fight songs (e.g., USC playing “Dixie”), and mascots (e.g., University of Mississippi’s Colonel Rebel) during football games well into the early 2000s.⁴⁵⁹

The emergence of distinct intercollegiate athletics and physical education programs were shaped by the cultural, sociopolitical, and economic challenges of the time. As colleges and universities made various determinations of whether athletics was educational, spectacle, or both, one outcome was that they began to generate revenue by providing entertainment through sports. For some, making a profit from entertainment was a moral conundrum. Yet supporters of sports justified profit making via the doctrine of good works, because profits were used to finance intramural programs, a policy endorsed by the Intercollegiate Athletic Association.⁴⁶⁰

3.7 POWER AND PRESTIGE

In the United States, sports mirrors society’s Eurocentric values such as success, competition, progress, materialism, and external conformity.⁴⁶¹ Various stakeholders have personal interests in seeking athletics success—coaches are concerned with winning, athletic directors are concerned with generating revenue, and presidents are concerned with prestige of the institution.⁴⁶² Sport management scholars Galen Trail and Packianathan Chelladurai found that at successful Division I athletics programs, faculty members and students associate power values with winning, financial security, visibility,

⁴⁵⁹ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁴⁶⁰ Lewis, Adoption of the Sports Program.

⁴⁶¹ Jon Welty Peachey and Jennifer Bruening, “Are Your Values Mine? Exploring the Influence of Value Congruence on Responses to Organizational Change in a Division I Intercollegiate Athletics Department,” *Journal of Intercollegiate Sport* 5, no. 2 (2012): 127-152.

⁴⁶² Rick Telander, *The Hundred Yard Lie: The Corruption of College Football and What We Can Do to Stop It* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

prestige, and entertainment.⁴⁶³ Athletics is one tool that influences the perception and prominence of an institution.⁴⁶⁴

Programs in the Power Five athletic conferences (e.g., ACC, Big Ten Conference, Big 12 Conference, Pac-12 Conference, and SEC) generate tens of millions of dollars in revenue each year; however, few of these programs generate a profit beyond what is needed to cover their expenses.⁴⁶⁵ NCAA reports show that only about 20 of approximately 130 athletics departments in the Division I FBS have an operating surplus.⁴⁶⁶ The approximately 20 schools with an operating surplus are in the Power Five conferences (see Appendix B), which feature 64 teams. As such, even big-time college sports programs are often being subsidized by their colleges and universities rather than fulfilling the self-supporting ideal outlined by the NCAA.⁴⁶⁷ As denoted in Appendix B, in 2022 USC broke even in terms of expenses and revenue generated.

On the other hand, some sociologists argue that although athletics does not further the academic mission, it provides indirect benefits such as increased school unity, diversity, student applications, and alumni donations.⁴⁶⁸ Further, some colleges and universities initiate NCAA Division I football programs to build not only prestige on the national level but also community at the local level.⁴⁶⁹ However, the benefits of success on the playing field may be short lived, and some scholars have suggested a postseason

⁴⁶³ Galen Trail and Packianathan Chelladurai, "Perceptions of Intercollegiate Athletic Goals and Processes: The Influence of Personal Values," *Journal of Sport Management* 16, no. 4 (2002): 289-310.

⁴⁶⁴ Pope, Devin G., and Jaren C. Pope. "The impact of college sports success on the quantity and quality of student applications." *Southern Economic Journal* 75, no. 3 (2009): 750-780.

⁴⁶⁵ Baumer and Zimbalist, "The Impact of College Athletic Success."

⁴⁶⁶ Baumer and Zimbalist, "The Impact of College Athletic Success."

⁴⁶⁷ Baumer and Zimbalist, "The Impact of College Athletic Success."

⁴⁶⁸ William Tsitsos and Howard L. Nixon, "The Star Wars Arms Race in College Athletics: Coaches' Pay and Athletic Program Status," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 36, no. 1 (2012): 68-88.

⁴⁶⁹ Meara, "Striving for What?"

bump in admissions after a winning season may only last 1 to 2 years.⁴⁷⁰ Even notable examples of increases in enrollment after major sports wins, such as Doug Flutie's Hail Mary pass against the University of Miami in 1984, have been discounted; the university had other national initiatives that may have spurred interest from students and resulted in increases the year before and after the famous pass.⁴⁷¹ Additionally, research has demonstrated that if alumni donations increase due to athletics, the donations tend to go to athletics, not a general university fund.⁴⁷² Interestingly, USC played a prominent role in the national conversation regarding alumni donations toward athletics programs and tax law in the 1970s.⁴⁷³ USC's athletic director at the time, Paul Dietzel, worked with then U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond and Congressman L. Mendel Rivers to pass a measure through Congress so that estate gifts would constitute a charitable donation. The classification of estate gifts as charitable donations prevented the bulk of the donation from being taken by the federal government in taxes.⁴⁷⁴ It is important to note that college athletics is included under the university's 501(c)(3) tax-exempt designation.⁴⁷⁵ As such, donations can result in funding a football suite while also incurring a major tax break, which is why major businesses or very wealthy alumni may prefer this form of giving. The congressional decision set the stage for athletics foundations to maximize the money received from donors, forever changing the physical and metaphorical landscape of

⁴⁷⁰ Brewer et al., *In Pursuit of Prestige*.

⁴⁷¹ Robert E. Litan, Jonathan M. Orszag, and Peter R. Orszag, *The Empirical Effects of Collegiate Athletics: An Interim Report* (Washington, DC: Sebago Associates, 2003).

⁴⁷² Malcolm Getz and John Siegfried, "What Does Intercollegiate Athletics Do to or for Colleges and Universities?" in *The Oxford Handbook of Sports Economics*, eds. Leo H. Kahane and Stephen Shmanske (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012): 349-372.

⁴⁷³ Seifried and Bolton, "The University of South Carolina Football."

⁴⁷⁴ Seifried and Bolton, "The University of South Carolina Football Stadium."

⁴⁷⁵ John D. Colombo, "The NCAA, Tax Exemption and College Athletics," *Penn State Law*, accessed May 19, 2023, https://pennstatelaw.psu.edu/_file/NCAA26.pdf.

college campuses in the United States.⁴⁷⁶ During this same period, the outsize role of athletics at USC also widened the fissures between the faculty and athletics. One professor noted, as shown in faculty meeting minutes, that the university was at risk of seriously disordering the priorities of the institution by placing such a strong emphasis on intercollegiate athletics.⁴⁷⁷ Further, faculty members questioned the interference of the BOT in the faculty terrain by setting academic standards for participation of students in intercollegiate athletics.⁴⁷⁸

3.8 RACE

Nationally, beginning in the 1960s, white athletics departments benefited tremendously from desegregation by infusing their teams with Black male athletes.⁴⁷⁹ Yet it was not until 1970 that USC became the first of the racially conservative schools in the ACC to integrate its football team, ahead of Clemson University and the University of Virginia.⁴⁸⁰ The slow-moving effort to integrate athletics was similarly demonstrated in the integration of the basketball teams.⁴⁸¹ Black athletes' integration into student life was less than optimal for Black students, and discriminatory racial attitudes did not dissipate simply because Blacks were doing well on the field. Even as early as the 1960s, Black students were valued as players first and foremost. Setting them up for academic success once admitted was ignored, as evidenced by the following statement:

This was when we had blacks on the football and basketball team, a lot of them. ... But there were a lot of football players who weren't too bright, they couldn't meet the entrance standards, and so the athletic director went to the president and

⁴⁷⁶ Seifried and Bolton, "The University of South Carolina Football Stadium."

⁴⁷⁷ USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, Faculty Minutes, October 29, 1970.

⁴⁷⁸ USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, Faculty Minutes, October 29, 1970.

⁴⁷⁹ Hawkins, *The New Plantation*.

⁴⁸⁰ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁴⁸¹ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

said he'd like to have an exception made and admit a number of students. Well, the president can admit anybody he wants to, but this president was always fighting with the faculty about something, and he knew that would be a real conflict.⁴⁸²

Regardless of how Black students were perceived by their white peers, faculty members, and administration, they pressed onward. Black and white students made their voices heard and advocated for substantive changes on campus to support Black students as early as the mid-1960s. USC faculty meeting minutes from December 7, 1966, described one professor's concern over jeering toward a visiting Black player.⁴⁸³ The professor asked the faculty to endorse the following resolution: "Be it resolved that we as a faculty support the idea of integrated competition in inter-collegiate athletics and that we endorse the spirit of the 1966 South Carolina State Student Legislature resolution calling for the integration of South Carolina inter-collegiate athletics."⁴⁸⁴ The USC Athletics Committee took heed to the concerns of the faculty and met with Athletic Director Paul Dietzel, who according to the February 1, 1967 meeting minutes, stated that race is not a factor in the recruiting of athletes and that he looks for any excellent athletes who meet the university's academic requirements.⁴⁸⁵ As a result, the Athletics Committee felt that a resolution was unnecessary.⁴⁸⁶

By 1968, students were openly critical of the absence of Black athletes; in particular, they were disappointed with Frank McGuire's inability to recruit more Black players at USC as he had done at previous institutions and assumed his hands were

⁴⁸² Whitten, Charles. Interview 35, The South Carolina Oral History Collection.

⁴⁸³ USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, 1966.

⁴⁸⁴ USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, 1966.

⁴⁸⁵ USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, Faculty Meeting Minutes, February 1, 1967.

⁴⁸⁶ USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, Faculty Meeting Minutes, February 1, 1967.

tied.⁴⁸⁷ However, inquiries into the lack of recruiting went all the way to the top, with President Jones confronting Dietzel, who explained what he saw as the problem recruiting Black athletes and suggested that the problem would be resolved in a few years as the number of Black athletes attending formerly all-white high schools would be expected to increase.⁴⁸⁸ Although not stated explicitly in the faculty minutes, Dietzel may have been suggesting that Black students attending all-white high schools would now have access to the type of education needed to provide them a better opportunity to meet USC's academic standards to compete in athletics. It is not clear whether President Jones was prompted to inquire with Dietzel due to discontent from the student body or the faculty, but the February 7, 1968, faculty meeting minutes recounted a meeting he had with several Black students who expressed discontent with the playing of "Dixie," the waving of the Confederate flag, the absence of Blacks on athletics teams, and that Blacks seemed to be housed in particular patterns on campus.⁴⁸⁹

In April 1969, USC's Student Senate recommended the inclusion of African Americans on all school athletics teams.⁴⁹⁰ There was so much pressure to address the racial injustice taking place at the university that Dietzel put out a statement that he had "been highly encouraged to recruit Negro athletes by the administration, the faculty, and the student body."⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁷ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁴⁸⁸ USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, Faculty Minutes, March 6, 1968.

⁴⁸⁹ USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, Faculty Minutes, February 7, 1968.

⁴⁹⁰ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁴⁹¹ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

In 1970, Oliver Washington, Jr., a Black USC student government member, said that a new Committee on Racism would investigate complaints of racial discrimination on campus through the establishment of a Minority Council⁴⁹²:

The committee will research problems of racism from the highest university office to the lowest. We will investigate all complaints brought to us and the practices and policies employed by the University will be scrutinized.

The need for the establishment of such a council is indicative of the experiences that not only Black athletes but all Black students faced on a historically white campus.

HWCUs were already seeking to put distance between their institutions and the surrounding communities in which they were situated⁴⁹³; if anything, when the federal government required HEIs to comply with federal law and desegregate Southern institutions, this may have fueled interest and efforts by these institutions to engage in urban renewal. Urban renewal may have been seen by institutions as a federally subsidized way to implement racist ideology without being penalized. In essence, universities could exploit federally funded programs like urban renewal for their own ends, ignoring the deleterious effects of university expansion on communities of color. For example, they could remove opportunities for Black communities to benefit from proximity to downtown businesses, with job and housing stability, and reinstitute economic and racial segregation while admitting small numbers of Black students to demonstrate formal compliance with civil rights laws.

⁴⁹² *The Gamecock*, December 11, 1970.

⁴⁹³ Bender, *The University and the City*.

3.9 FRANK MCGUIRE

Basketball coach Frank McGuire put USC on the national map through his men's basketball program, bringing more prestige to the program than any coach before or since. Many locals refer to the 12,401-seat facility also known as the Carolina Coliseum as the "House that Frank Built,"⁴⁹⁴ which speaks to his legendary status and high esteem among many USC fans. In 1977, the playing area of the Coliseum was named the Frank McGuire Arena.⁴⁹⁵

In 1964, McGuire became the head basketball coach at USC; however, prior to coaching at USC, McGuire coached at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, part of the ACC. This conference was established in 1953 with the primary goal of improving the football programs and prestige of its members.⁴⁹⁶ However, its football programs failed to achieve the stature the ACC sought; instead, basketball brought historical prominence to the ACC.⁴⁹⁷ This prominence was due primarily to McGuire leading his University of North Carolina Tar Heels to victory over the University of Kansas Jayhawks, a team that included future National Basketball Association legend Wilt Chamberlain, in the 1957 national championship.⁴⁹⁸ Emphasizing the sentiment of the time, historians Samuel Walker and Randy Roberts reported that upon the team's return from the victorious national championship game, "the purity of the southern achievement was diluted by the fact that coach Frank McGuire, the starting five, and all

⁴⁹⁴ "Frank McGuire Succumbs at 80," *Eugene Register-Guard*, October 12, 1994, 6C.

⁴⁹⁵ "Frank McGuire Succumbs at 80," *Eugene Register-Guard*.

⁴⁹⁶ J. Samuel Walker and Randy Roberts, *The Road to Madness: How the 1973-1974 Season Transformed College Basketball* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

⁴⁹⁷ Walker and Roberts, *The Road to Madness*.

⁴⁹⁸ Walker and Roberts, *The Road to Madness*.

but three members of the squad came from New York or New Jersey, but placards [at the Raleigh-Durham airport] hailed them as ‘Rebel Yanks’ and ‘Confederate Yankees,’ at their celebratory welcome home.”⁴⁹⁹

In 1964, McGuire accepted the head coach position at USC, which had managed only two winning seasons in the prior 12 years.⁵⁰⁰ Although his first two years there were losing seasons (a 6-7 record in 1964–1965 and an 11-13 record in 1965–1966),⁵⁰¹ they set the stage for future success. Ground broke on the new Carolina Coliseum in 1965, and the first men’s basketball game was played there on November 30, 1968. McGuire identified the Coliseum as being pivotal to “the beginning of a new era for basketball at Carolina.”⁵⁰² He stated that the facility was vital to recruiting superior players, who want to perform where a lot of people can see them.⁵⁰³ Additionally, in his mind, the advantage of having a quality facility was the ability to attract big-name athletics events to South Carolina such as the NCAA Eastern Regional Basketball Tournament.⁵⁰⁴

The new Carolina Coliseum was used as a bargaining tool to get McGuire (shown in Figure 3.1) to USC.⁵⁰⁵ However, promises made and the reality of what McGuire received was cause for some consternation at the start of his relationship with USC athletics. In correspondence between McGuire and Thomas Faris, Office of Planning director, McGuire expressed the following in 1968:

At no time did I entertain the idea or talk to anybody about having office space in the new Physical Education Center. If we are going to have to use this building

⁴⁹⁹ Walker and Roberts, *The Road to Madness*.

⁵⁰⁰ Walker and Roberts, *The Road to Madness*.

⁵⁰¹ “South Carolina Gamecocks Index: College Basketball at Sports,” *Sports Reference*, accessed December 17, 2022, <https://www.sports-reference.com/cbb/schools/south-carolina/>.

⁵⁰² University of South Carolina Archives, Carolina Coliseum, 6-7.

⁵⁰³ USC Archives, Carolina Coliseum.

⁵⁰⁴ USC Archives, Carolina Coliseum.

⁵⁰⁵ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

for practice at times, we will only need locker space. There seems to be a complete misunderstanding in regard to a lot of things about the Coliseum. I had always thought that my office would be where my work was—in the Coliseum. In recruiting for the last two years, we have told our boys that the Coliseum would be our headquarters. Because of the fire, we had to accept temporary quarters, but only until the Coliseum was ready. In regard to our new offices, I think they should be on the par with basketball offices throughout the country. This means a great deal to our recruiting program and also the efficiency of our entire program in general.⁵⁰⁶



Figure 3.1 Frank McGuire with University Administrators

Note: From left to right, Sol Blatt, Jr. chairman of the Athletics Committee; Paul Dietzel, head football coach and athletic director; Frank McGuire, head basketball coach; Sol Blatt Sr., speaker of the South Carolina House of Representatives; and Thomas Jones, USC president.

⁵⁰⁶ USC Archives, Frank McGuire to Thomas Faris, September 24, 1968, Location of Basketball Offices.

Gamecock fans were also keenly aware of how the racial attitudes on campus and in the community might affect future recruits.⁵⁰⁷ After a racially fraught game between USC and the University of North Carolina's integrated team in 1969, one white student at USC stated "racism is alive and well at the university," reflecting on how fans treated UNC star athlete Charles Scott.⁵⁰⁸ Another student wondered what would happen if USC eventually recruited Black players: "Will they be bombarded with pennies and epithets when they come onto the court, or will they be accepted as Fighting Gamecocks?"⁵⁰⁹

Prior to 1969, no varsity sport at USC had a Black participant, even with highly regarded and academically qualified recruits living in Columbia.⁵¹⁰ The controversy surrounding the lack of Black athletes put Athletic Director Paul Dietzel in an untenable position of denying that the athletics department was discriminatory.⁵¹¹ Although McGuire had recruited Black players at his previous institutions (e.g., St. John's University, University of North Carolina), he had yet to recruit a Black player at USC. As a result of the controversy, in 1969, Black athletes started to be recruited (e.g., Casey Manning as the first Black basketball player). Manning was a no-brainer in terms of being a top tier recruit for USC: a homegrown talent from Dillon, South Carolina, voted the state's player of the year, and a graduate in the top 10% of his class.⁵¹²

It is unclear whether athletics facilities played a significant role in top talent deciding to play at USC, but it seems clear that McGuire had skill at recruiting, including

⁵⁰⁷ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁵⁰⁸ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁵⁰⁹ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁵¹⁰ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

⁵¹¹ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

⁵¹² Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

the recruitment of Black athletes. McGuire recruited Columbia's Alexander (Alex) English, a 6-foot-8 center-forward, from Dreher High School in 1972.⁵¹³ At the same time, author Dan Klores reported that USC's administration understood while having a team with more Black players may result in more wins, bringing that vision to realization would result in fewer paying customers.⁵¹⁴ Similar to other HWCUs of the time, white supporters controlled the purse strings, and they let their feelings be known quietly but effectively regarding the "ethnic character" they thought appropriate for their school's basketball program.⁵¹⁵ Consequently, at the end of the 1972–73 season, English was the only Black player at USC in the fastest-growing Black sport of the 1970s.⁵¹⁶

Race was not only on the minds of administrators and coaches but also potential players. According to Klores, English dreamed of becoming the first Black star at USC; however, many of his friends and community members encouraged him to look beyond USC.⁵¹⁷ To many in his community, USC was another institution run by whites representing oppression.⁵¹⁸ Still, English was determined to follow his dream of playing at USC.⁵¹⁹ English went on to play in the National Basketball Association from 1976–1992, and he currently sits on the USC BOT.

McGuire was eventually forced out as head coach after the 1979–80 season due to ongoing disagreements with President Holderman and the USC BOT, which attempted several strategies to oust McGuire.⁵²⁰ In the first few months of Holderman's presidency,

⁵¹³ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

⁵¹⁴ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

⁵¹⁵ Klores, *Roundball Culture*, 265.

⁵¹⁶ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

⁵¹⁷ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

⁵¹⁸ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

⁵¹⁹ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

⁵²⁰ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

he publicly announced a plan to convince McGuire to step down.⁵²¹ Holderman had grand plans for USC, plans that left behind the athletics department's financial and academic woes, and he felt a changing of guard would usher in a new era for the university. Another primary person trying to persuade McGuire to step down was Solomon Blatt, Sr.⁵²²

McGuire had wanted to stay for a couple more years as head coach with the hope of taking over as USC's athletic director.⁵²³ However, the university had other ideas and paid McGuire a \$400,000 settlement.⁵²⁴ McGuire left on bad terms, reportedly feeling that the university handled his departure badly.⁵²⁵ Ultimately, McGuire was the winningest coach in South Carolina history. In 16 seasons at USC, he led the Gamecocks to four straight NCAA tournaments. In USC's almost 115-year athletics history, the first Black men's basketball head coach, Lamont Paris, was hired in 2022.

⁵²¹ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

⁵²² Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

⁵²³ "'Nothing Definitive' Yet: Holderman Details Offer To McGuire," *The Columbia Record*, 16.

⁵²⁴ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

⁵²⁵ Klores, *Roundball Culture*.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 LIFE, LIBERTY, AND PROPERTY

The desires of white European monarchies and colonizers was to further the wealth of the Crown and its aristocracy and holdings. Thus, the economic project of colonization was always linked to other motivations among white settlers, such as to seek life in what the British named “the colonies” and through theft of Indigenous lands, which eventually became the United States. White colonial settlers brought with them ideas of property and liberty. Liberty was also inextricably linked to the free enjoyment of personal possessions, including property.⁵²⁶ The prevailing philosophy on the function of government during the 18th century was greatly influenced by English philosopher John Locke, who stated that “the reason men enter into society is the preservation of their property”⁵²⁷; he also believed that uncultivated land was worthless.⁵²⁸ Locke’s political philosophy was taken up and furthered by Sir William Blackstone. In what some have called the single most influential treatise in white settler colonial law, Blackstone, who was a member of the House of Commons in England, stated, “so great moreover is the regard of the law for private property, that it will not authorize the least violation of it; no

⁵²⁶ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

⁵²⁷ Adams et al., “The Private Use of Public Power.”

⁵²⁸ Gardner Seawright, “Settler Traditions of Place: Making Explicit the Epistemological Legacy of White Supremacy and Settler Colonialism for Place-Based Education,” *Educational Studies* 50, no. 6 (2014): 554-572.

not even for the general good of the whole community.”⁵²⁹ The original draft of the Declaration of Independence recognized the importance of possessions by asserting that among the inalienable rights given by the creator were “life, liberty and property.”⁵³⁰ U.S. founding father Thomas Jefferson later revised the phrase to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”⁵³¹

4.2 WHITENESS AS PROPERTY

Renowned CRT legal scholar Cheryl Harris grounded her critically acclaimed work in the notion that racial domination is foundational to understanding property rights in the United States. In the early 1990s, she developed her ideas on whiteness as property and asserted that although the oppression of Blacks and Native Americans differ, with one involving the seizure and appropriation of labor and the other involving the seizure and appropriation of land, both are premised on a racialized understanding of property.⁵³² For instance, Blacks were treated as property (e.g., enslaved) and white theft and occupation of Native land was a basis for property rights.⁵³³ Through slavery, race and economic domination were inextricably linked.

In addition to conflating the interrelationship between race and property, what became the U.S. federal government recognized white people as the sole bearers of property. This served as the basis for an unjust and exploitative society designed to maintain and advance white supremacy.⁵³⁴ Additionally, education professor Sabina

⁵²⁹ Seawright, “Settler Traditions of Place.”

⁵³⁰ Seawright, “Settler Traditions of Place.”

⁵³¹ Seawright, “Settler Traditions of Place.”

⁵³² Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

⁵³³ Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

⁵³⁴ Harris, “Whiteness as Property”; Charles W. Mills, “White Supremacy,” in *The Routledge Companion to Philosophy of Race*, eds. Paul Taylor, Linda Alcoff, and Luvell Anderson (New York: Routledge, 2017), 475-487.

Vaught affirmed that whiteness as property helps frame the multiple aspects of White institutions that yield power over a complex terrain of institutional relationships, including affective ones.⁵³⁵ Various other scholars—such as Nick Blomley, professor of geography; Davina Cooper, professor of law; and Sarah Keenan, professor of law—challenge us further to consider how property is constituted beyond merely legal considerations. In contrast to conceptions of property by European empires and white settler colonizers, Keenan articulated property as being relational and as such, it can be formed through social, cultural, and political networks as well as being spatially contingent.⁵³⁶ Thus, property is not inextricably tied to an object but constantly reproduced by its surrounding space.⁵³⁷ In other words, drawing on feminist writer and independent scholar Sara Ahmed’s work, subjects and objects are funneled into preexisting positions shaped by the world around them.⁵³⁸ The better a space accommodates objects or bodies, the more likely they are to settle there; likewise, objects and bodies that do not fit are deflected.⁵³⁹ As such, whiteness as property is constantly changing its function in our society because it is constantly being co-constructed.

Many theoretical concepts from CRT provide an inroad to thinking about how and why HEIs continue to perpetuate harm against Black communities. Continuous expansion efforts have primarily benefited those in power; yet laws had to be constructed in such a way as to provide an advantage to those seeking to extract land from others to benefit

⁵³⁵ Sabrina Vaught, “Institutional Racist Melancholia: A Structural Understanding of Grief and Power in Schooling,” *Harvard Educational Review* 82, no. 1 (2012): 52-77.

⁵³⁶ Sarah Keenan, “Subversive Property: Reshaping Malleable Spaces of Belonging,” *Social & Legal Studies* 19, no. 4 (2010): 423-439.

⁵³⁷ Keenan, “Subversive Property.”

⁵³⁸ Keenan, “Subversive Property.”

⁵³⁹ Keenan, “Subversive Property.”

themselves. Understanding this issue by centering race is significant because examining a specific place in time that held conditions that allowed for the displacement of Blacks centers and privileges the voices of people of color.

Whiteness as property serves as a theoretical concept and analytic tool to investigate how institutional racism and property rights worked in tandem during this period at the university. Sociologists Jerome Karabel and Joseph Soares observed that relatively few texts have offered a critique of institutional inequity, and those that did almost always emphasized who has been excluded while leaving out who is responsible for the excluding.⁵⁴⁰ For these reasons, I intend to explicitly explore whiteness as property, which links a “set of expectations, assumptions, privileges, and benefits associated with the social status of being white”⁵⁴¹ and allows me to look at both the actions of those doing the excluding—the university, its leaders, and athletics simultaneously. At the same time, I want to center the experiences of Black community members who witnessed the sale and destruction of their communities.

Thus far, one major criticism of CRT comes from those who oppose the narrative or storytelling methodologies, stating that there is a lack of evidence to support the need to privilege voices of color over white voices.⁵⁴² However, higher education scholar Garrett Duncan shared research from linguistics, education, and sociology that supports the idea that dominant and oppressed groups differ in how they reflect on, discuss, and

⁵⁴⁰ Chris Corces-Zimmerman, Devon Thomas, and Nolan L. Cabrera, “Historic Scaffolds of Whiteness in Higher Education,” in *Whiteness, Power, and Resisting Change in US Higher Education: A Peculiar Institution*, eds. Kenneth R. Roth and Zachary S. Ritter (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 9-31.

⁵⁴¹ Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

⁵⁴² Randall L. Kennedy, “Racial Critiques of Legal Academia,” *Harvard Law Review* 102, no. 8 (1989): 1745-1819.

make meaning of significant experiences.⁵⁴³ The role of narrative and storytelling in CRT often is construed as being one-sided and confining diverse voices into a monolithic representation of one social group.⁵⁴⁴ In contrast, CRT scholar Mari Matsuda encouraged us to understand that CRT storytelling is about making a choice to see the world from the viewpoint of those who have been socially subjugated.⁵⁴⁵ It is not about excluding voices but considering how those not in power explain social problems and listening to them to provide solutions.⁵⁴⁶ Further, as another CRT scholar Charles Lawrence suggests, the power of narrative is that it creates a record for analysis of complex social problems by detailing someone's life experiences and feelings.⁵⁴⁷ The ability to tell one's own story, is central to asserting one's humanity and freedom, as such literature provides a means for liberation. As Audre Lorde states about literature, "It forms the quality of light within which we predicate our hopes and dreams toward survival and change, first made into language, then into idea, then into more tangible action."⁵⁴⁸ As researchers, telling the stories of others provides an opportunity to reveal insights not only about our subjects' but how their experiences impact our understanding of our own experiences.⁵⁴⁹

4.3 DEFINING WHITENESS AS PROPERTY

For Harris, the property functions of whiteness are: (a) rights of disposition; (b) right to use and enjoyment; (c) the conception of reputation as property; and (d) the

⁵⁴³ Garrett A. Duncan, "Critical Race Ethnography in Education: Narrative, Inequality and the Problem of Epistemology," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8, no. 1 (2005): 93-114.

⁵⁴⁴ Duncan, "Critical Race Ethnography in Education."

⁵⁴⁵ Duncan, "Critical Race Ethnography in Education."

⁵⁴⁶ Duncan, "Critical Race Ethnography in Education."

⁵⁴⁷ Charles Lawrence III, "The Word and the River: Pedagogy as Scholarship as Struggle," *Southern California Law Review* 65 (1991): 2231.

⁵⁴⁸ Lawrence III, "The Word and the River."

⁵⁴⁹ Lawrence III, "The Word and the River."

absolute right to exclude.⁵⁵⁰ Due to racism's social and structural embeddedness in U.S. society, whiteness can be considered a property interest⁵⁵¹ and can operate on different levels and in various ways in society. Historically, the idea of whiteness as property has been perpetuated as an asset that only white individuals can possess.⁵⁵² The following are examples of how whiteness functions and examples of these constructs' applicability to higher education land acquisition.

4.4 RIGHT TO DISPOSITION

Property rights are traditionally described as fully alienable⁵⁵³; in essence, these rights can be sold or transferred. As such, the right to disposition includes being able to pass along rights and privileges to heirs, which in a society that has historically privileged whites, allows white people to continue to benefit from the rights of their forebears, unlike Blacks.⁵⁵⁴ Additionally, the right to disposition includes determining who is legally judged to be white or situating others as "honorary" whites.⁵⁵⁵

4.5 RIGHT TO USE AND ENJOYMENT

The possession of property includes the rights of use and enjoyment. A white person can take advantage of their whiteness any time they exercise rights that are not also bestowed on Blacks. As such, the needs, interests, and concerns of whites remain

⁵⁵⁰ Harris, "Whiteness as Property."

⁵⁵¹ Jessica T. DeCuir and Adrienne D. Dixon, "'So When It Comes Out, They Aren't That Surprised That It is There': Using Critical Race Theory as a Tool of Analysis of Race and Racism in Education," *Educational Researcher* 33, no. 5 (2004): 26-31.

⁵⁵² Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate, "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," *Teachers College Record* 97, no. 1 (1995): 47-68.

⁵⁵³ Harris, "Whiteness as Property."

⁵⁵⁴ Harris, "Whiteness as Property."

⁵⁵⁵ Harris, "Whiteness as Property."

central to institutional initiatives.⁵⁵⁶ As it relates to athletics, the NCAA has been debating for some time whether to allow athletes to become university employees and be compensated or to deny them university employment, thus denying them compensation.⁵⁵⁷ The NCAA has reiterated that any forthcoming rule changes on its behalf will ensure athletes cannot become “employees of the university.”⁵⁵⁸ Without employee status, athletes have no right to guaranteed payment or legal protections like workers compensation.⁵⁵⁹ In essence, athletes—predominately people of color—in revenue-generating sports will continue to be sources of entertainment but excluded from any employee protections. Recently, student-athletes have been granted the concession of being compensated for the use of their NIL; however, these rules are governed by either state laws or individual school or conference policies.⁵⁶⁰ As such, only time will tell whether new roadblocks will be put in place as the NCAA tries to lobby Congress to pass legislation to limit athletes’ ability to benefit financially from their athleticism.⁵⁶¹

4.6 CONCEPTION OF REPUTATION AS PROPERTY

In our society, a person’s status increases with the accrual of property; thus, the protection of their reputation is associated with holding property, ergo elevating the status of white people who have been historic beneficiaries of being able to own property

⁵⁵⁶ Stephanie M. Wildman, “Reflections on Whiteness and Latina/o Critical Theory,” *Harvard Latino Law Review* 2 (1997): 307-316.

⁵⁵⁷ Kirsten Hextrum, “Operation Varsity Blues: Disguising the Legal Capital Exchanges and White Property Interests in Athletic Admissions,” *Higher Education Politics & Economics* 5, no. 1 (2019): 15-32.

⁵⁵⁸ Osburn (2019), as cited in Hextrum, “Operation Varsity Blues.”

⁵⁵⁹ Denhart and Ridpath, *Funding the Arms Race*.

⁵⁶⁰ Jay Bilas, “Why NIL has Been Good for College Sports... and the Hurdles That Remain,” *ESPN*, published June 29, 2022, accessed October 26, 2022, https://www.espn.com/college-sports/story/_/id/34161311/why-nil-good-college-sports-hurdles-remain.

⁵⁶¹ Bilas, “Why NIL has Been Good.”

without restriction, unlike Blacks.⁵⁶² In higher education, most individuals in the highest leadership positions in the academy are white men; further, most faculty members and administrators are white, which perpetuates the notion that being white has more status and power.⁵⁶³ As a result, those in positions of power who make decisions on behalf of the university and whose decisions affect the larger community do so from a particular vantage point. Complicating institutional policies and practices is the presumption that whites have good intentions.⁵⁶⁴ As a result, when USC administrators made decisions to expand the university's footprint, there was an attempt to explain their actions as not being racialized but about economic growth.

4.7 RIGHT TO EXCLUDE

The right to exclude is a central principle of whiteness as property. Historically, white people as a group have excluded racially minoritized people (e.g., denying access to citizenship, education, employment, housing, and lending).⁵⁶⁵ In fact, education professor Jeffrey Milem argued that institutions have much longer histories of exclusion than inclusion, and these histories must be considered in understanding campus climates.⁵⁶⁶ Additionally, historian Patrick Wolfe referred to “the logic of elimination,”⁵⁶⁷ which includes strategies of spatial sequestration and renaming for the purpose of

⁵⁶² Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

⁵⁶³ Jonathan S. Gagliardi, Lorelle L. Espinosa, Jonathan M. Turk, and Morgan Taylor, *The American College President Study: 2017* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 2017).

⁵⁶⁴ Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

⁵⁶⁵ Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2005); George Lipsitz, “The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: Racialized Social Democracy and the ‘White’ Problem in American Studies,” *American Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (1995): 369-387.

⁵⁶⁶ Jeffrey F. Milem, Mitchell J. Chang, and Anthony Lising Antonio, *Making Diversity Work on Campus: A Research-Based Perspective* (Washington, DC: Association American Colleges and Universities, 2005).

⁵⁶⁷ Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism.”

eliminating a presence (e.g., the City of Columbia's Ward One and Wheeler Hill neighborhoods are now referred to as USC's campus). Further, as education professor Monica McKinney stated, "denying space to another is an extremely effective method of focusing one's power."⁵⁶⁸ An example of this is the recounting by Blacks of a time when they were not allowed to walk through and instead had to walk around USC's campus.

Throughout the 19th century, broad use of eminent domain catered to private interests; however, by the turn of the 20th century, with industrial growth and economic expansion (e.g., urban development programs), universities became key players in redevelopment projects. In *Connecticut College for Women v. Calvert*, the courts ruled that because the college maintained a racially discriminatory admissions policy, it was not in alignment with the government's stance on the use of eminent domain and therefore, the college could not assert these powers to secure land.⁵⁶⁹ The courts stated: "The vital question is whether ... the public will have a common right upon equal terms, independently of the will or caprice of the corporation, to the use and enjoyment of the property sought to be taken."⁵⁷⁰

4.8 WHITENESS AS PROPERTY IN OUR INSTITUTIONS

As mentioned in Chapter 2, racial capitalism relies on dispossession and displacement to reshape urban environments. As Lori Patton, higher education scholar, asserted, "the functioning of U.S. higher education is intricately linked to imperialistic

⁵⁶⁸ Monica B. McKinney, "Clues from the Classroom: The Hidden Curriculum of Place," in *Postcritical Ethnography: Reinscribing Critique*, eds. George W. Noblit, Susana Y. Flores, and Enrique G. Murrilo, Jr. (Cresskill: Hampton Press, 2004).

⁵⁶⁹ Thomas P. Lewis, "The Meaning of State Action," *Columbia Law Review* 60, no. 8 (1960): 1083-1123.

⁵⁷⁰ Adams et al., "The Private Use of Public Power."

and capitalistic efforts that fuel the intersections of race, property, and oppression.”⁵⁷¹

Without research to make visible how racial and class privileges made it possible for universities to expand, these privileges would remain largely invisible.⁵⁷² As universities grapple with their complicity in past efforts to dispossess and displace, they continue to navigate present-day opportunities to expand. As Jodi Melamed, professor of English and Africana studies argued, “capital can only be capital when it is accumulating, and it can only accumulate by producing and moving through relations of severe inequality among human groups. ... Racism [and colonialism] enshrines the inequalities that capitalism requires.”⁵⁷³ In essence, we should not be surprised that HEIs continue to seek opportunities to expand; if anything, we should expect it.

Paula Chakravartty, professor of interdisciplinary media studies, and Denise Ferreira da Silva, professor of ethnic studies, also pointed out that new modes of accumulation are driven by the search for ““new territories” of consumption and investment [that] have been mapped onto previous racial and colonial (imperial) discourses and practice.”⁵⁷⁴ Thus, land acquisition is an old form of accumulation made new by shifting the target from Native Americans to low-income Black and Brown communities and under new guises of colonialism to racism; yet it uses the same liberal

⁵⁷¹ Patton, “Disrupting Postsecondary Prose.”

⁵⁷² Paul R. Mullins and Lewis C. Jones. “Race, Displacement, and Twentieth-Century University Landscapes: An Archaeology of Urban Renewal and Urban Universities,” In *The Materiality of Freedom: Archaeologies of Postemancipation Life*, ed. Jodi A. Barnes (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011): 250-262.

⁵⁷³ Jodi Melamed, “Racial Capitalism,” *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2015): 76-85.

⁵⁷⁴ Paula Chakravartty and Denise Ferreira Da Silva, “Accumulation, Dispossession, and Debt: The Racial Logic of Global Capitalism—An Introduction,” *American Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2012): 361-385.

discourses to justify the need for government to intervene on behalf of those who cannot sufficiently govern themselves.⁵⁷⁵

The moneys so invested shall constitute a perpetual fund, the capital of which shall remain forever undiminished (except so far as may be provided in section fifth of this act), and the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated, by each State which may take and claim the benefit of this act.⁵⁷⁶

This acknowledgement in the Morrill Act demonstrates that the “public good” of land-grant institutions, from the outset, depended on profits made from capitalist markets and processes of continuous accumulation.⁵⁷⁷ Even attempts to bring to light modes of university accumulation seem to be thwarted by only telling half-truths. Education professor Sharon Stein shared the example of Iowa State University, a land-grant institution that is aiming to collect stories and documentation of the acquisition of the parcels of land the government sold to landowners to help fund the university.⁵⁷⁸ The impetus for this project, according to Iowa State University’s vice president of extension and outreach Cathann Kress, is that “through this land-grant legacy project ... [we will be able to] find and tell these stories, sharing the legacy of the land and the people who helped to build Iowa State University.”⁵⁷⁹ Yet as Stein pointed out, the land-grant legacy project makes no mention of the removal of Indigenous peoples from their land, which made the acquisition of property to build land-grant universities possible. This leaves a conceptual and ethnical gap in the recounting of an institutional history.

⁵⁷⁵ Chakravartty and Ferreira Da Silva, “Accumulation, Dispossession, and Debt.”

⁵⁷⁶ National Research Council, *Colleges of Agriculture at the Land Grant Universities: A Profile* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1995).

⁵⁷⁷ Sharon Stein, “A Colonial History of the Higher Education Present: Rethinking Land-Grant Institutions through Processes of Accumulation and Relations of Conquest,” *Critical Studies in Education* 61, no. 2 (2020): 212-228.

⁵⁷⁸ Diana Pounds, “Land Grant Hunt is On. Check the Map,” *Inside Iowa State*, published February 2, 2017, <http://www.inside.iastate.edu/article/2017/02/02/landgrant>.

⁵⁷⁹ Pounds, “Land Grant Hunt.”

George J. Sefa Dei, education professor, noted: “Dominant group members are usually aware that any acknowledgement of complicity in racial subordination seriously compromises their positions of power and privilege.”⁵⁸⁰ Liberal discourses of a free and open market provide cover and a way to avoid admissions of complicity by the larger white society. Dei discussed a “discourse of evasion” out of fear that discussing race will disrupt hegemonic knowledge.⁵⁸¹ Therefore, in choosing what aspects of institutional histories to share and which parts to leave unexamined, institutions perpetuate white supremacy culture.

Considering CRT scholar Derrick Bell’s interest convergence principle, it would be naïve to expect institutions to make more than symbolic efforts toward remedying their histories unless they have a vested interest that would ensure benefits to them.⁵⁸²

Bell argued the following:

Rule 1. The interest of Blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when the interest converges with the interests of whites in policy-making positions. This convergence is far more important for gaining relief than the degree of harm suffered by Blacks or the character of proof offered to prove that harm.

Rule 2. Even when interest-convergence results in an effective racial remedy, that remedy will be abrogated at the point that policymakers fear the remedial policy is threatening the superior societal status of whites, particularly those in the middle and upper classes.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸⁰ George J. Sefa Dei, “The Denial of Difference: Refraining Anti-Racist Praxis,” *Race Ethnicity and Education* 2, no. 1 (1999): 17-38.

⁵⁸¹ Sefa Dei, “The Denial of Difference.”

⁵⁸² Derrick Bell, “Racial Realism,” *Connecticut Law Review* 24 (1991): 363; Derrick Bell, *Silent Covenants: Brown v. Board of Education and the Unfulfilled Hopes for Racial Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Kimberle W. Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement* (New York: New Press, 1996).

⁵⁸³ Bell, *Silent Covenants*.

As CRT scholars Adrienne Dixon and Celia Anderson made clear, whites in power decide to act because they sense that they will experience greater loss if they fail to act.⁵⁸⁴ Therefore, interest convergence does not describe a balanced negotiation process in which two parties come to a rational compromise; rather, it involves conflict.⁵⁸⁵ In essence, understanding how racial and social dynamics are at play in various decision-making processes has historically resulted in the thwarting of changes that may result in racial equality.

Whiteness as property related to use is demonstrated when universities attempt to “save face” and appease diversity, equity, and inclusion commitments by reviewing the names of buildings and creating taskforces while simultaneously exploiting the uncompensated labor of staff and faculty members of color who serve on the taskforces, knowing at the highest levels that no actual plans will be made.

For example, HEIs across the nation have campus buildings that continue to bear the names of enslavers and white supremacists (e.g., USC’s Solomon Blatt P.E. Center and Strom Thurmond Wellness Center). In USC’s case, after 2 years (2019–2021) of examining the historical context at the university, from evaluating and renaming university buildings to broadening acknowledgement of key groups and individuals that have contributed to the university over time, in July 2021, the Presidential Commission on University History released its final report. In *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Sarah Brown reported that the same week the commission released its report, USC’s vice

⁵⁸⁴ Adrienne D. Dixon and Celia Rousseau Anderson, “Where are We? Critical Race Theory in Education 20 Years Later,” *Peabody Journal of Education* 93, no. 1 (2018): 121-131.

⁵⁸⁵ David Gillborn, “The Policy of Inequity: Using CRT to Unmask White Supremacy in Education Policy,” in *Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education*, eds. Marvin Lynn and Adrienne D. Dixon (New York: Routledge, 2013), 149-159.

president for communications shared an article via email with USC's president from a local paper, *The State*, that reported state lawmakers were "unlikely to pass" any proposed changes in campus building names.⁵⁸⁶ President Harris Pastides replied: "Don't they know that we weren't planning to ask?"⁵⁸⁷ Therefore, brick-and-mortar whiteness as property was maintained, as was the use of whiteness in white systems to exploit labor to protect whiteness.

Another example can be found in communication between Vice President Brunton and the chairman of the CHA about the national goals for urban renewal one of which included the conservation and expansion of housing supply for low and moderate income families.⁵⁸⁸ Brunton states in the letter that the university plans to use the majority of proposed urban renewal project funds for housing, and while this may have truly been the initial plan, the primary focus in the use of funds was not to build housing.⁵⁸⁹ Yet, in the letter Brunton justifies the need for federal funding because of the support the university provides to low income families and students through the Project Upward Bound program and involvement with Headstart.⁵⁹⁰ Brunton goes on to state that the university's housing and food services areas employ a large number of unskilled and semiskilled workers; therefore, the construction of new dormitories and apartments would increase employment opportunities.⁵⁹¹ In essence, Brunton on behalf of the university is advocating to receive funding for the displacement of Black communities by

⁵⁸⁶ Sarah Brown, "The Name-Change Charade: How a Racial-Justice Effort at the U. of South Carolina Became a Smokescreen for Inaction," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, published July 14, 2022, accessed December 18, 2022, <https://www.chronicle.com/article/the-name-change-charade>.

⁵⁸⁷ Brown, "The Name-Change Charade."

⁵⁸⁸ USC Archives, Records-Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

⁵⁸⁹ USC Archives, Records-Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

⁵⁹⁰ USC Archives, Records-Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

⁵⁹¹ USC Archives, Records-Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

demonstrating the university's support of equity efforts. These are all examples of whiteness as property at work. Consequently, the right to exclude also involves the right to determine who is deemed important to archive in the history of the institution. Thus, our educational institutions are a pivotal linchpin in the colonizing system, which is steeped in cultural ideologies such as racial inequalities⁵⁹² that extend into the communities they dispossess, destroy, and then research.

4.9 WHITENESS AS PROPERTY AND THE NCAA

The NCAA was founded in 1906, and all member institutions were HWCUs.⁵⁹³ The NCAA's requirements of amateurism (i.e., that someone play sport for pleasure, not profit) speak to the exclusionary practices of those with wealth and status (i.e., whiteness in the United States).⁵⁹⁴ Amateurism was an invention of "American exceptionalism" that aimed to reflect the class ideology of a growing middle class that neither included the masses nor was elitist.⁵⁹⁵ The amateur movement in intercollegiate athletics mirrored what could also be seen from that time in terms of America's Gilded Age and Progressive Era, where institutions (e.g., academies and private athletics clubs), expectations in society of whom should benefit (e.g., educated, socially mobile white men), and national messaging (e.g., meritocracy, fair play, respectability) proliferated.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹² Antonia Darder, *The Student Guide to Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018).

⁵⁹³ W. Burlette Carter, "The Age of Innocence: The First 25 Years of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1906 to 1931," *Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment and Technology Law* 8 (2005): 211-291.

⁵⁹⁴ Kathleen J. Martin, "Student Attitudes and the Teaching and Learning of Race, Culture and Politics," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 26, no. 3 (2010): 530-539.

⁵⁹⁵ Steven W. Pope, "Amateurism and American Sports Culture: The Invention of an Athletic Tradition in the United States, 1870-1900," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 3 (1996): 290-309.

⁵⁹⁶ Pope, "Amateurism and American Sports Culture."

4.10 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: PLANTATION POLITICS

Anthropologist Bianca Williams and higher education scholars Dian Squire and Frank Tuitt theorized “plantation politics” in 2021. In higher education, plantation politics refers to the connections among historical politics, practices, and discourses in higher education that are used to control, exploit, and marginalize Black people.⁵⁹⁷

Scholars who use plantation politics seek to understand how institutions perpetuate inequalities by avoiding the root causes of problems while also recognizing that old ideologies and tools are connected to new strategies in the university.⁵⁹⁸ As Bell concluded, the past and present are connected: Actions that occurred in the past, such as university engagement with urban renewal, will be justified as a benefit for all, but in reality, they served the interests of whites.⁵⁹⁹

However, Williams, Squire, and Tuitt argued that scholars have not fully explored all the ways in which racism and colonialism are foundational to HEIs.⁶⁰⁰ As such, the title of their book *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions*⁶⁰¹ speaks to the discontent of those who work for universities and those who reside beyond the campus who have developed a heightened awareness of colonialist logic and the anti-Black racism prevalent in their institutions and society. Their scholarly analysis and advocacy encourage those on and beyond the campus to continue to work to dismantle these oppressive forces. For this reason, higher education professor Shaun Harper challenged

⁵⁹⁷ Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism.”

⁵⁹⁸ Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism.”

⁵⁹⁹ Derrick Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (London: Hachette UK, 2018).

⁶⁰⁰ Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism.”

⁶⁰¹ Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism.”

scholars to write papers that expose the systematic dominance and privilege of universities.⁶⁰²

Central to the ideas of plantation politics is the notion that Black people are inhuman and are worth less than white people.⁶⁰³ The assumption is informed by the concept of allochronism, which frames a group of people based on a past time rather than their present lived reality.⁶⁰⁴ In essence, during slavery, Blacks were seen as inhuman, less than, and slaves, and presently, white people continue to see Black people through this lens, which has social and political consequences.⁶⁰⁵ Keep in mind the premise of plantation politics is that old racial ideologies inform new strategies, which is evidenced by higher education policies and practices that mirror former plantation conditions.

This concept is taken up by Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, professor of African American studies, in what she termed “predatory inclusion,” wherein instead of creating real inclusion in housing markets after various laws were passed requiring institutions to comply with equal protection, dominant whites instead found new ways to extract profit from Black communities.⁶⁰⁶ Sheryll Cashin, law professor, similarly cited predatory practices in property taxation revealed by a national study by the Center for Municipal Finance that found that cities were taxing low-valued properties (i.e., Black and Brown properties) at higher rates than they should and taxing high-valued properties (i.e., white properties) at lower rates than they should, which exacerbates racial wealth disparities.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰² Shaun R. Harper, “Race Without Racism: How Higher Education Researchers Minimize Racist Institutional Norms,” *The Review of Higher Education* 36, no. 1 (2012): 9-29.

⁶⁰³ Williams et al., *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions*.

⁶⁰⁴ Williams et al., *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions*.

⁶⁰⁵ Williams et al., *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions*.

⁶⁰⁶ Williams et al., *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions*.

⁶⁰⁷ Cashin, *White Space, Black Hood*.

Thomas J. Durant, Jr., professor of sociology, defined slave plantations as orderly, systematic, and composed of identifiable and interdependent parts both structural and processual.⁶⁰⁸ Example of structural elements on plantations are owners' land, labor, or capital; their present-day equivalent might be seen as the campus, material resources, or university facilities that promote the plantation economy.⁶⁰⁹ Further, Williams et al.⁶¹⁰ pointed to a processual element of plantations such as systematic linkages (e.g., exchange of slave labor); their present-day equivalent might be seen as relations between corporations and university programs and policies.

There seem to be two aspects of plantation politics that could illuminate the role of university athletics expansion efforts on how universities function and their impact. The first is the psychological warfare in which educational institutions engage to make clear that Black bodies are not welcome and the creation of policies and procedures that fuel the academy through Black exploitation and labor.⁶¹¹ This can be seen in the juxtaposition of university admissions policies and the massification of athletic sports through exploiting student-athletes, which ultimately benefit the university,⁶¹² with the simultaneous displacement of predominately Black communities to make space for athletics expansion. The second is the historic overregulation of space as a form of social control that was and is exerted on Black communities to keep them separate from the

⁶⁰⁸ Thomas J. Durant and J. David Kottnerus, eds., *Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999).

⁶⁰⁹ Durant and Kottnerus, *Plantation Society and Race Relations*.

⁶¹⁰ Williams et al., *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions*.

⁶¹¹ Williams et al., *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions*.

⁶¹² Hawkins, *The New Plantation*.

campus (e.g., preventing Blacks from walking on campus prior to desegregation, displacement of Black communities during urban renewal).

Sociologist Jennifer Hamer and African American urban historian Clarence Lang suggested HEIs seriously interested in engaging marginalized groups would develop mutually beneficial rather than extractive relationships with their communities.⁶¹³ As such, universities would avoid extending their campus footprint by acquiring land and subsequently gentrifying neighborhoods.⁶¹⁴ It seems that Black athletes and the Black communities that support them are being gaslighted. Black athletes are wanted by the institution for their athletic prowess that could potentially bring financial gain to the institution, but Black communities are being pushed away from institutions so eager to have Black athletes on their campus.

Aboriginal scholar Irene Watson asked, “Are we free to roam?” If so, “Do I remain the unsettled native, left to unsettle the settled spaces of empire?”⁶¹⁵ As another group of people whose movements have and continue to be restricted, Blacks must also ponder these questions and realize that if the answer continues to be “No, I am not free to roam,” how might we create new possibilities?

4.11 CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The arrows in the conceptual model (Figure 4.1.) represent the hypothesized relationships between variables.

⁶¹³ Hawkins, *The New Plantation*.

⁶¹⁴ Jennifer F. Hamer and Clarence Lang, “Race, Structural Violence, and the Neoliberal University: The Challenges of Inhabitation,” *Critical Sociology* 41, no. 6 (2015): 897-912.

⁶¹⁵ Tuck and McKenzie, *Place in Research*.

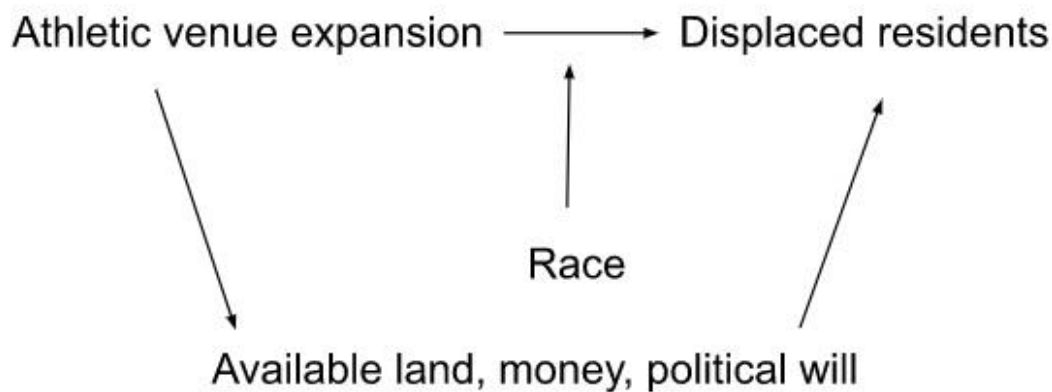


Figure 4.1 Conceptual Model

Note: Conceptual model of the hypothesized relationships between variables.

The desire for athletics venue expansion is driven by the power and prestige that institutions believe will follow due to large financial investments in their athletics programs. However, athletics venue expansion also depends on the material resources available and political will of university and city administrations to make deals. The amount of available land, money, and political will, along with the desire to expand athletics facilities, will determine if residents are displaced.

I contend that what is central to all of these variables is race. Race is a determining factor in who has the material resources and political clout to drive athletics venue expansion efforts, but as I have also demonstrated, where institutions are located (i.e., universities in urban areas) has a disproportionate impact on Black communities. As Sheryll Cashin reminded us, sociologists have theorized that racial segregation is perpetuated based on the social habits and networks it creates and furthers biases that

make people feel a part of or separated from a community.⁶¹⁶ In essence, university athletics venue expansion not only has physical ramifications for racially segregating communities but also has social and affective impact in terms of illustrating who belongs and who is included in or excluded from spaces. Furthermore, this illuminates why Blacks can be included as spectators in sport venues or members of a team's roster, yet athletics venue expansion can simultaneously perpetuate anti-Blackness.

⁶¹⁶ Cashin, *White Space, Black Hood*.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1 RESEARCH STUDY

I studied and analyzed information that has been shared and archived regarding USC land acquisition for athletics and physical education venue expansion. I aim to inquire about the motivations and decision making that allowed the dispossession of predominately Black neighborhoods and the resulting historical and ongoing impact on residents of those communities. I also identified the systemic barriers that prevented the Black community from successfully advocating on its behalf to keep its land, thus enabling the development of potential strategies and needed changes in institutional policy. The site for this study is the University of South Carolina a large, public, HEI located in Columbia, SC specifically the land where the Carolina Coliseum and Blatt P.E. Center are currently situated, formerly the location of Ward One and presently still Wheeler Hill communities. During the timeframe of interest 1964-1971, USC's student population nearly doubled from 6,029 in 1963 to 11,827 in 1970,⁶¹⁷ and the City of Columbia's population was approximately 105,000.⁶¹⁸

My research questions are: (1) What were the motivations among USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA in urban renewal efforts from year to year? What role did the

⁶¹⁷ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

⁶¹⁸ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*; "Columbia, SC Population," *Population.us*, accessed March 5, 2023, <https://population.us/sc/columbia/>.

desire for secondary effects of athletics expansion play in university expansion efforts?

(2) What were the decision-making processes among USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA in urban renewal efforts from 1964 to 1971? How were constituents living in urban renewal areas involved in urban renewal efforts? (3) How did community members displaced by USC's athletics expansion through urban renewal describe (a) efforts to build athletics facilities and (b) the impact of displacement and the destruction of their communities on their lives? By using an abductive approach, a combination of both inductive and deductive work with the data, I was able to understand what is specific and unique to the displacement of Ward One and Wheeler Hill residents by USC. I was most interested in understanding the experiences of members in these communities and how they have made meaning of those experiences.

As an HEI administrator presently committed to working in HEIs, I deeply value the educational aspirations reflected in attaining a college degree. Yet both historically and currently, many constraints have been put in place to prevent or hinder the admission, enrollment, persistence, retention, and graduation of people of color.⁶¹⁹ HWCUs may be unwelcoming to people of color, both students and staff members, who seek to attend and work at these institutions. And HWCUs may seem even more unwelcoming to those community members who surround the campus and may never set foot on campus.

I have always had an interest in understanding how universities engage with their local communities and tended to see those relationships as positive or mutually beneficial (e.g., community service projects, service-learning classes, experiential learning opportunities). Yet I had failed to interrogate how the departments in which I have

⁶¹⁹ Patton, "Disrupting Postsecondary Prose."

worked also could pose harm, similar to admissions office decisions or the creation and implementation of criteria and ratings in academic departments. However, beyond specific departments, I want to understand how the institution as a whole engaged with local Black communities.

I am not opposed to university expansion; however, I believe it should be done in a mutually beneficial manner such as using CBAs. CBAs guarantee long-term benefits to residents of inner-city neighborhoods affected by the expansion of anchor institutions.⁶²⁰ Anchor institutions are any large enterprise or organization that brings together economic and financial assets, human resources, and physical structures and has an established presence in the community (e.g., university).⁶²¹

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, although athletics functions as an auxiliary service, to those outside the institution, the university and athletics are seen as the same. Therefore, I had the same feelings about university expansion for athletics as I did for university expansion for academic buildings, research parks, innovation districts, etc. When the university chooses to exert its power and influence to only benefit the university and at the expense of others, I found that to be highly problematic.

USC serves as an ideal site for analysis as a member of a Power Five (e.g., SEC) athletics conference. Because USC is a member of one of the most competitive athletic conferences, which generate the most revenue, it will be useful to understand how and

⁶²⁰ Nichola Lowe and Brian J. Morton, "Developing Standards: The Role of Community Benefits Agreements in Enhancing Job Quality," *Community Development* 39, no. 2 (2008): 23-35; Virginia Parks and Dorian Warren, "The Politics and Practice of Economic Justice: Community Benefits Agreements as Tactic of the New Accountable Development Movement," *Journal of Community Practice* 17, no. 1-2 (2009): 88-106.

⁶²¹ Henry S. Webber and Mikael Karlstrom, *Why Community Investment is Good for Nonprofit Anchor Institutions: Understanding Costs, Benefits, and the Range of Strategic Options* (Chicago: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago, 2009).

why it chose to expand and where it may be instructive in analyzing other similarly situated large public HEIs. Additionally, as previously noted, there is a dearth of research on Southern and public HEIs.

Defining the unit of analysis was the first step in analyzing data.⁶²² Because my study examines university–city perspectives and Black community member perspectives, my unit of analysis was the process of dispossession. Data collection and analysis have related concepts that contribute to these processes, such as unit of sampling, unit of analysis, and unit of observation.⁶²³ A sampling unit was a selection of a population that is used as an extrapolation for the overall population, a unit of analysis was the entity on the basis of which analysis was done, and the unit of observation refers to the entity in which measurements were done.

This study focuses on the period between 1964 and 1971, beginning with USC administrators’ conception of the Carolina Coliseum and concluding with the dedication of the Solomon Blatt P.E. Center. During this time, USC was experiencing rapid growth as a result of post-World War II veterans taking advantage of the G.I. Bill, reaching 7,300 students in fall 1962 and 22,700 by fall 1974.⁶²⁴ Additionally, other pivotal decisions were made during this time, such as eventual compliance with federal civil rights laws requiring desegregation. Desegregation took place in 1963, the same year USC brought Harold “Hal” Brunton on board as vice president for business affairs. Brunton was

⁶²² William M. K. Trochim and James P. Donnelly, *Research Methods Knowledge Base*, Vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 2001).

⁶²³ Sanjay Kumar, “Understanding Different Issues of Unit of Analysis in a Business Research,” *Journal of General Management Research* 5, no. 2 (2018): 70-82.

⁶²⁴ Richard F. Galehouse and Patrick L. Phillips, *The Power of the Plan: Building a University in One of America’s First Planned Cities* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2019).

instrumental in university expansion efforts. As race relations continued to be strained between the HWCU and surrounding majority-Black community, the interplay of university expansion in Columbia with the height of the civil rights movement fully infused race in the conversation.

At the same time, the City of Columbia passed the 100,000-population mark in 1970.⁶²⁵ Lester L. Bates, Sr. served as mayor from 1958–1966, and some of his major accomplishments included improving air service via the opening of the Columbia Metropolitan Airport, incorporation of the U.S. Army’s Fort Jackson into the Columbia city limits, and the construction of the Carolina Coliseum in collaboration with USC.⁶²⁶ Columbia also twice received the All-American City designation under Bates; however, not without dissenting opinions from many in the Black community.

In terms of the intersection between the city and its government and the university, Columbia was one of the first planned cities in the United States, and the State Capitol sits adjacent to USC.⁶²⁷ Therefore, it was not surprising that any “wheeling and dealing” that took place at the Capitol was known by those on campus and vice versa. University alumni such as Solomon “Sol” Blatt, who served as speaker of the house from 1937–1947 and again from 1951–1973, were huge supporters of USC’s athletics department, and Blatt became chair of the USC Athletics Committee in 1942. Blatt

⁶²⁵ Alexia Jones Helsley, *Columbia, South Carolina: A History* (Mount Pleasant: Arcadia, 2015).

⁶²⁶ Julia Arrants, “Bates, Lester Lee, Sr.,” *South Carolina Encyclopedia*, accessed September 29, 2022, <https://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/bates-lester-lee-sr/>.

⁶²⁷ Galehouse and Phillips, *The Power of the Plan*.

stated, “I would say that each year I got a dollar or two more for the University in the state appropriation bill that wouldn’t have been there had it not been for my activity.”⁶²⁸

Finally, during the 1960s and into the 1970s, CHA implemented several new programs to subsidize privately owned rental properties while also facing criticism for its public housing construction programs being too expensive.⁶²⁹ At the same time, the increased rates of postwar homeownership and suburbanization resulted in public housing serving the poorest tenants.⁶³⁰ In 1974, the Housing and Community Act created the Section 8 Housing Assistance Program.⁶³¹ Concurrently, several key positions on the CHA board were filled by USC allies such as John A. Chase, former USC dean of administration, and recently retired USC President Robert Sumwalt.

This research study was divided into three overlapping phases. The first phase examines the history of urban renewal efforts at USC and how the university collaborated with the City of Columbia and CHA. The second phase explores the impact of USC’s displacement of predominately Black families for the development of athletics and physical education venue expansion on Black community members’ lives. This includes a focus on the planning of university administrators and city leaders as well as the lived experiences of Black residents. The final phase focused on analyzing the desire for athletics and physical education amenities and how it contributed to university expansion efforts. This included identifying present-day university athletics land expansion efforts

⁶²⁸ Solomon Blatt, *The Bridge Builder: Solomon Blatt Reflects on a Lifetime of Service to South Carolina* (Columbia: McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, 1986).

⁶²⁹ “History: History of Columbia Housing Authority of the City of Columbia, S.C.,” *Columbia Housing Authority*, accessed September 29, 2022, <https://www.columbiahousingsc.org/history>.

⁶³⁰ “History,” Columbia Housing Authority.

⁶³¹ “History,” Columbia Housing Authority.

at USC and other large public universities that are similarly displacing or intend to displace residents.

5.2 HISTORIOGRAPHY

Histories establish what happened, why it happened, and the significance of the happening.⁶³² To address my research questions, I used historiography, which refers to the writing of history, methods of gathering evidence, and arrangement of findings into a meaningful pattern, including both practical methods and theoretical reconstructions of the past.⁶³³ British historian Alun Munslow aptly stated that historiography is contested terrain due to competing interpretations and assumptions that historians make about what constitutes “particular varieties, versions, visions, revisions, and conceptions of history.”⁶³⁴ In historiography, the researcher also seeks to understand how the history of a particular topic has been taken up by other historians, examining their ideologies and arguments, scope and foci, treatment of sources, and historical context.⁶³⁵

The major difference between historiography and other historical methodologies is the focus on chronology in the telling of human events.⁶³⁶ Researchers must consider the historical context, because the significance of any event depends as much on what comes after as what comes before.⁶³⁷ For that reason, historians must also problematize the notion of chronology and linearity in the research process, because our interpretations

⁶³² Zoe Lowery, ed., *Historiography* (New York: Rosen, 2015).

⁶³³ Peniel E. Joseph, “The Black Power Movement: A State of the Field,” *Journal of American History* 96, no. 3 (2009): 751-776.

⁶³⁴ Alun Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

⁶³⁵ Marybeth Gasman, “Swept under the Rug? A Historiography of Gender and Black Colleges,” *American Educational Research Journal* 44, no. 4 (2007): 760-805.

⁶³⁶ Gasman, “Swept under the Rug?”

⁶³⁷ Gasman, “Swept under the Rug?”

inform our insights and the conclusions we draw.⁶³⁸ For instance, professor emeritus Lynn Fendler pointed out that historians often find things in reverse chronological order, which transforms our earlier interpretations as a result of later findings.⁶³⁹ As such, the process of research itself disrupts how we understand history. Further, historians make judgments about whose story they should tell first. The historian may choose, for various reasons, to sequence events based on rhetorical preference or logistical necessity during their writing process.

Another aspect of consideration for historians was the concept of presentism, which is the tendency to (mis)interpret past events through the interpretive lenses of the present.⁶⁴⁰ Although some historians employ methods such as triangulation to overcome this obstacle, others see presentism as inevitable.⁶⁴¹ Therefore, the purpose of historical studies was to effectively critique and help readers think differently about the past.⁶⁴²

Critical historical writing, according to professor emeritus of history William D. Wright, requires critical sociology because it involves investigating and explaining human behavior in time and across time.⁶⁴³ Moreover, a recording of social history, especially history “from the bottom up,” creates a historical record with those who have been shut out of the documentary record.⁶⁴⁴ Yet historical narratives and artifacts do not tell the full story because they are testimonies of an epistemological account of the past.

⁶³⁸ Lynn Fendler, “New Cultural Histories,” in *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education: Debates, Tensions, and Directions*, ed. Tanya Fitzgerald (New York: Springer, 2019): 1-17.

⁶³⁹ Fendler, “New Cultural Histories.”

⁶⁴⁰ Fendler, “New Cultural Histories.”

⁶⁴¹ Fendler, “New Cultural Histories.”

⁶⁴² Fendler, “New Cultural Histories.”

⁶⁴³ William D. Wright, *Black History and Black Identity: A Call for a New Historiography* (Westport: Greenwood, 2002).

⁶⁴⁴ Wright, *Black History and Black Identity*.

Those who research history must consider the conditions and motivations for which sources are produced and realize that what was provided never tells the full story.⁶⁴⁵

Understanding the nuances of historiography as a research approach requires being mindful that societal, political, and economic issues across time may alter the recording of history. It was for that reason that I used Black historiography, which employs a critical lens to evaluate documentary evidence. This methodological framework recognized the past is not resigned to the past. Black historiographers seek to reveal the continuity between our past and present by unveiling how past structural inequalities are repeated in the present.⁶⁴⁶ Additionally, Black historiography assumes that virtually all documentary evidence reflects implied value assumptions, understandings of words, and images.⁶⁴⁷ As such, it is imperative that I am clear about my assumptions, how I defined terms, and what images I choose to employ in my research. At the same time, I am particularly mindful of professor emeritus Soyini Madison's warning that whenever our position as researcher-advocate places others in a questionable light, we must consider the context of their lives in relation to the structures of power that constitute their actions, culture, and history.⁶⁴⁸ The researcher must be clear about their ethical intent and understand their motivation for engaging in a particular research project.⁶⁴⁹ In addition, Wright called on those employing Black historiography to borrow concepts and themes from other academic knowledge areas (e.g., sociology,

⁶⁴⁵ Marctha C. Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

⁶⁴⁶ Wright, *Black History and Black Identity*.

⁶⁴⁷ Wright, *Black History and Black Identity*.

⁶⁴⁸ D. Soyini Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2011).

⁶⁴⁹ Madison, *Critical Ethnography*.

political science) to understand and explain historical periods, processes, or events. Finally, Black historiography fully recognizes the substantial contribution of Black people to American history and the construction of American culture, society, and civilization.

As mentioned previously, although urban renewal historiography is another type of historiography that could have been employed in this research, central to my understanding of my research questions is a focus on race and how it was and is deployed to affect people. Urban renewal historiography would place the emphasis of racial discrimination and disinvestment on the cities; whereas I used Black historiography to focus the analysis on how past structural inequalities at the intersection of race are repeated in the present.⁶⁵⁰

Compared to the vast historiography of urban renewal (1949–1974) as it relates to primarily city-led projects, university-led projects outside of the Northeast and Midwest have been largely overlooked by scholars. USC’s urban renewal program had important implications for the wider historiography of urban renewal and significance to the history of HEIs. Both historically and contemporarily, various campus and city leaders had advocated for university athletics expansion as a means of asserting progress; yet by examining archival records, oral histories, and listening to the accounts of those affected by university athletics expansion efforts another story emerges. Even as many institutions are willing to confront their institutional complicity in urban renewal, they simultaneously continue spatial expansion.⁶⁵¹ As such, the particularities of an event (i.e.,

⁶⁵⁰ Wright, *Black History and Black Identity*.

⁶⁵¹ Barnes, “The Materiality of Freedom.”

examining the conditions in which it occurred) can aid in understanding the outcomes and potential future outcomes of other events.

I began my archival research by visiting the USC Caroliniana Library to gather primary and secondary sources related to university athletics, administration, Ward One, Wheeler Hill, and athletics facilities beginning in 1961 through 1974 with the completion of Blatt P.E. Center. I worked with university archivists and used finding aids to select appropriate information that informed the decision-making processes and revealed motivations behind those decisions via letter correspondence and literature being read and disseminated.

Historians of higher education need to address institutional inequalities and examine their social roles.⁶⁵² By studying what is missing from the historical record, we can come to a better understanding of our institutional histories. Several historians have examined the communities of Ward One and Wheeler Hill and provided unique insights that have been helpful to my research.

In 1976, Janice Ellen Jones completed her USC thesis in geography titled *Environmental Cognition and Satisfaction: Wheeler Hill, Columbia, South Carolina*.⁶⁵³ Jones explored the use of land for commercial and noncommercial use and the environmental impact on the land's occupants. She looked at the Wheeler Hill neighborhood due to its location in a transition zone (i.e., portions of residential development bounded by commercial and institutional land). Jones aimed to understand

⁶⁵² Harold Silver, "'Things Change but Names Remain the Same': Higher Education Historiography 1975–2000," *History of Education* 35, no. 1 (2006): 121–140.

⁶⁵³ Jones, "Environmental Cognition and Satisfaction."

the satisfaction Wheeler Hill residents had regarding the physical and social aspects of their neighborhood.

In 2005, Staci Leanne Richey completed her USC thesis in public history titled *Variations on a Theme: Planning for the Elimination of Black Neighborhoods in Downtown Columbia, South Carolina, 1905-1970*.⁶⁵⁴ Richey examined Columbia's city planning efforts, zoning laws, and urban renewal as tools used to eradicate Black areas. She looked at the work of the Urban Rehabilitation Commission's efforts to eliminate blight and attempts at social reform of Black communities. Richey explored how studies conducted by the City of Columbia associated blight with Black communities, and she demonstrated the detrimental impact of such targeted efforts to eliminate Black communities on the makeup of downtown Columbia.

In 2009, Paige Fennell completed *Anatomy of a Neighborhood: Ward One* for her USC honors thesis.⁶⁵⁵ Fennell provided an account of the community members, both white and Black, who lived in Ward One. She recounted Ward One residents' occupations based on U.S. census records and the City of Columbia People's Directory, providing valuable details about the occupations and living conditions of residents during this period. Fennell constructed an image of the community and life that Ward One's Black residents created and their role in developing Columbia into a thriving community with social and civic organizations and church events. Like other authors who have examined this period of urban renewal and displacement of Black communities in

⁶⁵⁴ Staci Leanne Richey, "Variations on a Theme: Planning for the Elimination of Black Neighborhoods in Downtown Columbia, South Carolina, 1905-1970," (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 2004).

⁶⁵⁵ Paige S. Fennell, "Anatomy of a Neighborhood: Ward One," (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 2009).

Columbia, she concluded that the outcome was inevitable, stating: “In so many respects the rebirth of Columbia required the death of a much beloved neighborhood.”⁶⁵⁶

In 2010, Ashley Nichole Bouknight completed her USC thesis in public history titled *‘Casualty of Progress’: The Ward One Community and Urban Renewal, Columbia, South Carolina, 1964-1974*.⁶⁵⁷ Bouknight was the first local historian to explicitly look at the role USC played in urban renewal in Columbia and to do so through the lens of race. She explored the relationship between the university, City of Columbia, and CHA to better understand the reasons for displacement of Ward One residents. Bouknight also delved into the financial aspects of how urban renewal projects were funded and which agencies took initiative at what points to keep projects moving forward.

In 2020, Staci Leanne Richey, mentioned previously, who by this time had graduated and served as a historian with Access Preservation, and Dr. Lydia Mattice Brandt, USC professor and architectural historian, completed a report titled *Columbia Downtown Historic Resource Survey* for the City of Columbia’s Planning and Development Services.⁶⁵⁸ Although the focus of their report is the architectural history of Columbia, it also provides a helpful analysis of urban renewal projects that took place across the city. By considering disciplinary perspectives such as city planning and how issues are examined through various lenses, a more comprehensive story can be pulled together for those trying to understand the motivations and impact of urban renewal.

⁶⁵⁶ Fennell, “Anatomy of a Neighborhood.”

⁶⁵⁷ Bouknight, “‘Casualty of Progress.’”

⁶⁵⁸ Staci Richey and Lydia Mattice Brandt, *Columbia Downtown Historic Resource Survey* (Columbia: South Carolina State Library, 2021).

Finally, in 2021, Sophie Kahler completed her USC honors thesis titled *The Evolution of Columbia's Neighborhoods: 1937 to Present*.⁶⁵⁹ Kahler looked at the sociogeographic evolution of neighborhoods in Columbia, including Ward One and Wheeler Hill, for an extensive period. She paid particular attention to the racial and socioeconomic segregation that resulted due to redlining and racial zoning practices employed by lending companies and the effects of urban renewal. Kahler concluded her thesis by providing a detailed analysis of the long-term implications of residential segregation and how it affects educational attainment, crime, the wealth gap, environmental justice, and public health conditions of racial minority communities.

I added to this body of literature by examining the collaboration between the university, City of Columbia, and CHA in pursuing urban renewal projects, but with a focus on how the desire for athletics and physical education venue expansion and displacement of Black communities aided multiple objectives for the university and city. Additionally, in considering the federal funding of urban renewal projects, I specifically focused on Section 112 (the provision that allowed universities to engage in eminent domain) and the decision-making role of USC administrators, which had been unexamined thoroughly in previous studies.

5.3 DATA COLLECTION

The first phase of my study required examining public documents, most of which can be found in the USC archives and City of Columbia's records (e.g., official memos, minutes, reports, archival materials, oral histories). Official documents provided valuable data for any analysis of official definitions of what is "defined as problematic, what is

⁶⁵⁹ Kahler, "The Evolution of Columbia's Neighborhoods."

viewed as the explanation of the problem, and what is deemed to be the preferred solution.”⁶⁶⁰ By examining documents firsthand instead of relying on others’ accounts of archival materials, I gained a better understanding of what administrators deemed to be problematic and interpreted how they chose to explain and develop solutions to what they considered a problem. A critical reading of documents can also tell researchers what is not seen as problematic, which explanations are rejected or omitted, and which solutions are not preferred.⁶⁶¹

Consequently, historians should be critical about archival materials and their attempts to interpret them, because archives are curated.⁶⁶² Furthermore, data analysis is often embedded in data collection; for example, in selecting which photos to take or include in formal analysis.⁶⁶³ Regarding archival research, Barbara L’Eplattenier, professor of rhetoric and writing, suggested researchers should discuss elements of the archive that puzzled them or were of special note to “destabilize the story presented” by the archive and the researcher’s use of the archive.⁶⁶⁴

I used several archives and special collections to complete this research, including the USC South Caroliniana Library, Richland Public Library Main Walker Local and Family History Center, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (i.e., specifically as it relates to the Commission of Higher Education archives), and CHA. An archive contains records created or received by a person, family, or organization and is

⁶⁶⁰ Victor Jupp, “Documents and Critical Research,” in *Data Collection and Analysis*, eds. Roger Sapsford and Victor Jupp (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996), 298-316.

⁶⁶¹ Victor Jupp and Clive Norris, “Traditions in Documentary Analysis,” in *Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice*, ed. Martin Hammersley (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1993), 37-51.

⁶⁶² Barbara E. L’Eplattenier, “An Argument for Archival Research Methods: Thinking Beyond Methodology,” *College English* 72, no. 1 (2009): 67-79.

⁶⁶³ Pink (2007), as cited in Tuck and McKenzie, *Place in Research*.

⁶⁶⁴ L’Eplattenier, “An Argument for Archival Research.”

preserved because of continuing value.⁶⁶⁵ A special collection is an individual collection of library materials of research value.⁶⁶⁶ Institutional archives and special collections differ in how documents are acquired. Special collections materials generally are acquired from outside the institution, by either purchase or donation.⁶⁶⁷ Like institutional archives, collections generally do not circulate (i.e., not available to be checked out).

The Caroliniana Library is the main repository for collections related to South Carolina culture during the past 300 years.⁶⁶⁸ Most materials I researched were located via an online finding aid repository (e.g., records of the president, vice president of operations, and Athletics Committee). However, the actual records are not available online. This required me to go to the library to explore the records, document by document.

In working with the university archivist, Elizabeth West, I learned that the University Archives were not established until 1976, so many early records were lost or not maintained properly, resulting in gaps in the historical record.⁶⁶⁹ Because USC is a state agency, its records are subject to retention schedules produced by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History under the South Carolina Public Records Act. As such, offices and departments are encouraged to transfer records to the archives regularly, when a dean or vice president leaves, or when the departments run out of storage room. She also stated that the “Big Three”—the board, president, and provost

⁶⁶⁵ “Archives,” *Society of American Archivists*, accessed October 14, 2022, <https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/archives.html>.

⁶⁶⁶ “Special Collection,” *Society of American Archivists*, accessed October 14, 2022, <https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/special-collection.html>.

⁶⁶⁷ “Special Collection,” *Society of American Archivists*.

⁶⁶⁸ “Tools & Resources,” *University of South Carolina*, accessed October 14, 2022, https://sc.edu/about/offices_and_divisions/university_libraries/browse/south_caroliniana/index.php.

⁶⁶⁹ Elizabeth West, personal communication, October 19, 2022.

offices—transfer records every summer.⁶⁷⁰ As the university archivist, West consults with them on what to transfer, only weeds out material that she does not have room to take, and states she is diligent about weeding out as little as possible.⁶⁷¹

The Richland Public Library Main Walker Local and Family History Center provides access to a collection of print and digital materials related to genealogy and local history for the state of South Carolina and especially the Midlands.⁶⁷² The center also includes Columbia City directories, which allow researchers to identify the name and occupation of residents of a particular site, and various maps of Columbia across time.

The South Carolina Department of Archives and History states its mission is “to preserve and promote the documentary and cultural heritage of the state through archival care and preservation, records management, public access, historic preservation, and education.”⁶⁷³ The department holds electronic records from the South Carolina Commission of Higher Education. The commission publishes various documents and reports on higher education practices in the state for citizens, higher education facilities, and the General Assembly. The commission’s minutes and meeting materials are only available from 1967–2010.

CHA’s history is detailed on its website.⁶⁷⁴ CHA has physical records that are available to view by appointment. Due to my existing relationship to Sophie Kohler, a

⁶⁷⁰ Elizabeth West, personal communication, October 19, 2022.

⁶⁷¹ Elizabeth West, personal communication, October 19, 2022.

⁶⁷² “Walker Local and Family History Center,” *Richland Library*, accessed October 14, 2022, <https://www.richlandlibrary.com/local-history>.

⁶⁷³ “About Us,” *South Carolina Department of Archives and History*, accessed October 14, 2022, <https://scdah.sc.gov/about-us>.

⁶⁷⁴ “History,” Columbia Housing Authority.

former USC student who conducted her honors thesis using information from the CHA archives, I already had access to some of these records.

I also used oral history records found in USC's Department of Oral Histories, which included transcripts and audio recordings of former residents of Wheeler Hill and Ward One as well as university administrators. Due to Fannie Phelps Adams name coming up several times amongst my interviewees and because of her membership on the Wheeler Hill committee, I wanted to make sure I included some primary sources from her when possible. While Ms. Adams did complete an interview as part of the Margaret J. Gibbes Theus Oral History Collection the focus was more on her thoughts on education in general, desegregation efforts, and her time at Booker T. Washington, not as a member of the Wheeler Hill community. However, this interview provided me helpful background knowledge of how Black educators and community members navigated the pressures dealing with segregation while also excelling as educators. One interview was suggested to me by the director of the Department of Oral History, Andrea L'Hommedieu because she knew Lewis Burns was a Ward One resident who worked at Kline Iron & Steel. He recounted his own experiences that she thought would be relevant to my research study as part of a separate living history project.⁶⁷⁵ Finally, the interview from Charles Whitten was part of the university history category within The South Carolina Oral History Collection. There are five separate interviews in which Mr. Whitten provides his thoughts on urban renewal, desegregation, and athletics.⁶⁷⁶ As independent researcher and education consultant, Alistair Stewart suggested, scholars can "read the

⁶⁷⁵ Lewis Burns, Interview by Andrea L'Hommedieu, June 21, 2016, USC Archives, Oral Histories, <https://digital.library.sc.edu/exhibits/kline/interviews/lewis-burns/>

⁶⁷⁶ Oral history interview with Charles Whitten.

landscape” by engaging oral stories to determine the relationship among cultures, communities, and geographical places.⁶⁷⁷ Finally, by exploring newspaper articles from this period, I examined community members’ perspectives of the same events archived in the city and university records.

To strengthen my analysis, in the second phase of my study, I employed semi structured interviews with predeveloped questions to guide one-on-one interviews with relevant participants (see Appendix C). One-on-one interviewing requires individuals who are not hesitant to speak and share ideas.⁶⁷⁸ Although the subject matter may be difficult for individuals to talk about due to sadness, shame, or anger, I hoped by building rapport with interviewees that made them feel at ease sharing their experiences. I recorded the interviews and used a transcription service to transcribe the data. Abductive thematic analysis of the interviews was conducted to interpret data using DeDoose software. In addition, all participants were asked for any appropriate documents that had relevance to what was revealed during the interview to share with me to guide my data analysis.

Finally, to understand how I made meaning of the archival material examined, L’Eplattenier suggested showing readers the “cracks, fissures, and gaps” to allow them to see how information was constructed.⁶⁷⁹ This includes where information may be missing or accounts that are inconsistent regarding the same event. However, it also means

⁶⁷⁷ Alistair Stewart, “Whose Place, Whose History? Outdoor Environmental Education Pedagogy as ‘Reading’ the Landscape,” *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning* 8, no. 2 (2008): 79-98.

⁶⁷⁸ Richard A. Krueger, *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2014).

⁶⁷⁹ L’Eplattenier, “An Argument for Archival Research.”

pointing out blind spots, such as information revealed in the archive that had not been considered prior to the research but may be important to the study.

5.4 PARTICIPANT SAMPLING

Nonprobability sampling techniques are often used in exploratory and qualitative research. I employed purposive sampling, in which I selected a sample that I felt was most useful to the purposes of the research. An effective purposive sample must have clear criteria and rationale for inclusion. The essential component of purposive sampling is the participants' breadth of experiences with the phenomenon.⁶⁸⁰ Successful purposive sampling is not based on the number of participants, but the value and quality that each participant contributes toward answering the research question.⁶⁸¹

The following inclusion criteria were applied to this process: (a) the participant was present during the urban renewal period in Columbia, South Carolina; and (b) the participant was a member of the Columbia community or employed by USC, the City of Columbia, or CHA. Consequently, exclusion criteria included: (a) the participant was unable to fully describe their experiences and observations of the impact of urban renewal in their lives; and (b) the participant's response was believable and sincere but lacked facts or substantial detail.

Because I wanted to know more about the impact of USC's decision making and motivations, as well as the displacement of predominately Black residents in the selected sites, I relied on community networks and organizations, both formal and informal, to

⁶⁸⁰ Imelda T. Coyne, "Sampling in Qualitative Research. Purposeful and Theoretical Sampling; Merging or Clear Boundaries?," *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 26, no. 3 (1997): 623-630.

⁶⁸¹ Michael Q. Patton, "Qualitative Research" in *Encyclopedia of Statistics in Behavioral Science* (New York: Wiley, 2005).

reach out to participants (e.g., churches, community leaders). I was fortunate to connect with a USC College of Education faculty member who had strong familial ties to the Wheeler Hill community, and she was able to connect me with one of my participants. Due to my relationship with this faculty member and meeting to discuss my research with her in detail, prior to her sharing her contacts' name with me, provided her enough information to feel comfortable vouching for me to her contact. Another aspect that was critical in my interviews was rapport-building to develop trustworthiness. Prior to any formal interview questions being asked, I spent time telling my participants about my own family's connection to South Carolina and my interest in this research study. There were also potential participants that I reached out to who did not respond to my requests for participation, whether due to their current role with USC, past affiliations with athletics, or living as a current resident of Wheeler Hill. I emailed and called potential participants letting them know the purpose of my study and was transparent that I would be taking a critical look at the university's role, which may have informed their decisions not to participate or perhaps they were simply busy. Unfortunately, many university administrators and city leaders who made many of the decisions regarding urban renewal projects are no longer living; therefore, my exploration of their decisions and motivations via their accounts in the archives were examined critically and triangulated with other data.

Due to the primary targets of displacement efforts being Black community members, I made sure that my dissertation centered their voices. Critical theorists acknowledge that reality is shaped by ethnic, cultural, gender, social, and political values and tend to focus on those realities mediated by power relations, which have been

socially and historically configured.⁶⁸² I expected myriad stories reflecting the vastness of the Black experience during this time. Although I encountered people still upset and saddened by the loss of their community, other community members who seemed to have found a way to come to terms with past injustices, and all these stories are worthy of lifting up.

I conducted my interviews from the end of January 2023 through the middle of March 2023. Table 5.1 is a summary of information by participant group. I was introduced to most of my participants through trusted brokers in the community. Dr. Toby Jenkins, a faculty member at USC's College of Education and a long-time resident of Columbia, South Carolina has strong familial ties to various Black communities, those still in existence as well as those which were previously displaced. Dr. Jenkins connected me with Ms. Alexandra Furgess via email and I was able to share my research with her initially via an introductory phone conversation and later on in an in-person meeting that lasted several hours. Ms. Furgess taught French at Benedict College and also worked at USC as an administrator. Mr. J.T. McLawhorn, executive director of the Columbia Urban League is someone that I work with through my university administrator role. I assumed that he would have potential connections to community members of interest to my study due to his active engagement in the Black community. Mr. McLawhorn was able to provide email introductions to both Mr. James Redfern II and Mr. Hemphill Pride II. Rev. Redfern II currently serves as presiding bishop of the Ecumenical Church of Christ and founding Board Chair of the National Association of Nonprofit Organizations and

⁶⁸² Joseph G. Ponterotto, "Qualitative Research in Counseling Psychology: A Primer on Research Paradigms and Philosophy of Science," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52, no. 2 (2005): 126.

Executives. Mr. Pride II is a long-time practicing attorney in the Columbia community and practiced alongside the son of Minister Lincoln Jenkins' (i.e., Minister of Union Baptist Church displaced by USC expansion efforts). Mr. Redfern II referred me to one individual who lived out of state and this person felt I might better be served in talking with a friend of theirs which led me to my connection to Ms. Elizabeth Martin. Ms. Martin lives in Atlanta, GA and has worked in several federal government roles including the U.S. Economic Development Administration and the U.S. Department of Transportation in Miami, Florida. Finally, I was very interested in connecting with the churches that were displaced as a result of these urban renewal projects as I anticipated that connecting with the church would also provide me access to a multitude of residents who not only lived in these neighborhoods but attended churches in these communities. I was only successful in receiving a response back from Dr. Dante Kenly, pastor of St. James AME Church. Dr. Kenly is the 37th pastor of this church, while also serving as one of the youngest pastors for the past seven years. Dr. Kenly also explored the transitional nature of his church through his dissertation in terms of St. James AME Church moving from a community church to a commuter church.

I was unsuccessful reaching out to former athletes that played for Frank McGuire and current faculty who are also current members of the Wheeler Hill community. This may have been a result of lack of interest, pressing time commitments, and/or my transparency in taking a critical perspective of the university's role in urban renewal projects.

I chose to include whether participants previously attended Booker T. Washington (BTW) high school because while BTW was not a primary focus of this research study,

BTW was a significant part of the Wheeler Hill community and one of the few remaining vestiges of the resilience of the Black community. Opened in 1916, at 1400 Wheat St., BTW was the city of Columbia's only high school for African-Americans and became an important cultural institution across the state of South Carolina.⁶⁸³ The majority of buildings that comprised the BTW campus were torn down by USC, which bought the school in 1974.⁶⁸⁴ USC historian, Henry Lesesne notes that in mid-1975 a Horseshoe advisory committee aimed to restore the historic Horseshoe "buildings' façades to their antebellum appearance and to make the grounds themselves more attractive than ever".⁶⁸⁵ "The horseshoe-shaped drive was closed to cars and paved with salvaged bricks from the Booker T. Washington High School complex".⁶⁸⁶ In my interview with Mr. Redfern, he states, "Yeah, they still walking on us. I mean, that's an insult"⁶⁸⁷ in reference to the use of the bricks in this way. Today the auditorium is the only remaining building at this site. The auditorium was constructed in 1956 using state funds meant to equalize educational facilities in South Carolina, which the state government hoped would stall integration efforts.⁶⁸⁸

During my participant interviews, two of my interviewees asked me to either stop recording or to not include the information they were about to share. I believe that rapport-building with at least one of the participants was the reason they were willing to share as much as they did as we spent a significant amount of time together. While I

⁶⁸³ "National Register Listing: Booker T. Washington High School Auditorium," *SC Historic Properties Record*, accessed September 30, 2022, <https://schpr.sc.gov/index.php/Detail/properties/47716>.

⁶⁸⁴ "National Register Listing," *SC Historic Properties Record*.

⁶⁸⁵ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*, 240.

⁶⁸⁶ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*, 240.

⁶⁸⁷ James Redfern II, personal communication, January 24, 2023.

⁶⁸⁸ National Register Listing," *SC Historic Properties Record*.

attempted to engage in genuine rapport building with all of my participants by sharing about myself, my family's connection in South Carolina, and my personal interest in this research study, I believe that the cathartic nature of the interview process is what resulted in my other participants' willingness to share additional details with me. Several of my participants mentioned that they appreciated simply being able to share what they experienced and have learned through these tumultuous periods with a younger generation who can hopefully do something to make amends or turn things around for future generations.

Table 5.1 Participant Group Demographic Overview

	Former Ward One residents	Former Wheeler Hill residents	Current Wheeler Hill residents	Former residents of other surrounding Black communities (i.e., Valley Park)
Number of participants	0	2	1	2
Name of Participants		Alexandra Furgess Elizabeth Martin	Dante Kenly	Hemphill Pride II Bishop James Redfern II
Previously attended USC as student	Yes (and graduated) Yes (but did not graduate) No	Yes (and graduated)-0 Yes (but did not graduate)-0 No-2	Yes (and graduated)-0 Yes (but did not graduate)-0 0 No-1	Yes (and graduated)-1 Yes (but did not graduate)-0 No-1
Previously attended Booker T. Washington as student	Yes (and graduated) Yes (but did not graduate) No	Yes (and graduated)-1 Yes (but did not graduate)-0 No-1	Yes (and graduated)-0 Yes (but did not graduate)-0 0 No-1	Yes (and graduated)-2 Yes (but did not graduate)-0 No-0

5.5 DATA ANALYSIS

“Document analysis required that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge.”⁶⁸⁹ Information contained in documents can suggest new questions that need to be asked and situations that need to be observed during research.⁶⁹⁰ At the same time, historians are obligated to be critical in their interpretations of archival material, because archives are already curated and imbued with meaning in terms of what is included and excluded.⁶⁹¹

Document analysis also involves skimming, reading, and interpreting—an iterative process combining content and thematic analysis from which excerpts and quotes can be organized into themes and categories.⁶⁹² However, as qualitative researchers Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss suggested, the researcher should clearly demonstrate their capacity to identify and separate out pertinent information.⁶⁹³

Due to documents being context specific, they should be evaluated against other sources of information. For example, historical and secondary data documents are seen as providing insight into actions, events, and reasons that might not otherwise be readily available.⁶⁹⁴ Additionally, documents can be “written as a result of firsthand experience or from secondary sources, whether it was solicited or unsolicited, edited or unedited,

⁶⁸⁹ Juliet Corbin, “Strategies for Qualitative Data Analysis,” *Journal of Qualitative Research* (2007): 67-85; Tim Rapley, *Doing Conversation, Discourse and Document Analysis* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2018).

⁶⁹⁰ Glenn A. Bowen, “Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method,” *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, no. 2 (2009): 27-40.

⁶⁹¹ L’Eplattenier, “An Argument for Archival Research.”

⁶⁹² L’Eplattenier, “An Argument for Archival Research.”

⁶⁹³ Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2008).

⁶⁹⁴ Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1995).

anonymous or signed.”⁶⁹⁵ The credibility of the study can be supported by the researcher being explicit about the framework underlying the data analysis method and demonstrating congruence among the worldview of the researcher, aims of the research, nature and scope of documents selected, and analytic procedures used.⁶⁹⁶

The following inclusion criteria were applied to the document analysis process: (a) the source (i.e., book, article, recording, photo) was relevant to the urban renewal period in general or specific to Columbia, South Carolina; and (b) the primary or secondary source was archived or retained by a reputable institution (i.e., *Newsbank*, USC archives, churches) or people affiliated with the communities of interest. Consequently, exclusion criteria included: the source was relevant to the impact of urban renewal projects on Black communities in Columbia, South Carolina, but: (a) was not connected to USC athletics, (b) did not specifically address the Ward One or Wheeler Hill communities, or (c) lacked substantiated facts or details. I relied heavily on university and community archives, national databases, and local community organizations, leaders, and members with access to relevant information.

The Study’s Themes

In my first cycle coding, I used Concept, In Vivo, Affective (i.e., versus) codes. In my second cycle coding, I used Pattern coding. See Appendix D for definitions of codes. I used thematic analysis to identify themes for the study.⁶⁹⁷ Themes cut across the three

⁶⁹⁵ Ian Hodder, “The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture,” in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994), 393-402.

⁶⁹⁶ Leanne M. Wood, Bernadette Sebar, and Nerina Vecchio, “Application of Rigour and Credibility in Qualitative Document Analysis: Lessons Learnt from a Case Study,” *The Qualitative Report* 25, no. 2 (2020): 456-470.

⁶⁹⁷ Corrine Glesne, *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction* (Upper Saddle River: Pearson, 2016); Johnny Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2021).

research questions for the study. Robert Yin, an expert in case study design, recommended a minimum of three data sources for the researcher to be able to triangulate data.⁶⁹⁸ I coded and analyzed my data for saturation.⁶⁹⁹ Data saturation in qualitative research refers to the point in which enough data has been collected to draw conclusions and it is determined that any further data collection will not produce value-added insights.⁷⁰⁰

Each analysis section incorporated an etic approach,⁷⁰¹ which involves a priori use of theory to interpret findings.

Table 5.2 Summary of Codes

Concept Coding		
Code	Number of interview participants	Number of oral interviews
Black pride	2	1
Control	2	
Crooked dealing	5	1
Injustice	4	1
Versus Coding		
Category	Subcategories	
Human and Institutional Conflict	-communities -institutions -people -race	
Results of Conflicts	-wealth disparity -inequality	
In Vivo Coding		
Code	Example	

⁶⁹⁸ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2009).

⁶⁹⁹ Saldaña, *The Coding Manual*.

⁷⁰⁰ Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research Techniques* (1998), as cited in Johnny Saldaña, *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁷⁰¹ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2011); Yin, *Case Study Research*.

Everything will be denial	“We will never progress because everything will be denial.”	
Negro removal	“We used to call urban renewal Negro removal.”	
The Community	“How could these people come to our house and tell us what they were gonna do with our community?”	
The University	“I’m not a fan of the University of South Carolina that division had bought all that property up.”	
They’ll never see us	“Yeah, they still walking on us. I mean, that’s an insult.”	
Pattern Coding		
Conflict as a Struggle	-Human and Institutional Conflict -Results of Conflict	
University as real estate developer	-Control -Crooked dealing -Injustice -Negro removal -The University	
‘Out of sight, out of mind’	-Everything will be denial -They’ll never see us	
‘When we were kings & queens’	-Black pride -The Community	

5.6 TRUSTWORTHINESS, CREDIBILITY, AND VALIDITY

When considering sources from the past, there is no rigorous empirical measure for trustworthiness.⁷⁰² Education scholars Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba suggested four criteria for establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research: credibility, confirmability,

⁷⁰² “Which Sources of the Past are Viewed as Trustworthy?” *American Historical Association*, accessed October 16, 2022, <https://www.historians.org/research-and-publications/history-the-past-and-public-culture-results-from-a-national-survey/4-which-sources-of-the-past-are-viewed-as-trustworthy>.

dependability, and transferability.⁷⁰³ However, these criteria have limited applicability in studying events over time.⁷⁰⁴ The application of any methodological approach to history that does not consider time can remain ahistorical (i.e., without concern for history) or anti-historical (i.e., disagreeing with history).⁷⁰⁵ Time distinguishes historical from nonhistorical research. Professor of management studies Michael Gill, professor of international relations David Gill, and professor of organizational theory Thomas Roulet suggest new techniques that are complementary to Lincoln and Guba's findings but consider time more explicitly.⁷⁰⁶

The first technique offered by Lincoln and Guba that needs to be satisfied to establish trustworthiness is determining credibility.⁷⁰⁷ Gill and colleagues suggested that when the researcher's information sources agree with the researchers' interpretations, a certain level of credibility has been achieved.⁷⁰⁸ Given that verifying historical sources can be particularly difficult, researchers must be clear on why readers should believe their interpretations of the data they are presenting.⁷⁰⁹ Additionally, researchers should clarify how a narrative either advances or challenges the existing historiography. Finally, Guba and Lincoln discussed achieving credibility and truth value in their studies by using

⁷⁰³ Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1985).

⁷⁰⁴ Michael J. Gill, David James Gill, and Thomas J. Roulet, "Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives: Criteria, Principles and Techniques," *British Journal of Management* 29, no. 1 (2018): 191-205.

⁷⁰⁵ Gill et al., "Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives."

⁷⁰⁶ Gill et al., "Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives."

⁷⁰⁷ Lincoln, Yvonna S. and Guba, Egon G. *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1985).

⁷⁰⁸ Gill et al., "Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives."

⁷⁰⁹ Gill et al., "Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives."

quotations that objectively captured individuals' experiences,⁷¹⁰ indicating "neutrality" in qualitative research.

The second technique is confirmability, in which the researcher identifies their assumptions in interpreting their findings.⁷¹¹ Gill and colleagues proposed that researchers reveal their epistemological assumptions and make sure their interpretations are grounded in evidence.⁷¹² As it relates to an ontological perspective of history, all historical scholars adopt one (i.e., reconstructionism, constructionism, and deconstructionism), and researchers should reflect on their stance.⁷¹³ As an example, Douglas Booth, professor of sport and leisure studies, characterized reconstructionists as narrative writers who rewrite or report recorded history as it happens; deconstructionists use multiple perspectives to avoid a single interpretation of historical phenomenon⁷¹⁴; and constructionists analyze patterns and events through history to construct an "informed" narrative regarding a phenomenon.⁷¹⁵ By explicitly stating our assumptions, researchers and their claims can be understood by the reader based on the boundaries of the researchers' beliefs.

The third technique is dependability, which requires the researcher to explain their approach and process for developing interpretations while maintaining consistency.⁷¹⁶

Although there are multiple interpretations of past events, this criterion illuminates the

⁷¹⁰ Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln, "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research," in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994): 163-194.

⁷¹¹ Lincoln and Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*.

⁷¹² Gill et al., "Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives."

⁷¹³ Gill et al., "Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives."

⁷¹⁴ Douglas Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁷¹⁵ Chad S. Seifried, "Peer Reviewing Historical Research for Sport Management: It's Not Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Sport Management* 18, no. 4 (2017): 461-487.

⁷¹⁶ Seifried, "Peer Reviewing Historical Research."

process by which historians construct their understanding of the past. One approach that can assist with this process is gathering data from multiple sources (e.g., interviews, observations), termed triangulation by Lincoln and Guba, which provides different views when interpreting data. Performing triangulation on historical data requires constructing a narrative from claims made by different historians who likely used various archival sources.⁷¹⁷ Thus, researchers can also reveal inaccuracies and biases of individual sources.

Due to the large amount of reading and references involved in a historiographic approach, engaging in source criticism to test source reliability and analyzing different versions of the same event to avoid accepting biased conclusions are necessary.⁷¹⁸ Source criticism focuses on differences among types of sources, mostly based on time (e.g., a primary source is closest in time to an event). As such, professor of sport management Chad Seifried et al. referred to internal source criticism, which considers the validity of the author, their authority or experience with the subject, and the intended audience of each document, whereas external source criticism is concerned with the reliability of the document as authentic and the verifiability of facts and dates.⁷¹⁹ For this study, it was also important to consider when sources were created in relation to the event discussed to establish greater authenticity and accuracy.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁷ Seifried, "Peer Reviewing Historical Research."

⁷¹⁸ L'Eplattenier, "An Argument for Archival Research Methods"; Michael Rowlinson, John Hassard, and Stephanie Decker, "Research Strategies for Organizational History: A Dialogue between Historical Theory and Organization Theory," *Academy of Management Review* 39, no. 3 (2014): 250-274; Stephanie Decker, "The Silence of the Archives: Business History, Post-Colonialism and Archival Ethnography," *Management & Organizational History* 8, no. 2 (2013): 155-173.

⁷¹⁹ L'Eplattenier, "An Argument for Archival Research Methods."

⁷²⁰ Gill et al., "Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives."

The final technique is transferability, in which scholars seek to provide sufficient detail to interpretations to allow future researchers to transfer findings to other contexts.⁷²¹ Additionally, by collecting rich (i.e., ample) data, researchers are better able to assess similarities and differences in a particular context. Finally, Gill and colleagues encouraged researchers to archive their qualitative data to promote secondary data analysis of items that previously may have been too time consuming or costly to engage with.⁷²² For example, several primary sources I used were found in university archives, including various presidential records. These records included memoranda and reports, letters of correspondence, newspaper clippings, financial documents, and other documents. Secondary sources included newspaper articles and biographies. Such information was gathered from the USC online libraries, *NewsBank*, Google Scholar, and other databases such as ProQuest and JSTOR.

Stephanie Decker, professor of strategy, referred to the “silence of the archives” and suggested that silence can be caused at different levels of the archival process.⁷²³ For instance, silence can be a result of suppression of certain kinds of information by archivists, decisions by university administrators on what to donate to the archives, and what information is deemed worthy to collect by the institution.⁷²⁴ It is not possible to determine at what stage of the process gaps in the historical record occur, but examining these gaps in detail can add to a historical analysis.⁷²⁵ By working with more than one archive, researchers can attempt to fill the gap and identify bias and silence in record

⁷²¹ Gill et al., “Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives.”

⁷²² Gill et al., “Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives.”

⁷²³ Decker, “The Silence of the Archives.”

⁷²⁴ Decker, “The Silence of the Archives.”

⁷²⁵ Decker, “The Silence of the Archives.”

sets.⁷²⁶ Further, the use of images or oral histories provides another avenue to focus on the silence of the archives.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁶ Decker, “The Silence of the Archives.”

⁷²⁷ Decker, “The Silence of the Archives.”

CHAPTER 6

INTERPRETATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This study describes and characterizes how Black community members were affected by USC's urban renewal projects for athletics expansion, which displaced them from their homes. This chapter includes the findings gleaned from various data sources, including archival materials from USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA; oral histories; and five present-day semi structured interviews. The following three research questions framed this study: (1) What were the motivations among USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA in urban renewal efforts from year to year? What role did the desire for secondary effects of athletics expansion play in university expansion efforts? (2) What were the decision-making processes among USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA in urban renewal efforts from 1964 to 1971? How were constituents living in urban renewal areas involved in urban renewal efforts? (3) How did community members displaced by USC's athletics expansion through urban renewal describe (a) efforts to build athletics facilities and (b) the impact of displacement and the destruction of their communities on their lives?

The findings section includes themes identified in a thematic analysis, utilizing the qualitative research methodologies of Glesne and Saldaña, to address the three

research questions for this study.⁷²⁸ Black historiography features prominently in the data analysis as I explored how we can make connections between past structural inequalities and the present. By illuminating this specific urban renewal history project from the viewpoint of Black community members, I undermine the common notion that urban renewal ultimately benefited all. In essence, I give a fuller account of a history written and grounded in the ideologies of beneficiaries; without a commitment to the Black communities that were displaced by urban renewal projects, in doing so this historical account would be incomplete. Some recent historical accounts of the Ward One and Wheeler Hill communities have assisted in providing alternative epistemologies that have challenged these dominant viewpoints, but more are needed. By placing race at the center of this historical analysis, this historiography provides a particular lens with which to view the events that took place in downtown Columbia, South Carolina, and is reflective of my epistemological commitments. The findings are presented in the order of the research questions that framed the study. The discussion of each theme features a brief description, supporting evidence, a summary, and my researcher analysis and reflection. I used Harris's "Whiteness as Property"⁷²⁹ and Squire, Williams, and Tuitt's *Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism in Higher Education*⁷³⁰ to interpret the data for each research question and associated theme.

6.2 SITE AND PARTICIPANT CONTEXT

The site for this study was USC, a large, public HEI in Columbia, South Carolina—specifically, the land where the Carolina Coliseum and Blatt P.E. Center are

⁷²⁸ Glesne, *Becoming Qualitative Researchers*; Saldaña, *The Coding Manual*.

⁷²⁹ Harris, "Whiteness as Property."

⁷³⁰ Squire et al., "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism."

currently situated, the location of the former Ward One and present Wheeler Hill communities. During the timeframe of interest, 1964–1971, USC’s student population nearly doubled from 6,029 in 1963 to 11,827 in 1970,⁷³¹ and the City of Columbia’s population was approximately 105,000.⁷³² The growth in the student body and city population is important to note because concerns about having adequate housing was a concern not only for the university but also the CHA.

My study involved five interviews, three with former and current residents of Wheeler Hill, south of USC’s campus, and two with former residents of Valley Park, a predominately Black community next to Five Points, adjacent to the east side of USC’s campus and now known as MLK Park. See Figure 6.1 to understand the proximity of Valley Park to Wheeler Hill and Ward One communities.

⁷³¹ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

⁷³² Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*; “Columbia, SC Population,” <https://population.us/sc/columbia/>.



Figure 6.1 Wheeler Hill Map in Framework for a Residential Development

In this study, I utilized whiteness as property and plantation politics as theoretical concepts aligned with the commitment of critical race theory to encourage African American and Black people to use their voice to name their reality. Additionally, a goal

of critical researchers is to empower participants to transform the status quo and emancipate themselves from ongoing oppression.⁷³³

The discussion of themes, or major findings, of this study includes the following for each research question: (a) an introduction to the applicable theme, (b) supporting evidence, (c) a summary, and d) my analysis and reflection. I also incorporated concepts from both whiteness as property and plantation politics that were salient in the data.

6.3 FINDINGS

In my interview with Ms. Alexandra Furgess, she expressed a strong desire to share the pride she had in her community and the talent that was an outgrowth of a thriving Black community. She shared the hurt she experienced in interacting with white people in various capacities due to racial discrimination but noted that it did not keep her from striving to realize her potential in Columbia.

In my interview with Ms. Elizabeth Martin, she seemed concerned about accurately conveying the concerns and sentiment that her parents expressed to her about how the Wheeler Hill development transpired over time. Ms. Martin shared her feelings of confusion as a child, not understanding what was happening in terms of city leaders dictating what was going to happen to her community.

In my interview with Dr. Dante Kenly, he conveyed the resignation he feels about the type of church he leads, a commuter church rather than a community church. He recognized that he has to do the best with the hand he has been dealt and shared the commitment of his church members to see St. James African Methodist Episcopal

⁷³³ Ponterotto, "Qualitative Research in Counseling Psychology."

Church thrive where it has been planted. He described grand plans for his church, including hosting the annual conference of African Methodist Episcopal churches.

In my interview with Mr. Hemphill Pride II, he shared his anger and frustration about the university's treatment of the Black community, both in the past and present. He recounted various painful memories from his childhood dealing with segregation and not understanding the situation between Blacks and whites. He shared that he often wished he would have had a better understanding of racial discrimination, because perhaps he could have processed things differently from an earlier age.

In my interview with Mr. James Redfern II, he conveyed the need to draw on community resources to address community problems. He shared that he spent much of his time prior to attending USC and while at college engaging in civil disobedience and advocating on behalf of community needs for fair housing practices. Overall, he felt that things will remain the same until people demand change.

The following are examples of how whiteness functions in higher education institutions and how I found these constructs were applied in land acquisition and displacement efforts in Ward One and Wheeler Hill communities.

The Right to Disposition

Property rights are traditionally described as fully alienable⁷³⁴—in essence, rights can be sold or transferred. As such, the right to disposition includes being able to pass along rights and privileges to heirs, which in a society that has historically privileged whites, allows white people to continue to benefit from the rights of their forebears, unlike Blacks. For instance, HWCUs receive millions and sometimes billions of dollars

⁷³⁴ Harris, "Whiteness as Property."

in funding and empowerment from alumni, creating enormous pressure to conform to perceived white norms and cultural practices (e.g., who is seen as representative of the institution, who sits on the BOT), which further illuminates this concept in the university setting.⁷³⁵ To some extent, the same holds true when considering certain positions in athletics that historically were assumed to only be available to white players due to the notion that certain positions required more intellectual ability (e.g., quarterback, point guard).⁷³⁶

Historically, we have seen white leaders, politicians, and civil servants wield power and influence, using their whiteness to further enrich themselves while destroying Black communities. Ms. Furgess, a former resident of Wheeler Hill, stated:

Some people lost their homes because people go down and buy them off the tax rolls if they didn't pay their taxes on time. ... My mother was 14.⁷³⁷ She didn't know anything about paying taxes. Plus, taxes never came because the mailman didn't deliver them, but he bought the house off the tax roll. So, that happened a lot. All you have to do is go through the housing on Wheeler Hill and you'll see who bought the homes. Callahan, see he was a mailman, and he became the postmaster in Columbia.

W.O. Callahan served as Columbia's postmaster general from 1961–1966.⁷³⁸

Additionally, in the USC Archives, there is a record of W.O. Callahan owning 10 parcels of property consisting of 30 houses or apartments on 83,931 square feet of land, including Wheeler Hill, which are included in his estate.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁵ Lori Latrice Martin and Kenneth J. Varner, "Race, Residential Segregation, and the Death of Democracy: Education and Myth of Postracialism," *Democracy and Education* 25, no. 1 (2017): 4.

⁷³⁶ Billy Hawkins, "Is Stacking Dead? A Case Study of the Stacking Hypothesis at a Southeastern Conference (SEC) Football Program," *International Sports Journal* 6, no. 2 (2002): 146.

⁷³⁷ Ms. Furgess's grandmother died when her mother was 14, which left Ms. Furgess's mother as head of household.

⁷³⁸ "Postmasters by City," *USPS*, accessed March 20, 2023, <https://about.usps.com/who/profile/history/postmaster-finder/postmasters-by-city.htm>.

⁷³⁹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 6, 1968-1969.

Ms. Furgess also recounted her experience with white colleagues when she worked at USC. She said she overheard colleagues in the office saying:

“Where are you gonna buy your lot? On which corner do you want to buy your lot? You better buy it now ‘cause they’re going fast.” Talking about the lots on Wheeler Hill. ... Well, my ears perked up because they thought it was funny that they could go in and buy lots, and people’s homes were purchased for less than what the lots costs. You know, so that’s the kind of games that they play.

The price of lots in the redeveloped Wheeler Hill area prevented many Blacks from having an opportunity to stay in their homes, which ultimately benefited whites who had accrued more financial capital and had the right political capital to know when to seek opportunities to purchase land.

Right to Use and Enjoyment

Harris argued a white person takes advantage of their whiteness anytime they exercise rights that are not also bestowed on Blacks. Thus, whiteness is also a resource that can be deployed to maintain control. The needs, interests, and concerns of whites remain central to institutional initiatives.⁷⁴⁰ As it relates to athletics, the NCAA has been debating for some time whether to allow athletes to become university employees and be compensated or whether to deny them university employment, thus denying them compensation.⁷⁴¹ The NCAA has reiterated that any forthcoming rule changes on its behalf will ensure athletes cannot become “employees of the university.”⁷⁴² Without employee status, athletes have no right to guaranteed payment or legal protections like workers compensation.⁷⁴³ In essence, predominately athletes of color in revenue-

⁷⁴⁰ Wildman, “Reflections on Whiteness.”

⁷⁴¹ Hextrum, “Operation Varsity Blues.”

⁷⁴² Osburn (2019), as cited in Hextrum, “Operation Varsity Blues.”

⁷⁴³ Oriad (1995), as cited in Tutka and Seifried, “An Innovation Diffusion.”

generating sports will continue to be sources of entertainment but excluded from any employee protections. A prime example of the right of use and enjoyment is NCAA's postseason bowl games, which have corporate sponsors that pay millions for advertising rights including athletic apparel.⁷⁴⁴ Student athletes are required to wear the labels of corporate sponsors on their uniforms, thus allowing sponsors to make millions off the image of athletes, who serve as literal property of the institutions and the sponsors while playing as amateurs.⁷⁴⁵ In the 1960s, Russell Manufacturing Company, now known as Russell Corporation, became the largest manufacturer of sports apparel and uniforms in the United States.⁷⁴⁶ Sports sponsorship of athletics apparel took off in 1984 after Nike brokered a shoe deal with Michael Jordan. Recently, student-athletes have been granted the concession of being compensated for the use of their NIL; however, NIL rules are governed by either state laws or individual school or conference policies.⁷⁴⁷ As such, only time will tell whether new roadblocks are put in place as the NCAA tries to lobby Congress to pass legislation that limits athletes' ability to benefit financially from their athleticism.⁷⁴⁸

Finally, sport venues in the 1960s were meant to serve white patrons. For instance, in a Coliseum brochure from 1969,⁷⁴⁹ the marketing team addresses the aspects that make up a coliseum, such as the food, sounds, and ticket booths, but most of all, the

⁷⁴⁴ Carter, "The Age of Innocence."

⁷⁴⁵ Carter, "The Age of Innocence."

⁷⁴⁶ "Russell Athletic History," *Russell Athletic*, accessed April 11, 2023, <https://www.russellathletic.com/history>.

⁷⁴⁷ Bilas, "Why NIL Has Been Good."

⁷⁴⁸ Bilas, "Why NIL Has Been Good."

⁷⁴⁹ It is not clear when the Coliseum brochure was produced, but based on when the Coliseum opened November 1968, it is reasonable to assume that a marketing brochure could not have been produced until 1969.

imagined spectators—the people who enjoy the game⁷⁵⁰ (see Figure 6.2). The right to enjoy sports in an all-white fan environment and support all-white athletics teams further entrenched the privilege of whiteness in the cultural tradition of college athletics.



Figure 6.2 Coliseum Brochure Page 12

The Conception of Reputation as Property

⁷⁵⁰ USC Archives, Coliseum, Box 7.

In our society, status increases with the accrual of property; thus, the protection of a reputation is associated with holding property, elevating the status of white people who have been historic beneficiaries of property ownership, free of restrictions compared to that of Black people. In higher education, most individuals in the highest leadership positions in the academy remain white men; further, the majority of faculty members and administrators are white, which perpetuates the notion that being white means higher status and more power.⁷⁵¹ As a result, those in positions of power who make decisions on behalf of the university and whose decisions affect the larger community do so from a particular vantage point. Complicating institutional policies and practices are the presumptions that whites are assumed to have good intentions.⁷⁵² For instance, when city leaders extended their footprint to fashion a new downtown Columbia and USC, university administrators attempted to explain their actions as not being racialized but about economic growth.⁷⁵³

As demonstrated in Table 2.1, white male leaders across public and private sectors in Columbia held dual positions. They could make the neoliberal argument that each sector needed to look after its interests and act autonomously by forging relationships with one another as they saw fit, thus avoiding criticism from their peers in similar positions. These men made deals to enrich their institutions without fear of repercussions, even after efforts were made at the state level to rectify holding dual offices in 1947 by the General Assembly of South Carolina.

⁷⁵¹ Gagliardi et al., *The American College President Study*; Lori D. Patton, Marylu McEwen, Laura Rendón, and Mary F. Howard-Hamilton, “Critical Race Perspectives on Theory in Student Affairs,” *New Directions for Student Services* 2007, no. 120 (2007): 39-53.

⁷⁵² Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

⁷⁵³ Richey and Mattice Brandt, *Columbia Downtown Historic Resource Survey*.

Further, the protection of white property can be seen in the scenario that played out between two religious institutions. Both institutions had been bedrocks of their respective communities for decades and had congregants advocating for the right for their churches to stay, yet the Black church was displaced and the white one was allowed to remain. As of 2023, the predominately white Green Street United Methodist Church still stands at 1106 Greene Street, whereas the predominately Black Union Baptist Church, which once stood at 1016 Devine Street, was demolished in 1966. Ms. Furgess stated:

They took everything we had, but Green Street Church was right on the other side of Assembly. We're on this side—guess what? Green Street Methodist Church is ... still there. They didn't have any members, so they ended up this year giving it to the university. Did you know that? And nobody white lived over here. But Black people all over here, and all up here. But they left Green Street Methodist Church because they said, "We don't want to give up our church." We said [we] didn't want to give up our [Union Baptist] church either, but they just came through and took it.

In university records regarding land speculation in this area, there was a distinction between the churches. Union Baptist was located on the site of where the Coliseum was being developed, whereas Green Street Methodist was located where the law school was proposed to be built.⁷⁵⁴ University administrators determined that the law school design could be modified and as a result, Green Street Methodist was eliminated from the project.⁷⁵⁵ It is important to note that according to university records, all the churches acquired through urban renewal were paid more than the appraisal price.⁷⁵⁶ The CRDF was recorded as having advanced money for churches to construct new

⁷⁵⁴ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁷⁵⁵ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁷⁵⁶ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

buildings.⁷⁵⁷ It was also noted that the higher costs incurred for these acquisitions became a point of contention between the Federal Housing Authority in Atlanta and CRDF.⁷⁵⁸

Consequently, Union Baptist Church twice declined the university's offer of \$98,500, as documented in Minister Lincoln Jenkins, Sr.'s communication to university lawyers in a March 7, 1966, letter. The officials of the church reportedly felt they should accept nothing less than \$165,000, and the congregation voted to accept nothing less than \$175,000.⁷⁵⁹ Eventually, the university agreed to the Union Baptist Church's request of \$175,000, and the church was demolished in 1966. To the south of campus in Wheeler Hill, Antioch Baptist Church, a predominately Black church, was forced to relocate due to university expansion. Rev. Albert Neal explained, "They [USC] wanted to clear out between the university and the elite part of town. They wanted to make Wheeler Hill into part of that elite section."⁷⁶⁰ I read "elite" as white; Rev. Neal and Black community members seem to have felt that the aim of university expansion was to get rid of the Black communities surrounding the institution.

The Green Street Methodist Church lodged some of the same complaints that the Black community had about how the university and city engaged in displacement of existing neighborhoods and communities. In records kept by the board of Green Street Methodist, its May 27, 1969, agenda meeting minutes reveal a statement from Green Street Church labeled "Exhibit A," which states:

We learned later that a hearing had been held in the summer of 1965, but no direct notice of this hearing was made to the people involved.⁷⁶¹ It seems that an ad was

⁷⁵⁷ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁷⁵⁸ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁷⁵⁹ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁷⁶⁰ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30, Q6-Q18.

⁷⁶¹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 7, 1968-1969.

run in the classified section of *The State* newspaper, using the smallest print available; however, there had been some stories in the paper about the project but, normally, under Urban Renewal churches are allowed to remain, and we felt no threat at this time.⁷⁶²

The university extensively negotiated with Green Street Methodist Church from 1968–1973. In university archival records, Brunton, who was vice president for business affairs, seems to advocate on behalf of paying the church above the appraisal price.⁷⁶³ He even shared with the BOT that in previous urban renewal projects, “church property was considered unique and generally received some additional considerations over and above the appraisal price.”⁷⁶⁴ It seems clear that this unwritten policy only applied to certain types of churches: white ones. Additionally, due to the successful advocacy of Brunton, the Building and Grounds Committee unanimously recommended offering the church up to \$300,000 in 1969 and stated that if the church did not accept the offer, the university should exclude the property from the urban renewal project and modify its building plan to use less land.⁷⁶⁵

In 1969, Green Street Methodist declined the offer of \$300,000, which was more than three times the appraisal price of Union Baptist Church. There was no additional offer, and the USC Law School was built around the church and its grounds. In essence, there was no political will to continue to fight with Green Street Methodist; if it was not willing to take the money, the university would have built around the church. Even though Rev. Murray Yarborough saved his church, he leveled strong charges against the CHA’s urban renewal efforts, including a lack of concern for the people living in the

⁷⁶² USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 7, 1968-1969.

⁷⁶³ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 7, 1969-1970.

⁷⁶⁴ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 7, 1969-1970.

⁷⁶⁵ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 7, 1969-1970.

area, the lack of low-income housing to house those displaced by urban renewal, and the economic implications of destroying businesses and communities and thus their ability to sustain their livelihoods.⁷⁶⁶

The Right to Exclude

The right to exclude is a central principle of whiteness through exclusion of those who are not white.⁷⁶⁷ The process of exclusion can be illuminated by examining specific practices in athletics. According to sport management scholar Allen Sack,⁷⁶⁸ “stacking is the segregation and designation of athletes to certain positions as a result of assumptions made concerning a link between athletic ability and race, leading to the overrepresentation of minorities in some playing positions and the underrepresentation in others.” In football, Blacks have historically been consigned to running back, wide receiver, and defensive back roles, while often being ignored at quarterback, the role traditionally viewed as leading to a future head coaching job.⁷⁶⁹ Despite an increase in Blacks playing the quarterback role, their representation has not translated into more Blacks serving as head coaches, leading some to suggest that although the position is changing, attitudes of coaches and teams are not.⁷⁷⁰ Systemic inequities persist in head coach, offensive coordinator, and athletic director positions, which are still predominantly held by white men in football.⁷⁷¹ The right to exclude is also an example

⁷⁶⁶ “Pastor Charges Renewal is Not ‘Isolated Incident,’” *The Daily Gamecock*, October 25, 1968.

⁷⁶⁷ Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

⁷⁶⁸ Allen L. Sack, Parbudyal Singh, and Robert Thiel, “Occupational Segregation on the Playing Field: The Case of Major League Baseball,” *Journal of Sport Management* 19, no. 3 (2005): 300-318.

⁷⁶⁹ Trevor Bopp and Michael Sagas, “Racial Tasking and the College Quarterback: Redefining the Stacking Phenomenon,” *Journal of Sport Management* 28, no. 2 (2014): 136-142; Dean Anderson, “Cultural Diversity on Campus: A Look at Intercollegiate Football Coaches,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 17, no. 1 (1993): 61-66.

⁷⁷⁰ Hawkins, “Is Stacking Dead?”

⁷⁷¹ Anderson, “Cultural Diversity on Campus.”

of the right to use and enjoy all positions on the field and all possible subsequent employment opportunities that come from sports. Consequently, researchers have documented the manifestation of a discriminatory practice called “racial tasking.”⁷⁷² In sports, racial tasking is a function of prejudice toward a minority athlete’s capabilities, both mental and physical.⁷⁷³ In racial tasking, positional segregation does not occur, but athletes are asked to perform dependent on their race. For example, the plays (e.g., run or pass) that quarterbacks are asked to execute may be predicated on race.⁷⁷⁴ Historically, a foremost example of the right to exclude by desegregated sports teams involved teams agreeing to the exclusion of their Black athletes when playing regular and postseason games against all-white teams.⁷⁷⁵

A large part of sports is the fan population that attends games and cheers for a favorite team or player, willing them to victory. Yet during the early years of desegregation on USC’s campus, before USC integrated its athletics teams, Black students did not have the same privilege to attend games to cheer for their preferred player or team. Mr. Redfern II recounted:

I made it to the football game with the University of South Carolina versus North Carolina, and North Carolina has Black players. Whoa. And we were sitting in the endzone and man, the Black players are really doing well. We’re cheering for them. And they [USC white students] take a cup of ice with that wax cup, and you ball it up into a ball, and then you throw it. That ice cup becomes a weapon, especially when it’s hitting you in the back of the head.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷² Bopp and Sagas, “Racial Tasking and the College Quarterback”; Anderson, “Cultural Diversity on Campus.”

⁷⁷³ Bopp and Sagas, “Racial Tasking and the College Quarterback.”

⁷⁷⁴ Bopp and Sagas, “Racial Tasking and the College Quarterback.”

⁷⁷⁵ Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.

⁷⁷⁶ James Redfern II, personal communication, January 24, 2023.

Black students were made to not feel a part of the university student body, as Robert G. Anderson described, but they were also not allowed to enjoy the game and root for whomever they wanted, as any other sports attendee could. Further, attempting to enjoy a sporting event and root for Black players put them at risk of being assaulted.

The right to exclude was a hallmark of the Jim Crow era and had particular salience in the memories of several of interview participants. Mr. Pride II, a resident of Valley Park, said:

Where I was born was the last house on the righthand side, on Oak Street, and in front of that house, it's a park. It's called Martin Luther King Park. When I was growing up, it was Valley Park, and all the neighbors that lived up that hill and back on Gervais were Black people, and all the people on other side of the park and around the park were white. And of course, we could never play in that park. And I remember there was a cement wall that overlooks the park, and my friends and I would meet in the afternoon during the summer and sit on that wall and eat popsicles and look at the white children play. ... But we couldn't go in that park, and when the City of Columbia first got motorcycles, I never will forget, the first thing they did was have one of their deputies run up on the sidewalk with their billy club with a strap and they would try and hit us on the leg to make us get off the wall. They didn't even want us watching the children.⁷⁷⁷

Mr. Pride II also recounted how Blacks were excluded from USC's campus:

I was a student at Booker T. Washington, and University of South Carolina didn't want me to cut across the campus to get to my daddy's office in order to get home. In the afternoon, they had a nightwatchman called Will Shoot. And you know, he was on a bicycle, and I mean, he would run after us on that campus. So, you know, we'd run, but the idea of somebody running behind children just for coming across a campus? I mean it's just ridiculous. ...Now, I can harken back to that [expletive] and I am pissed off, you know? Might be many years later, but I got that imprint in my mind. And it's disgusting and it pisses me off, you know?⁷⁷⁸

Ms. Furgess shared similar memories. She said:

⁷⁷⁷ Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁷⁷⁸ Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

My father's barbershop was about here [pointing to Lady St.], but we had to go pass through university, which meant that we had to walk around the campus because they wouldn't let us walk through. Right? Did you know that? Then, we couldn't walk through the statehouse grounds. So, we had to walk around statehouse grounds.

Furthermore, the right to exclude extended to the very essence of obtaining an equal educational experience. USC, like many other institutions, was not eager to desegregate and did not do so until 1963. As a result, many Black students had to find educational opportunities elsewhere until the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Ms. Martin, a former resident of Wheeler Hill said:

My brother's 78. When he graduated from high school, he could not legally attend the University of South Carolina. He graduated from high school in 1962. It's not that long ago. So, he went to Case Western Reserve in Cleveland. My dad found out that if you're Black and you couldn't go to those schools because they were white, you could get money for your books at these other schools. My dad—I don't know how he did this—got money for my brother all four years, and it came from South Carolina.”⁷⁷⁹

“Segregation scholarships,” as they were termed, were scholarships that Southern states gave Black students to go north to study.⁷⁸⁰ Each state provided varying amounts of money and had different administrative methods for paying out the scholarships and maintaining records.⁷⁸¹

When asked why he agreed to participate in the study, Mr. Pride II shared:

It's therapeutic for me. It's always therapeutic for me. I harbor a lot of anger with white people in general, especially with the University of South Carolina. I was right there within walking distance to go to school there. They took my momma and daddy's tax money to send their kids to school there, and I had to go to Johnson C. Smith University to get me a good education.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁹ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁷⁸⁰ “Segregation Scholarships,” *Bentley Historical Library*, accessed April 9, 2023, <https://bentley.umich.edu/news-events/news/segregations-scholarships-and-the-african-american-student-project/>.

⁷⁸¹ “Segregation Scholarships,” *Bentley Historical Library*.

⁷⁸² Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

As Mr. Pride II expressed, there is still a lot of hurt, resentment, and anger associated with being excluded from USC. Another participant, Dr. Kenly, shared his frustration with a different form of exclusion. He described the following encounter with a local news station:

There was a brief interview about Wheeler Hill and the church, but they interviewed everybody else except the church—all of the white folks in the community but didn't come to church for the real history. So, I thought that was interesting how they went to the new Wheeler Hill, but never came to the church to get the real history of the church.⁷⁸³

6.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The first research question for the study was: What were the motivations among USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA in urban renewal efforts from year to year? What role did the desire for secondary effects of athletics expansion play in university expansion efforts?

I interpreted data from each data source⁷⁸⁴ relevant to this research question. Archival documents indicated various motivations among stakeholders, including eliminating slum areas, increasing assets, and securing federal funding. I attempted to keep examples in chronological order, when possible, to clarify developments over time.

In terms of an initial motivation to engage in urban renewal efforts, USC President Thomas Jones received a telefax on September 10, 1964, from U.S. Senator Olin D. Johnston notifying him that the university had received \$50,631 to begin surveying and planning activities for Urban Renewal Project No. 2 (Wheeler Hill).⁷⁸⁵ I believe this is significant because some archival documents shared with the public state

⁷⁸³ Dante Kenly, personal communication, February 28, 2023.

⁷⁸⁴ Yin, *Case Study Research*.

⁷⁸⁵ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

that university expansion was simply a maneuver by the institution to take advantage of an opportune moment and not a calculated, long-range plan. However, for USC President Thomas to receive this news in September 1964, there had to be an application completed in advance and discussions and planning with the City of Columbia and CHA prior to submitting the application.

As mentioned previously, federal guidelines concerning urban renewal were written to ensure that local agencies worked with their local housing authority and city managers in their planning efforts. Local agencies, like the university, also realized that there may be advantages for them and the CHA in their respective application processes with HUD if they could demonstrate that they had a plan for displacement and relocation.⁷⁸⁶ At the same time, USC Vice President Brunton was concerned that any urban renewal projects undertaken by the university get credited to the university.⁷⁸⁷ Urban renewal projects allowed universities to accrue credits, or additional funds, to be used toward other urban renewal projects. Mr. Brunton even wrote a letter to the Columbia City Manager, Mr. Carey Burnett, on March 25, 1965, to ensure there was a general understanding between the city and university to confirm what credits had accrued to date and the potential for future projects to accrue credits.⁷⁸⁸ Additionally, Brunton sent a follow-up letter in May 1965 to request that the city review the university's long-range plan for campus redevelopment and expansion to make sure it aligned with the general plan for the City of Columbia.⁷⁸⁹ Brunton shared with USC

⁷⁸⁶ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1966-1967.

⁷⁸⁷ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

⁷⁸⁸ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

⁷⁸⁹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

President Jones that it would be to the university's and city's best advantage to develop several potential areas at the same time under SCR-5.⁷⁹⁰ In essence, Brunton's goal was to maximize the land that could be acquired for the university in concert with the city.

The same intentionality in planning for facility expansion can be seen in the USC Campus Development Plan disseminated on March 11, 1971. Planning called for the university to acquire approximately three additional blocks (to the south) in the East Campus area plus three blocks in the Wheeler Hill area by 1975.⁷⁹¹ Although the acquisition of property in the Wheeler Hill area may seem piecemeal or purely opportunistic at first glance, the reality is USC Vice President Brunton stated in a 1968 letter to the chairman of CHA that "the University hoped that he was pleased that they were able to eradicate another bad slum" and that he foresaw the possibility that "they will be able to one day completely improve the entire neighborhood."⁷⁹² In essence, regardless of what strategies were being discussed by various groups about the potential of the Wheeler Hill development, in Brunton's mind, the entire area would eventually be developed by the university.⁷⁹³

Regarding the second part of this research question, archival documents reflected the desire for athletics expansion in university expansion efforts. For instance, in the Building and Grounds Committee meeting minutes for December 14, 1959, in reference to acquiring the four blocks south of Blossom Street, inclusive of Wheeler Hill, USC President Sumwalt said that the planned use was for physical education and intramural

⁷⁹⁰ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

⁷⁹¹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1970-1971.

⁷⁹² USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

⁷⁹³ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

sports.⁷⁹⁴ Additionally, in the minutes, Mr. E. F. Bofferding, of the firm Creasap, McCormick and Paget, said that he looked at the property. Although Bofferding did not refer to athletics needs, he did rule out classrooms or dormitories due to the area's location and topography.⁷⁹⁵ Interestingly, later in the meeting minutes, USC President Sumwalt reiterated that the city was working 100% with the university and that Mr. Bates, Columbia's mayor, and the City Council had been cooperative.⁷⁹⁶ President Sumwalt shared that Mr. Bates had personally given \$5,000 to the USC Foundation and was willing to work out a plan to eliminate the slum area.⁷⁹⁷

Interest in and coordination on urban renewal projects reached as high as the South Carolina governor's office. On February 3, 1965, *The State*, a South Carolina newspaper, ran an article announcing then-Governor Russell's interest on behalf of the state in organizing or establishing one urban renewal approach on behalf of the state, City of Columbia, and university.⁷⁹⁸ As mentioned in the article, Governor Russell stated his interest in developing 12 acres of downtown (due north of USC's campus) and one acre west of Assembly Street. The proposal stated that the city would be "cleansed of some eye sores" and the state would be able to build more buildings and create parking spaces, with a plan for the city to be reimbursed by the state and federal government.⁷⁹⁹ The ability of officials to move expeditiously to make these plans happen undoubtedly was influenced by the fact that these projects were taking place in the state's capital. These

⁷⁹⁴ USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1959-1960.

⁷⁹⁵ USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1959-1960.

⁷⁹⁶ USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1959-1960.

⁷⁹⁷ USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1959-1960.

⁷⁹⁸ Robert McHugh, "Government Remains the Biggest Business," *The State*. February 3, 1965, 44.

⁷⁹⁹ McHugh, "Government Remains the Biggest Business."

efforts were more than likely additionally served by the dual roles of administrators across government, the private sector, and USC administration.⁸⁰⁰

Communication between university and government leaders indicates that not only did facilities planning seem to be of benefit for both the university and state, but specifically that it would assist in the progress needed to get the USC athletics situation on track. USC President Jones stated that the USC “athletic budgetary situation is the most difficult problem I have seen in an educational institution, I face the future hopefully and believe that we have made a great deal of progress in getting the operation moving toward a sound basis.”⁸⁰¹ It may come as no surprise then that university officials were eager to find ways to save money when they could. Vice President Brunton shared the following sentiment with City Manager Carey Burnett: “We are quite proud of this accomplishment.” This referred to their ability to save \$8,000 by only paying more than the appraised value of properties in three instances and less than the appraised value in a few more cases.⁸⁰²

In 1968, USC’s physical education facilities priorities were realigned due to the old Field House burning down.⁸⁰³ As a result, the intercollegiate basketball teams utilized the Naval Armory, which previously was only used occasionally by student-athletes.⁸⁰⁴ As early as 1968, USC Vice President Brunton discussed with USC President Jones that the location on the corner of Marion and Wheat streets would be the first phase of a physical education and recreation complex, which was south of campus and included

⁸⁰⁰ See Table 2.1.

⁸⁰¹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

⁸⁰² USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1966-1967.

⁸⁰³ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 8, 1970-1971.

⁸⁰⁴ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 8, 1970-1971.

Wheeler Hill.⁸⁰⁵ The university constructed a new physical education center in two phases: Phase I in 1970, representing approximately 66,977 sq. ft. at a cost of \$2,293,639, and Phase II in 1975, involving approximately 91,000 sq. ft. at a cost of \$3,040,636.⁸⁰⁶ So, although initial removal of houses in the Wheeler Hill area took place well before any building of athletics facilities occurred, the establishment of the physical education center was the intended purpose.

The desire for athletics was shielded due to how funding was secured for urban renewal projects. For example, although it is not clear who may have suggested dedicating the Coliseum at the first basketball game, it is clear in the 1968 correspondence from the Carolina Coliseum Advisory Committee to President Jones why this was not a good idea.

The Committee firmly feels that the image of the Coliseum as a general-purpose facility to promote athletic, academic, cultural, and civic events would be destroyed if such a ceremony were held. The Committee strongly felt that the purpose for which the Legislature was asked to appropriate funds to build the Coliseum would be distorted by a separate dedication for athletic purposes. The Committee suggests that the athletic aspects be incorporated into the general dedication, and it strongly recommends that appropriate administrative action to ensure this result be taken.⁸⁰⁷

This communication is significant due to the strong need the committee reportedly felt to assert the multipurpose use of the Coliseum, which from the outset of my research seemed to waffle from athletics to educational to general-purpose use. The site for the Coliseum was west of USC in an area the South Carolina governor had identified for development. Further, the committee was concerned the legislature would

⁸⁰⁵ USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, Faculty Minutes, July 17, 1968.

⁸⁰⁶ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 8, 1970-1971.

⁸⁰⁷ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1968-1969.

be upset if the public perceived that the Coliseum was solely intended for athletic purposes, which was not the purpose of the appropriated funds. Finally, that “appropriate administrative action” be taken to ensure that athletics was incorporated into the general dedication seemed to imply that those involved in athletics may be perceived by the committee as unwilling to cooperate. However, in other USC archival documents, others were quite explicit in the purpose of the Coliseum, such as Mr. Zane Knauss, director of the Department of Public Relations. When writing to USC President Patterson regarding general observations on the Coliseum, he stated, “It is important to realize at the outset that the Carolina Coliseum was built as a basketball arena.”⁸⁰⁸

As detailed in Chapter 3, the desire for athletic facilities was fueled by the ambition to secure a top-tier basketball coach. Coach Frank McGuire is said to have stated during salary negotiations with Sol Blatt, Jr.: “Build a coliseum that will seat 20,000, and I’ll fill it up. Before I went to that meeting in Barnwell, I had already made up my mind to take the job, if they would commit to build a coliseum.”⁸⁰⁹ McGuire’s commitment to coach at USC was contingent on the Coliseum.

At the same time, USC Vice President Brunton knew that the incorporation of classroom and administrative facilities in the coliseum would mean the project qualified for more federal monies.⁸¹⁰ In a letter from Brunton to Robert Horning, a Coliseum Advisory Committee ex-officio member, regarding Coliseum financing, Brunton stated “the university was able to obtain almost \$1 million from Title I of the Federal Higher

⁸⁰⁸ USC Archives, Coliseum, Box 7.

⁸⁰⁹ Dan Barton and Bob Fulton, *Frank McGuire: The Life and Times of a Basketball Legend* (Columbia: Summerhouse Press, 1995).

⁸¹⁰ USC Archives, Coliseum, Box 7.

Education Act of 1965 for the academic facilities purposely constructed under the Coliseum risers. In addition, the University was able to get a Title III loan of \$1,333,000”, which was also federal money.⁸¹¹

According to Joe Taylor, county councilman and chairman of the Coliseum Committee, the committee visited several coliseums to plan a multipurpose facility and build a great basketball facility for whomever might be the coach and whomever might be playing.⁸¹² Once the Coliseum was built, head basketball coach Frank McGuire called it “the beginning of a new era of basketball at Carolina.”⁸¹³ He stated in the 1968 Coliseum brochure that the facility is vital in recruiting players, who want to perform where a lot of people can see them.⁸¹⁴ McGuire’s success, according to authors Dan Barton and Bob Fulton in *Frank McGuire: The Life and Times of a Basketball Legend*, fueled USC’s arch-rival Clemson University to upgrade its basketball program and facilities. The Littlejohn Coliseum at Clemson University was completed in 1968, following the Carolina Coliseum’s construction.

In the USC Athletics Committee meeting minutes for July 9, 1968, head football coach Paul Dietzel described the planning for the Department of Athletics Complex, including plans for a new natatorium.⁸¹⁵ The minutes also described general development of the area south of USC campus bounded by Heyward Street, Marion Street, Rosewood Drive, and the Southern Railway,⁸¹⁶ which extended even farther south of what was

⁸¹¹ USC Archives, Coliseum, Box 7.

⁸¹² USC Archives, Coliseum, Box 7.

⁸¹³ USC Archives, Coliseum, Box 7.

⁸¹⁴ USC Archives, Coliseum, Box 7.

⁸¹⁵ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 7, 1968-1969.

⁸¹⁶ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 7, 1968-1969.

known as the Wheeler Hill area, demonstrating the long-range planning for the area, which ultimately became an athletics complex for USC. In 1975, when the new natatorium, opened the director of the Sol Blatt P.E. Center remarked that the Olympic-size pool was one of the finest of its kind in the nation.⁸¹⁷

Participants' responses varied when they described their beliefs about the motivations of USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA. Ms. Furgess said, "They wanted to expand the university for different reasons, and most people realized what they were doing was they were eliminating the blight between the University of South Carolina and Saluda Avenue." She went on to say that "Wheeler Hill was destroyed not just from white people but from white people who were supposed to be protecting them." Ms. Furgess expressed hurt and frustration that institutions, like the CHA, meant to provide support were the same institutions inflicting harm in her community. White leaders in positions of power had abdicated their responsibility to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing for Wheeler Hill residents by putting their interests and desires ahead of those of the public.

Based on my analysis and reflection on this research question, this sentiment reveals that not only did Ms. Furgess associate the displacement of residents with the university, but she also critiqued the CHA, an agency that was meant to assist people. Further, she said that the actions of the university and CHA were racialized. These examples relate mostly to the theme of the university as real estate developer. The control that white leadership in the university, in the city of Columbia, and CHA wielded over the communities they displaced was far reaching and had ongoing consequences, as Mr.

⁸¹⁷ "New Natatorium to Open Friday," *The Daily Gamecock*, July 10, 1975.

Pride II shared. The intentionality with which those leaders targeted areas is clear. White men deemed particular areas blighted, including those with Black churches. “Crooked dealing” functioned through disparate offers to Union Baptist Church and Green Street Church when the white church turned down a purchase offer. It also functioned through the selling of lots in Wheeler Hill to members of the white community, enriching already more prosperous households compared to Black households.

The second research question for the study addressed the decision-making processes among USC, the City of Columbia, and CHA in urban renewal efforts from 1964 to 1971. How were constituents living in urban renewal areas involved in these urban renewal efforts?

I interpreted data from each data source⁸¹⁸ deemed relevant to this research question. Archival documents reflected decision-making considerations, including when to engage the state legislature to USC’s benefit, aligning policies and procedures, negotiating in the university’s best interests, and maximizing positive public relations by deploying neoliberal logics of the market. In the following section, I attempt to keep examples in chronological order when possible, to better explain developments over time.

As mentioned previously, the notion that the university and city did not know for what purposes displacement efforts would need to happen and in what period is hard to imagine, given the documentation of the process. Correspondence on August 20, 1965, between Marshall Brown, coordinator of the Commission of Higher Education (CHE), and USC President Jones featured a request to secure long-range facilities plans and

⁸¹⁸ Yin, *Case Study Research*.

request support from the U.S. Office of Education.⁸¹⁹ According to a document titled “Approach to Long Range Planning,” Section 2 of Act 194 (1967), which established the commission, the charge of the CHE was to study the state’s HEIs.⁸²⁰ The expectation was that the CHE would establish a facilities committee to independently analyze the projected need for major land acquisitions and capital construction at all institutions across the state through the late 1960s.⁸²¹

In terms of planning at the state level, the legal maneuvering required to grant the university the authority to condemn land for university purposes is outlined in *University of S.C. v. Mehlman et al.* This case states:

The Trustees of the University of South Carolina may, in their discretion, make use of the provisions of Chapter 3, Title 25, Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1952, to acquire land for which funds are provided by the General Assembly. This provision shall become effective immediately upon the approval of this Act by the Governor.⁸²²

However, at the time, some controversy seemed to ensue, and the General Assembly, in its 1953 session, struck out Sections 22-101 to 22-120 of the 1952 code relating to the University of South Carolina, an act approved May 9, 1953 (48 Stats. 368):

The University of South Carolina may condemn lands for University purposes, such right of condemnation to be subject to the same duties, liabilities and method of proceeding and with the same rights, powers and privileges as are conferred upon municipal corporations by and under Article 4 of Chapter 3 of Title 59, Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1952. That this right of condemnation is cumulative to any such right that the University now has or may hereafter have.

The courts upheld the right, by statute, for the General Assembly to condemn private property for public use. In essence, USC could identify and condemn land, subjecting city

⁸¹⁹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 8, 1965-1966.

⁸²⁰ USC Archives, President William Patterson, Box 6, 1976-1977.

⁸²¹ USC Archives, President William Patterson, Box 6, 1976-1977.

⁸²² USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964; “Code of Laws of South Carolina 1952, Annotated,” accessed April 26, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/codeoflawsofsout03sout/page/380/mode/2up>.

residents to its assessment and plans for dispossession and using taxpayer money, including that of the citizens of Ward One and Wheeler Hill, to purchase their homes and land from them.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the prevailing financial philosophy of South Carolina urban renewal was that “substandard land is acquired and then resold to public bodies at an appraised value as raw, undeveloped land.”⁸²³ This acknowledgement is profound because it suggests the conceptualization of erasure of predominately Black bodies from their inhabited spaces of home, church, and community. Additionally, this approach reinforces the notion of Western cultural values that classify land as undeveloped simply because it is not being used to generate capital.⁸²⁴

These logics are present in the Director of City Planning Phillip A. Stedfast’s letter to the USC BOT, recorded in the board’s January 23, 1959, minutes. Stedfast argued that “the university cannot grow or meet its future needs without displacement” and that by deciding to acquire the land, it puts others “on notice” of the university’s interest in the land from Pickens to Barnwell (east of campus).⁸²⁵ Stedfast suggested that if the general public knew of the university’s plans, all owners would offer their property to the university when they decided to sell.⁸²⁶ Interestingly, the meeting minutes following the entry of this letter note that a Mr. Osborne, a BOT member at the time, said that “he has talked with the Columbia City fathers and is definitely of the opinion that the move in an easterly direction is the more desirable location.”⁸²⁷ The easterly direction in

⁸²³ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁸²⁴ Tuck and Guishard, “Uncollapsing Ethics”; Melamed, “Racial Capitalism.”

⁸²⁵ USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1958-1959.

⁸²⁶ USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1958-1959.

⁸²⁷ USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1958-1959.

this case referred to moving closer to Wheeler Hill. Although the identities of these “Columbia City fathers” are not clear, the reference illuminates the paternalistic and patriarchal nature of how decisions were made in Columbia, particularly among agencies and organizations with shared interests.

In terms of other considerations by the city and the university when making decisions, it is also clear they knew the ownership status, tenancy, family size, and income of the individuals being displaced by the urban renewal projects (see Appendix E). Additionally, in a progress report on May 12, 1966, the CHA shared a preliminary survey of the Memorial Hall site, which included the estimated acreage, number and condition of buildings, number and condition of dwelling units, number of site occupants, and number of property owners.⁸²⁸ The estimated number of site occupants is listed as zero white families, 386 non-white families, zero white individuals, 1,351 non-white individuals, and 49 business concerns.⁸²⁹ Additionally, in the preliminary site analysis for the Wheeler Hill project, the racial demographic data (predominately Black) is denoted alongside the topography, utilities, and size of lots.⁸³⁰ If race were not a factor in the decision-making process, it would not have been denoted in either of these reports and analyses.

The City of Columbia and CHA also coordinated the updating of their policies to align with “local standards for determining acceptability of rehousing resources”—for example, having hot running water in bathroom and kitchen facilities. Hot water was a requirement in the building code for the City of Columbia, but as of April 26, 1965, it

⁸²⁸ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

⁸²⁹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1965-1966.

⁸³⁰ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30, Q6-Q18.

was not a requirement of the housing code.⁸³¹ However, this provision was voted on and unanimously adopted as submitted. This specific policy change had vast implications for what homes and businesses could be deemed “blighted” and justified the need for federal funding to rehouse these families in more sanitary conditions.

Part of the research process is recognizing the context beyond the data of interest. As I explored archival documents, I happened to see that the public housing properties listed at the top of CHA letterhead included Allen-Benedict Court, Gonzales Gardens, Hendley Homes, Jaggers Terrace, and Saxon Homes, as well as USC urban renewal areas. These properties, except for Jaggers Terrace, are all in downtown Columbia and within a 10-minute drive of USC. Considering the extensive relationship that would have to be forged to result in CHA including, writ large on its letterhead, all USC urban renewal areas as part of the properties it manages is quite astounding.

More obvious areas of collaboration also occurred, including the sale of property from the CHA to the university at approximately 57% of the original price paid for the land by the CHA in 1971 (see Appendix F).⁸³² The USC BOT also played a role in urging the CHA and City of Columbia to support the university’s efforts to pursue the Wheeler Hill urban renewal project. It is surprising to read in retrospect how transparent the BOT was in 1967 in its communication about interest in the “slum area” and needing assistance to meet the national goals for HUD’s land re-use policy.⁸³³ The USC BOT suggested that CHA step in to coordinate a public housing plan to house displaced people

⁸³¹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964

⁸³² USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1970-1971.

⁸³³ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

from the proposed project to meet the urban renewal objective.⁸³⁴ The BOT also have simultaneous directives to both CHA and the City Council on steps they can take to assist the university in acquiring Wheeler Hill property, including the request that both entities along with the university urge the South Carolina congressional delegation to support these efforts and restrict any zoning changes until the next phases of urban renewal were undertaken.⁸³⁵

Decision making among these networks was also about being strategic. John Chase, CHA administrator from 1949 to 1952, made it clear that neither the city nor the university would be able to purchase property before obtaining “early land acquisition approval” for fear of losing federal funding.⁸³⁶ As a result, CHA administrator Chase and USC Vice President Brunton decided it was best to have the CRDF purchase the property.⁸³⁷ Chase gave approval for the foundation to determine the best options on the city’s behalf based on the understanding that any obtained property would be sold to the CHA under urban renewal.⁸³⁸ The CHA would then sell the property to either the city or the university, depending on who was deemed the owner.⁸³⁹

Even Vice President Brunton admitted that the CRDF “has literally saved the University and the State more than a million dollars in establishing lower land values, particularly around the Coliseum site.”⁸⁴⁰ In a letter sent to John Chase on July 25, 1968, Brunton was highly complementary of the CHA’s findings that the CRDF was not acting

⁸³⁴ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

⁸³⁵ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

⁸³⁶ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁸³⁷ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁸³⁸ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁸³⁹ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁸⁴⁰ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 6, 1968-1969.

as an agent of the university and as such, the CHA could negotiate with the CRDF to purchase properties. Brunton went on to suggest that the CHA and HUD should arrive at a common appraisal price for property in urban renewal areas, and when the CHA buys those properties from the CRDF, the price should not exceed the appraised value. This communication brings up an interesting quagmire: If the CRDF was not serving as an agent of the university, then why did Brunton feel the need to dictate how the CHA and HUD should work together to benefit the CRDF?

The USC BOT meeting minutes for September 25, 1968, further illuminate why Brunton may have directed how the CHA, HUD, and CRDF should work together. According to the meeting minutes, urban renewal officials originally classified the CRDF as a university organization; however, according to Brunton, after “considerable explanation, discussion and a trip to Atlanta” to meet with HUD officials, they finally agreed that the CRDF was a private entity and therefore, entitled to reimbursement for “out-of-pocket” costs. Brunton stated:

The accumulated purchases of “out-of-pocket” cost in the Coliseum area are now approximately \$75,000 less than the first appraisal amount. This means that the Foundation could legitimately pay \$75,000 more than appraisal on remaining properties and receive full reimbursement when sold to the Columbia Housing Authority.⁸⁴¹

Although Brunton and other university officials spent time trying to convince HUD and the CHA that the CRDF was a private entity separate and apart from the university, the CRDF’s bylaws under Article II, Section 3 stated, “In the event of a dissolution of the Foundation, all funds, property and assets shall revert to the University

⁸⁴¹ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 6, 1968-1969.

of South Carolina or some other eleemosynary corporation.⁸⁴² Many years later in 1983, when recapping all that had transpired with urban renewal projects, Brunton would note “the CHA was invaluable in their constant efforts to get favorable interpretation of Federal regulations.”⁸⁴³

Part of the decision-making process also involved assessing how others across the country were making strategic decisions to benefit their institutions and cities. For example, HEIs shared best practices, such as the notion of developing a foundation to acquire property for their respective institution. In Brunton’s role as CRDF secretary-treasurer, he reported to the CRDF Board of Directors meeting on July 1, 1969, about how the CRDF was modeled after the University of Purdue Research Foundation, which had been in operation since 1922.⁸⁴⁴ He also shared how USC had used the head of the Purdue Foundation as a consultant when establishing the CRDF.⁸⁴⁵ Finally, he included a copy of the 1968 financial statement of the Purdue Foundation,⁸⁴⁶ demonstrating how closely HEIs strategized with one another.

Another aspect of decision making began even before any demolition or building took place, as the university was looking to benefit from positive public relations through urban renewal. On July 9, 1964, Brunton reached out to Mr. Wallace Martin, USC’s director of development, and stated, “I believe the University can get good favorable attention, and we can express our appreciation to the many people who have taken part in

⁸⁴² USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 6, 1968-1969.

⁸⁴³ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 30.

⁸⁴⁴ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 6, 1968-1969.

⁸⁴⁵ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 6, 1968-1969.

⁸⁴⁶ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 6, 1968-1969.

the program.”⁸⁴⁷ Positive public relations efforts extended beyond the university, with South Carolina senators donating tickets for underprivileged children in Columbia, including those from the Wheeler Hill community, to see the USC vs. Fordham basketball game in 1973.⁸⁴⁸ The participating children received a Carolina basketball yearbook autographed by the basketball team and head coach Frank McGuire.⁸⁴⁹ Further, news stories captured by USC student media, the *Daily Gamecock*, also demonstrated efforts by the student government to promote positive public relations with the Wheeler Hill community. One story mentioned the allocation of matching funds from the university to finance a 15-week program connected to the Florence Benson Grammar school to involve youth in Saturday morning classes.⁸⁵⁰

Persons with whom money changed hands or was invested was rife with politically motivated decisions and based on personal relationships among white leadership and white families in the community. In a letter, Sol Blatt, Jr. thanks USC President Sumwalt for making the decision for the university to switch banks and deposit its money at State Bank & Trust Company, then led by President Wellsman Johnson, saying it was fair and proper to do so.⁸⁵¹ Blatt stated that it meant a great deal to him that Sumwalt would do this because he was “so close with the Johnson family.”⁸⁵² Although it is not clear for what purpose, the fact that government officials with connections to

⁸⁴⁷ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

⁸⁴⁸ “Senators Donate Tickets to Area Underprivileged,” *The Daily Gamecock*, February 22, 1973.

⁸⁴⁹ “Senators Donate Tickets,” *The Daily Gamecock*.

⁸⁵⁰ “Creativity Expressed,” *The Daily Gamecock*, October 8, 1969.

⁸⁵¹ USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1959-1960.

⁸⁵² USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1959-1960.

university-affiliated committees and the BOT could ask the university to change banks as a favor is concerning and representative of whiteness as property.

Race and race relations played a dominant role in the decisions made at that time. By the 1960s, the university had dispossessed hundreds of Black community members. Henry Lesesne, celebrated USC historian, noted that “white University administrators had driven hundreds of nearby black residents from their homes through urban renewal.”⁸⁵³ As a result, Lesesne shared, the university appointed a faculty committee to study the racial situation at USC. Its report, written by Professor Thomas Terrill in USC’s Department of History in May 1969, noted the detrimental effect of the university’s land acquisition program on community race relations.⁸⁵⁴ The committee’s report to the faculty in 1969 addressing interracial conflict suggested the following: curriculum changes to add Afro-American Studies, freshman orientation to include information on race relations on campus, speakers on topics of special relevance to the Black community given special consideration in university lecture programs, recruitment of Black athletes, discouraging displays of racial hostility, and a statement of university policy recognizing the need for alleviating racial tensions.⁸⁵⁵

Like many Black communities during the 60s and 70s, the Wheeler Hill community was combating a potential takeover of their communities from various entities, including those known and unknown to them. Recorded in the CRDF Board of Directors meeting minutes from Thursday, May 28, 1970, Brunton explained the difficulty in planning housing due to the Columbia Area Transportation Study Plan,

⁸⁵³ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*, 208.

⁸⁵⁴ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*, 208.

⁸⁵⁵ USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, 1969 Ad Hoc Committee, Report to the General Faculty No. 1.

which aimed to locate a freeway and possible interchange in the area.⁸⁵⁶ In essence, this Black neighborhood would either have been acquired by the university through urban renewal or potentially by the state for highway development. In reality, the Wheeler Hill community was under active development by USC since the 1950s, and by 1967, this community was no longer recognizable.

Regarding the second part of this second research question, participants described their involvement in urban renewal efforts in various ways. For instance, Mr. Pride II said, “The only involvement that African Americans had in it was the role of victims.”⁸⁵⁷

He went on to say:

They [African Americans] were misused so bad by white people because first of all, we didn’t really understand what urban renewal was—we certainly had no understanding of how to use it to our benefit and so, we had no way of holding them accountable for those funds. ... We weren’t factored in other than victim: “Give them *n****s* some money, take that [expletive] and tell them to move on.” I mean, that was the general concept of urban renewal.⁸⁵⁸

Mr. Pride II also relayed his feelings about how urban renewal affected the residents of Wheeler Hill:

We were on board. “Oh, they gonna tear down them old raggy houses, and they gonna be new and brand-new structures.” We didn’t see that as our communities. So, it was easily done, you know? There was no challenge. And you asked me why? ... because of fear, if you spoke up, they’d single you out, and they would get at you.⁸⁵⁹

Ms. Furgess, to some extent, agreed with the lack of understanding by residents about how urban renewal projects worked, but she also pointed to how those in authority exerted their will to get things done. She stated:

⁸⁵⁶ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1969-1970.

⁸⁵⁷ Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁸⁵⁸ Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁸⁵⁹ Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

They had the law on their sides, right? I mean, that was urban renewal. It said code enforcement came through and said, with their little tablets, “Ah, your roof needs repair.” You go find somebody repair your roof, that’s \$250, and you got \$25 to last you for the rest of the month. What are you gonna do? You gonna feed your children? You see? OK. “Ah, yeah, wiring is gone. Ah, your wiring is needed, do your electricity over.” OK, you don’t have money to do electricity, what are you gonna do? You see? So, they did everything legally. So, that’s why a lot of the stuff they had the law on their side.

Ms. Furgess’s understanding that the law was on the university’s side is supported by the criteria outlined in the *Urban Renewal Handbook*, which states that:

the portion of the area covered by the development plan which includes the land for which credit is claimed must be a) blighted or deteriorating, and b) sufficient size to constitute a stable area in itself, or in conjunction with the educational institution, hospital, and/or the urban renewal project, after the plan is carried out.

Further, the handbook states:

The minimum criteria for determining blight or deterioration are that one or more of the following types of deficiencies must be present to the extent that living conditions in the area are being affected adversely:

- Unsatisfactory standards of maintenance or repair
- Inadequate alterations
- Inadequate plumbing, heating, or electrical facilities
- Inadequate, obsolete, or unsafe building layouts, such as presence of fire hazards, shared bathroom facilities, or dwelling units or bedrooms without privacy of access
- Conversions to incompatible types of uses, such as rooming-houses among family dwellings or introduction of mixed uses
- Overcrowding or improper location of structures on the land
- Unsafe, congested, poorly designed, or otherwise deficient streets
- Inadequate public utilities or recreational and community facilities contributing to unsatisfactory living conditions or economic deterioration
- Incompatible land uses creating adverse influences on residential properties or living conditions in the area
- Overoccupancy of buildings
- General characteristics of obsolescence tending to reduce neighborhood stability, as evidenced by an unusual number of movements in and out of the area
- Other significant conditions which are clear evidence of neighborhood obsolescence or decline.

Mr. Redfern II shared his analysis of the situation:

So, we are on 30 days trying to pay the rent, they're on a 20-year period, where they are assessing the best use of the property. We are only limited in our scope, because we are operating out of poverty, income, operating out of a lack of education, whereas they're operating from an institutional point of view, with the best minds, the best funding, and experience with what happens with communities. So, we've lost. We aren't even in contingent. And it's hard to activate people on a long-term project. So, even though we knew what was happening on Wheeler Hill, we couldn't mobilize people on a 20-year project. So, they could just, by attrition, wait us out.⁸⁶⁰

Mr. Redfern II's assessment seems to align with the university's analysis of the Wheeler Hill project. A meeting held on March 21, 1969, summarized the discussion of USC Vice President Brunton with subcommittee members regarding the Long Range Physical Development Plan.⁸⁶¹ The focus of the conversation was "to discuss the problem of the university expansion to the south with particular reference to the university's relations with the Black community on Wheeler Hill."⁸⁶² In outlining policy objectives toward Wheeler Hill, the plan states:

Recognizing that the Wheeler Hill community is severely deficient in both financial and physical resources, the University will initiate the following: Underwrite a demographic study of the neighborhood so as to acquire sustaining data to aid in understanding the impact of the University's growth on the existing community structure(s) and to minimize any negative aspects.⁸⁶³

Although the stated intent may have been to minimize negative effects, many such effects were felt by members of the Black communities. Ms. Martin shared:

We used to call urban renewal Negro removal. Because those projects across the United States displaced Blacks. And even though they said Blacks would be made whole on relocation, we all know they would never be made whole. So, my parents had a background of knowing that, and they fought to make sure that the Blacks that left would be able to come back when the community was revitalized. That was very important to them, to my parents, that they weren't permanently displaced, and it was very important to my parents that all people were allowed to

⁸⁶⁰ James Redfern II, personal communication, January 24, 2023.

⁸⁶¹ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30, Q6-Q18, 1968-1983.

⁸⁶² USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30, Q6-Q18, 1968-1983.

⁸⁶³ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30, Q6-Q18, 1968-1983.

live in that community, that it wasn't gentrified. They didn't know the word "gentrified" back then, but it was important to my parents that it'd be a mixture of income and ethnicity, that it not become a white neighborhood and that it not become a middle- or upper-income neighborhood. ... Their vision was that it would be a neighborhood for people of all income levels and all ethnicities.⁸⁶⁴

"Urban renewal means Negro removal" was a common 20th century slogan of civil rights groups protesting displacement.⁸⁶⁵ Ms. Martin shared her and her parents' hope that fighting to remain in Wheeler Hill might make a difference in the lives of their family and community. However, her parents' knowledge of the struggle that lay ahead to keep their home was surely informed by the class and race dynamics that seemed to always concede to the will of those in power.

In further consideration of how involved Black constituents were in urban renewal, consider the actual interest of those in positions of power in institutions for the opinions of Black communities on these matters. For example, in coordination with the city, USC scheduled a public hearing on May 19, 1965, to take place at City Hall. If community members wanted to examine maps, documents, or plans, they were required to go to the USC Administration Building Room 221, where items would be available for at least 10 days prior to the hearing.⁸⁶⁶ Yet as outlined previously, the USC space was highly contentious; Black children could not even walk across campus to their home or parents' workplace. Blacks were expected to walk around, not through campus. The university had only desegregated in 1963. What possible reasoning could the city and university have had for holding the campus development plan viewing on the campus?

⁸⁶⁴ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁸⁶⁵ Rothstein, *The Color of Law*.

⁸⁶⁶ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Urban Renewal, Box 29.

Additionally, university records show that although the required legal notice for the public hearing was advertised on October 23, 1960, Thomas Faris, USC director of planning, communicated to CHA head John Chase:

As there is no law to my knowledge which would require multiple advertisements and as our previous handling of the public hearing was satisfactory to the Federal Government, I plan to advertise only one time in *The State* on the hearing on the new Campus Development Plan.⁸⁶⁷

In essence, there seems to have been an attempt to limit the level of engagement of Black community members regarding these planning efforts. These efforts by white leaders to minimize civic participation are compatible with what Rev. Yarborough of Green Street Methodist observed—that in his mind, there was no direct notice of the hearing.⁸⁶⁸ In fact there was, but only one.

As those in leadership continued to make decisions that ultimately would affect the living conditions and livelihoods of Black families, Black community members were often unaware of the intricacies of urban renewal efforts. “Right at this point and time, I have no idea when the project will be completed,” said Bernice Martin, chairman of the Wheeler Hill community group. “The university, per se, is not involved,” she said, “The land is owned by the Carolina Research and Development Foundation.” Although this quote was captured in November 1978, after the timeframe of this study, it is indicative of the lack of knowledge of community members of how closely the CRDF and university worked together. As early as 1968, there was mention in *The State* newspaper that tied the CRDF to USC and physical development.⁸⁶⁹ In the January 7, 1970, issue,

⁸⁶⁷ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Urban Renewal, Box 29.

⁸⁶⁸ “Pastor Charges Renewal,” *The Daily Gamecock*.

⁸⁶⁹ “No UFO is this Bird,” *The State*, June 29, 1968, 13.

The State explicitly noted, “Since 1965 the foundation has been buying and holding property in the USC expansion area until the university was ready to implement a specific use.”⁸⁷⁰

In my analysis and reflection on this second research question, the archival material related to decision making demonstrates the primary concern remained the self-interests of the white institutions involved in urban renewal projects. At the same time, the fact that there was concern about how the university and city would look in carrying out these projects seems to reveal an understanding among white leaders that they were doing something wrong or at the very least, something that if examined more closely would face critique and disapproval. Overall, it was a calculated decision. Urban renewal was a better investment by the university, which chose to launch a short-term public relations campaign to elicit goodwill among community members, rather than investing in keeping a long-term Black community intact. Where white city and university leaders saw houses, those in the Black community saw homes. I captured interview participants’ home address, date of purchase, and purchase price, for those who lived in Ward One or Wheeler Hill (see Table 6.1). The ability to see the information provided in Table 6.1 in juxtaposition to the map of Wheeler Hill neighborhood lots (see Figure 6.3) was jarring to me as I no longer saw these rendering of lots as merely boxes on a page, but after speaking with my interviewees I saw this map as representing homes full of stories of people’s lives. Ultimately, the predominately Black community of Wheeler Hill was preventing university expansion. These examples relate mostly to the themes of “university as real estate developer” in terms of the control and political clout these

⁸⁷⁰ “Foundation Purchases Senate Plaza,” *The State*, January 7, 1970, 1.

agencies shared in directing how urban renewal processes were to be managed and “out of sight, out of mind” in terms of choosing not to engage Black community members in the decision-making process.

The third research question for the study was: How did community members displaced by USC’s athletics expansion through urban renewal describe (a) efforts to build athletics facilities and (b) the impact of displacement and the destruction of their communities on their lives?

I interpreted data from each data source⁸⁷¹ relevant to this research question. Some archival documents described community members’ initial reactions to USC expansion efforts; however, much of the data related to this question were from interviews with participants in this study.

In a 1974 *Daily Gamecock* news article, Fannie Phelps Adams, an assistant principal at Booker T. Washington at the time, was quoted as saying, “Two years ago I told USC officials when I heard they were strongly contemplating taking our school and more of the Wheeler community that they were making a mistake.”⁸⁷² The *Daily Gamecock* also reported that Adams shared: “USC has a living laboratory at its feet. Learning out of books is fine but experience and contact with people is much more valuable. Instead, they send construction crews to destroy.”⁸⁷³

⁸⁷¹ Yin, *Case Study Research*.

⁸⁷² “University Seeks Purchase of Washington High School,” *The Daily Gamecock*, March 28, 1974.

⁸⁷³ “University Seeks Purchase,” *The Daily Gamecock*.

Table 6.1 Interview Participant Homes and Purchase Prices⁸⁷⁴

Ward One and Wheeler Hill Interviewees	Home or Church Address	Date of Purchase	Purchase Price
Lewis Burns*	909½ Park St.	Unknown	Unknown
Alexandra Furgess	425 Henderson St. 302 Bull St.	2/15/1971	418-428 Henderson St.: \$24,583 300-304 Bull St.: \$30,060
Dante Kenly	409-413 St. James AME Church	No purchase	
Elizabeth Martin	1723 Wheat St.	No purchase	

*Oral history transcript

⁸⁷⁴ USC Archives, William Patterson, Box 2, 1975-1976.

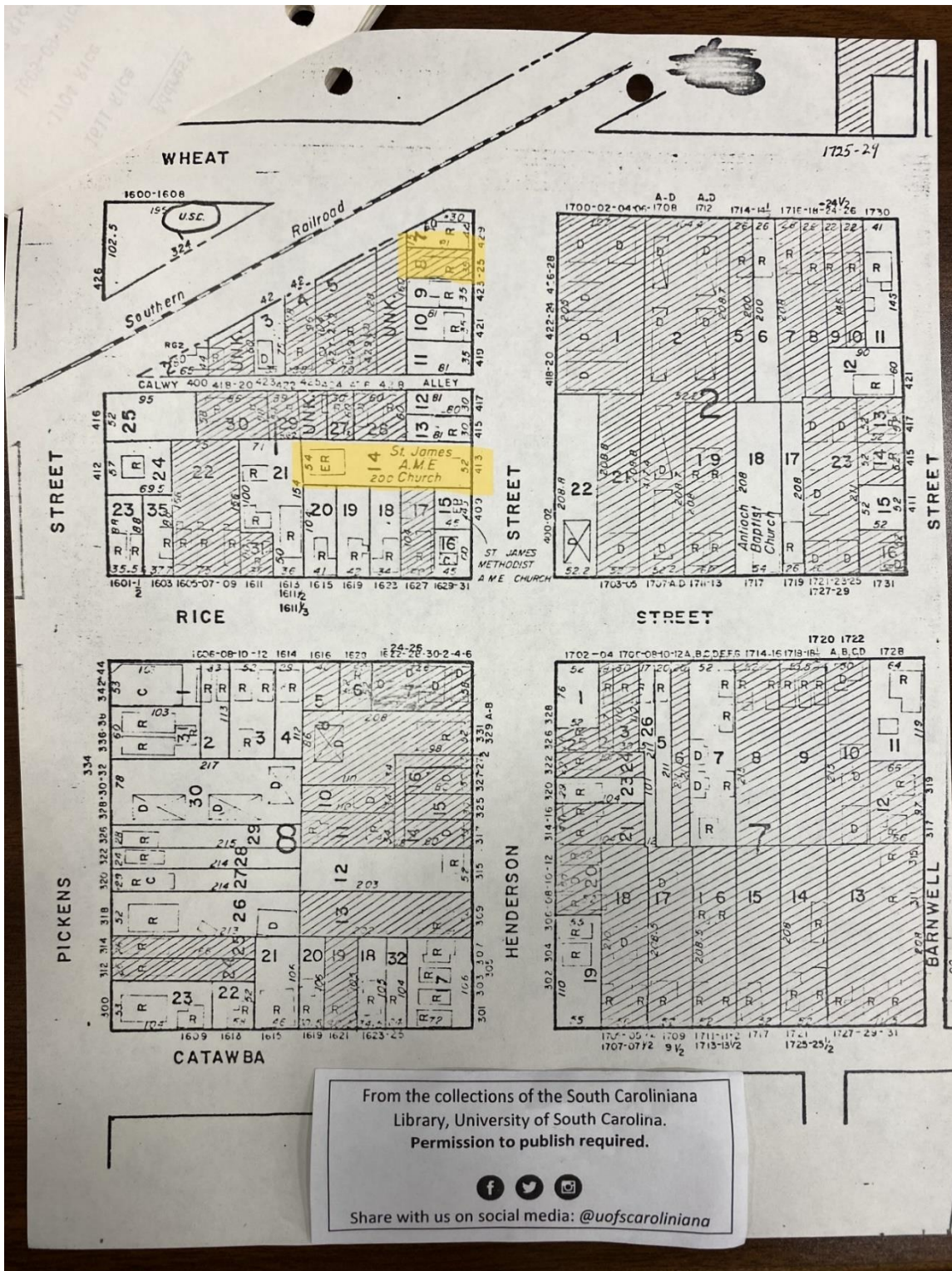


Figure 6.3 Map of Wheeler Hill Neighborhood Lots

The following sections emphasize how participants described their recollections of university expansion and its long-term impact on their lives. In terms of the destruction of Black communities, Mr. Pride II said, “They went through there, and granted the houses up on Wheeler Hill were not in the best condition, but those were people’s homes, and they raised children in those homes, and they had worked; they had family life.”⁸⁷⁵ This was a common sentiment among the participants, an acknowledgement of the poor living conditions but also anger about the displacement of families. The constant dehumanization of Black families is psychological warfare, considering that those in power created and maintained the poor living conditions of Black communities and then used those conditions as a reason to displace them. In reflecting on how urban renewal changed the demographics of her community. Ms. Martin said:

I’m trying not to be bitter, I’m trying not to be bitter. I’m not a fan of the University of South Carolina, that division that had bought all that property up because I know they bought it up. The property originally was owned by people and then the rumor got out that they were gonna buy up all this land, and then I think white people went in and bought it and then rented it. So we went, I think we went from being owner, owned, to becoming a rental community because of their [USC’s] actions.⁸⁷⁶

Both Mr. Pride and Ms. Martin remarked about their bitterness toward USC. Mr. Pride owned his bitterness, whereas Ms. Martin still fought hers. Regarding her parents’ active community engagement in the 1960s and 1970s, Ms. Martin shared recollections about what her father discussed with her during that time:

They took that whole neighborhood [the area surrounding Jones Memorial AME Zion Church]. You know, when you use eminent domain, you’re supposed to pay a certain amount to make people whole again. And he fought because they lowballed the church. And I remember hearing him talk about how they couldn’t get the money that they deserve, so they relocated to another black community in

⁸⁷⁵ Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁸⁷⁶ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

Columbia and rebuilt a church. But I know in just overhearing him, he talked about how they offered almost nothing to the church to relocate.⁸⁷⁷

On May 2, 1966, Mr. Martin reflected on the first worship service held at Jones Memorial AME Zion Church's new location in a letter to CHA head John Chase. Although Mr. Martin may have felt they did not get paid what their church was worth, he seemed to find good in the midst of ugly, referring to the church's displacement as a modern-day exodus and the CHA as an instrument in God's hand.⁸⁷⁸ Thus, Mr. Martin expressed thanks that unlike some churches, his managed to overcome displacement and renew its worship service, whereas others permanently closed.

Some community members may have made peace with the decisions affecting their lives at the time they took place, but others carried their disappointments for a long time. Dr. Kenly, current pastor of St. James AME Church in Wheeler Hill, shared:

Believe it or not, with this church, even though that happened almost like 40, 50, 60 years, they still have not healed from it. ... Every time they come to church, mind reminisce, where I used to play, where I used to buy gum, candy, and grocery, where I got my hair cut. You see what I'm saying? So, I don't have an answer for that, only thing I can say is cherish the memories.⁸⁷⁹

Dr. Kenly was in a unique position as a current member of the Wheeler Hill community as pastor of St. James AME Church. He stated:

I discovered that my church is no longer a community church, but it is now a commuter church, which kind of put my church in a framework, that we're just now a building or community center, where people can utilize other resources of our church. ... Even though my members are now a commuter congregation, they are still faithful to their church. We're not going to take a check.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁷ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁸⁷⁸ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1965-1966.

⁸⁷⁹ Dante Kenly, personal communication, February 28, 2023.

⁸⁸⁰ Dante Kenly, personal communication, February 28, 2023.

Dr. Kenly remained adamant about the church not moving, even as it continued to get offers to do so.

I asked participants who lived outside of the Ward One and Wheeler Hill areas when they saw the things that were happening in these communities, what they thought was going to happen to their community. Why, I asked, didn't they fight back? Mr.

Redfern II replied:

We had no institutional view. You live in a house on a street, and your house and your street was your world. You really couldn't pull back 1,000 feet and look down over what was happening. It's like the frogs in the pot, you know? The waters getting hot, but you don't know the source of it, and you don't know what's the next step. You don't know that they're going to be serving you, you just know that you in this cauldron cooking, but you don't understand that.

In my analysis and reflection on this third research question, this sentiment from Mr. Redfern II is a good summation. It reveals that not only did he and others see their communities as separate and apart from others, but they also felt that combating the city and university seemed impossible because those institutions had all the resources at their disposal. Further, Mr. Redfern II seemed to suggest that the actions taken against others are eventually shared by all. These examples relate mostly to the themes of "conflict as a struggle" in terms of the conflict the communities had with the city and university and the conflict among those who were able to remain and those who were displaced. They also reflect the notion of "out of sight, out of mind" in terms of the ability of community members to narrow their focus on what was happening in their communities without seeing the bigger context.

6.5 RESEARCHER'S ANALYSIS AND REFLECTION

In my coding and analysis, I triangulated data sources,⁸⁸¹ including individual interviews, oral history interviews, and archival documents.

I identified the following themes during coding: “conflict as a struggle,” “university as real estate developer,” “out of sight, out of mind,” and “when we were kings and queens.” Although the former themes related to the three research questions of interest in this study, the latter— “when we were kings and queens”—was a theme that came up repeatedly regarding the pride that Black participants felt about their communities. This theme is also relevant in juxtaposition to the racial component at the crux of the displacement efforts in urban renewal projects. How race was mobilized in furtherance of the city's, university's, and CHA's objectives was something I initially theorized when developing this study. The following section contains my analysis and reflection of the study using the concepts of Harris's “whiteness as property”⁸⁸² and “plantation politics.”⁸⁸³

Sociologist Lori Martin and education scholar Kenneth Varner contended that the ability of whites to leverage HEIs' vast financial resources, including endowments, business partnerships, and commercial development, and influence people in leadership roles allows those in power to dictate who has the financial capability to live and work in proximity to the institution without having to articulate those white racial privileges.⁸⁸⁴ Thus, HEIs and whites in positions of power can maintain their appearance of

⁸⁸¹ Yin, *Case Study Research*.

⁸⁸² Harris, “Whiteness as Property.”

⁸⁸³ Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism.”

⁸⁸⁴ Martin and Varner, “Race, Residential Segregation, and the Death of Democracy.”

benevolence while manipulating their resources to ensure their dominance and ways of being.⁸⁸⁵ Education professor Sabina Vaught stated that “by denying black and brown freedom, they [white people] affirm whiteness as property. Moreover, they affirm this property while maintaining the façade of benevolence.” Although many would argue that HEIs are invested in maintaining an aura of benevolence, scholars of higher education must turn the university into a site for analysis an intervention and seek new approaches to examine how these institutions function in our society. Institutional administrators should be aware of the racism rooted in our HEIs and work to understand how systemic complexities, like the exploitation of urban renewal projects, have further disadvantaged the communities that surround our institutions.

Universities serve as geopolitical actors that continually restructure our communities as a result of their investments that link education and everyday life.⁸⁸⁶ The vestiges of spatial violence orchestrated by the university, city, and housing authority on the Black communities they displaced helps us recognize how anti-Blackness continues to be reproduced in “liberal humanist institutions.”⁸⁸⁷

As Vaught suggested, rather than using whiteness as property as an analytic frame to suggest that people of color are passive victims of race as constructed by whites, this frame can be used to understand how systemic practices are mechanisms of white

⁸⁸⁵ Martin and Varner, “Race, Residential Segregation, and the Death of Democracy.”

⁸⁸⁶ Mike Dimpfl and Sara Smith, “Cosmopolitan Sidestep: University Life, Intimate Geopolitics and the Hidden Costs of “Global” Citizenship,” *Area* 51, no. 4 (2019): 635-643.

⁸⁸⁷ Carlos Serrano, “Schooling in the University Town: The Racial Capitalist Foundations of Education.” *Antipode* 55, no. 2 (2022): 599-619.

supremacy.⁸⁸⁸ The following participants descriptions indicate how whiteness functioned in their neighborhood communities.

Ms. Furgess stated, “You know, the streets weren’t paved, just Pickens Street. [They] put sidewalks there because the white kids from university would have to walk to Hendley Homes, which was an all-white public housing.” Ms. Martin shared similar thoughts:

Wheeler Hill, we didn’t have sidewalks. So, where are kids supposed to play? They play in the street, they play wherever they can. The cars—I remember cars speeding through our neighborhood. One of my dogs was killed and they didn’t even stop. You know, so it’s a Black neighborhood. No signs are posted. It’s residential. They shoot through, use it as a through street.⁸⁸⁹

Ms. Martin stated: “I felt like I understand the need to redevelop the community, because no white community lived like that, with no streets. I can’t remember the utilities, but I’m sure they were subpar.”⁸⁹⁰ As discussed by scholars, many Black spaces lack sidewalks and safe passages for residents, which indicates a desire to keep the people in those neighborhoods homebound and confined to a sphere of influence.⁸⁹¹ In this instance, a sphere of influence means that Blacks are presumed to have a negative effect on their surrounding environment, propagated by narratives such as “the neighborhood schools are ‘failing,’ you might want to think twice before moving into that neighborhood.”⁸⁹²

It was also clear that the state highway department was aware of the inadequacies when it wrote a letter regarding the Wheeler Hill area to USC President Jones stating,

⁸⁸⁸ Sabina E. Vaught, *Racism, Public Schooling, and the Entrenchment of White Supremacy: A Critical Race Ethnography* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011).

⁸⁸⁹ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁸⁹⁰ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁸⁹¹ Martin and Varner, “Race, Residential Segregation, and the Death of Democracy.”

⁸⁹² Martin and Varner, “Race, Residential Segregation, and the Death of Democracy.”

“The street work will include the necessary additional grading, storm drainage, curbs and gutters, sidewalks, widening and improving the existing pavement.”⁸⁹³ Similarly, CHA informational reports disseminated in the communities facing displacement to explain urban renewal stated that “the project is intended to eliminate slum conditions while providing an expansion area for the University of South Carolina with all the necessary utilities and other improvements to make this an attractive area.” This messaging conveyed several underlying points. First, it recognized that the current conditions of these neighborhoods were subpar and needed improvements. Second, it suggested that Black community members’ displacement would benefit the needs of the university. Third, it indicated that provision of the necessary utilities was only of interest and importance to the City of Columbia and CHA when the property would serve USC.

Ms. Furgess said, “And you’ll find out that white owners who didn’t even live on the hill got more for their property than Black owners whose families have lived there for years.” Courthouse records show that Blacks received as little as 40 cents per square foot, whereas whites were paid \$1.50 per square foot.⁸⁹⁴

I was in these meetings, and a lot of these meetings were held in our living room, and all the people that represented the city were white and I didn’t understand that. How could these white men—not only were they white, but they were men—how could these people come to our house and tell us what they were gonna do with our community? I just didn’t understand it. I was going to college to be a medical technologist, but that was when I made the change. I’m like, who are these people coming out talking about planning, who are they to tell us what our neighborhood’s gonna look like? They don’t even know us. And so that kind of pushed me into urban planning. (Ms. Martin)⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹³ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

⁸⁹⁴ Monteith Simkins, Manuscripts of the Richland County.

⁸⁹⁵ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

This revelation by Ms. Martin was truly inspiring—that her career aspirations were a direct result of the challenges her family faced in trying to stay in the community in which she was raised. Yet what is most striking about her analysis is the recognition that people who did not live in the community nor of the community were making decisions about what the community should look like. Further, these white men had the authority to do so.

In *Wheeler Hill Framework for a Residential Development*, prepared by architect and urban designer Kyu Sung Woo, statements reveal how the planners thought about achieving “community.” For instance, the report includes notes about the Wheeler Hill site benefiting from existing community-oriented facilities such as St. James AME Church, which provides a focal point for the community.⁸⁹⁶ It also details the need to preserve the Benson Street property on Pickens Street for educational facilities.⁸⁹⁷ This document seems to uplift Black aspects of the Wheeler Hill community and coincides with what Ms. Martin shared about her mother’s positive feelings about the architects on this project being supportive of a community with mixed race and income (see Appendix G). This also makes sense when comparing what was suggested in the framework, which seemed to attend to the wishes of the community, to what transpired based on the needs and desires of the city, university, and CHA.

Ms. Martin said, “Yeah, it was all about race, yeah. Yeah, you could go in, use federal funds, and take the land cheap without really compensating the people.”⁸⁹⁸ Several participants shared this sentiment that race was the determining factor in how

⁸⁹⁶ USC Archives, William Patterson, Box 6, 1976-1977.

⁸⁹⁷ USC Archives, William Patterson, Box 6, 1976-1977.

⁸⁹⁸ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

their communities were treated. Further, they said their communities would not have been in the conditions they were and subject to urban renewal if not for their race. In terms of the current space and community of Wheeler Hill, Dr. Kenly shared:

I think they know that we're not going to move, we're not going to move, because if you white St. James, then you won't have Wheeler Hill anymore. You see what I'm saying? You know? Even though we got precious Booker T. Washington, but it belongs to the University of South Carolina. So, you know, all of the Black-owned businesses that was here and is no longer here, you know, so, St. James is the only lasting legacy of the original Wheeler Hill. And if you take St. James, you won't have a Wheeler Hill anymore.⁸⁹⁹

In essence, Dr. Kenly pointed out how whiteness functions in relation to the residents who now occupy most of the residences, the property interests of the university regarding what land is sold to whom, and the continued pressure to sell—all forces that constrain the church's ability to survive. And yet the church survives and thrives. In the Black community, the Black church is a cherished symbol of hope and making something out of nothing. If that beacon of light on Wheeler Hill is extinguished, then the fear is that just like the church members' memories, the church will fade with time until it disappears.

Ms. Furgess said, "Yeah, I get angry. I get up angry when I go out there and I see that there was so much potential there and so many people there who cared about the community but didn't have the resources or the strength to fight back." Ms. Furgess pointed to my notes and said, "you might capitalize 'resources.'" Ms. Furgess's emphasis on the resources available to those in authority came up various times with multiple participants. Whiteness as property also functions as an extension of who has access to the levers of power, influence, and resources, both financial and logistical.

⁸⁹⁹ Dante Kenly, personal communication, February 28, 2023.

Ms. Furgess said, “So, there are so many outside interferences with what happened with Wheeler Hill and Ward One, but it had nothing at all to do with athletics, darling, that was power and discrimination and racism and eliminating the Black community, and you tell me where sports impacted anything, you know?” Of all the participants, Ms. Furgess was the most adamant that athletics had nothing to do with the displacement efforts; she said the impetus for expansion efforts did not matter and that the city and USC were going to take the land regardless.

As Williams, Squire, and Tuitt⁹⁰⁰ suggested, institutions perpetuate inequalities by avoiding the root causes of problems. Nikole Hannah-Jones argued that the chattel slavery that lasted in the United States for 250 years is our country’s original sin.⁹⁰¹ Anti-Black racism fueled slavery and other societal outcomes—from the creation of our electoral college and legal systems to our vast inequities in education and income.⁹⁰² South Carolina perpetuated separate and unequal Black institutions. Due to the state government’s refusal to desegregate its educational institutions, many Blacks had no choice but to attend school elsewhere, far away from their homes and communities.

At the same time, the structural inequalities present in our society, a result of the discriminatory practices and policies of institutions, persist due to the choices we make individually and collectively each day. For instance, the city and CHA refused to address blight and slum conditions of the Ward One and Wheeler Hill communities until the university and state leadership, including the governor’s office, expressed interest in the

⁹⁰⁰ Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism.”

⁹⁰¹ “The Idea of America,” *Pulitzer Center*, accessed March 17, 2023, https://pulitzercenter.org/sites/default/files/the_idea_of_america_full_essay.pdf.

⁹⁰² “The Idea of America,” *Pulitzer Center*.

areas. By its inaction, the CHA perpetuated the inequitable conditions resulting from race and racism and ultimately, when moved by white leadership to address particular spaces of “blight,” enriched itself and white community members.

Plantation politics asks us to consider how the Black community is being exploited by institutions and to do so by closely examining anti-Black racism. The goal of slavery was profit for the slaveholders; the goal of profit in higher education due to declining state funding can be seen through the promulgation of athletics as a financial solution.⁹⁰³ The extraction of labor (e.g., Black student-athletes), buying and selling of Black property, and fear of Black resistance are all central to plantation politics, which resulted in institutions acquiring wealth, power, profit, and prestige for whites.⁹⁰⁴

6.6 RESISTANCE

Old ideologies about white supremacy, who should have access to certain spaces, and the tools used to exacerbate these divisions are connected to new strategies. For instance, university expansion during urban renewal relied on and was financed by predominately white state and federal funding agencies; contemporarily, university expansion exacerbates and then benefits from gentrification. The gentrification of neighborhoods around HEIs increases property values beyond the reach of most individuals and even institutions. In gentrification studies, resistance refers to the practices of individuals and groups that attempt to stay put in the face of exclusionary and neoliberalizing forces.⁹⁰⁵ Urban assemblage theory challenges us to focus on the

⁹⁰³ Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism”; Hawkins, *The New Plantation*.

⁹⁰⁴ Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism.”

⁹⁰⁵ Sandra Annunziata and Clara Rivas-Alonso, “Resisting Gentrification,” in *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*, eds. Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips (Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2018), 393-412.

processes rather than the structures to better understand the meaning of resistance and how dwellers engage in their “right to be.”⁹⁰⁶ Preserving the character and culture of a neighborhood is an important tool for resistance.⁹⁰⁷ In terms of thinking about strategies of resistance, Dr. Kenly stated, “They [St. James AME Church members] chose that particular biblical scripture that declares that upon this rock, we will build our church and the gates of hell should not prevail against it.”⁹⁰⁸ Resistance to oppressive forces has been a stalwart aspect of the Black experience since Blacks were brought to this country. The Black church has also been fundamental to Black communities’ ability to persevere during times of struggle. The fact that church members chose a scripture that asserts their belief in a God-given right to remain and not be moved attests to their faith that any powerful force would not prevail against them. The church’s ability to remain on Wheeler Hill is a lasting legacy of overcoming struggle.

The conceptualization of time is a crucial variable for understanding resistance because it does not have the same value to, nor is it perceived the same by administrators and community members.⁹⁰⁹ Thus, time as a construct is a tool that city and university administrators used effectively.⁹¹⁰ For example, both the CHA and CRDF could have chosen to postpone their acquisition of land for financial gain and at the same time potentially increase the power differential between buyer and seller. Similarly, some Black residents used time to their benefit by holding out and refusing to move until it

⁹⁰⁶ Andy Merrifield, *The Politics of the Encounter: Urban Theory and Protest Under Planetary Urbanisation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

⁹⁰⁷ Merrifield, *The Politics of the Encounter*.

⁹⁰⁸ Dante Kenly, personal communication, February 28, 2023.

⁹⁰⁹ Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso, “Resisting Gentrification.”

⁹¹⁰ Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso, “Resisting Gentrification.”

became advantageous to them. For instance, Lewis Burns, a Ward One resident, recounted that he was the last on his block (909 ½ Park Street) to leave because he wanted to find a decent place to live with his family.⁹¹¹ He said that because he was “holding up progress,” the university helped him move into a housing complex even though he technically made too much to live there.⁹¹² In essence, the university bent the rule for Black residents when it benefited the institution.

Although the primary USC viewpoint expressed in this study comes from the administrators’ perspectives, university students also had their fair share to say about university expansion. As noted in the *Daily Gamecock* in the May 28, 1969, issue, in an article titled “SG Official Raps Campus Expansion,” the student government secretary for intercommunity affairs, Harold Kirtz, said that even though it had been a year since people were displaced by the Coliseum, adequate relocation housing still had not been found.⁹¹³ He stated: “The University can go only so far before the community will not support it. We hope the University will never be burned,” he said, “but the University keeps moving people. ... The University must exert its moral leadership.”⁹¹⁴ This is important to note in terms of understanding that opponents to university expansion existed in some perhaps unexpected places, and as the university continues its expansion efforts, those in opposition have opportunities to join forces to voice their concerns.

⁹¹¹ Burns, “Interview by Andrea L’Hommedieu.”

⁹¹² Burns, “Interview by Andrea L’Hommedieu.”

⁹¹³ “SG Official Raps Campus Expansion,” *The Daily Gamecock*, May 28, 1969.

⁹¹⁴ “SG Official,” *The Daily Gamecock*.

6.7 ROOM FOR TENSIONS

Gamecocks' fans are young, old, Black, white, rich, and poor. However, as with many facets of our society, some aspects of sports remain split along racial and class lines. For example, some sports that have a certain following due to their perception as catering to the upper echelon of society (e.g., polo, competitive sailing, skiing).⁹¹⁵ Racial and ethnic divisions also exist in the popularity of different sports.⁹¹⁶ Roughly equal numbers of white (43%) and Black (44%) people in the United States say football is their favorite sport, yet Blacks are three times more likely than whites to prefer basketball (29% to 8% respectively).⁹¹⁷ Growing up playing multiple sports, I was keenly aware that some sports were more apt to have Black players and others were not. I started playing soccer at the age of 8, and I recall being the only Black player in the league. Yet the basketball leagues I played in were more racially diverse. As a child, I probably attributed that difference to general interest in the sport, but gradually I began to see differences by class and eventually acknowledged that certain sports have been more receptive to Black players.

I believe tension has always existed in sports among Black fans, because this was yet another space that Blacks had to fight to be a part of, not only as athletes on the field but also as fans in the stands. Similar to college sports, both Major League Baseball and

⁹¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, "Sport and Social Class," in *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies*, eds. Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 357-373.

⁹¹⁶ "Nearly One-Third of Americans Say They Would Not Let Their Son Play Football," *PRRI*, published December 13, 2018, <https://www.prri.org/research/poll-football-dangers-concussion-america-favorite-sport/>.

⁹¹⁷ "Nearly One-Third of Americans," *PRRI*.

the National Football League had gentleman's agreements not to pursue Black players.⁹¹⁸

Social norms and attitudes are reflected in sports. Consequently, how teams chose to embrace or combat diversity has lasting effects. Anecdotally, it seems that certain franchises have historically developed goodwill from Black fans because their owners chose to be the first to open their doors to Black players (e.g., Brooklyn Dodgers). In contrast, other teams throughout U.S. sports history have denied the integration of their teams, thus keeping Black fans at a distance (e.g., Boston Red Sox). No matter the sport or the success or lack thereof of the team, how Black athletes are treated affects the Black fan experience. Similarly, how Black communities are affected by athletics expansion efforts, whether at the professional or collegiate level, has an impact on Black community members' perceptions of the associated teams.

When I asked participants if they were USC fans, I received some very interesting reactions. Mr. Pride II said, "Listen, when Clemson and University of South Carolina play, if there was any way I would hope that both of them could lose, that's how I feel about them. I hope they both could lose when they play each other." When I prompted him to explain his strong reaction, he said, "Because they never even tried to make any recognition of the past and a tacit apology for what they did. I don't think they understand what they did." However, similar to what other participants relayed to me, he said, "Now I pull for [USC women's basketball head coach Dawn] Staley and the girls basketball team. Other than that, they can go to hell. [laughs] I don't give a [expletive] about them."⁹¹⁹ Ms. Furgess echoed this support for Staley. She stated:

⁹¹⁸ "9 Black Athletes Who Integrated Professional Sports," *History.com*, accessed April 27, 2023, <https://www.history.com/news/black-athletes-who-integrated-their-sports>.

⁹¹⁹ Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

We can connect with Dawn Staley, plus Dawn Staley isn't your typical—she's not your typical women's basketball coach. She's different, and people pick that up. You know, she's done an awful lot for the university. They have more people that look like me coming to the women's basketball games, simply because of Dawn Staley. And on top of that, Dawn Staley speaks up, and we notice that she speaks out.

Few Blacks have held leadership positions at USC, including prominent athletics roles. Lamont Paris was recently hired as the first Black head coach for men's basketball in 2022. Harold White was the first Black coach in the history of USC athletics, serving as graduate assistant football coach in 1971. However, USC has never had a Black head football coach. This may provide some context for why Staley's demonstrated excellence in coaching, including winning national championships, and outspoken advocacy for her team on various occasions have made her beloved by many in the Black community.

This tension extends beyond athletics to how participants feel broadly about USC. Mr. Redfern II stated:

So, it was so difficult for me to let go of yesterday, and my tomorrow was being consumed by my disdain for what happened to me yesterday, and so I had to confront this. I was over at the Alumni House, the University Alumni House, and I was trying to rent the building. They said, "Did you go to university?" "Yeah." "So, you know, you can get a 40% discount, if you're a member." I don't want anything that remotely ties me to the university at all, but I get a 40% discount. I use this place regularly and I purchased a lifetime alumni membership. OK. I don't know whether to be proud or ashamed. But that's the conflict.⁹²⁰

My archival analysis revealed numerous examples of whiteness as property being enacted by white leaders representing the university, city, and CHA. Many documents that shed light on the decisions being made regarding urban renewal efforts would likely have not come to light unless someone intentionally looked for them. What became clear in reviewing documents is how leaders exerted the right to exclude to evade close

⁹²⁰ James Redfern II, personal communication, January 24, 2023.

scrutiny of the decisions being made. Further, the analysis revealed how reputation as property continued to increase throughout urban renewal by buying and building until white leaders had taken all the property of interest to them, thus solidifying their status.

Hearing the personal experiences of participants regarding events that happened almost 60 years ago demonstrated to me how devastating the impact of combating whiteness can be on the Black psyche. The property functions of whiteness to exclude affected some participants' ability to remain a part of their community and potentially to become homeowners, limited their educational opportunities, and determined where they could worship. Yet what continued to amaze me throughout my interviews was the pride all the participants shared about the resilience of the Black community during urban renewal, whether it was Black students attempting to establish their presence on USC's campus or Black community members advocating to stay on Wheeler Hill.

As it relates to plantation politics, archival documents demonstrated that the decision on the part of white leaders to invest in rectifying slum conditions only took place once the land was being developed by the city or university, not when it was being occupied by Blacks. This demonstrates that Blacks were not viewed as worthy of the same living conditions and amenities as whites. Through examples of the financial appraisals of Union Baptist Church and Green Street Church and courthouse records of what white and Black residents of Wheeler Hill were offered for their homes, we can tangibly see how the Black church and Black people were valued less than their white counterparts. Further, the willingness of USC to negotiate to the extent of offering three times more for Green Street Church than Union Baptist Church's appraisal and

eventually let Green Street Church keep its church property demonstrates the outsize value and status of white property interests.

Some participants shared how being denied the opportunity to attend USC affected their educational pursuits. Further, participants shared their distaste for USC athletics because of the displacement of Black communities by athletics expansion efforts. Squire et al. reminded us that universities create the conditions that “socially stratify, ostracize, and minoritize”⁹²¹ those who leave, and I would suggest were historically excluded from, their system. For instance, due to the historic investment by the federal government in HWCUs and lackluster investment in HBCUs, Black intellectual and athletic talent is systematically drained from Black institutions, even today. Similar to other HWCUs, individuals not beholden to USC are made to believe they cannot succeed without it. The power and prestige of a HWCU, particularly a research-intensive (R1) university with a NCAA division I athletics team, further defines and drives economic investment, thus upholding white supremacy and maintaining Black oppression. The plantation as a social system may be considered one of the origins of race relations in the United States.⁹²² Participants recounted how they were forced to walk around rather than through USC’s campus due to racial segregation. Further, how white leaders in power dictated what was going to be done in the Wheeler Hill community strained interracial relations through asserting white supremacy. By understanding how HEIs uphold whiteness, white supremacy, and anti-Blackness, we can

⁹²¹ Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism.”

⁹²² Thomas J. Durant, “The Slave Plantation Revisited: A Sociological Perspective,” in *Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality*, eds. Thomas J. Durant and J. David Knottnerus (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999), 3-15.

further conceptualize how USC's campus functions as a plantation through controlling Black bodies and Black property.

In this chapter, I detailed the findings gleaned from archival materials and semi structured interviews. I used Harris's whiteness as property⁹²³ and Squire, Williams, and Tuitt's plantation politics⁹²⁴ to interpret data for each research question and associated theme. In the final chapter, I summarize what I learned and share implications for practice, recommendations, and future research directions.

⁹²³ Harris, "Whiteness as Property."

⁹²⁴ Squire et al., "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism."

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

“What white Americans have never fully understood, but what the Negro can never forget is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.”⁹²⁵ As legal scholar Sheryll Cashin explained, the past is not past. As a result of racial steering in real estate markets, a government-subsidized affordable housing industrial complex that concentrates poverty, and continued resistance to desegregation by many but not all whites, segregation endures and produces profits for mainly white institutions.⁹²⁶

I examined the motivations and decision making that surrounded urban renewal projects for university expansion and the impact of the resulting displacement on residents. I described and characterized how athletics served as a motivating factor of expansion and how race played a significant role in what communities were displaced and how they were treated. I aimed to contribute to the limited research on university expansion efforts for athletics purposes. This study examined and illuminated the strategies deployed at the federal, state, and local levels and across institutions such as the city, university, and CHA in the implementation of urban renewal projects, which detrimentally affected Black communities. I hoped to identify strategies to combat similar present-day efforts.

⁹²⁵ Cashin, *White Space, Black Hood*.

⁹²⁶ Cashin, *White Space, Black Hood*.

7.1 SUMMARY OF LITERATURE

The literature review for this study included content from previous theses and dissertations that also addressed the dispossession of homes, churches, and businesses in Ward One and Wheeler Hill communities and ideas across various disciplines such as cultural studies, geography, history, and sociology. Several foundational research studies provided context for university expansion efforts at large, urban, public universities, particularly in the Northeast and Midwest. Additionally, most research articles that focused on urban renewal also drew a through line to present-day gentrification and how similar strategies are being deployed to displace predominantly low-income communities of color. University expansion for athletics purposes continues across our nation, including recent developments at USC.

Among the work I found most pivotal in my understanding of these complex and multilayered concepts are Veracini's settler colonial studies⁹²⁷ and McKittrick's linkages between Blackness and geography.⁹²⁸ Veracini's work challenged me to think about how settler colonialism changes and adapts to meet our current conditions. Yet settler colonialism always requires displacement and unequal relations.⁹²⁹ Settlers continue to remake the landscape to fit their needs. McKittrick challenged us to think about how anti-Blackness shapes our physical landscapes⁹³⁰—specifically, how Black geographies are labeled as dangerous and wastelands.⁹³¹ Colonial logic is used to justify violence on Black spaces through overdevelopment and accumulation strategies (e.g., urban renewal).

⁹²⁷ Veracini, "Introducing: Settler Colonial Studies."

⁹²⁸ McKittrick, "On Plantations."

⁹²⁹ Veracini, "Introducing: Settler Colonial Studies."

⁹³⁰ McKittrick, "On Plantations."

⁹³¹ McKittrick, "On Plantations."

These acts are reminiscent of a plantation economy that thrived due to violence, Black dispossession, and land exploitation.⁹³² These concepts relate to this study because displacement of Black residents of Ward One and Wheeler Hill by collaborations among the university, city, and CHA reified racial animus while further entrenching racialized space. The specific long-term planning and uptake of displacement as a strategy by USC administrators demonstrates how settler colonial logic is embedded in this HEI. Additionally, the constant practice of dehumanization by HEIs in areas such as slavery, racial segregation, displacement, and gentrification are evolving settler colonial strategies. This is connected to plantation politics because USC's acts contributed to uneven racial geographies in Columbia, South Carolina. USC transformed, as McKittrick would surmise, "the lands of no one into the lands of someone"⁹³³ by building athletics facilities in which Black labor serves as an economic engine that keeps the university running. Thus, in challenging the social order that would allow these inequities to continue, we must use the spaces in which we are situated in our institutions to recognize and disrupt settler colonial strategies.

7.2 CONCLUSIONS FROM FINDINGS

Findings of the study include four major themes, as described in Chapter 6: "conflict as a struggle," "university as real estate developer," "out of sight, out of mind," and "when we were kings and queens." The chapter also includes analysis of the motivations and decision making during urban renewal and the impact of displacement on communities.

⁹³² McKittrick, "On Plantations."

⁹³³ McKittrick, "On Plantations."

I have explored how desegregation of both the university and athletics intersected with urban renewal efforts. It seems clear that racist ideologies propelled a lot of the decisions made at the national, state, and local levels. Ultimately, university administrators at USC and throughout the South made decisions to desegregate their institutions and athletic programs because it benefited them to do so. However, what we have also seen throughout higher education history is that those in power will find ways to maintain social order through instituting discriminatory practices (e.g., test admissions policies) even after conceding some ground (e.g., desegregation).⁹³⁴ Understanding how and why land expansion efforts took place on USC's campus and the resulting impact on Black communities can provide yet another opportunity to critically examine how race informs policies and practices.

The insistence by the federal government to get Southern institutions to desegregate may have fueled interest and efforts by these white institutions to impose their will to maintain segregation by putting distance between their institutions and the surrounding Black community. The evidence here suggests that some white leaders in Columbia and at USC saw urban renewal as a way to secure federally subsidized university expansion that was implemented through racist ideology without white leaders being penalized. Although universities were being forced to desegregate their institutions (e.g., providing opportunities for Blacks to receive an equitable higher education), at the same time they were able to displace Black residents, thus also removing opportunities

⁹³⁴ Derek W. Black, *Schoolhouse Burning: Public Education and the Assault on American Democracy* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2020).

for Black communities to benefit from proximity to downtown businesses, jobs, and housing stability.

Universities that wanted to receive urban renewal funds had to comply with federal regulations. Under Title VI, federal departments and agencies could only provide federal assistance if public schools met their respective department or agency regulations. Special attention at the time was paid to Section 601: “No person in the United States shall, on grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.” As such, HEIs that wanted to receive funding had to comply with desegregating their campuses. Perhaps, urban renewal funds were a “bargaining tool”; by pushing for desegregation, the federal government appealed to the growing public sentiment for equality during the civil rights movement and at the same time, offered funds to reinstitute other forms of racial segregation.

As other scholars of university expansion efforts during urban renewal have noted, U.S. research universities during this time engaged in an “unprecedented competition for wealth, power, and prestige”⁹³⁵—a period referred to by historian Roger Geiger as “the golden age of academic science.” This post-Sputnik era resulted in an increase in federal support for university research, rising from 43% to 79%.⁹³⁶ Continual expansion by universities across the nation during this time (1945–1970), guided by the principle of “the bigger, the better,” was seen as a point of institutional pride. A common

⁹³⁵ John L. Puckett and Mark Frazier Lloyd, “Penn’s Great Expansion: Postwar Urban Renewal and the Alliance between Private Universities and the Public Sector,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 137, no. 4 (2013): 381-430.

⁹³⁶ Roger L. Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

notion of university leaders and alumni supporters at the time and presently is that to stop growing is to cease to exist or be competitive in the higher education arena. Yet it also reflects an often-unexamined aspect of our institutions and a component of white supremacy culture: that progress means more. Progress is “the assumption that the goal is always more and bigger with an emphasis on what we can objectively measure as more valuable than the quality of our relationships to all living beings.”⁹³⁷ This notion was captured in the Coliseum brochure, which proclaims, “The building is a symbol of the new spirit of advancement in the State.”⁹³⁸

Further, white supremacist culture normalizes practices of colonization such as accumulation and land ownership.⁹³⁹ USC historian Henry Lesesne captured this need for more progress most aptly with the following notes, documenting how university trustee and South Carolina House Speaker Solomon Blatt proposed that the state finance a new campus for USC outside of Columbia. He stated, “the urban landscape surrounding the campus had long restricted the University’s growth, and the campus was already the smallest of any southern state university.”⁹⁴⁰ Blatt argued that the university’s BOT must act quickly to seize the unique opportunity available to South Carolina through proposed federal aid for higher education. In so doing, the board could secure for the university nearly unlimited room for physical expansion and money for new buildings. Further, according to USC President James B. Holderman, “A new campus would give the

⁹³⁷ Jones, Kenneth, and Tema Okun. “White supremacy culture.” *Dismantling racism: A workbook for social change* (2001).

⁹³⁸ USC Archives, Coliseum, Box 7.

⁹³⁹ McKittrick, “On Plantations.”

⁹⁴⁰ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*, 32.

University of South Carolina modern facilities and the momentum to establish itself as a great American state university.”⁹⁴¹

In the first chapter of a much longer project by Brandt et al.⁹⁴², the authors summed up urban renewal at USC with the following statement:

The University of South Carolina and the City of Columbia experienced no greater period of change than that brought on by the urban renewal program. Nationally the program was considered a failure and is looked back on with regret, but here in Columbia it paved the way for the growth and prosperity we are experiencing today which ultimately provides more opportunities for community members of all races as we move closer toward equality.

It seems peculiar to me that those researching urban renewal and the negative impact on Black communities could suggest that the displacements were justified because the City of Columbia has prospered as a result. Who has felt the impact of the “growth and prosperity,” and who was negatively and disproportionately affected by urban renewal programs? How U.S. culture defines progress is based on Eurocentric values, which historically meant a conceptualization of land as utility—a means toward the ends of dominant whites—and therefore, its theft and dispossession by affluent white settler colonists is a through line to white leadership centuries later. I believe this presupposition is false and a losing philosophy—that to pursue progress means acquiring more land to put to use. Progress for some has never been progress for all. In historic and modern examples, the dominant group reaps the benefits in housing, curriculum, schooling, and intergenerational wealth at a rate that has created a gap that will take many generations to close. Other conceptions of land and other ideas about our relation to it exist.⁹⁴³ White

⁹⁴¹ Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*, 33.

⁹⁴² Brandt et al., *USC South Campus*.

⁹⁴³ Torres and Milun, “Translating Yonnondio.”

settler colonists brought with them to the United States Eurocentric legal logics that both provided a rationale for how land should be used and a mechanism by which to take land if it was not used in a way valued by Eurocentric culture. White settler colonists used state institutions imbued with their ideologies about law to further benefit dominant whites' theft of Indigenous people's land. By failing to recognize how others may differently value land, they reinforced and inscribed a social hierarchy in legal doctrine that further subjugated various subcultures.⁹⁴⁴ Settler colonial logic has permeated all of our social institutions and becomes further entrenched when those institutions work together to deploy those logics on Black communities. If our society continues to perpetuate these liberal ideologies (e.g., meritocracy, race neutrality) and divert critique away from race and toward neoliberalism and the needs of the market, we will continue to excuse our past bad behavior and make the same mistakes.

Further, the assessment that cities and institutions ultimately benefited from urban renewal is an acknowledgement that both then and now, white supremacy culture is being used to justify policies and practices. As long as those in power equate progress with bigger is better, believe in and pursue consolidated power in the hands of a few, champion the rhetoric that change is in everyone's best interest, and posit that stratification across our lived environments is a neutral process reflective of the investments of individual will and character (though some are comfortable to the exclusion of others), white supremacy culture will reign.

⁹⁴⁴ Torres and Milun, "Translating Yonnonidio."

7.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

This study has implications for how targeted communities can develop strategies to combat seemingly larger and more powerful institutions by learning from historic examples and working together in contemporary coalitions with similarly situated communities. There is much to be learned from those who were displaced and those who remain and continue to resist attempts to displace them. The implications for this study are not confined to only HEIs but also may inform practice for residential communities, small businesses, churches, and governmental agencies.

The university, city, and CHA worked together to eradicate “slum” conditions, which resulted in the displacement of Black communities. The university used the cleared land to build athletics facilities in both Ward One and Wheeler Hill. Yet one thing we can learn from the attempt to displace Blacks is how communities within communities resisted. On March 4, 1966, lawyers on behalf of USC corresponded with Union Baptist Church, offering an appraisal value of \$98,500.⁹⁴⁵ The Union Baptist Church community quickly met and decided it was in the church’s best interest to negotiate for a higher price for the church property. On March 7, 1966, Minister Jenkins Sr. requested \$175,000 for Union Baptist Church.⁹⁴⁶ Although USC tried not to budge on its appraisal price, on June 8, 1966, Vice President Brunton reached out to Minister Jenkins Sr. expressing appreciation for his personal time and effort in helping the Memorial Hall project move forward.⁹⁴⁷ Union Baptist Church’s acknowledgement of its value beyond what appraisers reported, and their willingness to advocate a higher price eventually led to the

⁹⁴⁵ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁹⁴⁶ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

⁹⁴⁷ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

church receiving its requested offer of \$175,000. Yet this amount was still vastly lower than the expected cost to build a new church, \$225,000 to \$250,000,⁹⁴⁸ and lower than what was offered to Green Street Methodist Church: \$300,000.

Participants shared numerous accounts of the hard life lessons they learned whether due to displacement from their communities, seeing others displaced from their communities, or the sacrifices it took to stay a part of their community. For instance, Mr. Pride II talked about the lack of knowledge among community members about urban renewal; therefore, they struggled to hold institutions and white leadership accountable for how they used federal funds. Further, Ms. Martin suggested that once community members understand and are aware of what is going on (i.e., taking land), they have to fight back and attempt to fight on a level playing field (i.e., hire land use attorneys). At the same time, Mr. Redfern II suggested that a community cannot wait until the pot is boiling to attempt an escape, that just as USC had a long-term plan and vision, so too must Black communities have a plan in place. What type of community do we want to create, and what will it take to achieve this vision?

As I have demonstrated, USC has a complex relationship with the Black communities it had a part in displacing. As HEIs continue to reckon with their complicated histories regarding slavery, racial segregation, and displacement, more light will be shed about how our institutions function and are shaped by racial injustices. Although many see racial discrimination as a battle fought in the past, it is still ongoing in our institutions today. USC's upper-level administration, faculty, staff, students, and community members all need to know this problematic history in hopes of preventing a

⁹⁴⁸ "An Era Will End Sunday for Union Baptist Church," *The State*, September 24, 1966, 9.

repetition of past wrongs. Further, HEIs need to seriously analyze what it means to seek power and prestige through sports and implications of the continued athletics arms race. Specifically, they must understand how displacement of Black communities to build athletics facilities was one part of a larger settler colonial project. Further, we must recognize how HEIs continue to profit from Black labor, particularly that of Black student-athletes.

I believe one of the main takeaways of this study is the importance of building coalitions. Residential communities, small businesses, churches, and governmental agencies may have various agendas, but they probably also have similar concerns for their shared community. The relationship among the university, city, and CHA highlighted that those in power networked and strategized around a common goal to their benefit. And although marginalized communities may not have people in positions of power, they do have people power. People across sectors can and should mobilize with one another around shared issues, build coalitions, and strategize to bring about positive change. Although Union Baptist Church serves as a prime example that people will never get what they do not ask for, imagine if Green Street United Methodist Church would have jointly mobilized with Union Baptist Church to advocate both churches remaining in the community. What might their mobilization have looked like in the mid-1960s? What ripple effect could it have produced in the racial landscape of our city? We must continue to consider what other challenges lie before us, waiting to be tackled, and how we might level the playing field in our favor.

Ultimately, I agree with Sheryll Cashin, a law professor, who argued that seeing and naming the systems that harm Black descendants is the first step toward racial

reckoning. She stated that “if you are not willing to ask descendants what they need to be free, you are not really interested in their freedom and may be perhaps too invested in your own status and advantage.”⁹⁴⁹ However, she also understood that sometimes those most affected are unwilling or unable to name what they or their descendants need. When I interviewed Ms. Furgess, she shared she was going to a funeral the day after our conversation. As she spoke, she noted the time and uncertainty about what should come next:

I’m going to a funeral tomorrow of a young lady who was born in 1953, whose mother was in the Class of ‘51 at Booker Washington, whose brother died two years ago. But her funeral is tomorrow and to me, she’s young. But she’s 68, 69 years old, maybe. So, I mean, what? What can we do now? I mean, our children. My children, my daughter lives in California. ... She’s not coming back here, you know, so ...

I sensed both Ms. Furgess’s frustration and resignation as she spoke, perhaps a result of many decades of feeling powerless. She recognized that what happened in the past, even 60 years ago, still has ramifications in the lives of her and her descendants to this day. However, to her, making recommendations for what could be done to change things seemed like a lofty aspiration. Clear next steps seemed elusive and futile.

I disagree. Demanding redress for past grievances is necessary, if not for us or our children, then to our posterity. As noted previously, Williams, Squire, and Tuitt suggested that institutions perpetuate inequalities by avoiding the root causes of problems. Throughout history, fear and resentment of Blacks, by merging racial animus and neglect, has taken precedence over solving societal problems (e.g., programs to

⁹⁴⁹ Cashin, *White Space, Black Hood*.

improve “slum” conditions). Policies of inaction ultimately affect all people.⁹⁵⁰ This is evidenced in Mr. Pride II’s assessment: “The university is not relevant to the Black community in Columbia. All the resources that they have over there they could deal with gun violence; they could deal with the school inequities and education that’s being handed out in the public school.”⁹⁵¹ Mr. Pride II critiqued the university for not utilizing its resources to address systemic failures in state government, law enforcement, and public education that have affected Black communities disproportionately in the state. In contrast to Ms. Furgess, Mr. Pride II shared specific ideas related to redressing past inequities: “More Black students. If they had more Black students, they would have more awareness, and Black students would begin to use the resources of the University of South Carolina, to reach into the Black community to help, and more Black faculty.”

When I asked if it was simply about representation, he responded:

[It would] bring about awareness among white people [as it relates to understanding] that there is a Black community right next to you that needs assistance. What’s the student population over there? OK, now, what’s the population of African Americans on the board? To me, until you correct and address those inequities, they’ll never get to us. They’ll never see us.⁹⁵²

Mr. Pride II brought forth the idea that having Black people present in the space of the institution changes what the institution sees and thus, alters the calculus of how the institution responds. His logic reflects his belief that when the institution has a Black constituency of critical mass, it will start to respond accordingly and until then, it will not see the Black community. Further, until the university is willing to extend and open more

⁹⁵⁰ Derrick Bell, “After We’re Gone: Prudent Speculations on America in a Post-Racial Epoch,” *Saint Louis University Law Journal* 34 (1989): 393.

⁹⁵¹ Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁹⁵² Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

opportunities for Blacks to be in leadership and decision-making roles, such as with the BOT, it is not serious about considering the needs of the Black community.

Mr. Redfern II brought up the need for access to resources in historically under resourced communities. He posed an interesting challenge and opportunity to address some societal issues when he shared: “Well, what do we have in the African American community where we can study that? We’re always having to get our statistics from someone else. We always have to examine individual problems from someone else. And so, we’ve never had an institutional look at our living.”⁹⁵³ Further, Mr. Redfern II stated, “The university has institutional finance. They can go to banks, they have an endowment, they have a source of financial strength. ... you can’t compete against the university.”⁹⁵⁴

Mr. Pride II’s and Mr. Redfern II’s sentiments revealed several points: What responsibility do HEIs have to the larger community? Must the university benefit by engaging in societal issues that deeply affect the communities in which it resides? What would it take for the university to invest the resources necessary for the Black community to research and study issues of its choosing and develop solutions? Is there a possibility of developing a mutually beneficial arrangement that truly addresses the root causes of problems? If such an arrangement existed, could it collectively dismantle oppressive policies, laws, and practices?

As an urban planner, Ms. Martin had unique insight as a member of the Wheeler Hill community and someone who is extremely familiar with the ins and outs of state and federal development projects. She said:

⁹⁵³ James Redfern II, personal communication, January 24, 2023.

⁹⁵⁴ James Redfern II, personal communication, January 24, 2023.

If you don't like something that the city is doing, organize yourself and get representation [so] that you're fighting on an equal level. As a community resident trying to fight, you can't do it because the city has so much resources. Communities need to be able to hire representation to bring in professional land use attorneys to look at these plans and to review all of these things that the powers that be are recommending for your neighborhood. So, you're at a disadvantage. If you're just a community association, you're already at a disadvantage because there's a lot of information that you don't have access to. You don't know what the city is telling HUD. You know, all you're hearing is the end result. ... And I feel that if it's gonna be equal, then the HUD money should allow the communities to hire land use attorneys to represent the neighborhoods.⁹⁵⁵

Ms. Martin agreed with Ms. Furgess about the absence of resources. However, she also offered detailed next steps, including organizing and hiring land use attorneys. She addressed the inequities inherent in the system, as Ms. Furgess, Mr. Pride II, and Mr. Redfern II did, and argued that such inequities automatically put communities at a disadvantage in terms of power differentials when competing against universities and cities on development projects. Dr. Kenly shared:

You all promised this Black community that you're going to do this, but when you did it, you made it so unaffordable that they could not even stay here anymore. So, they had to move to Broad River, Bluff Road, in different parts of Columbia, which displaced my church, you know. And so, I think as a gesture, I think that it's time even in this Black Lives [Matter] movement kind of situation, I think, to make the university look—"Well, let's give that land back to the church, since this is the only Black legacy now." ... We felt like the University of South Carolina, being so big and [having] billions or millions of dollars, you know, that shouldn't hurt them at all in regard to, you know, gifting the land to the church, but then again, I mean, business is business.⁹⁵⁶

Dr. Kenly also shared:

I feel that one, [give] a major apology to all of the former residents of Wheeler Hill and their ancestors, ... [and] two, ... give a monetary donation or an appreciation gift to the church, and I can't put an amount on that, but you understand what I'm saying—a substantial amount, you know, to the church. ... Maybe have a USC day here at the church and just invite everybody in and

⁹⁵⁵ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

⁹⁵⁶ Dante Kenly, personal communication, February 28, 2023.

witness the history of this community. By sitting in the pews, you can witness a long legacy of history.⁹⁵⁷

During our interview, Dr. Kenly shared that the church wanted to add to its historic structure by expanding the parking space around the church. The church had been asking for additional parking space for approximately 20 years, with no relief from the university. In 2005, *The State* newspaper ran an article titled, “Trying to Make Amends,” which seems a bit ironic because the article quoted Susie VanHuss, executive director of the USC Development Foundation, reiterating that, “We have to account for our assets. We can’t give them away.” She said the foundation is looking at options to help the church. Twenty years later, the church is still waiting to acquire additional parking space.

Black neighborhoods have to negotiate for their survival in the white economic and political structures in which they are embedded.⁹⁵⁸ Additionally, the economic and educational hardships suffered by Blacks and differences in educational funding have perpetuated inequality.⁹⁵⁹ It is abundantly clear from this study that federal, state, and local policies worked in tandem to make urban renewal operate most efficiently and effectively to the advantage of HWCUs and white leadership, not the predominantly Black surrounding communities. As such, to remedy future inequities, those in power must be willing to concede power so that communities have equal access to information and equal representation to leverage a fair opposition to displacement efforts. For

⁹⁵⁷ Dante Kenly, personal communication, February 28, 2023.

⁹⁵⁸ Danielle M. Purifoy and Louise Seamster, “Creative Extraction: Black Towns in White Space,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 39, no. 1 (2021): 47-66.

⁹⁵⁹ “Project H.E.R.E.,” accessed March 30, 2023, <https://projectthere.givepulse.com/about>.

example, universities should share their internal decision-making process about expansion projects on their websites for full transparency.⁹⁶⁰

Dr. Kenly discussed the racial reckoning that many institutions vowed to undertake after the murder of George Floyd. Many HEIs have conducted research on their institutional connections to slavery, veneration of the Confederacy, and perpetuation of Black inferiority,⁹⁶¹ but they have often fallen short of seeking Black reparations. A few institutions have excavated the land on which their universities are situated to further explore their linkages to slavery (e.g., Georgetown, Yale, University of Georgia).⁹⁶² At the same time, we have witnessed the backlash since January 2021—42 states have taken steps to restrict the teaching of critical race theory, 17 states have imposed bans or restrictions on critical race theory through their legislatures,⁹⁶³ and at least 21 states have introduced bills that would ban diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives in higher education.⁹⁶⁴ HEIs have a responsibility to repair historic and current systemic racial injustices that maintain the economic divide.⁹⁶⁵ There is an opportunity in this moment not to perpetuate the status quo and concede to racist ideologies but to strive to do better than in the past.

In my interview with Ms. Martin, she shared:

⁹⁶⁰ Wim Wiewel, Kara Kunst, and R. Dubicki, *University Real Estate Development: Campus Expansion in Urban Settings* (Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2007).

⁹⁶¹ “Project H.E.R.E.,” <https://projectthere.givepulse.com/about>.

⁹⁶² Squire et al., “Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism.”

⁹⁶³ Sarah Schwartz, “Map: Where Critical Race Theory Is under Attack,” *Education Week*, published March 23, 2023, <https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/map-where-critical-race-theory-is-under-attack/2021/06>.

⁹⁶⁴ Adrienne Lu, et al., “DEI Legislation Tracker,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, published April 28, 2023, <https://www.chronicle.com/article/here-are-the-states-where-lawmakers-are-seeking-to-ban-colleges-dei-efforts>.

⁹⁶⁵ “Project H.E.R.E.,” <https://projectthere.givepulse.com/about>.

You're unearthing a lot of the history and a lot of the practices, and if we don't do this, they'll be repeated. ... If people don't understand their history and where they've come from, they've erased a lot of it. Then, you won't get any better. We will never progress because everything will be denial.

Finally, the tax-exempt nature of universities can also pose challenges for the communities in which they are located. Although institutions may acquire additional property in a city, they do so without being subject to property taxes, even as they consume city services (e.g., emergency services, water, roads).⁹⁶⁶ Urban practitioner and scholar Alan Mallach argued that cities misallocate resources by conferring billions in tax abatements or direct investments in sports stadiums rather than investing in cheaper services that might actually transform neighborhoods.⁹⁶⁷

Communities that have been financially affected by their local universities have relied on many strategies to address persistent inequities, including tackling the university's tax-exempt status. Although HEIs do provide a public good, they also can use their tax exemption as a tax shelter for profitable research and private investors. The tax-exempt status of public institutions creates what Baldwin classified as a "shelter economy," wherein schools can accrue substantial profits without public input on how to use those funds and with no real expectation that those funds will benefit them directly.⁹⁶⁸ Therefore, research by these institutions has the potential to generate millions in patents and revenues, yet the institutions remain tax-exempt. Campaigns have challenged institutions' tax-exempt status at Yale University, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburgh, University of Chicago, and University of California, Los Angeles.⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶⁶ "Project H.E.R.E.," <https://projectthere.givepulse.com/about>.

⁹⁶⁷ Cashin, *White Space, Black Hood*.

⁹⁶⁸ Baldwin, *In the Shadow*.

⁹⁶⁹ Baldwin, *In the Shadow*.

The modern payment in lieu of taxes (PILOT) program began in 1976.⁹⁷⁰ This program was established to distribute funds to jurisdictions that included large amounts of federal land that local governments could not tax.⁹⁷¹ Many of the largest public institutions like universities and hospitals have avoided entering PILOT agreements.⁹⁷² As the author of the article “How Could Philly’s PILOT Program Get Better?” remarked, as cities confront racial inequality and neighborhood disinvestments, community members and advocates are demanding more.⁹⁷³ In 2022, 200 University of Pennsylvania faculty and staff members urged their BOT to change the university’s position on PILOT to provide funding to public schools.⁹⁷⁴ Their main demand was that the University of Pennsylvania contribute 40% of its exempted annual property tax bill (e.g., approximately \$40 million) to urban education.⁹⁷⁵ Yet even cities that have long-established PILOT programs like Boston have found that they need to increase the required financial contributions of nonprofit institutions to keep up with city needs.⁹⁷⁶

Another strategy communities have used are CBAs; in its purest form, a CBA is a bilateral contract that binds a developer to provide various community amenities in exchange for public support of its project.⁹⁷⁷ Some communities have found that when working with HEIs, it is useful to draft a CBA. However, CBAs are only useful if

⁹⁷⁰ Erin Flynn Jay, “How Could Philly’s Pilot (Payments in Lieu of Taxes) Program Get Better?” *Generocity Philly*, published March 10, 2022, <https://generocity.org/philly/2022/03/10/what-are-pilots-payments-in-lieu-of-taxes-and-how-could-phillys-program-get-better/>.

⁹⁷¹ Jay, “How Could Philly’s.”

⁹⁷² Jay, “How Could Philly’s.”

⁹⁷³ Jay, “How Could Philly’s.”

⁹⁷⁴ Jay, “How Could Philly’s.”

⁹⁷⁵ Jay, “How Could Philly’s.”

⁹⁷⁶ Jay, “How Could Philly’s.”

⁹⁷⁷ Patricia Salkin and Amy Lavine, “Community Benefits Agreements and Comprehensive Planning: Balancing Community Empowerment and the Police Power,” *Journal of Law and Policy* 1, no. 4 (2009): 18.

communities are organized and know to demand what they need.⁹⁷⁸ For example, some agreements might include guaranteed minimums for local hiring on projects, inclusion of affordable housing units, or improvement of community facilities or parks.⁹⁷⁹ One common complaint about CBAs is the lack of accountability through a regulatory authority, which places more of a burden on the community organization to monitor the implementation of agreed upon recommendations.⁹⁸⁰ In 2015, Temple University proposed to build a multipurpose facility that would include classrooms, a concussion research center, 28,000 square feet of retail space, and most controversially, a 35,000-seat football stadium projected to cost \$130 million.⁹⁸¹ A North Philadelphia neighborhood that would be the most detrimentally affected by the proposed stadium development began a vehement protest.⁹⁸² Ajeenah Amir, a representative of the Philadelphia mayor's office, said, "The Mayor has long felt that if Temple wants to go ahead with the stadium, it needs to be a situation where the neighborhood benefits as well as the university."⁹⁸³ To date, Temple has yet to break ground on the stadium proposal. This is another example of how community resistance can put pressure on government and private-sector leaders to concede, even if temporarily, to the will of the people most likely to be affected. Yet

⁹⁷⁸ Harley F. Etienne, "Comparative Views of Contemporary University-Driven Neighborhood Change." In *Pushing Back the Gates: Neighborhood Perspectives on University-Driven Revitalization in West Philadelphia*, ed. Harley F. Etienne (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012), 95-110.

⁹⁷⁹ "Community Benefits Agreements Toolkit," *Local Initiatives Support Corporation*, accessed May 7, 2023, <https://www.lisc.org/our-resources/resource/community-benefits-agreements-toolkit/>.

⁹⁸⁰ Parks, Virginia, and Dorian Warren. "The politics and practice of economic justice: Community benefits agreements as tactic of the new accountable development movement." *Journal of Community Practice* 17, no. 1-2 (2009): 88-106.; John T. Scholz and Cheng-Lung Wang, "Cooptation or Transformation? Local Policy Networks and Federal Regulatory Enforcement," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 1 (2006): 81-97.

⁹⁸¹ Evan Easterling, "Report: Temple to File Project Submission with City for On-Campus Football Stadium," *The Temple News*, published January 18, 2018, <https://temple-news.com/report-temple-to-file-project-submission-with-city-for-on-campus-football-stadium/>.

⁹⁸² Easterling, "Report: Temple to File."

⁹⁸³ Easterling, "Report: Temple to File."

there are also examples of CBAs being co-opted by government leaders, such as the agreement between Columbia University and Manhattanville residents wherein seven of the 15 members of the board tasked with determining how to distribute \$150 million in community benefits were appointed by politicians and Columbia University allies sympathetic to the project.⁹⁸⁴ This example points to the need for safeguards to prevent the political elite and well-connected from co-opting tools meant to provide democratic engagement to meet their self-interests.⁹⁸⁵

7.4 AREAS OF POTENTIAL RESEARCH AND INQUIRY

This is the first study to examine urban renewal for university expansion for athletic purposes at a large, Southern, public institution. In general, the limited research on Southern university expansion efforts is a cause to pause and question: Why? In many densely populated cities in the South, urban institutions, particularly HEIs, have sprawled, taking over downtown areas and their surrounding communities, and researchers must examine and critique the effects. One intriguing aspect that came up in my research was the interconnectedness among administrators across sectors. More research looking at the leadership positions of those in government and private sectors in relation to university administrator roles in HEIs might shed light on whether this was an anomaly at USC or whether these types of networks were prevalent and intentionally used by dominant whites to further their racial and economic agendas. The following are additional ideas for future research on university expansion efforts at USC based on my

⁹⁸⁴ Baldwin, *In the Shadow*.

⁹⁸⁵ Nicholas A. Robinson, *Community Benefits Agreements and the Limits of Institutional Citizenship in Urban Redevelopment* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 2022).

interests that were piqued during this research study, issues raised by the archival document analysis, and questions posed by research participants.

The 8-year East Glencoe Urban Renewal project was undoubtedly the largest and most extensive cooperative project ever involving the university, the City of Columbia, and South Carolina.⁹⁸⁶ Interestingly, USC Vice President Hal Brunton wrote to Mr. Edward Hornby of the City Inspection Department on October 14, 1966: “I am very glad to be able to cooperate with your department and hope that our action will not get rid of a slum by merely creating another slum.”⁹⁸⁷ This quote is a recognition that one of the main objectives of urban renewal that the federal government proposed quite often was not realized: creating decent housing. Ms. Martin said, “I go over there now. I’m like, Oh my God, where? What happened to all the people that used to live here? I mean, it’s a nice visual urban redevelopment project. But what happened to all the people? Where? Where, where did they go?”⁹⁸⁸ It is important to understand the lived experiences of Ward One and Wheeler Hill residents after their relocation. I hope a future project will address their living conditions after dispossession. Did they improve, stay the same, or get worse? What were the compounding effects of losing their homes, and for some, their place of employment? How did dispossession affect their ability to thrive in Columbia? Did it effectively derail such a possibility?

Ward One and Wheeler Hill communities were not the only communities affected by university urban renewal projects. Part of the Wheeler Hill urban renewal project (SCR-5) involved developing an adjacent block for the USC athletics department. This

⁹⁸⁶ Memoir, postscript.

⁹⁸⁷ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, 1966.

⁹⁸⁸ Elizabeth Martin, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

expansion effort affected the Jewish community differently than the predominately Black community. The House of Peace Synagogue cemetery is situated at 1326 Whaley Street, just south of Eugene E. Stone III Stadium, where USC's intercollegiate soccer is played. Jewish law would not permit the relocation of the cemetery. The only exception would be an eminent threat of desecration and destruction.⁹⁸⁹ Although the university made several attempts to convince the House of Peace Synagogue to move its cemetery, it would not budge. USC employed several strategies, including what I perceived as a pressure campaign. Vice President Brunton wrote to Mr. Bernard Kahn, president of the House of Peace Synagogue:

One of the proposed locations for the Valley Freeway is right past your cemetery or possibly even over it. Neither the University nor the Highway Department is suggesting that you relocate your cemetery. Both of our plans can be modified so that we can do our construction and development around your area. Nevertheless, we recognize that having a University dormitory or a major highway may not be the most compatible of neighbors. For this reason, we would be willing to work with you on a relocation.⁹⁹⁰

Although the displacement of people from their homes and attempts to remove a cemetery are different, much can be learned about resistance strategies employed by the Jewish community. Further, archival records indicate that as a result of its location near an athletics field and athletes retrieving soccer balls, objects in the cemetery were displaced and there were concerns of vandalism.⁹⁹¹ Future research plans might include both a detailed examination of the strategies of the House of Peace Synagogue and the role of athletics as an educating force among student-athletics. What role does athletics have in educating student-athletes about being good neighbors to a religious community?

⁹⁸⁹ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Urban Renewal, Box 29.

⁹⁹⁰ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Q6-Q18, Box 30, 1968-1983.

⁹⁹¹ USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Q6-Q18, Box 30, 1968-1983.

Another aspect of this research ripe for exploration involves how the notion of winning and athletics venue expansion during the 1970s affected women's sports, thus centering gender and not race. In archival records, I came across correspondence indicating that the men's basketball team at USC received preferential treatment. Vice President Brunton noted in a letter on November 24, 1976, that tensions existed regarding the use of practice space between the men's and women's teams.

The problem apparently is that the girl's team now uses that area [enclosed court] a great deal of time which can create a conflict if the men's team needs to vacate their normal practice space in the Coliseum. Incidentally, it would be very helpful if the women's basketball practice schedule could also be occasionally adjusted to accommodate such space conflicts.

Some lines of inquiry might focus on changes in USC's investment in women's athletics as a result of the shift in basketball culture after the hiring of Frank McGuire. Additionally, Title IX of the Civil Rights Act, signed into law on June 23, 1972, prohibited institutions that receive federal funding from excluding students from or subjecting them to discrimination by participating in educational and athletics programs based on sex.⁹⁹² I wonder what expectations, if any, women athletics had for updating the facilities they were relegated to using?

Regarding the increasing marketization of higher education, we can expect more campus expansion to accommodate public-private partnerships in the form of research parks, business incubators,⁹⁹³ and student housing. Even historically, Vice President Brunton was attentive to this issue. As early as 1968, even if it did not come to fruition

⁹⁹² "The 14th Amendment and the Evolution of Title IX," *U.S. Courts*, accessed April 10, 2023, <https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/14th-amendment-and-evolution-title-ix>.

⁹⁹³ Manuel Fernández-Esquinas and Hugo Pinto, "The Role of Universities in Urban Regeneration: Reframing the Analytical Approach," *European Planning Studies* 22, no. 7 (2014): 1462-1483.

during that time, he wrote to Mr. Furman McEachern, director of the Division of General Services:

The idea of a research park is not new. It is being used very effectively by many major universities around the United States. It should be pointed out that a research park is a rather long-range proposition. Several states already have a lead of several years over us in this regard, therefore, we would like to get this project started immediately in the hopes that we can start catching up.⁹⁹⁴

USC has created an Innovista Research District, 500 acres in downtown Columbia that includes the Arnold School of Public Health Research Center (established in 2006), Horizon I, and Discover I research facilities (completed in 2008).⁹⁹⁵ Additionally, locating technology centers in strategic buildings downtown (e.g., USC/Columbia Technology Incubator, Center for Applied Innovation) has resulted in an expanded USC footprint.⁹⁹⁶

Additionally, public–private partnerships for student housing have boomed due to increasing student enrollment—almost 1,000 new students each year (e.g., 2021: 26,502 students; 2022: 27,072 students).⁹⁹⁷ Consequently, at least 1,200 new apartments have been built in the Columbia area since 2020.⁹⁹⁸ One interesting public–private partnership is the Palmetto Compress, purchased by the Columbia Development Corporation as a result of a contractual arrangement with the City of Columbia. The city put up \$7 million

⁹⁹⁴ USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

⁹⁹⁵ “USC/Columbia Technology Incubator,” *University of South Carolina*, accessed May 2, 2023, https://sc.edu/about/offices_and_divisions/economic_engagement/engage-with-us/government/index.php.

⁹⁹⁶ “USC/Columbia Technology Incubator,” University of South Carolina.

⁹⁹⁷ Office of Institutional Research, Assessment, and Analytics, *Student Headcount/FTE Report* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2022).

⁹⁹⁸ Jessica Holdman, “Columbia’s Surge in New Apartments May Not Last Due to High Interest Rates, Taxes,” *Post and Courier*, published March 9, 2023, https://www.postandcourier.com/columbia/business/columbias-surge-in-new-apartments-may-not-last-due-to-high-interest-rates-taxes/article_8694cfcc-bdf5-11ed-9734-2f8ab76de597.html.

for the purchase of the building.⁹⁹⁹ The National Register of Historic Places requires local governments to designate landmarks; the City of Columbia agreed to landmark the Palmetto Compress to prevent demolition and make the building eligible for certain tax credits.¹⁰⁰⁰ The building is 320,000 square feet of downtown space intended to be used as USC student housing instead of potentially affordable housing for long-term Columbia residents.

According to *Carolina News & Reporter*, a USC senior journalism web publication, a part of Columbia's downtown has already experienced significant gentrification. The area is Census Tract 10, bounded by Harden Street, Taylor Street, Two Notch Road, and Chestnut Street, within a 5-minute drive of USC's campus.¹⁰⁰¹ Two of Columbia's historically Black neighborhoods are in this area, and it features two public housing projects, Saxon Homes and Allen Benedict Court.¹⁰⁰² Saxon Homes, which opened in the 1950s, provided 400 low-income apartments and was demolished in 2000. Allen Benedict Court, constructed in 1940, housed more than 400 residents in low-income housing units and was demolished in 2021 after a carbon monoxide leak caused two deaths in 2019.¹⁰⁰³ The loss of these housing complexes displaced more than 800 predominately Black residents from downtown.¹⁰⁰⁴ In the last decade, the Black majority in the area around Allen Benedict Court shrunk from 93.9% to 70.1%, whereas the white

⁹⁹⁹ "Apartment Boom in the Capital City," *Columbia Metropolitan Magazine*, published April 9, 2019, <https://columbiametro.com/article/apartment-boom-in-the-capital-city/>.

¹⁰⁰⁰ "Apartment Boom," *Columbia Metropolitan Magazine*.

¹⁰⁰¹ Sebastian Lee, "A Historically Black Area in Columbia Is Changing, and Residents Question Why," *Carolina News and Reporter*, published November 30, 2021, <https://carolinanewsandreporter.cic.sc.edu/a-historically-black-area-in-columbia-is-changing-and-residents-question-why/>.

¹⁰⁰² Lee, "A Historically Black Area."

¹⁰⁰³ Lee, "A Historically Black Area."

¹⁰⁰⁴ Lee, "A Historically Black Area."

population increased from 5% to 23.4%.¹⁰⁰⁵ Mr. Pride II, an interview participant in my study, discussed the gentrification of the Allen Benedict Court area: “I saw white people coming back to the city. They were coming back in large numbers. [I thought,] what’s gonna happen to my people?”¹⁰⁰⁶ Those in the institution should work with community members to study the impact of gentrification and advocate how campus amenities, particularly those that have extended beyond the initial campus boundaries, can be shared by both the institution and community.

Finally, it seems that considering Blacks as undesirable and worthy of displacement in conjunction with legal policies like urban renewal has resulted in grief that continues to be meted out generation after generation (i.e., intergenerational trauma). There is an opportunity for interdisciplinary research to understand the long-term impacts of displacement on Black communities. It became clear to me in speaking with the participants in this research study that a lot of hurt and anger has stayed with these individuals that undoubtedly have affected their physical and mental health. We know that racism is a stressor that is detrimental to health outcomes for racial and ethnic minorities.¹⁰⁰⁷ Public health researcher Lawrence Brown proposed reparations and investment in Black neighborhoods subjected to historic trauma due to state and national policies.¹⁰⁰⁸ Just as Blacks seek redress financially for the disparate impact of past racial discrimination on economic outcomes evident today, we should not ignore the equally detrimental impact of these policies and procedures on the health outcomes of Blacks.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Lee, “A Historically Black Area.”

¹⁰⁰⁶ Lee, “A Historically Black Area.”

¹⁰⁰⁷ Vickie M. Mays, Susan D. Cochran, and Namdi W. Barnes, “Race, Race-Based Discrimination and Health Outcomes among African Americans,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 58 (2007): 201-225.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cashin, *White Space, Black Hood*.

7.5 RESEARCH AND INQUIRY DESIGN

Future studies on university expansion can be designed differently based on the researchers' interest. For example, the study design could include participatory action-based research.¹⁰⁰⁹ Given the unequal power dynamics between the university and community, engaging the community more fully from the outset of the research project in terms of determining the research questions and design would be one way to “strategically work the power” in the research process as co-collaborators.¹⁰¹⁰ Community-engaged work advanced by universities should not perpetuate the very injustices and inequalities it aims to dismantle.

Another design could involve a longitudinal study, because it was clear throughout my research that initial plans frequently changed due to the various stakeholders involved in the long-term planning processes. So, designing a research project that tracks decision-making in real time instead of taking a historical look might provide even further insight into how these decisions manifest, because the researcher would have access to the decision makers.

Finally, another design could incorporate critical race spatial analysis, which provides another lens to analyze and communicate through mapping ways to identify racial injustice.¹⁰¹¹ Geography is central to “American caste,” “a mechanism for

¹⁰⁰⁹ María Elena Torre, Michelle Fine, Brett G. Stoudt, and Madeline Fox, “Critical Participatory Action Research as Public Science,” in *Research Designs: Quantitative, Qualitative, Neuropsychological, and Biological*, eds. Harris Cooper et al. (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2012), 171-184.

¹⁰¹⁰ “Participatory Action Research,” *Carleton University*, accessed February 10, 2023, <https://participatoryactionresearch.sites.carleton.edu/about-par/>.

¹⁰¹¹ Debb Morrison, Subini Ancy Annamma, and Darrell D. Jackson, eds., *Critical Race Spatial Analysis: Mapping to Understand and Address Educational Inequity* (Sterling: Stylus, 2017).

overinvesting in affluent white space and divesting and plundering elsewhere.”¹⁰¹² As climate and anti-oppression activist Deb Morrison, professor of education Subini Annamma, and professor of law Darrell Jackson suggested, critical race scholars in education could benefit by taking a transdisciplinary approach to the study of race and racism in shaping the spatial relationship between schools and their larger contexts.¹⁰¹³ Race continues to exist because we create and recreate it to fit our social terrain, even as race becomes part of that terrain.¹⁰¹⁴

7.6 STUDY LIMITATIONS

This study had several limitations. First, due to the historical perspective of this study, many people of interest who were crucial to the decisions that took place by the city, university, and CHA and community members affected by displacement efforts have long since passed away. Therefore, a reliance on secondary sources was key in determining how these pieces fit together. Second, reliance on archival materials brings with it the understanding that information in the university and city archives is already curated. As such, finding additional sources to verify information is key.

The firsthand accounts from the participants I interviewed were instrumental in understanding this topic because they interacted with many individuals who are no longer here and who experienced displacement personally.

7.7 CONCLUSION

This study described and characterized university and city leaders’ motivations and decision-making processes in urban renewal projects and the impact of displacement

¹⁰¹² Cashin, *White Space, Black Hood*.

¹⁰¹³ Morrison et al., *Critical Race Spatial Analysis*.

¹⁰¹⁴ Lawrence III, “The Word and the River.”

on Black communities. Findings of this study reveal that the university, city, and CHA were extremely coordinated in their efforts to secure federal and state funding to initiate university expansion efforts. These respective agencies were also intentional in how property was acquired and by which agency to maximize the financial gain to the agencies involved. Ultimately, this study demonstrates that the desire for athletics venues was a determining factor in seeking urban renewal funds. Further, analyses revealed that race did play a role in which communities and churches were targeted for displacement for university expansion.

Recently, on February 7, 2023, the South Carolina athletics department announced a \$1 billion athletics modernization project spanning 800 acres of undeveloped property at and around Williams-Brice Stadium.¹⁰¹⁵ Although no formal plans, timelines, or budgets have been set for the project, the university plans to hear ideas from developers at this time.¹⁰¹⁶ Athletic director Ray Tanner stated: “We believe this could be a game changer for our university. These projects are envisioned to create a fan experience second-to-none in college athletics. We are also looking at expanding the variety of events and opportunities these enhancements can bring, which will positively impact the local community.”¹⁰¹⁷ The newspaper article also noted that the Gamecocks have the second-fewest luxury suites among SEC stadiums.¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁵ Keith Farner, “South Carolina Announces \$1 Billion Project to Transform Area around Williams-Brice Stadium,” *Saturday Down South*, accessed March 17, 2023, <https://www.saturdaydownsouth.com/south-carolina-football/south-carolina-announces-1-billion-project-to-transform-area-around-williams-brice-stadium/>.

¹⁰¹⁶ Farner, “South Carolina Announces \$1 Billion Project.”

¹⁰¹⁷ Farner, “South Carolina Announces \$1 Billion Project.”

¹⁰¹⁸ Farner, “South Carolina Announces \$1 Billion Project”

It has been said that past behavior is a fairly good predictor of future behavior. As I have asserted throughout this research study, white settler colonial logics are still at play in future expansion efforts. Historically, USC administrators spent a lot of time trying to convince community members that they did not have a long-term plan that included displacement of Black communities. However, archival research demonstrates the existence of such a long-term plan and in fact, having this long-term plan was necessary when working with federal and state agencies, which required long-term planning to apply for funds. Although current athletics department administrators may state to the public that specific plans have not been created, it is hard to believe that a \$1 billion campaign simply materialized and has been allocated without any details. Additionally, the rollout of this announcement featured a nod to the athletics arms race and the need to compete to provide an exceptional fan experience rivaled by none. To compete, USC must change the lackluster luxury accommodations it has compared to other SEC schools. What signal does this type of investment send to the Columbia community about the priorities of the institution to invest significantly in athletics? Even though the article touted that the funds would come mostly from private donors, the fact that this amount of money could be garnered solely for athletics is telling. Finally, the announcement asserted that investment in this athletics expansion project will ultimately positively affect the community. However, we know the questions that need to be asked: Who is being harmed or has the potential to be harmed in the redevelopment of this 800-acre area? If the athletics department is truly only now hearing ideas from developers, what expectation does the athletics department have of developers regarding community benefits in exchange for public support of the development project?

I shared the \$1 billion campaign video announcement with the research participants. Mr. Pride II stated:

That's what it's [USC is] telling you the students, the faculty and the people in South Carolina what the educational priority of the flagship is—that's exactly what it's telling, and it's athletics. ... And the money—since you hurt us so bad with urban renewal, why don't you give out more minority academic scholarships and why don't you make them scholarships worth more money? You know, that's a way, you know, to try and even the playing field, because you can't have an even playing field, you can forget that.¹⁰¹⁹

The findings of this study can inform the efforts of USC's new billion-dollar project. In addition to these suggestions, the USC athletics department should host community feedback sessions in the communities most likely to be detrimentally affected. Community feedback sessions would provide long-term community members with time to explore the expansion plans and ask administrators and developers questions to address their concerns. An advisory board should be created for this project that includes community members who are involved in discussions as changes are made to the plans. However, the USC athletics department is not the only university affiliate with a responsibility at this moment. USC faculty members have an opportunity to create experiential learning opportunities for their students—to record oral histories of community members, take photographs to capture the community before and after development, and map and analyze the social and financial impact of displacement on residents and businesses.

As historians Eric Avila and Mark Rose asserted, many whites overlooked the assistance of the Federal Housing Administration and its role in helping them finance their homes, which like the majority of postwar programs was predicated on white

¹⁰¹⁹ Hemphill Pride II, personal communication, February 24, 2023.

identity.¹⁰²⁰ To rectify the harm that has been perpetrated on Black communities throughout the country, more people have to be made aware of the systemic injustices that Black communities have faced since enslavement. White individuals today are not responsible for what happened throughout our country's tumultuous history, but they need to acknowledge that they have been the primary beneficiaries of policies and practices that have systemically excluded Blacks while they received unearned benefits. Further, Black communities should also demand that institutions repair the harm they have perpetrated in their communities in hopes of providing a more equitable future for those who come after us. Finally, knowledge of our past also helps us recognize how behavior is repeated today and how we can be complicit in our oppression.

My story intersects with the history of urban renewal not only in the present while researching this topic for my dissertation, but as I found out in my research, during my time in Chicago, Illinois. While researching urban renewal, I came across a picture of Chicago's Lake Meadows public housing project, funded by New York Life Insurance Company in 1956.¹⁰²¹ In 2010, I lived in what is considered part of the Bronzeville neighborhood, in part of the Lake Meadows apartment complex. Although the South Side area of Chicago is replete with museums, statutes, and memorials to Black history, I had no knowledge of the fact that I was living on a site built because of an urban renewal project. I simply remember that when trying to decide where to live, my options were limited by cost and location. Whereas many of my classmates, mostly white, lived downtown or in northern Chicago neighborhoods, my real estate agent primarily showed

¹⁰²⁰ Eric Avila and Mark H. Rose, "Race, Culture, Politics, and Urban Renewal: An Introduction," *Journal of Urban History* 35, no. 3 (2009): 335-347.

¹⁰²¹ Robert M. Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press).

me apartments on the South Side. At the time, I did not think much of it and neither did my family, but after spending a year in Chicago and exploring other neighborhoods, it became clear what my neighborhood lacked in terms of access to fresh grocery stores and parks. Further, the perception of my neighborhood due to its location, perceived level of safety, and lack of investment by the city or private developers were indicative of the reality of being a predominately Black community.

Reflecting on that now in relation to this research project makes me wonder what happened to the people displaced by the Lake Meadows urban renewal project. In high-density urban areas like Chicago, Detroit, and Indianapolis, it is likely that “blight” and “slum” clearances that displaced predominately Black communities resulted in the construction of low-income housing projects that were then filled with more Black people. The concentration of Black bodies in certain spaces across time and their exclusion from other spaces is not happenstance but a by-product of intentional actions of those with power and privilege to dictate how and where people should live. Seeing how past urban renewal actions affected the potential housing options available to me almost 60 years later was incredible.

Although urban renewal took place almost half a century ago, we are still feeling its aftereffects to this day and in some ways, making some of the same mistakes. Until wrongs of the past are recognized, and amends are at least attempted, feelings of mistrust and resentment will persist among generations of Black descendants of Ward One and Wheeler Hill residents and other Black community members who may have had similar experiences. Every effort should be made to improve university–community relations and learn from instead of ignoring the past.

Mr. Brunton stated in his memoir, “I don’t believe that the University and downtown Columbia could possibly have been transformed without our three Urban Revival Projects,”¹⁰²² and he is probably right. Yet, Mr. Brunton’s use of the word ‘Revival’ is telling and may provide some insight into how he viewed his contributions and legacy regarding university expansion. In recent years, organizations in Columbia, such as the Historic Columbia Foundation and even USC, have joined forces with former residents in recognizing the legacy of Ward One by hosting reunion lunches, honoring prominent Ward One leaders, creating exhibits, and erecting city markers.¹⁰²³ It is a step in the right direction, but there is a lot of work that needs to be done to rectify past harm. Mr. Brunton acknowledged that planning for the future expansion of a university must be done on a long-term basis.¹⁰²⁴ Yet, I contend this planning does not need to be done in isolation from the community in which it is situated and without the input of those with no control over the levers of power.

As sociologist Lori Martin and urban educator Kenneth Varner urged us to imagine, “what if the federal government systematically targeted those who have profited from the misery of communities of color relative to segregation and seized the assets of those involved? What if communities of color used those seized assets to effect changes in their communities that benefited them and brought us toward the ideal of equality? If now is not the time to consider redistribution of resources and opportunities, then when?”¹⁰²⁵ We must imagine our society outside of the racial contract we have been

¹⁰²² Memoir, 11-12.

¹⁰²³ Fennell, “Anatomy of a Neighborhood.”

¹⁰²⁴ USC Archives, William Patterson, Box 6, 1976-1977.

¹⁰²⁵ Martin and Varner, “Race, Residential Segregation, and the Death of Democracy.”

dealt.¹⁰²⁶ Former USC President Jones even alluded to why the actions of those in power remain unchanging in his presidential remarks on January 10, 1968:

Vested interests constitute another problem for the aging society and a status quo university. Certain things remain unchanged for the simple reason that changing them would jeopardize the entrenched rights, privileges, or advantages of specific individuals. These may be real or imagined.¹⁰²⁷

The struggle for freedom is a manifestation of our humanity, which survives and grows stronger through resistance to oppression, even if that oppression is never overcome.¹⁰²⁸ Derrick Bell, a lawyer and critical race theorist, reminded us to have hope that those of us working for racial equity and who sympathize with the work can operate in current structures and reform them.¹⁰²⁹ Richard Delgado, also a lawyer and critical race theorist, further encouraged us to consider that reality, like our hopes for it, is not fixed.¹⁰³⁰ The fight itself has meaning and should give us hope for the future.¹⁰³¹ Mr. Redfern II shared:

I preach a message that don't let your tomorrows be consumed by your yesterday. ... But the pain and blood on those bricks for the price we paid and what we gave up. We got bricks on a horseshoe to serve you and we lost our school, but then you come along the new generation and so, we have to be thankful that you have some sense of your history and your past and that we have a collective future together.¹⁰³²

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. talked about loving one's enemies, saying:

We shall match your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering. But be ye assured that we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer. One day we shall win freedom but not only for ourselves. We shall so appeal to

¹⁰²⁶ Charles W. Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2014).

¹⁰²⁷ USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, Faculty Minutes, January 10, 1968.

¹⁰²⁸ Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 2023).

¹⁰²⁹ Richard Delgado, "Derrick Bell and the Ideology of Racial Reform: Will We Ever Be Saved?" *Yale Law Journal* 97, no. 5 (1987): 923-947.

¹⁰³⁰ Delgado, "Derrick Bell."

¹⁰³¹ Bell, "Racial Realism."

¹⁰³² James Redfern II, personal communication, January 24, 2023.

your heart and conscience that we shall win you in the process and our victory will be a double victory.¹⁰³³

¹⁰³³ Martin Luther King, *Loving Your Enemies* (New York: AJ Muste Memorial Institute, 1957).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- § 1460(c) (Supp. 1954), as amended, 42 U.S.C. § 1460(c) (1970).
270 N.Y. 333, 1 N.E. 2d 153 (1936).
- “9 Black Athletes Who Integrated Professional Sports,” *History.com*, accessed April 27, 2023, <https://www.history.com/news/black-athletes-who-integrated-their-sports>.
- “About Us,” *South Carolina Department of Archives and History*, accessed October 14, 2022, <https://scdah.sc.gov/about-us>.
- Adams, N.T. et al., “The Private Use of Public Power: The Private University and the Power of Eminent Domain,” *Vanderbilt Law Review* 27, no. 4 (1974), 681-813.
- Agua, Jade and Pendakur, Sumun L. “From Resistance to Resilience: Transforming Institutional Racism from the Inside Out,” in *Student Activism, Politics, and Campus Climate in Higher Education*, eds. Demetri L. Morgan and Charles H.F. Davis III (New York: Routledge, 2019), 164-181.
- “An Era Will End Sunday for Union Baptist Church,” *The State*, September 24, 1966, 9.
- Anderson, Dean. “Cultural Diversity on Campus: A Look at Intercollegiate Football Coaches,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 17, no. 1 (1993): 61-66.
- Annunziata, Sandra and Rivas-Alonso, Clara. “Resisting Gentrification,” in *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*, eds. Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips (Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2018), 393-412.
- “Apartment Boom in the Capital City,” *Columbia Metropolitan Magazine*, published April 9, 2019, <https://columbiametro.com/article/apartment-boom-in-the-capital-city/>.
- Architectural Forum* (1963), <https://usmodernist.org/AF/AF-1963-01.pdf>.
- “Archives,” *Society of American Archivists*, accessed October 14, 2022, <https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/archives.html>.
- Arrants, Julia. “Bates, Lester Lee, Sr.,” *South Carolina Encyclopedia*, accessed September 29, 2022, <https://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/bates-lester-lee-sr/>.

- Ashworth, Kenneth H. "Urban Renewal and the University: A Tool for Campus Expansion and Neighborhood Improvement," *The Journal of Higher Education* 35, no. 9 (1964): 493-496.
- Atlanta Constitution, November 10, 1929; Pittsburgh Courier, November 9, 16, 30, 1929, *Crisis* 37 (January 1930): 30 as cited in Martin, *Benching Jim Crow*.
- Avila, Eric and Rose, Mark H. "Race, Culture, Politics, and Urban Renewal: An Introduction," *Journal of Urban History* 35, no. 3 (2009): 335-347.
- Baldwin, Davarian. *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower: How Universities are Plundering Our Cities* (New York: Bold Type Books, 2021).
- Barnes, Jodi A. "The Materiality of Freedom: Archaeologies of Postemancipation Life," *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 14, no. 4 (2011), 28.
- Barnett, Ronald. ed., *The Future University: Ideas and Possibilities* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
- Barton, Dan and Fulton, Bob. *Frank McGuire: The Life and Times of a Basketball Legend* (Columbia: Summerhouse Press, 1995).
- Baumer, Benjamin and Zimbalist, Andrew. "The Impact of College Athletic Success on Donations and Applicant Quality," *International Journal of Financial Studies* 7, no. 2 (2019): 19.
- Bell, Derrick. "After We're Gone: Prudent Speculations on America in a Post-Racial Epoch," *Saint Louis University Law Journal* 34 (1989): 393.
- Bell, Derrick. "Racial Realism," *Connecticut Law Review* 24 (1991): 363; Derrick Bell, *Silent Covenants: Brown v. Board of Education and the Unfulfilled Hopes for Racial Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004);
- Bender, Thomas. ed., *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- Bensimon, Estela M. "The Meaning of 'Good Presidential Leadership': A Frame Analysis," *The Review of Higher Education* 12, no. 2 (1989): 107-123.
- Benson, Lee. et al., *Knowledge for Social Change* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2022).
- Beyer, Janice M. and Hannah, David R. "The Cultural Significance of Athletics in US Higher Education," *Journal of Sport Management* 14, no. 2 (2000): 105-132.
- Bilas, Jay. "Why NIL has Been Good for College Sports... and the Hurdles That Remain," *ESPN*, published June 29, 2022, accessed October 26, 2022,

- https://www.espn.com/college-sports/story/_/id/34161311/why-nil-good-college-sports-hurdles-remain.
- Black, Derek W. *Schoolhouse Burning: Public Education and the Assault on American Democracy* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2020).
- Blatt, Solomon. *The Bridge Builder: Solomon Blatt Reflects on a Lifetime of Service to South Carolina* (Columbia: McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, 1986).
- Boggs, Abigail, Meyerhoff, Eli, Mitchell, Nick and Schwartz-Weinstein, Zach. "Abolitionist University Studies: An Invitation," *Abolition Journal* 1 (2019): 29.
- Bok, Derek. *Universities in the Marketplace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- Booth, Douglas. *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
- Bopp, Trevor and Sagas, Michael. "Racial Tasking and the College Quarterback: Redefining the Stacking Phenomenon," *Journal of Sport Management* 28, no. 2 (2014): 136-142; Dean Anderson, "Cultural Diversity on Campus: A Look at Intercollegiate Football Coaches," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 17, no. 1 (1993): 61-66.
- Borough, S. "University Opens New PE Facilities," *The Gamecock*, October 11, 1971.
- Borucki, Wes. "'You're Dixie's Football Pride': American College Football and the Resurgence of Southern Identity," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 10, no. 4 (2003): 477-494.
- Bose, Sayoni. "Universities and the Redevelopment Politics of the Neoliberal City," *Urban Studies* 52, no. 14 (2015): 2616-2632.
- Bottenburg, Maarten Van. "Why are the European and American Sports Worlds so Different? Path Dependence in European and American Sports History," in *Sport and the Transformation of Modern Europe*, ed. Alan Tomlinson, Christopher Young, and Richard Holt (New York: Routledge, 2013), 217-237.
- Bouknight, Ashley N. "Casualty of Progress": The Ward One Community and Urban Renewal, Columbia, South Carolina, 1964-1974," Master's thesis (University of South Carolina, 2010).
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Sport and Social Class," in *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies*, eds. Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 357-373.

- Bowen, Glenn A. "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method," *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, no. 2 (2009): 27-40.
- Boyer, Ernest L. "The Scholarship of Engagement," *Journal of Public Service and Outreach* 1, no. 1 (1996), 11-20.
- Brand, Myles. "The Role and Value of Intercollegiate Athletics in Universities," *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 33, no. 1 (2006): 9-20.
- Brandt, Lydia M. et al., *USC South Campus: A Last Look at Modernism* (Columbia: USC Department of Art, 2016).
- Brewer, Dominic J., Gates, Susan M. and Goldman, Charles A. *In Pursuit of Prestige: Strategy and Competition in U.S. Higher Education* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2002).
- Bromley, Ray, and Kent, Robert B. "Integrating beyond the campus: Ohio's urban public universities and neighborhood revitalisation." *Planning, Practice & Research* 21, no. 1 (2006): 45-78.
- Brown, Sarah. "The Name-Change Charade: How a Racial-Justice Effort at the U. of South Carolina Became a Smokescreen for Inaction," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, published July 14, 2022, accessed December 18, 2022, <https://www.chronicle.com/article/the-name-change-charade>.
- Brunton, Harold. Memoir, 11-12.
- Brunton, Harold. Memoir, postscript.
- Bullock, S. (2004), as cited in Carpenter and Ross, "Testing O'Connor and Thomas."
- Burns, Lewis. Interview by Andrea L'Hommedieu, June 21, 2016, USC Archives, Oral Histories, <https://digital.library.sc.edu/exhibits/kline/interviews/lewis-burns/>
- Carolina Research and Development Foundation, Board of Directors Meeting, 1969.
- Carpenter, Dick M. and Ross, John K. "Testing O'Connor and Thomas: Does the Use of Eminent Domain Target Poor and Minority Communities?" *Urban Studies* 46, no. 11 (2009): 2447-2461.
- Carriere, Michael. "Fighting the War against Blight: Columbia University, Morningside Heights, Inc., and Counterinsurgent Urban Renewal," *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 1 (2011): 5-29.
- Carter, W. Burlette. "The Age of Innocence: The First 25 Years of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1906 to 1931," *Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment and Technology Law* 8 (2005): 211-291.

- Cashin, Sheryll. *White Space, Black Hood: Opportunity Hoarding and Segregation in the Age of Inequality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2021).
- Chakravartty, Paula and Da Silva, Denise Ferreira. "Accumulation, Dispossession, and Debt: The Racial Logic of Global Capitalism—An Introduction," *American Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2012): 361-385.
- Chapman, J. David, MacDonald, Stuart T., Arnold, Allen G. and Chapman, Ryan S. "An Analysis of Higher Education Facility Expansion." *Journal of Business and Educational Leadership* 8, no. 1 (2018): 66-85.
- Chu, Donald. "Origins of the Connection of Physical Education and Athletics at the American University: An Organizational Interpretation," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (1979): 22-32.
- Chu, Donald. "The American Conception of Higher Education and the Formal Incorporation of Intercollegiate Sport," *Quest* 34, no. 1 (1982): 53-71.
- Cohen, Josh. "UW Expansion Sharpens Debate Over City's Power," *Crosscut*, August 13, 2018, <https://crosscut.com/2018/08/uw-expansion-sharpens-debate-over-citys-power>.
- Cohen, Kenneth. *They Will Have Their Game: Sporting Culture and the Making of the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).
- Cohen, Michael D. and March, James G. *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974).
- "College Football Championship Game – List of National Champions," *TicketCity*, accessed November 13, 2022, <https://blog.ticketcity.com/college-football/college-football-championship-game-list-of-national-champions/>.
- Colombo, John D. "The NCAA, Tax Exemption and College Athletics," *Penn State Law*, accessed May 19, 2023, <https://pennstatelaw.psu.edu/file/NCAA26.pdf>.
- "Columbia, SC Population," *Population.us*, accessed March 5, 2023, <https://population.us/sc/columbia/>.
- "Community Benefits Agreements Toolkit," Local Initiatives Support Corporation, accessed May 7, 2023, <https://www.lisc.org/our-resources/resource/community-benefits-agreements-toolkit/>.
- Cooper, Joseph, Cavil, N. J. Kenyatta and Cheeks, Jeremy. "The State of Intercollegiate Athletics at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs): Past, Present, & Persistence," *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics* 7, no. 1 (2014): 307-332.

- Cooper, Joseph N. "Personal Troubles and Public Issues: A Sociological Imagination of Black Athletes' Experiences at Predominantly White Institutions in the United States," *Sociology Mind* 2, no. 3 (2012): 261-271.
- Corbin, Juliet. "Strategies for Qualitative Data Analysis," *Journal of Qualitative Research* (2007): 67-85; Tim Rapley, *Doing Conversation, Discourse and Document Analysis* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2018).
- Corbin, Juliet and Strauss, Anselm. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2008).
- Corces-Zimmerman, Chris, Thomas, Devon and Cabrera, Nolan L. "Historic Scaffolds of Whiteness in Higher Education," in *Whiteness, Power, and Resisting Change in US Higher Education: A Peculiar Institution*, eds. Kenneth R. Roth and Zachary S. Ritter (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 9-31.
- Coward, Martin. "'Urbicide' Reconsidered," *Theory & Event* 10, no. 2 (2007).
- Coyne, Imelda T. "Sampling in Qualitative Research. Purposeful and Theoretical Sampling; Merging or Clear Boundaries?," *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 26, no. 3 (1997): 623-630.
- "Creativity Expressed," *The Daily Gamecock*, October 8, 1969.
- "Creekside Redevelopment Project," *Urban Renewal Agency of the City of Caldwell, Idaho*, published 2019,
<https://www.cityofcaldwell.org/home/showdocument?id=12724>.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle W., Gotanda, Neil, Peller, Gary and Thomas, Kendall. eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement* (New York: New Press, 1996).
- Cyros, Kreon L. and Korb, Roslyn. *Postsecondary Education Facilities Inventory and Classification Manual (FICM): 2006 Edition, NCES 2006-160* (Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, 2006).
- Dancy, T. Elon, Edwards, Kirsten T. and Davis, James Earl. "Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics: Anti-Blackness and Higher Education in the Black Lives Matter Era," *Urban Education* 53, no. 2 (2018): 176-195.
- Dantzler, Prentiss A. "The Urban Process under Racial Capitalism: Race, Anti-Blackness, and Capital Accumulation," *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and the City* 2, no. 2 (2021): 113-134.
- Darder, Antonia. *The Student Guide to Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018).

- Decker, Stephanie. "The Silence of the Archives: Business History, Post-Colonialism and Archival Ethnography,"
- DeCuir, Jessica T. and Dixon, Adrienne D. "'So When It Comes Out, They Aren't That Surprised That It is There': Using Critical Race Theory as a Tool of Analysis of Race and Racism in Education," *Educational Researcher* 33, no. 5 (2004): 26-31.
- Delgado, Richard. "Derrick Bell and the Ideology of Racial Reform: Will We Ever Be Saved?" *Yale Law Journal* 97, no. 5 (1987): 923-947.
- Delgado, Richard and Stefancic, Jean. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 2023).
- Demiris, Tiffany and Seifried, Chad. "A Historical Study of the Path from Off-Campus to On-Campus Stadia: Stakeholders, Resources, and Contexts," *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics* 15 (2022): 50-74.
- Denhart, Matthew, and Ridpath, David. *Funding the Arms Race: A Case Study of Student Athletic Fees* (Washington, DC: Center for College Affordability and Productivity, 2011).
- Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonna S. eds., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2011); Yin, *Case Study Research*.
- Desrochers, Donna. "Think Again: Is Rampant College Spending behind Skyrocketing Tuition Bills? Or Not?" *American Institutes for Research*, last modified August 4, 2014, <https://www.air.org/resource/think-again-rampant-college-spending-behind-skyrocketing-tuition-bills-or-not>.
- Desrochers, Donna M. *Academic Spending versus Athletic Spending: Who Wins?* (Washington, DC: American Institutes for Research, 2013).
- Dimpfl, Mike and Smith, Sara. "Cosmopolitan Sidestep: University Life, Intimate Geopolitics and the Hidden Costs of "Global" Citizenship," *Area* 51, no. 4 (2019): 635-643.
- Dixon, David, and Peter J. Roche. "Campus Partners and The Ohio State University." *The University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis: Case Studies and Analysis* (2015): 268.
- Dixon, Adrienne D. and Anderson, Celia Rousseau. "Where are We? Critical Race Theory in Education 20 Years Later," *Peabody Journal of Education* 93, no. 1 (2018): 121-131.
- Donnor, Jamal K. "Towards an Interest-Convergence in the Education of African-American Football Student Athletes in Major College Sports," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8, no. 1 (2005): 45-67.

- Dowland, Seth. "War, Sports, and the Construction of Masculinity in American Christianity," *Religion Compass* 5, no. 7 (2011): 355-364.
- Doyle, A. as cited in Tutka and Seifried, "An Innovation Diffusion."
- Dumas, Michael J. "Against the Dark: Antiblackness in Education Policy and Discourse," *Theory Into Practice* 55, no. 1 (2016): 11-19.
- Duncan, Garrett A. "Critical Race Ethnography in Education: Narrative, Inequality and the Problem of Epistemology," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8, no. 1 (2005): 93-114.
- Durant, Thomas J. "The Slave Plantation Revisited: A Sociological Perspective," in *Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality*, eds. Thomas J. Durant and J. David Knottnerus (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999), 3-15.
- Durant, Thomas J. and Knottnerus, J. David. eds., *Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999).
- Dymecki, David. "Discovering Transformative Opportunities for the Athletic Facilities at the University of Pittsburgh," *Planning for Higher Education* 43, no. 1 (2014): 47.
- Easterling, Evan. "Report: Temple to File Project Submission with City for On-Campus Football Stadium," *The Temple News*, published January 18, 2018, <https://temple-news.com/report-temple-to-file-project-submission-with-city-for-on-campus-football-stadium/>.
- "Education and Title VI," *U.S. Department of Education*, published January 10, 2020, accessed November 20, 2022, <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/hq43e4.html>.
- Ehlenz, Megan M. "Neighborhood Revitalization and the Anchor Institution: Assessing the Impact of the University of Pennsylvania's West Philadelphia Initiatives on University City," *Urban Affairs Review* 52, no. 5 (2016): 714-750.
- Ehrenberg, Ronald G. *Tuition Rising: Why College Costs So Much, with a New Preface* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).
- Ehrlich, Thomas. ed., *Civic Responsibility and Higher Education* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000).
- Etienne, Harley F. "Comparative Views of Contemporary University-Driven Neighborhood Change." In *Pushing Back the Gates: Neighborhood Perspectives on University-Driven Revitalization in West Philadelphia*, ed. Harley F. Etienne (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012), 95-110.

- “Every Member of Georgia’s 1916 Eleven Now in Service,” *Atlanta Constitution*, December 17, 1917, 10, as cited in Victoria Leigh Berkow, ““Let Honor Fall’: Georgia Football and Lost Cause Mentality, 1892 to 1925” (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 2017).
- Fanshel, Rosalie Z. *The Morrill Act as Racial Contract: Settler Colonialism and US Higher Education* (Berkeley: Joseph A. Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues, 2021).
- Farner, Keith. “South Carolina Announces \$1 Billion Project to Transform Area around Williams-Brice Stadium,” *Saturday Down South*, accessed March 17, 2023, <https://www.saturdaydownsouth.com/south-carolina-football/south-carolina-announces-1-billion-project-to-transform-area-around-williams-brice-stadium/>.
- Fendler, Lynn. “New Cultural Histories,” in *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education: Debates, Tensions, and Directions*, ed. Tanya Fitzgerald (New York: Springer, 2019): 1-17.
- Fennell, Paige S. “Anatomy of a Neighborhood: Ward One,” (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 2009).
- Fernández-Esquinas, Manuel and Pinto, Hugo. “The Role of Universities in Urban Regeneration: Reframing the Analytical Approach,” *European Planning Studies* 22, no. 7 (2014): 1462-1483.
- Fogelson, Robert M. *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- “Foundation Purchases Senate Plaza,” *The State*, January 7, 1970, 1.
- “Frank McGuire Succumbs at 80,” *Eugene Register-Guard*, October 12, 1994, 6C.
- “Frequently Asked Questions: Football Bowl Subdivision -- Membership Requirements,” *National Collegiate Athletic Association*, published December 8, 2007, accessed October 19, 2022, <http://fs.ncaa.org/Docs/AMA/Division%20I%20Forms/2010-11%20FBS%20Forms/Football%20Bowl%20Subqa%2012%208%2010.pdf>.
- Friend, Craig Thompson and Glover, Lorri. *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2004), as cited in Mark Okuhata, “Unchained Manhood: The Performance of Black Manhood During the Antebellum, Civil War, and Reconstruction Eras” (PhD diss., UCLA, 2014).
- Gagliardi, Jonathan S., Espinosa, Lorelle L., . Turk, Jonathan M and Taylor, Morgan. *The American College President Study: 2017* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 2017).

- Galehouse, Richard F. and Phillips, Patrick L. *The Power of the Plan: Building a University in One of America's First Planned Cities* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2019).
- Gasman, Marybeth. "Swept under the Rug? A Historiography of Gender and Black Colleges," *American Educational Research Journal* 44, no. 4 (2007): 760-805.
- Geiger, Roger L. *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940* (New York: Routledge, 2017).
- Getz, Malcolm and Siegfried, John. "What Does Intercollegiate Athletics Do to or for Colleges and Universities?" in *The Oxford Handbook of Sports Economics*, eds. Leo H. Kahane and Stephen Shmanske (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012): 349-372.
- Gibson, Timothy A. "Primitive Accumulation, Eminent Domain, and the Contradictions of Neo-Liberalism," *Cultural Studies* 24, no. 1 (2010): 133-160.
- Gill, Michael J., Gill, David James. and Roulet, Thomas J. "Constructing Trustworthy Historical Narratives: Criteria, Principles and Techniques," *British Journal of Management* 29, no. 1 (2018): 191-205.
- Gillborn, David. "The Policy of Inequity: Using CRT to Unmask White Supremacy in Education Policy," in *Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education*, eds. Marvin Lynn and Adrienne D. Dixson (New York: Routledge, 2013), 149-159.
- Giray, Louie Galvez. "The Spirit of Sport: Exploring Sportsmanship among Physical Education Students," *Acitya: Journal of Teaching and Education* 3, no. 2 (2021): 257-266.
- Glesne, Corrine. *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction* (Upper Saddle River: Pearson, 2016); Johnny Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2021).
- Gold, John R. "Modernism, Narratives of Renewal and the Historiography of Urban Regeneration," In *The Routledge Companion to Urban Regeneration*, eds. Michael E. Leary and John McCarthy (New York: Routledge, 2013), 43-52.
- Graham, Stephen. "Postmortem City: Towards an Urban Geopolitics," *City* 8, no. 2 (2004): 165-196.
- Guba, Egon G. and Lincoln, Yvonna S. "Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research," in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994): 163-194.
- Hamer, Jennifer F. and Lang, Clarence. "Race, Structural Violence, and the Neoliberal University: The Challenges of Inhabitation," *Critical Sociology* 41, no. 6 (2015): 897-912.

- Harold, Brunton. *Memoir of the Restoration of the Historic Horseshoe of the University of South Carolina, 2000-2003* (2003).
- Harper, Shaun R. "Race Without Racism: How Higher Education Researchers Minimize Racist Institutional Norms," *The Review of Higher Education* 36, no. 1 (2012): 9-29.
- Harris, Cheryl I. "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106, no. 8 (1993): 1707-1791.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Hawkins, Billy. "Is Stacking Dead? A Case Study of the Stacking Hypothesis at a Southeastern Conference (SEC) Football Program," *International Sports Journal* 6, no. 2 (2002): 146.
- Hawkins, Billy. *The New Plantation: Black Athletes, College Sports, and Predominantly White NCAA Institutions* (New York: Springer, 2010).
- Helsley, Alexia Jones. *Columbia, South Carolina: A History* (Mount Pleasant: Arcadia, 2015).
- Hextrum, Kirsten, "Operation Varsity Blues: Disguising the Legal Capital Exchanges and White Property Interests in Athletic Admissions," *Higher Education Politics & Economics* 5, no. 1 (2019): 15-32.
- Hinton, Matt. "Billionaire Ball: Epitaph for the Student-Athlete," *The Baffler* 20 (2012): 106-115.
- "History: History of Columbia Housing Authority of the City of Columbia, S.C.," *Columbia Housing Authority*, accessed September 29, 2022, <https://www.columbiahousing.org/history>.
- Hobson, J. Hardin. "Football Culture at New South Universities: Lost Cause and Old South Memory, Modernity, and Martial Manhood," in *The History of American College Football: Institutional Policy, Culture, and Reform*, eds. Christian Anderson and Amber Falluca (New York: Routledge, 2021), 37-63.
- Hobson, Will and Rich, Steven. "Why Students Foot the Bill for College Sports, and How Some are Fighting Back," *The Washington Post*, November 30, 2015; Will Hobson and Steven Rich, "The Latest Extravagances in the College Sports Arms Race? Laser Tag and Mini Golf," *The Washington Post*, December 21, 2014.
- Hodder, Ian. "The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture," in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994), 393-402.

- Holdman, Jessica. "Columbia's Surge in New Apartments May Not Last Due to High Interest Rates, Taxes," *Post and Courier*, published March 9, 2023, https://www.postandcourier.com/columbia/business/columbias-surge-in-new-apartments-may-not-last-due-to-high-interest-rates-taxes/article_8694cfcc-bdf5-11ed-9734-2f8ab76de597.html.
- "Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) Neighborhood Redlining Grade," *ArcGIS Online*, published November 10, 2022, <https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=063cdb28dd3a449b92bc04f904256f62>.
- Howell, Martha C. and Prevenier, Walter *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).
- Huml, Matt Ryan, Pifer, N. David, Towle, Caitlin and Rode, Cheryl R. "If We Build it, Will They Come? The Effect of New Athletic Facilities on Recruiting Rankings for Power Five Football and Men's Basketball Programs," *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education* 29, no. 1 (2019): 1-18.
- Humphreys, Brad R. "The Relationship between Big-Time College Football and State Appropriations for Higher Education," *International Journal of Sport Finance* 1, no. 2 (2006): 119-128.
- Hutchins, Brett. "The Problem of Sport and Social Cohesion," In *Social Cohesion in Australia*, ed. James Jupp (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 170-181.
- Hylton, Kevin. *'Race' and Sport: Critical Race Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
- Hyra, Derek S. "Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal: Comparing the Past to the Present," *Urban Affairs Review* 48, no. 4 (2012): 498-527.
- Ilano, Lauren Ashley Mariano. *Urban Universities on Contested Terrain: Racial Academic Capitalism, Gentrification, and the Politics of Expansion* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 2020).
- Ingrassia, Brian M. *The Rise of the Gridiron University* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012).
- Jackson, Christina. "The Effect of Urban Renewal on Fragmented Social and Political Engagement in Urban Environments," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 41, no. 4 (2019): 503-517.
- Jay, Erin Flynn. "How Could Philly's Pilot (Payments in Lieu of Taxes) Program Get Better?" *Generocity Philly*, published March 10, 2022,

- <https://generocity.org/philly/2022/03/10/what-are-pilots-payments-in-lieu-of-taxes-and-how-could-phillys-program-get-better/>.
- Johnson, Craig S. "The Self-Sufficiency of Auxiliary Enterprises in Higher Education," PhD diss (Arkansas State University, 2011).
- Johnson, Robert V. "The Athletic Arms Race at the University of Southern California," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004).
- Jones, Janice E. "Environmental Cognition and Satisfaction, Wheeler Hill, Columbia, South Carolina," (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 1976).
- Jones, Kenneth, and Tema Okun. "White supremacy culture." *Dismantling racism: A workbook for social change* (2001).
- Joseph, Peniel E. "The Black Power Movement: A State of the Field," *Journal of American History* 96, no. 3 (2009): 751-776.
- Judge, Lawrence W. et al., "An Examination of Division I Athletic-Academic Support Services Facilities and Staffing," *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education* 12, no. 3 (2018): 220-239.
- Jupp, Victor. "Documents and Critical Research," in *Data Collection and Analysis*, eds. Roger Sapsford and Victor Jupp (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996), 298-316.
- Jupp, Victor and Norris, Clive. "Traditions in Documentary Analysis," in *Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice*, ed. Martin Hammersley (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1993), 37-51.
- Kahler, Sophie. "The Evolution of Columbia's Neighborhoods: 1937 to Present," Senior thesis (University of South Carolina, 2021).
- Kahler, Sophie and Harrison, Conor. "'Wipe Out the Entire Slum Area': University-Led Urban Renewal in Columbia, South Carolina, 1950–1985," *Journal of Historical Geography* 67 (2020): 61-70.
- Kaliss, Gregory J. *Men's College Athletics and the Politics of Racial Equality: Five Pioneer Stories of Black Manliness, White Citizenship, and American Democracy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012).
- Kaminer, Tahl. "Postscript: Towards a Critical Historiography of Gentrification," *City* 26, no. 2-3 (2022): 542-552.
- Katznelson, Ira. *When Affirmative Action was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2005); George Lipsitz, "The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: Racialized

- Social Democracy and the 'White' Problem in American Studies," *American Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (1995): 369-387.
- Keenan, Sarah. "Subversive Property: Reshaping Malleable Spaces of Belonging," *Social & Legal Studies* 19, no. 4 (2010): 423-439.
- Kendi, Ibram X. *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (London: Hachette UK, 2016).
- Kenly, Dante. personal communication, February 28, 2023.
- Kennedy, Maureen and Leonard, Paul. *Gentrification: Practice and Politics*, (Washington, DC: Local Initiatives Support Corporation Center for Homeownership and Knowledge Sharing Initiative, 2001).
- Kennedy, Randall L. "Racial Critiques of Legal Academia," *Harvard Law Review* 102, no. 8 (1989): 1745-1819.
- King, Martin Luther. *Loving Your Enemies* (New York: AJ Muste Memorial Institute, 1957).
- Klores, Dan *Roundball Culture: South Carolina Basketball* (Hunstville: AM Press, 1980).
- Krueger, Richard A. *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2014).
- Kumar, Sanjay. "Understanding Different Issues of Unit of Analysis in a Business Research," *Journal of General Management Research* 5, no. 2 (2018): 70-82.
- L'Eplattenier, Barbara E. "An Argument for Archival Research Methods: Thinking Beyond Methodology," *College English* 72, no. 1 (2009): 67-79.
- Ladson-Billings, Gloria and Tate, William F. "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," *Teachers College Record* 97, no. 1 (1995): 47-68.
- Laredo, Philippe. "Revisiting the Third Mission of Universities: Toward a Renewed Categorization of University Activities?" *Higher Education Policy* 20 (2007): 441-456.
- Laska, Shirley Bradway, Seaman, Jerrol M. and McSeveney, Dennis R. "Inner-City Reinvestment: Neighborhood Characteristics and Spatial Patterns over Time," *Urban Studies* 19, no. 2 (1982): 155-165.
- Lawrence III, Charles. "The Word and the River: Pedagogy as Scholarship as Struggle," *Southern California Law Review* 65 (1991): 2231.

- Lee, Sebastian. "A Historically Black Area in Columbia Is Changing, and Residents Question Why," *Carolina News and Reporter*, published November 30, 2021, <https://carolinanewsandreporter.cic.sc.edu/a-historically-black-area-in-columbia-is-changing-and-residents-question-why/>.
- Lemann, 1991, as cited in Derek S. Hyra, "Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal: Comparing the Past to the Present," *Urban Affairs Review* 48, no. 4 (2012): 498-527.
- Lesesne, Henry H. *A History of the University of South Carolina, 1940-2000* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001).
- Lester, Robin. *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago* (Urbana: The University of Chicago Press, 1974).
- Lewis, Guy M. "Adoption of the Sports Program, 1906-39: The Role of Accommodation in the Transformation of Physical Education," *Quest* 12, no. 1 (1969): 34-46.
- Lewis, Thomas P. "The Meaning of State Action," *Columbia Law Review* 60, no. 8 (1960): 1083-1123.
- Ley, David and Teo, Sin Yih. "Gentrification in Hong Kong? Epistemology vs. Ontology," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 4 (2014): 1286-1303.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S. and Guba, Egon G. *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1985).
- Lipman, Pauline. "Contesting the City: Neoliberal Urbanism and the Cultural Politics of Education Reform in Chicago," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 32, no. 2 (2011): 217-234.
- Lipman, Pauline. *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race, and the Right to the City*, (New York: Routledge, 2013). Rachel Weber, "Extracting Value from the City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment," *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 519-540.
- Litan, Robert E., Orszag, Jonathan M. and Orszag, Peter R. *The Empirical Effects of Collegiate Athletics: An Interim Report* (Washington, DC: Sebago Associates, 2003).
- Littlejohn's Political Memoirs*, as cited in Lesesne, *A History of the University of South Carolina*.

- Locke, John. *The Second Treatise of Civil Government* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2015).
- Love, Bettina L. *We Want to Do More Than Survive: Abolitionist Teaching and the Pursuit of Educational Freedom* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2019).
- Lowe, Nichola and Morton, Brian J. "Developing Standards: The Role of Community Benefits Agreements in Enhancing Job Quality," *Community Development* 39, no. 2 (2008): 23-35; Virginia Parks and Dorian Warren, "The Politics and Practice of Economic Justice: Community Benefits Agreements as Tactic of the New Accountable Development Movement," *Journal of Community Practice* 17, no. 1-2 (2009): 88-106.
- Lowery, Zoe. ed., *Historiography* (New York: Rosen, 2015).
- Lu, Adrienne, Elias, Jacquelyn, June, Audrey W., Charles, J. Brian, Marijolic, K, Roberts-Grmela, Julian, & Surovell, Eva. "DEI Legislation Tracker," The Chronicle of Higher Education, published April 28, 2023, <https://www.chronicle.com/article/here-are-the-states-where-lawmakers-are-seeking-to-ban-colleges-dei-efforts>.
- Madison, D. Soyini. *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2011).
- Mallach, Alan. *The Divided City: Poverty and Prosperity in Urban America* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2018).
- Martin, Charles H. *Benching Jim Crow: The Rise and Fall of the Color Line in Southern College Sports, 1890-1980* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010).
- Martin, Elizabeth. personal communication, February 24, 2023.
- Martin, Kathleen J. "Student Attitudes and the Teaching and Learning of Race, Culture and Politics," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 26, no. 3 (2010): 530-539.
- Martin, Lori Latrice and Varner, Kenneth J. "Race, Residential Segregation, and the Death of Democracy: Education and Myth of Postracialism," *Democracy and Education* 25, no. 1 (2017): 4.
- Mays, Vickie M., Cochran, Susan D. and Barnes, Namdi W. "Race, Race-Based Discrimination and Health Outcomes among African Americans," *Annual Review of Psychology* 58 (2007): 201-225.
- McCarthy, Erin A. "Making Men: The Life and Career of Amos Alonzo Stagg, 1862-1933," (PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 1994).

- McHugh, Robert. "Government Remains the Biggest Business," *The State*. February 3, 1965, 44.
- McKee, Guian. "Urban deindustrialization and Local Public Policy: Industrial Renewal in Philadelphia, 1953–1976," *Journal of Policy History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 66-98.
- McKinney, Monica B. "Clues from the Classroom: The Hidden Curriculum of Place," in *Postcritical Ethnography: Reinscribing Critique*, eds. George W. Noblit, Susana Y. Flores, and Enrique G. Murrilo, Jr. (Cresskill: Hampton Press, 2004).
- McKittrick, Katherine. "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place," *Social & Cultural Geography* 12, no. 8 (2011): 947-963.
- McNeely, Patricia G. "East Glencoe Relocations Progressing Satisfactorily," *The Columbia Record*, January 21, 1970.
- Meara, KerryAnn O. "Striving for What? Exploring the Pursuit of Prestige," in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, ed. Laura W. Perna (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007): 121-179.
- Melamed, Jodi. "Racial Capitalism," *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2015): 76-85.
- Mele, Christopher. "Neoliberalism, Race and the Redefining of Urban Redevelopment," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 2 (2013): 598-617.
- Merrifield, Andy. *The Politics of the Encounter: Urban Theory and Protest Under Planetary Urbanisation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).
- Milem, Jeffrey F., Chang, Mitchell J., and Antonio, Anthony Lising. *Making Diversity Work on Campus: A Research-Based Perspective* (Washington, DC: Association American Colleges and Universities, 2005). Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism."
- Miller, Patrick B. "The Manly, the Moral, and the Proficient: College Sport in the New South," *Journal of Sport History* 24, no. 3 (1997): 285-316.
- Mills, Charles W. "White Supremacy," in *The Routledge Companion to Philosophy of Race*, eds. Paul Taylor, Linda Alcoff, and Luvell Anderson (New York: Routledge, 2017), 475-487.
- Mills, Charles W. *The Racial Contract*. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2014).
- Mitchell, Tania D. "Critical Service-Learning as Social Justice Education: A Case Study of the Citizen Scholars Program," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 40, no. 2 (2007): 101-112.

- Moore, John Hammond. *Columbia and Richland County: A South Carolina Community, 1740-1990* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).
- Morrison, Debb, Annamma, Subini Ancy, and Jackson, Darrell D. eds., *Critical Race Spatial Analysis: Mapping to Understand and Address Educational Inequity* (Sterling: Stylus, 2017).
- Mullins, Paul R. "Racializing the Commonplace Landscape: An Archaeology of Urban Renewal along the Color Line," *World Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (2006): 60-71.
- Mullins, Paul R. and Jones, Lewis C. "Race, Displacement, and Twentieth-Century University Landscapes: An Archaeology of Urban Renewal and Urban Universities," In *The Materiality of Freedom: Archaeologies of Postemancipation Life*, ed. Jodi A. Barnes (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011): 250-262.
- Munslow, Alun. *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
- "NAIA," accessed May 2, 2023, https://www.naia.org/conferences/files/2022-23_NAIA_Schools_By_Conference.pdf.
- National Association for Sport and Physical Education. *Moving into the Future: National Standards for Physical Education* (St. Louis: Mosby, 2004).
- "National Register Listing: Booker T. Washington High School Auditorium," *SC Historic Properties Record*, accessed September 30, 2022, <https://schpr.sc.gov/index.php/Detail/properties/47716>.
- National Research Council, *Colleges of Agriculture at the Land Grant Universities: A Profile* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1995).
- National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, "A Crucible Moment: College Learning and Democracy's Future," *Association of American Colleges & Universities*, published 2012, accessed March 20, 2015, http://www.aacu.org/sites/default/files/files/crucible/Crucible_508F.pdf.
- NCAA, *Division I Manual*, Article 20.
- NCAA, *Report on the Sportsmanship and Fan Behavior Summit*, published 2003, <http://www.ncaa.org/sportsmanshipFanBehavior/report.pdf>.
- "Nearly One-Third of Americans Say They Would Not Let Their Son Play Football," *PRRI*, published December 13, 2018, <https://www.prri.org/research/poll-football-dangers-concussion-america-favorite-sport/>.

Nelson, Robert K., LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, and Edward L. Ayers. "Mapping inequality: Redlining in new deal America." *American Panorama: An Atlas of United States History*. University of Richmond: Digital Scholarship Lab 17 (2020): 19. Accessed November 10, 2022, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/>.

"New Natatorium to Open Friday," *The Daily Gamecock*, July 10, 1975.

"No UFO is this Bird," *The State*, June 29, 1968, 13.

"'Nothing Definitive' Yet: Holderman Details Offer To McGuire," *The Columbia Record*, 16.

Office of Institutional Research, Assessment, and Analytics, Student Headcount/FTE Report (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2022).

Oral history interview with Charles Whitten, March 7, 2013, Interview 30, *University History Interviews*, South Carolina Oral History Collection, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

Oriad (1995), as cited in Tutka and Seifried, "An Innovation Diffusion."

Osburn (2019), as cited in Hextrum, "Operation Varsity Blues."

"Overview," *NCAA*, accessed October 20, 2022, <https://www.ncaa.org/sports/2021/2/16/overview.aspx>.

Parks, Virginia, and Dorian Warren. "The politics and practice of economic justice: Community benefits agreements as tactic of the new accountable development movement." *Journal of Community Practice* 17, no. 1-2 (2009): 88-106.

"Participatory Action Research," Carleton University, accessed February 10, 2023, <https://participatoryactionresearch.sites.carleton.edu/about-par/>.

"Pastor Charges Renewal is Not 'Isolated Incident,'" *The Daily Gamecock*, October 25, 1968.

Patel, Leigh. *Decolonizing Educational Research: From Ownership to Answerability* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

Patel, Sheela, d'Cruz, Celine, and Burra, Sundar "Beyond Evictions in a Global City: People-Managed Resettlement in Mumbai," *Environment and Urbanization* 14, no. 1 (2002): 159-172.

Patton, Lori D. "Disrupting Postsecondary Prose: Toward a Critical Race Theory of Higher Education," *Urban Education* 51, no. 3 (2016): 315-342.

- Patton, Lori D., Marylu McEwen, Laura Rendón, and Mary F. Howard-Hamilton, "Critical Race Perspectives on Theory in Student Affairs," *New Directions for Student Services* 2007, no. 120 (2007): 39-53.
- Patton, Michael Q. "Qualitative Research" in *Encyclopedia of Statistics in Behavioral Science* (New York: Wiley, 2005).
- Peachey, Jon Welty and Bruening, Jennifer. "Are Your Values Mine? Exploring the Influence of Value Congruence on Responses to Organizational Change in a Division I Intercollegiate Athletics Department," *Journal of Intercollegiate Sport* 5, no. 2 (2012): 127-152.
- Perry, David and Villamizar-Duarte. "Universities as Urban Anchor Institutions and the Social Contract in the Developed World," in *Anchored in Place: Rethinking the University and Development in South Africa*, eds. Leslie Bank, Nico Cloete, and Francois van Schalkwyk (Capetown: African Minds, 2018), 23-41.
- Perry, David C. and Wiewel, Wim. *The University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis: Case Studies and Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 2015).
- Pink (2007), as cited in Tuck and McKenzie, *Place in Research*.
- Ponterotto, Joseph G. "Qualitative Research in Counseling Psychology: A Primer on Research Paradigms and Philosophy of Science," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52, no. 2 (2005): 126.
- Pope, Devin G., and Jaren C. Pope. "The impact of college sports success on the quantity and quality of student applications." *Southern Economic Journal* 75, no. 3 (2009): 750-780.
- Pope, Steven W. "Amateurism and American Sports Culture: The Invention of an Athletic Tradition in the United States, 1870–1900," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 3 (1996): 290-309.
- "Postmasters by City," *USPS*, accessed March 20, 2023, <https://about.usps.com/who/profile/history/postmaster-finder/postmasters-by-city.htm>.
- Pounds, Diana. "Land Grant Hunt is On. Check the Map," *Inside Iowa State*, published February 2, 2017, <http://www.inside.iastate.edu/article/2017/02/02/landgrant>.
- Powell, John A. and Spencer, Marguerite L. "Giving Them the Old One-Two: Gentrification and the KO of Impoverished Urban Dwellers of Color," *Howard Law Journal* 46 (2002): 433-490.

- Pride II, Hemphill. personal communication, February 24, 2023.
- Pritchett, Wendell E. "The 'Public Menace' of Blight: Urban Renewal and the Private Uses of Eminent Domain," *Yale Law & Policy Review* 21, no. 1 (2003): 1-52.
- "Project H.E.R.E.," accessed March 30, 2023, <https://projectthere.givepulse.com/about>.
- Puckett, John L. and Lloyd, Mark Frazier. "Penn's Great Expansion: Postwar Urban Renewal and the Alliance between Private Universities and the Public Sector," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 137, no. 4 (2013): 381-430.
- Pulliam, John D. and Van Patten, James J. *History of Education in America*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Merrill, 1995).
- Purifoy, Danielle M. and Seamster, Louise. "Creative Extraction: Black Towns in White Space," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 39, no. 1 (2021): 47-66.
- Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).
- Putz, Paul Emory. "Tracing the Historical Contours of Black Muscular Christianity and American Sport," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 39, no. 4 (2022): 404-424.
- Ramaley, Judith. "Embracing Civic Responsibility," *AAHE Bulletin* (2000).
- Redfern II, James. personal communication, January 24, 2023.
- Reeves, Anna-Kay. "Expansion and Impact: Austin's Community First! Village Strengthens Fight against Homelessness," *The Daily Texan*, November 12, 2018, <https://thedailytexan.com/2018/11/12/expansion-and-impact-austins-community-first-village-strengthens-fight-against/>.
- Reilly, Brenna. "Church Draws upon Its Roots," *The State*, August 8, 1996.
- Renick, Timothy D. "Solomon Blatt: A Segregationist in Moderation?" in *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, ed. Peter Becker (Columbia: South Carolina Historical Association, 1991), 61-68.
- Richey, Staci Leanne. "Variations on a Theme: Planning for the Elimination of Black Neighborhoods in Downtown Columbia, South Carolina, 1905-1970," (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 2004).
- Richey, Staci and Brandt, Lydia Mattice. *Columbia Downtown Historic Resource Survey* (Columbia: South Carolina State Library, 2021).

Richland Public Library Census Records.

Rickes, Persis C. "Make Way for Millennials! How Today's Students are Shaping Higher Education Space," *Planning for Higher Education* 37, no. 2 (2009): 7.

Robinson, Cedric J. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

Robinson, Nicholas A. *Community Benefits Agreements and the Limits of Institutional Citizenship in Urban Redevelopment* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 2022).

Roper, Carolyn D. and Hirth, Marilyn A. "A History of Change in the Third Mission of Higher Education: The Evolution of One-Way Service to Interactive Engagement," *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 10, no. 3 (2005): 3-21.

Rose, Deondra. "The Morrill Land Grant Acts and the Roots of Higher Educational Opportunity for African-Americans" (Presentation, Annual Meeting of the International Public Policy Association, 2017).

Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright, 2017).

Rowlinson, Michael, Hassard, John, and Decker, Stephanie. "Research Strategies for Organizational History: A Dialogue between Historical Theory and Organization Theory," *Academy of Management Review* 39, no. 3 (2014): 250-274

"Russell Athletic History," *Russell Athletic*, accessed April 11, 2023, <https://www.russellathletic.com/history>.

Sack, Allen L., Singh, Parbudyal, and Thiel, Robert "Occupational Segregation on the Playing Field: The Case of Major League Baseball," *Journal of Sport Management* 19, no. 3 (2005): 300-318.

Saldaña, Johnny. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2021).

Salkin, Patricia and Lavine, Amy. "Community Benefits Agreements and Comprehensive Planning: Balancing Community Empowerment and the Police Power," *Journal of Law and Policy* 1, no. 4 (2009): 18.

Saltmarsh, John and Hartley, Matthew. eds. *"To Serve a Larger Purpose": Engagement for Democracy and the Transformation of Higher Education* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011).

- Scholz, John T. and Wang, Cheng-Lung, "Cooptation or Transformation? Local Policy Networks and Federal Regulatory Enforcement," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 1 (2006): 81-97.
- Schwartz, Sarah. "Map: Where Critical Race Theory Is under Attack," *Education Week*, published March 23, 2023, <https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/map-where-critical-race-theory-is-under-attack/2021/06>.
- Seawright, Gardner. "Settler Traditions of Place: Making Explicit the Epistemological Legacy of White Supremacy and Settler Colonialism for Place-Based Education," *Educational Studies* 50, no. 6 (2014): 554-572.
- Sefa Dei, George J. "The Denial of Difference: Refraining Anti-Racist Praxis," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 2, no. 1 (1999): 17-38.
- "Segregation Scholarships," *Bentley Historical Library*, accessed April 9, 2023, <https://bentley.umich.edu/news-events/news/segregations-scholarships-and-the-african-american-student-project/>.
- "Senators Donate Tickets to Area Underprivileged," *The Daily Gamecock*, February 22, 1973.
- Seifried, Chad S. "Peer Reviewing Historical Research for Sport Management: It's Not Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Sport Management* 18, no. 4 (2017): 461-487.
- Seifried, Chad and Bolton, Clay. "The University of South Carolina Football Stadia through the Founding of Williams-Brice Stadium," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* (2017): 289-316.
- Serrano, Carlos. "Schooling in the University Town: The Racial Capitalist Foundations of Education." *Antipode* 55, no. 2 (2022): 599-619.
- "SG Official Raps Campus Expansion," *The Daily Gamecock*, May 28, 1969.
- Shearer, Lee. "Linnentown: Just One of Many Black Communities Erased by Urban Renewal," *Athens Banner-Herald*, published February 22, 2020, accessed November 19, 2022, <https://www.onlineathens.com/story/news/education/2020/02/22/linnentown-just-one-of-many-black-communities-erased-by-urban-renewal/1657328007/>.
- Sherry, Barbara. "Universities as Developers: An International Conversation," *Land Lines* 17, no. 1 (2005): 11-13.
- Silver, Harold. "'Things Change but Names Remain the Same': Higher Education Historiography 1975-2000," *History of Education* 35, no. 1 (2006): 121-140.

- Silverman, Robert Mark, Lewis, Jade, Patterson, Kelly L. "William Worthy's Concept of 'Institutional Rape' Revisited: Anchor Institutions and Residential Displacement in Buffalo, NY," *Humanity & Society* 38, no. 2 (2014): 158-181.
- Simkins, Modjeska M. "A Protest Against the 1969 Award Being Given to Columbia," November 1, 1969, Manuscripts of the Richland County Citizen's Committee, Folder 4, South Caroliniana Library.
- Simkins, Monteith. Manuscripts of the Richland County.
- Simkins, Monteith. Manuscripts of the Richland County, Folder 4.
- Slaughter, Sheila A. and Rhoades, Gary. *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).
- "Slum Clearance: 1932–1952," *CQ Researcher*, accessed May 15, 2023, <https://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre1952112200>
- Smith, Paul. *Primitive America: The Ideology of Capitalist Democracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).
- "Sociology of Sport," *University of Northern Iowa*, accessed February 4, 2023, <https://sites.uni.edu/greenr/soc/sportsoc.htm>.
- "South Carolina Gamecocks Index: College Basketball at Sports," *Sports Reference*, accessed December 17, 2022, <https://www.sports-reference.com/cbb/schools/south-carolina/>.
- "South Carolina vs. Tennessee Post Game Notes," *Gamecocks Online*, accessed February 20, 2023, https://storage.googleapis.com/gamecocksonline-com/2022/11/3acc1682-11_tenn_postgamenotes.pdf.
- "Special Collection," *Society of American Archivists*, accessed October 14, 2022, <https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/special-collection.html>.
- Squire, Dian, Williams, Bianca C. and Tuitt, Frank. "Plantation Politics and Neoliberal Racism in Higher Education: A Framework for Reconstructing Anti-Racist Institutions," *Teachers College Record* 120, no. 14 (2018): 1-20.
- Stake, Robert E. *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1995).
- Stebbleton and Alexio (2015), as cited in Candice Shields Fleming Powell, "Black (Counter-) Storytelling at an HWCU: Students and Personnel Coping with Racial Tension in 2020," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2021).

- Stein, Sharon. "A Colonial History of the Higher Education Present: Rethinking Land-Grant Institutions through Processes of Accumulation and Relations of Conquest," *Critical Studies in Education* 61, no. 2 (2020): 212-228.
- Stewart, Alistair. "Whose Place, Whose History? Outdoor Environmental Education Pedagogy as 'Reading' the Landscape," *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning* 8, no. 2 (2008): 79-98.
- Suggs, Ernie and Stirgus, Eric. "Former Residents of Black Neighborhood in Athens Seek Redress for Razing of Homes," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, published October 29, 2021. <https://www.ajc.com/news/former-residents-of-black-neighborhood-seek-redress-for-razing-of-homes/5RPRHKBKOBICIJLT05CLKXCZCXU/>.
- Suggs, Welch. "A Look at the Future Bottom Line of Big-Time Sports," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 46, no. 12 (1999).
- Symington, Alison. "Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice," *Women's Rights and Economic Change* 9, no. 1-8 (2004): 1-8.
- Talen, Emily. "Housing Demolition during Urban Renewal," *City & Community* 13, no. 3 (2014): 233-253.
- Teaford, Jon C. "Urban Renewal and its Aftermath," *Housing Policy Debate* 11, no. 2 (2000): 443-465.
- Teel, David and Fairbank, Dave. "Construction Boom While Colleges Spend Millions of Dollars to Upgrade Their Athletic Facilities, Academic Departments Face Budget Cuts," *Daily Press*, December 16, 2001.
- Telander, Rick. *The Hundred Yard Lie: The Corruption of College Football and What We Can Do to Stop It* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1989).
- "Tennessee vs. South Carolina - College Football Game Summary - November 19, 2022," *ESPN*, accessed February 11, 2023, https://www.espn.com/college-football/game/_/gameId/401403953.
- Terry, George D. *The Bridge Builder: Solomon Blatt Reflects on a Lifetime of Service to South Carolina* (Columbia: Solomon Blatt Papers, South Carolina Political Collections, 1986).
- The Gamecock*, December 11, 1970.

- “The 14th Amendment and the Evolution of Title IX,” U.S. Courts, accessed April 10, 2023, <https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/14th-amendment-and-evolution-title-ix>.
- “The Constitution of the State of South Carolina 1895,” *South Carolina State House*, accessed November 20, 2022, <https://www.scstatehouse.gov/scconstitution/SCConstitution.pdf>.
- “The Idea of America,” *Pulitzer Center*, accessed March 17, 2023, https://pulitzercenter.org/sites/default/files/the_idea_of_america_full_essay.pdf.
- “The Most Watched and Loved College Leagues in the USA: Sports Economist,” *The Sports Economist*, December 15, 2022, <https://thesportseconomist.com/the-most-watched-and-loved-college-leagues-in-the-usa/>.
- “The Top 5 Universities Undergoing Expansion,” *BCI BuildCentral*, March 18, 2020, <https://www.buildcentral.com/the-top-5-universities-undergoing-expansion/>.
- Thomas-El, Shawwna Laureen “*In My Neighborhood, But Not for Me*”: *Long-Standing African American Residents’ Perceptions of Gentrification, Anchor Institution Expansion and the Paradox of Civic Engagement* (Philadelphia: Drexel University, 2019).
- Thompson, Dorothy P. “Wheeler Hill and Other Poems” (University of South Carolina, 1987).
- “Title VI, Civil Rights Act of 1964,” *U.S. Department of Labor*, accessed November 20, 2022, <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/oasam/regulatory/statutes/title-vi-civil-rights-act-of-1964>.
- “Tools & Resources,” *University of South Carolina*, accessed October 14, 2022, https://sc.edu/about/offices_and_divisions/university_libraries/browse/south_caroliniana/index.php.
- Torre, María Elena, Fine, Michelle, Stoudt, Brett G. and Fox, Madeline. “Critical Participatory Action Research as Public Science,” in *Research Designs: Quantitative, Qualitative, Neuropsychological, and Biological*, eds. Harris Cooper et al. (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2012), 171-184.
- Torres, Gerald and Milun, Kathryn. “Translating Yonnonndio by Precedent and Evidence: The Mashpee Indian Case,” *Duke Law Journal* 1990, no. 4 (1990): 625-659.
- Trail, Galen and Chelladurai, Packianathan. “Perceptions of Intercollegiate Athletic Goals and Processes: The Influence of Personal Values,” *Journal of Sport Management* 16, no. 4 (2002): 289-310.

- Trochim, William M. K. and. Donnelly, James P. Research Methods Knowledge Base, Vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 2001).
- Tsitsos, William and Nixon, Howard L. “The Star Wars Arms Race in College Athletics: Coaches’ Pay and Athletic Program Status,” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 36, no. 1 (2012): 68-88.
- Tuck, Eve and Guishard, Monique. “Uncollapsing Ethics: Racialized Sciencism, Settler Coloniality, and an Ethical Framework of Decolonial Participatory Action Research,” in *Challenging Status Quo Retrenchment: New Directions in Critical Qualitative Research*, eds. Tricia M. Kress, Curry Malott, and Brad J. Porfilio (Charlotte: Information Age, 2013), 3-27.
- Tuck, Eve and McKenzie, Marcia. *Place in Research: Theory, Methodology, and Methods* (New York: Routledge, 2014).
- Tutka, Patrick and Seifried, Chad. “An Innovation Diffusion Ideal-Type on the History of American College Football Stadia,” *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics* 13 (2020): 312-336.
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Major Legislation on Housing and Urban Development Enacted Since 1932*, published June 2014, https://www.hud.gov/sites/documents/LEGS_CHRON_JUNE2014.PDF.
- United States Housing Act of 1937, 42 U.S.C. § 1401 (1970).
- University History, February 18, 2021.
- “University of Richmond, Robins Center,” *Richmond Region Tourism*, accessed December 17, 2022, <https://www.visitrichmondva.com/listing/university-of-richmond-robins-center/1440/>.
- “University Seeks Purchase of Washington High School,” *The Daily Gamecock*, March 28, 1974.
- University of South Carolina Archives, Carolina Coliseum, 6-7.
- USA Today Sports (2017), as cited in Willis A. Jones and Mike Rudolph, “Are Rising Athletics Allocations Associated with Student Costs: Evidence from Public NCAA Division I Universities,” *Higher Education Politics & Economics* 6, no. 1 (2020): 56-80.
- USC Archives, Coliseum, Box 7.
- USC Archives, Frank McGuire to Thomas Faris, September 24, 1968, Location of Basketball Offices.

USC Archives, Harold Brunton, 1966.

USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 29.

USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Box 30-Q6-Q18, 1968-1983.

USC Archives, Harold Brunton, Urban Renewal, Box 27.

USC Archives, President William Patterson, Box 6, 1976-1977.

USC Archives, Records-Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1968-1969.

USC Archives, Records-Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

USC Archives, Robert Sumwalt, Box 1, 1959-1960.

USC Archives, Student Affairs: Student Activities, Office of the President Thomas F. Jones, Box 6 (1970-1971).

USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, 1966.

USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, Faculty Meeting Minutes, February 1, 1967.

USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, Faculty Minutes, February 7, 1968.

USC Archives, Terrance Terrill, Faculty Minutes, March 6, 1968.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, 1963.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 2, 1963-1964; "Code of Laws of South Carolina 1952, Annotated," accessed April 26, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/codeoflawsofsout03sout/page/380/mode/2up>.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1966-1967.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1968-1969.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 4, 1970-1971.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1967-1968.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 5, 1969-1970.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 6, 1968-1969.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 7, 1968-1969.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 7, 1969-1970.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 8, 1965-1966.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Box 8, 1970-1971.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, Supplemental Agreement, Box 4, 1970.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, USC PE Center Ad Hoc Advisory Committee, Box 8, 1970-1971.

USC Archives, Thomas Jones, USC Physical Education Facilities History, Box 8, 1970-1971.

USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, 1969 Ad Hoc Committee, Report to the General Faculty No. 1.

USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, Faculty Minutes, January 10, 1968.

USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, Faculty Minutes, July 17, 1968.

USC Archives, Thomas Terrill, Faculty Minutes, October 29, 1970.

USC Archives, Vice President of Operations, 1954-1989, Box 30.

USC Archives, Vice President of Operations, Harold Brunton, Box 30.

USC Archives, Vice President of Operations, SCU-SCL-UA-005.

USC Archives, William Patterson, A-Depts-D, Box 1, 1963-1964.

USC Archives, William Patterson, Box 2, 1975-1976.

USC Archives, William Patterson, Box 6, 1976-1977.

“USC/Columbia Technology Incubator,” University of South Carolina, accessed May 2, 2023, https://sc.edu/about/offices_and_divisions/economic_engagement/engage-with-us/government/index.php.

- Vaught, Sabrina. "Institutional Racist Melancholia: A Structural Understanding of Grief and Power in Schooling," *Harvard Educational Review* 82, no. 1 (2012): 52-77.
- Vedder, Richard. et al., *25 Ways to Reduce the Cost of College* (Washington, DC: Center for College Affordability and Productivity, 2010).
- Veracini, Lorenzo. "Introducing: Settler Colonial Studies," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011): 1-12.
- Wade, Amy and Demb, Ada. "A Conceptual Model to Explore Faculty Community Engagement," *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning* 15, no. 2 (2009): 5-16.
- "Walker Local and Family History Center," *Richland Library*, accessed October 14, 2022, <https://www.richlandlibrary.com/local-history>.
- Walker, J. Samuel and Roberts, Randy. *The Road to Madness: How the 1973-1974 Season Transformed College Basketball* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).
- Walters, Brad. "Russell House Expansion to Follow Wellness Center Construction," *The Gamecock*, March 15, 1999.
- Webb, Greg senior vice president/general manager, Universal Cheerleading Association; interview by Natalie Adams, tape recording, Memphis, Tennessee, June 24, 2002, as cited in Natalie Guice Adams and Pamela Jean Bettis, *Cheerleader!: An American Icon* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2015).
- Webber, Henry S. and Karlstrom, Mikael. *Why Community Investment is Good for Nonprofit Anchor Institutions: Understanding Costs, Benefits, and the Range of Strategic Options* (Chicago: Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago, 2009).
- Webster, Dominic. "Tennessee Football Games Bring Big Economic Boost to Knoxville," *WATE 6*, published September 15, 2022, accessed November 12, 2022, <https://www.wate.com/news/knox-county-news/tennessee-football-games-bring-big-economic-boost-to-knoxville/>.
- Weight, Erianne A., Coyte Cooper, and Nels K. Popp. "The coach-educator: NCAA Division I coach perspectives about an integrated university organizational structure." *Journal of Sport Management* 29, no. 5 (2015): 510-522.
- Wertz (2000), as cited in Craig S. Johnson, "The Self-Sufficiency of Auxiliary Enterprises in Higher Education," (PhD diss., Arkansas State University, 2011).
- West, Elizabeth. personal communication, October 19, 2022.

- “Which Sources of the Past are Viewed as Trustworthy?” *American Historical Association*, accessed October 16, 2022, <https://www.historians.org/research-and-publications/history-the-past-and-public-culture-results-from-a-national-survey/4-which-sources-of-the-past-are-viewed-as-trustworthy>.
- Whitten, Charles. Interview 30, The South Carolina Oral History Collection.
- Whitten, Charles. Interview 35, The South Carolina Oral History Collection.
- Wiewel, Wim, Kunst, Kara, and Dubicki R., *University Real Estate Development: Campus Expansion in Urban Settings* (Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2007).
- Wiginton, Jeffrey S. “Urban Universities’ Campus Expansion Projects in the 21st Century: A Case Study of the University of Southern California’s ‘Village at USC’ Project and its Potential Economic and Social Impacts on its Local Community to Provide a Template for Future Expansion Projects,” (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013).
- Wildman, Stephanie M. “Reflections on Whiteness and Latina/o Critical Theory,” *Harvard Latino Law Review* 2 (1997): 307-316.
- Williams, Bianca C., Squire, Dian D., and Tuitt, Frank A. eds., *Plantation Politics and Campus Rebellions: Power, Diversity, and the Emancipatory Struggle in Higher Education* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2021).
- Williams, Teona. “For ‘Peace, Quiet, and Respect’: Race, Policing, and Land Grabbing on Chicago’s South Side,” *Antipode* 53, no. 2 (2021): 497-523.
- Winkeller, Mark Joel. *University Expansion in Urban Neighborhoods: An Exploratory Analysis* (Waltham: Brandeis University, 1971).
- Winling, LaDale. “Students and the Second Ghetto: Federal Legislation, Urban Politics, and Campus Planning at the University of Chicago,” *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 1 (2011): 59-86.
- Wolfe, Patrick. “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387-409.
- Wolf-Powers, Laura. “Community Benefits Agreements and Local Government: A Review of Recent Evidence,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 76, no. 2 (2010): 141-159.
- Wood, Leanne M., Sebar, Bernadette and Vecchio, Nerina. “Application of Rigour and Credibility in Qualitative Document Analysis: Lessons Learnt from a Case Study,” *The Qualitative Report* 25, no. 2 (2020): 456-470.

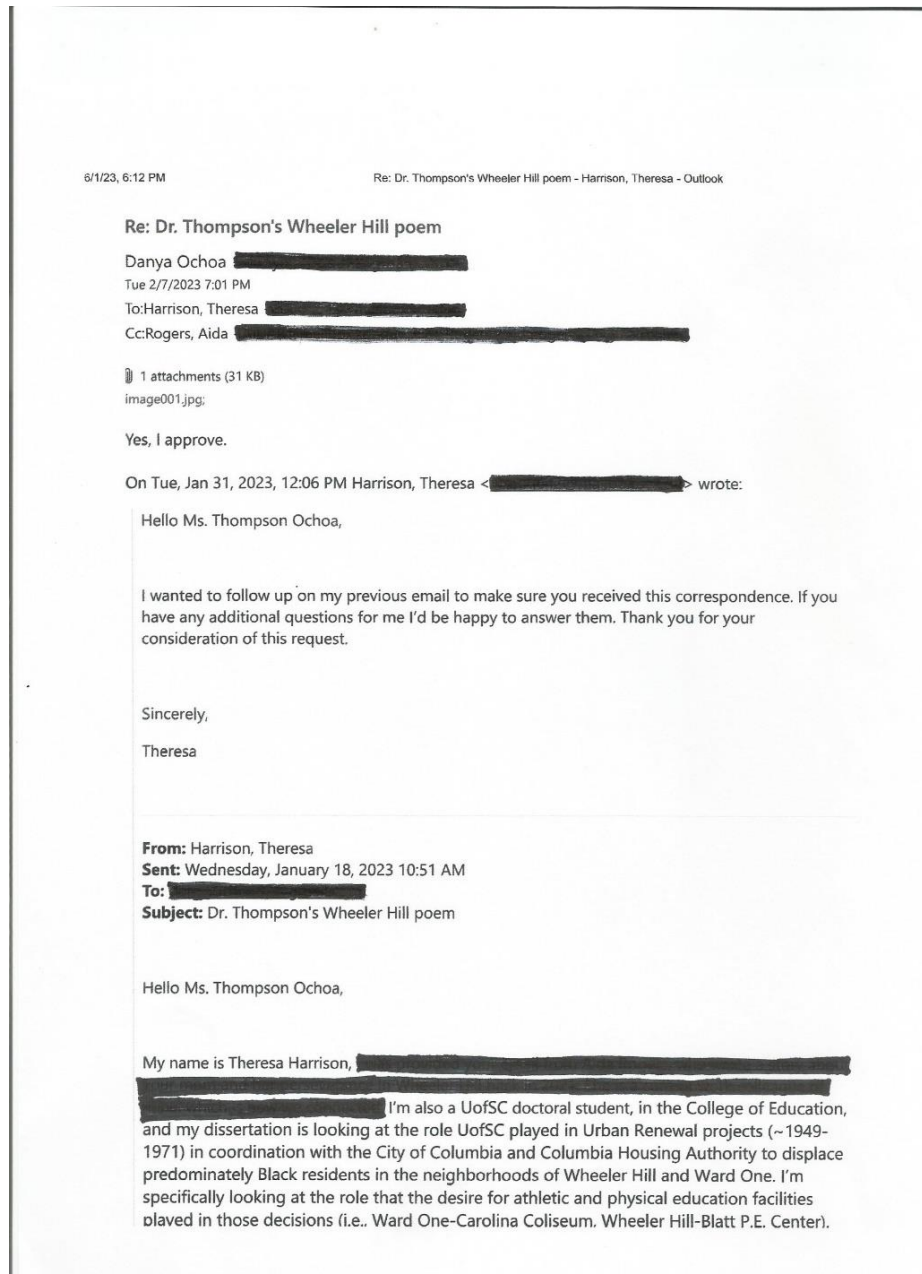
Wright, William D. *Black History and Black Identity: A Call for a New Historiography* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002).

Yang, Wayne K. *A Third University is Possible* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2009).

“YMCA of Columbia Celebrates 100 Years on Sumter Street,” *YMCA Columbia*, published December 8, 2011, <https://columbiaymca.org/ymca-of-columbia-celebrates-100-years-on-sumter-street>.

APPENDIX A: PERMISSION TO REPRINT



6/1/23, 6:12 PM

Re: Dr. Thompson's Wheeler Hill poem - Harrison, Theresa - Outlook

I would like to include an excerpt from Dr. Thompson's poem included in her doctoral dissertation entitled *Wheeler Hill and Other Poems*.

"Everything's serious now
Wish I could go back to the time
When we laughed all over Barnwell Street
'Cause Tank tore his pant
When he tried to climb the fence
To see what the white folks were doing
In those big, brick houses on the other side.
They had a sign on our side.
KEEP OUT, it read And we did..."[1]

[REDACTED]

I would like to formally request to use this excerpt in my dissertation. If you need any additional context about my dissertation or would like to talk/meet with me in order to give your consent I would be happy to do so. I appreciate your consideration of this request, thank you!

Sincerely,

Theresa

—

Theresa Harrison, M.S. & M.P.A.
Project Manager
she/her/hers

[REDACTED]

<https://cfec.sc.gov/> | @CarolinaFamily2

Carolina Family Engagement Center
College of Education

Figure A.1 Permission to reprint

APPENDIX B: POWER FIVE CONFERENCE MEMBERS¹⁰³⁴

Name	Conference	Type	Surplus
Boston College	ACC	Private	
Clemson	ACC	Public	
Duke University	ACC	Private	
Florida State University	ACC	Public	
Georgia Institute of Technology	ACC	Public	
North Carolina State University	ACC	Public	
Syracuse University	ACC	Private	
University of Louisville	ACC	Public	\$140,867,112
University of Miami (Florida)	ACC	Private	
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	ACC	Public	
University of Pittsburgh	ACC	Public	
University of Virginia	ACC	Public	
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University	ACC	Public	
Wake Forest University	ACC	Private	
Baylor University	Big 12	Private	
Iowa State University	Big 12	Public	
Kansas State University	Big 12	Public	
Oklahoma State University	Big 12	Public	
Texas Christian University	Big 12	Private	
Texas Tech University	Big 12	Public	
University of Kansas	Big 12	Public	

¹⁰³⁴ USA Today from <https://sports.usatoday.com/ncaa/finances>

University of Oklahoma	Big 12	Public	\$159,116,745
University of Texas at Austin	Big 12	Public	\$200,772,813
West Virginia University	Big 12	Public	
Indiana University Bloomington	Big Ten	Public	
Michigan State University	Big Ten	Public	
Northwestern University	Big Ten	Private	
Pennsylvania State University	Big Ten	Public	\$165,077,390
Purdue University	Big Ten	Public	
Rutgers, The State of University of New Jersey, New Brunswick	Big Ten	Public	
The Ohio State University	Big Ten	Public	\$233,871,740
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign	Big Ten	Public	
University of Iowa	Big Ten	Public	\$145,636,544
University of Maryland, College Park	Big Ten	Public	
University of Michigan	Big Ten	Public	\$192,403,168
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	Big Ten	Public	
University of Nebraska, Lincoln	Big Ten	Public	\$133,629,080
University of Wisconsin-Madison	Big Ten	Public	\$148,198,907
Arizona State University	Pac-12	Public	
Oregon State University	Pac-12	Public	
Stanford University	Pac-12	Private	
University of Arizona	Pac-12	Public	
University of California, Berkeley	Pac-12	Public	
University of California, Los Angeles	Pac-12	Public	
University of Colorado, Boulder	Pac-12	Public	
University of Oregon	Pac-12	Public	\$391,769,609

University of Southern California	Pac-12	Private	
University of Utah	Pac-12	Public	
University of Washington	Pac-12	Public	\$137,573,939
Washington State University	Pac-12	Public	
Auburn University	SEC	Public	\$153,703,749
Louisiana State University	SEC	Public	\$160,433,475
Mississippi State University	SEC	Public	
Texas A&M University, College Station	SEC	Public	\$166,736,120
University of Alabama	SEC	Public	\$189,282,549
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	SEC	Public	
University of Florida	SEC	Public	\$174,950,823
University of Georgia	SEC	Public	\$179,295,904
University of Kentucky	SEC	Public	\$146,150,480
University of Mississippi	SEC	Public	
University of Missouri, Columbia	SEC	Public	
University of South Carolina, Columbia	SEC	Public	\$133,011,012*
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	SEC	Public	\$140,335,769
Vanderbilt University	SEC	Private	

*Broke even.

Figure B. 1 Power Five Conference members

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide

Researcher will introduce herself and thank the participant for speaking with her.

Researcher will review the consent form and offer an opportunity for the participant to ask questions.

Researcher will explain that this is a facilitated conversation, and that the participant should respond with as much information as they feel comfortable sharing. Researcher will underscore that she is interested in their experiences and there are no right or wrong answers.

Introduction

“Please introduce yourself, including your name, the address of the home or business you previously resided in that was displaced because of university expansion, and approximately how long you lived at that address.”

Topic Areas

1. As a resident of [Ward One or Wheeler Hill], what are your earliest memories and experiences of growing up in that neighborhood?
2. What do you recall about the relationship between USC and the [Ward One or Wheeler Hill] community during urban renewal (1949–1974)?

Probes:

- From your perspective
 - From what you remember of your family’s perspective
3. At the beginning of urban renewal, entities like USC, the City of Columbia, and the housing authority stated that [Ward One would be demolished for a parking lot or

Wheeler Hill would become an affordable mixed-income community]; however, these plans changed and revenue-generating buildings like the Coliseum were built instead, pricing former residents out of their homes.

Probes:

- What was explained to you about the destruction of your neighborhood?
- How did you feel when you saw or heard that the house you had lived in or your business, church, or school you grew up with had been torn down?
- What are your thoughts on the buildings that now stand there and the role the university played in this process?

4. In what ways was the relationship between the university and the city racialized?
5. What feelings do you have about the expansion of USC sports venues, particularly into Communities of Color both past and present (e.g., Ward One, Wheeler Hill, Arthurtown)?
6. What responsibility, if any, do you feel USC has to the displaced residents of the Ward One and Wheeler Hill communities?

Probes:

- Acknowledgement of wrongs or apology
 - Recognition or public history memorial, markers, etc.
 - Financial support (e.g., reparations, scholarships to descendants of displaced)
7. Are you a USC athletics fan? If so, do you find a tension or contradiction in wanting to support the Gamecocks, but also being critical of some of the actions of USC and USC athletics?

8. You agreed to participate in this interview. What about it made you want to participate?
9. Summarize your feelings about USC.
10. Is there anything that you think I should know that I haven't asked?
11. Are there any supporting documents that you would be willing to share (e.g., photos, letters, etc.)?

Thank you for your time today. I appreciate you sharing your feelings and insights.

APPENDIX D: SUMMARY OF CODES

Code	Definition
Concept coding	Concept coding assigns meso or macro levels of meaning to data or to data analytic work in process (e.g., a series of codes or categories). (p. 119)
In vivo coding	In vivo coding refers to a word or short phrase from the actual language found in the qualitative data record, “the terms used by [participants] themselves” (Strauss, 1987, p. 33). (p. 105)
Affective coding	Affective coding methods investigate subjective qualities of human experience (e.g., emotions, values, conflicts, judgments) by directly acknowledging and naming those experiences. (p. 124)
Versus coding	Versus coding acknowledges that humans are frequently in conflict, and the codes identify which individuals, groups, or systems are struggling for power. (p. 136)
Pattern coding	Pattern coding finds relationships between codes and saves the query for future reflection and continued analysis. (p. 236)

Figure D. 1 Summary of Codes

APPENDIX E: URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT NO. 2

TABLE I
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA EXTENSION
URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT NO. 2
OCCUPANTS OF THE PROJECT AREA BY OWNERSHIP, TENANCY, FAMILY SIZE AND INCOME

Monthly Income	Single Pers. over 62		Single Pers. under 62		2 Person Family		3 Person Family		4 Person Family		5 Person Family		6 Person Family		7 Person Family		8 Person Family		9 Person Family		NR	Total Families	
	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T		O	T
Under \$200	0	1	1	6	2	5	1	3	1	3	1	1										3	14
200 - 249						2		1	2	1							1					0	7
250 - 299			1				1		2				4									0	7
300 - 349				1		1		1	1	2	1	1			1		1					0	8
350 - 399						1			1						1							1	2
400 - 449									1													0	1
450 - 499																		1				1	0
500 or more					1	3	1		1		1				1							3	5
Not Reported																						5	5
TOTAL	0	1	2	7	3	13	2	5	2	7	7	6	4	2	1							5	8

O-Owner
T-Tenant
NR-Not Reported

From the collections of the South Caroliniana
Library, University of South Carolina.
Permission to publish required.

f t in

Share with us on social media: @uofscaroliniana

Figure E.1 Urban Renewal Project No. 2

APPENDIX F: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT THOMAS JONES TO CHA
ADMINISTRATOR JOHN CHASE

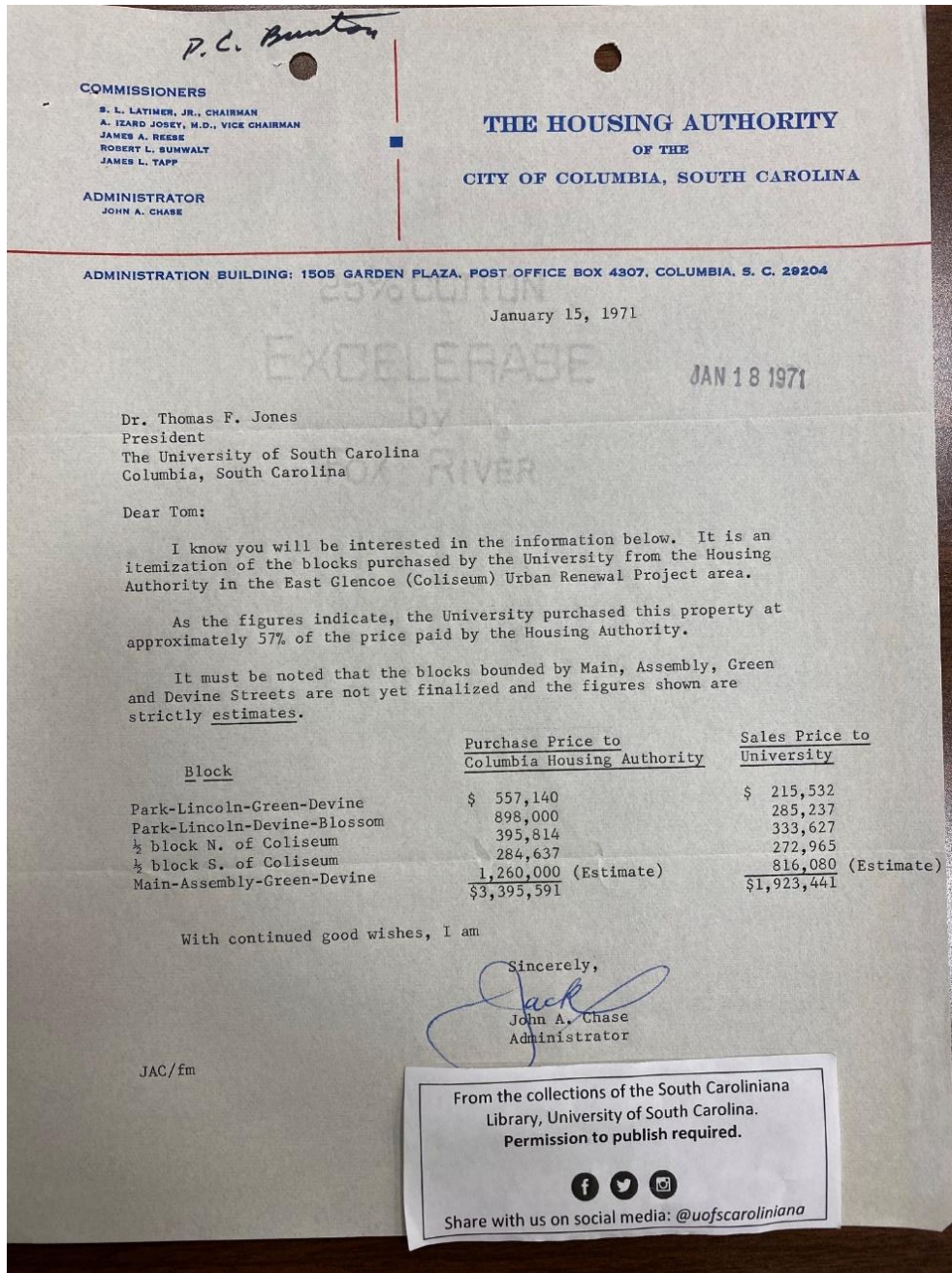


Figure F.1 Letter from President Thomas Jones to CHA administrator John Chase

APPENDIX G: LIST OF WHEELER HILL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

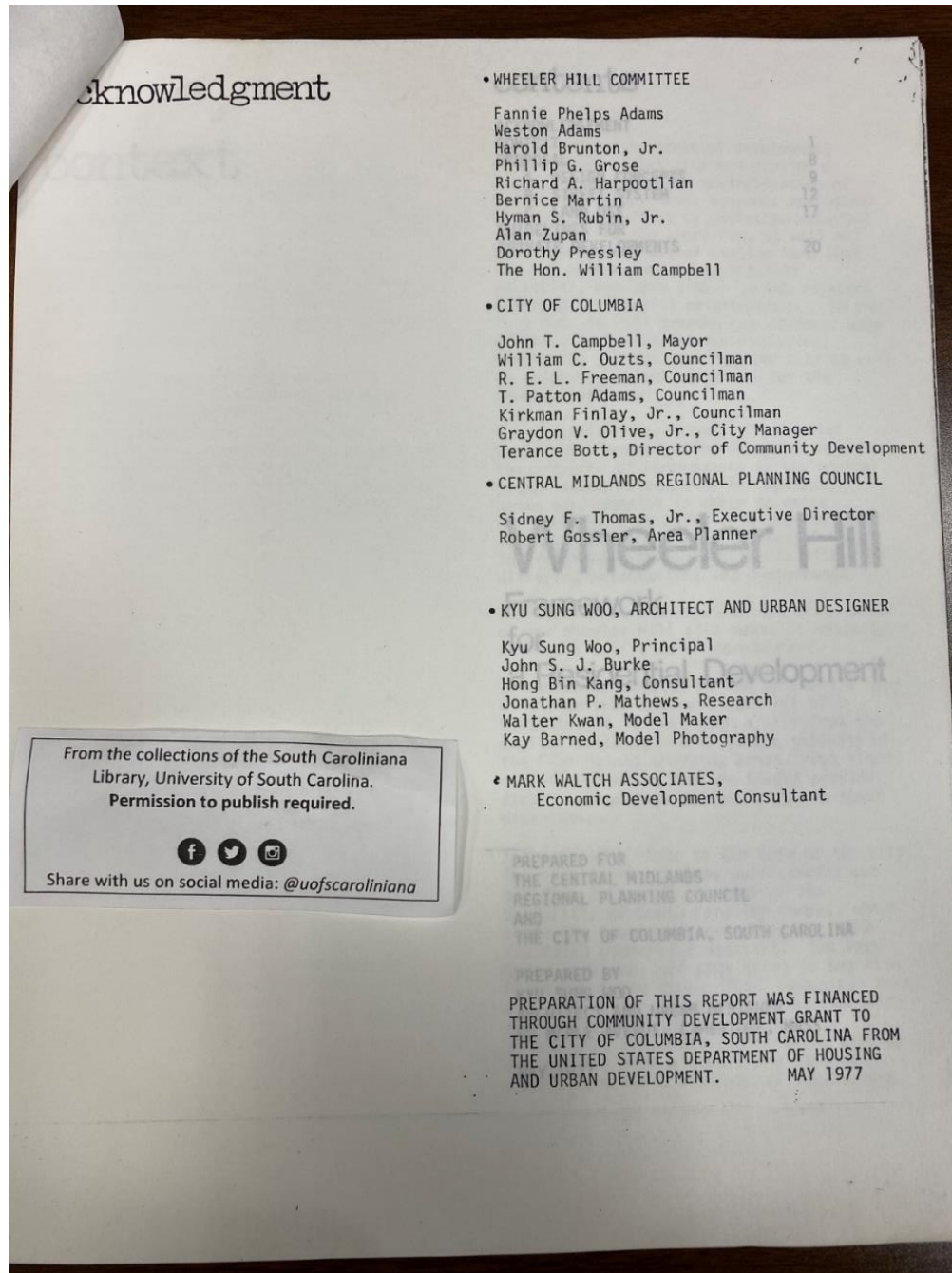


Figure G.1 List of Wheeler Hill Committee Members