

WANDO-HUGER:
A STUDY OF THE IMPACTS OF DEVELOPMENT ON
THE CULTURAL ROLE OF LAND IN
BLACK COMMUNITIES OF
THE SOUTH CAROLINA LOWCOUNTRY

by

Terry Yasuko Ogawa

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Science
(Natural Resources and Environment)
In the University of Michigan
December 2008

Thesis Committee:

Associate Professor Julia Wondolleck, Chair
Professor Bunyan Bryant
Associate Professor Richard Norton

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>SECTION</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
List of Appendices.....	iv
List of Figures.....	iv
List of Tables.....	iv
List of Terms and Abbreviations	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
1.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROJECT	1-1
1.1 Introduction.....	1-1
1.2 A Note on Terminology	1-2
2.0 BACKGROUND TO LAND DEVELOPMENT TRENDS AND WANDO-HUGER	2-1
2.1 History of Place and Land Acquisition	2-1
2.2 The Heirs' Property Conundrum	2-2
2.3 Wando-Huger: The Case Study in Context	2-6
2.4 The Structure of the Planning Process.....	2-8
2.5 Development Pressures	2-11
2.6 Description of Organizations Involved	2-15
3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	3-1
3.1 Overview	3-1
3.2 Settlement Patterns and Historic Memory in Lowcountry Black Communities ...	3-1
3.3 Effects of Development on Place Attachment and Identity	3-4
3.4 Summary and Contributions of the Study	3-6
4.0 METHODS, DATA, AND DISCUSSION.....	4-1
4.1 Participation.....	4-1
4.2 Note on the Author.....	4-3
4.3 Interviews.....	4-3
4.3.1 Methodology.....	4-3
4.3.2 Losses of Heirs' Property and Development	4-5
4.3.2.1 Familial Strife.....	4-6
4.3.2.2 Tax Burdens.....	4-7
4.3.2.3 Roles of Family Hierarchies and Kinship	4-8
4.3.2.4 Fears and Far Away Relatives	4-8
4.3.2.5 Place Identity and Familial History	4-9
4.3.2.6 Opportunistic Outsiders and Unprepared Community Members.....	4-9
4.3.2.7 Commercialization and the Younger Generation.....	4-10
4.3.2.8 Historic Race Dynamics.....	4-12

4.3.2.9	Reasons to Sell and Solutions	4-13
4.3.3	Developmental Impacts	4-14
4.3.3.1	Lifestyle Impacts, Traffic and Safety	4-14
4.3.3.2	Incompatible Uses	4-16
4.3.3.3	Exclusive Decision Making	4-17
4.3.3.4	Crime.....	4-17
4.3.3.5	Environmental and Health Impacts.....	4-17
4.3.3.6	Loss of Common Values	4-18
4.3.3.7	Endangered Landscapes of Freedom	4-19
4.3.4	Relationship with Local Government	4-20
4.3.4.1	Few Opportunities to Participate	4-20
4.3.4.2	Lack of Trust	4-20
4.3.4.3	Internal Community Communication	4-21
4.3.4.4	Win Some, Lose Most.....	4-21
4.3.4.5	Broken Promises	4-22
4.3.4.6	Perceived Favoritism of Newcomers.....	4-23
4.3.5	Community Vision for Future Development.....	4-24
4.3.5.1	Maintain Community Character	4-24
4.3.5.2	Clustered Development and Preservation	4-25
4.3.5.3	Recreation, Aesthetics, Amenities, and Connectivity.....	4-26
4.3.5.4	Transportation.....	4-26
4.3.5.5	Economic Development and Employment.....	4-27
4.3.6	Summary.....	4-28
4.4	Photographic Community Self Analysis.....	4-28
4.4.1	Methodology.....	4-28
4.4.2	Photographic Workshops	4-29
4.4.3	Photographs.....	4-33
4.5	Discussion and Summary	4-40
5.0	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	5-1
5.1	Legislative Solutions	5-2
5.2	Recommendations for Local Agencies and Planners.....	5-3
5.3	Suggestions for Residents of Wando-Huger	5-4
5.4	Thoughts for Developers, New Residents, and Industrial Operators.....	5-6
5.5	Conclusions for Local Service Providers and Organizations	5-6
5.6	Closing Thoughts.....	5-8
5.7	Questions for Further Research	5-9
6.0	REFERENCES	6-1

LIST OF APPENDICES

- A. Interview Protocols and Data Sheets

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1	Heirs' Property in Wando-Huger	2-5
2.2	Map of Wando-Huger Neighborhoods with Traditional Names	2-7
2.3	Map of Wando-Huger Region Including Daniel Island	2-9
2.4	Map of Huger	2-9
2.5	Wando-Huger Region	2-10
2.6	U.S. Census Santee East Planning Area Map	2-13
2.7	Berkeley County Future Land Use Map	2-14
2.8	Wando-Huger Area Zoning Designations	2-18
2.9	Wando-Huger Future Land Use Map	2-19

LIST OF TABLES

4-1	Brainstorm "Community Means"	4-29
4-2	Brainstorm "Impacts of Development"	4-30
4-3	Brainstorm "Wishlist for an Audience for Community Concerns"	4-31
4-4	Brainstorm "Self-identified Photographic Themes"	4-32

LIST OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CCF	Coastal Community Foundation
CDC	Community Development Corporation, usually referring in this work to the Wando-Huger CDC.
CHPP	Center for Heirs' Property Preservation, the non-profit organization that resulted from the work of the HPPP. CHPP is independent of its founding organizations but continues to work in partnership with them.
HPPP	Heirs' Property Preservation Project, a partnership between CCF, the South Carolina Centers for Equal Justice, the Appleseed Center, the South Carolina Bar Foundation, and the Coastal Conservation League
Geechie	<i>see Gullah</i>
Gullah	<p>A term used for the language, the culture, and the descendants of black slaves on rice plantations of the coastal area extending approximately 40 miles inland 250 miles long from Beaufort, North Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida. The language is an English-based Creole with African grammar. "Gullah," as it refers to people, is often used interchangeably with "Geechie." Many academicians distinguish "Gullah" as a South Carolina term and "Geechie" as a Georgia term, but this is incorrect. Many blacks native to South Carolina call themselves Geechie. Neither terms are universally used in self-identification.¹ In some areas of South Carolina, such as St. Helena island, which remains a continuous Gullah area, many people call themselves Gullah, while in Wando-Huger, very few people interviewed under the age of 40 identified themselves as Gullah, but said they were descendants of parents or grandparents who were definitely Gullah. Others said that "Gullah" was a term used by academics and people promoting tourism and self-identified as Geechie. Most agreed that the culture was distinct and considered themselves part of the overall Gullah-Geechie culture. It seems that the name is not as important as the recognition given to this subset of people with common ancestry and therefore a somewhat similar view on their communities. For the purposes of this study, adherence to similar aspects of traditional Gullah-Geechie culture pertaining to land, such as settlement and inheritance patterns, will be used as indicators of Gullah-Geechie identity. For continuity, the term "Gullah-Geechie" refers to the culture and the people, "Gullah" refers to the language, and "Geechie" and "Gullah" are used alone where needed in quotations from interviews.</p>
Lowcountry	Generally understood to be the coastal plain of South Carolina and Georgia, stretching 80 miles inland from the sea islands to the Fall Line, where the flora and fauna change and hills first appear on the way inland to the Blue Ridge Mountains. This area is distinguishable as much by culture as by geographic area, including legacies of the rice plantation culture in demographics and cuisine.

¹ For further reading, please see Guthrie (1996), Jones-Jackson (1987), Mufwene (1997), Pollitzer (1999), and Twining and Baird (1991)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project saw work in South Carolina, Michigan, Utah, Connecticut, and Hawai'i, and there are many people in these places and in beyond whose support must be recognized.

I must firstly thank the residents of Wando and Huger who so generously gave of their time and assistance to help make this study as rich as it is. Ed Carson, Mary Carson, Karolyn Cowden, Fred Lincoln, Laverne Skipper, Stella Smalls, and the sisters of Steed Creek were especially generous with honesty and assistance, and know your voices stayed with me even as I travelled far from you. Ed, I'm sorry you did not live to see this completed, but I know your spirit is somewhere smiling on it. This study would not have been possible without the guidance and assistance of Karimah Moore, Jennie Stephens, and the rest of the staff of the Coastal Community Foundation (CCF) and the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation, all of whom have been the guardians of this project and the Wando-Huger community. Madeline McGhee and Jennie, thank you for taking a chance on me.

I would like to thank my thesis committee, Julia Wondolleck, Richard Norton and Bunyan Bryant, for helping to keep my project manageable and committed to sound analysis. Julia, thank you so much for helping me finish through gentle encouragement and the promise that the light, once out of the tunnel, is much brighter. Dick, thank you for your patience, your caring career advice, and your good humor that makes planning law comprehensible and fun. Bunyan, without you my studies at the University of Michigan would not have been possible; thank you for your optimism, your commitment to justice, and your belief in inclusion, all of which I will carry with me always. Elizabeth Brabec, my original committee chair, made this research topic possible; thank you for friendship, advice, and guidance during its early stages, and best wishes in your new endeavors.

Also at the University, Dorceta Taylor, thank you for including me in your research and for lifting up young environmental professionals of color across the country. Arun Agrawal, I appreciate your initial comments on my research and expansion of my bibliography through a wonderful discussion seminar. Caroline Wang, thank you for your assistance with the consent forms and methodology for the community photographic analysis. To June Gin and Millie Piazza goes much appreciation for helping me to navigate the academic maze of the Institutional Review Board and to understand research (and finishing) methods. To the environmental justice cohorts of 2003-05, yes we can and will finish! Thank you to Diana Woodworth at the School of Natural Resources and Environment (SNRE) for facilitating funding requests and to the Edna Bailey Sussman Fund, University of Michigan Rackham Graduate School, SNRE, and The Center for the Education of Women for funding my research and education. Jennifer Perkins, thank you for helping me understand the mechanics of the university over the years and for assisting with all those forms.

Sam Passmore and Nina Morais connected me to the Coastal Community Foundation, and to them I am forever indebted. Marni Rothschild, Vanessa Albury, and Brad Jayne helped with the conception of and/ or training in the photographic community self-analysis. Marni, thank you so much for opening your studio to me for the cataloguing of the photographs. Kevin Hamilton, Quentin Baxter, Steve Hoffius, Emily Maxwell, and Diana Seales, thank you for being sounding boards and amazing friends during the formation of my thesis study. Kevin and Quentin especially, thank you for keeping me honest, keeping the doors open, and being the rhythm to the spirit of this work. Kevin, you've been there since the beginning, and thank you for seeing it through to the end.

Adora Iris Lee, Ron Stief, Susan Dunn, Bert and Lucille Keller, Ed Horstmann, and Neal MacPherson provided the spiritual space for me to navigate tough waters. Adora, I will never forget you repeatedly telling me that I needed "to talk to that man in Michigan" about graduate school; your strength and beauty are an inspiration to me always.

Matt Bivins, Ward Williams, and Dean Sawyer made my summer living in Charleston possible and enjoyable. Charlie McCarter, thank you for providing the recording equipment and initial support that made my research possible, and Steven Sandifer, thank you for being a great friend through it all. To the girls of 309 North Division Street: Kizzy Charles-Guzman, Gia Grier, Jess Robbins, Emily McKee, and Lora Park, many thanks for being a wonderful community and a voice of conscience in the madness. To the original 309 community of my residence, Steve McGhee, Craig Westerland, Dan Puskar, Kate McCabe, Alan Wilson, and Lucinda Bingham, thank you for keeping me laughing during my first year—and beyond. To Jennifer Hansel, Paul Lee, Lisa Gue, Sarah Miller, Matt Thompson, Megan Hoelle, Nicole and Eugenio Ayala, the Oikons, and all the folks who were in DC or part of my UCC and WSCF communities—you know who you are—thank you for keeping alive in my life the importance of community and cross-cultural understanding in the face of political realities.

Thank you to the NOAA Coastal Management Fellowship for bringing me to study another aspect of cultural change and development, especially David Blatt and Margaret Vanderwilt. David, thank you and your family for showing me Hartford's culinary delights, not to mention the dark and light sides of coastal planning. Zac Hart, thanks for the great discussions on the availability of sweetgrass and making possible the brownbag presentation on this research at the Coastal Services Center. Thanks to the staff of the Office of Long Island Sound Programs for hosting me and to Edith Pestana, Doris Johnson, Jackie Pernell, Teddy, and Ed Sarabia for keeping me dancing during my time at the Connecticut Department of Environmental Protection. Kevin Doyle, you've been an indispensable beacon of hope from the fellowship and beyond; thank you for your unfaltering guidance and friendship. To all my fellow fellows, thank you for inspiring me toward brilliance with healthy doses of optimism and mockery. To all the folks of Progressive Happy Hour and the Cinema Collective in Hartford, hooray for celebrating a city that has seen hard times and working for its brighter, more just future. To the Cotto familia and Brendan Mahoney, thank you for providing a bright spot with great yauco in which to work, La Paloma Sabanera, and to Donnie and the gang at Kenney's Red Rock for a place to plug in and work after hours. Mary-Ann Mitchell, thank you for being perhaps the most eccentric and endearing landlord ever, and Alex, thanks for all the pastry fuel.

In Hawai'i, thanks to Group 70 International for the encouragement and room to finish this work, especially to Jeff Overton and George Atta who helped to make it a priority. Friendship and guidance on local culture from Kim Evans, Cami Kloster, and Kāwika McKeague continue to bring new light to my analysis. Kristin Rocheleau, thank you for formatting wizardry. Thanks to Ann and Steve Ito, Sachi and Tom Fujita, Clara and Chuck Burrows, Kirsten and David Baumgart-Turner, and Mark Hamamoto for providing homes away from home. Mahalo nui to Vince Dodge for quiet support and the space to finish and breathe: the table with the verses of Hawaiian sovereignty upon it was the perfect place to bring this stage of the project to a close. The circle of `aina and ocean including Lualualei Valley and Ma'ō Farms, the Wai'anae Range, Poka'i Bay, and the woodworking workshop of Vince and Jeff Woodyard provided the creative space and sustenance to tie the ends together in these last weeks: thank you.

Dan Shoup, thank you for your patience, for being a shoulder to lean on, and for being a voice to carry me through the writing and creative processes. Words are not enough, and I thank you for your friendship and love from Michigan and each city beyond. I thank my parents, Mary-Jane and Makio, for instilling in me a love for the Lowcountry and a respect for all people, and my sister, Lesley Etsuko, who has been my confidant and loving supporter the whole way through.

And to all whom I have neglected to mention but who know they are indispensable to my well-being and to the success of this project, my apologies, and many thanks for your assistance along the way.

ABSTRACT

The urban footprint along the coast of South Carolina, or Lowcountry, is growing exponentially (Allen and Lu 2003). Much of coastal South Carolina is heirs' property, land that was purchased by former slaves after emancipation and that has been inherited without a will, creating communal ownership of the land without documentation.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the role land plays in Lowcountry slave-descendant culture and its implications for development and cultural preservation. Wando and Huger, communities on the outskirts of Charleston, South Carolina, serve as case studies. Through photographic analysis and personal interviews, this study examines the historic evolution of the role of land in Lowcountry slave-descendant culture; how development impacts that role of land; and what values create place attachment in these historic black communities. This study supports analysis of land and community in Lowcountry slave-descendant culture (Twining and Baird 1991; Jones-Jackson 1987), suggesting these results are representative of other modern slave-descendant communities.

Study results indicate that there are five factors that create community identity and place attachment in Wando-Huger: land settlement patterns, family ties, shared historic memory, religion, and education. Land ownership is key to place identity: historically the site of oppression, many slaves bought the very land upon which they were enslaved, thus creating a landscape of freedom. The perpetuation of the unique communal culture developed during slavery depends upon land remaining in an autonomous and contiguous state. Wando-Huger residents are losing their land in ways that are out of their control, whether through forced sale of heirs' property, outside development interests, or local government decisions in a reenactment of historic disenfranchisement. The interviews and photographic workshops reveal a community rooted in its history with a vision that includes modern development. Implications for preservation and development that incorporates the visions of black residents are discussed.

1.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROJECT

1.1 Introduction

The Lowcountry is generally understood to be the coastal plain of South Carolina and Georgia, stretching 80 miles inland from the sea islands to the Fall Line, where the flora and fauna change and where hills first appear on the way inland to the Blue Ridge Mountains. This area is distinguishable as much by culture as by geographic area, including legacies of rice plantation culture in demographics and cuisine. Mention of the South Carolina Lowcountry often invokes visions of oaks draped in Spanish-moss lining idyllic roadsides and marshes extending to beaches that crinkle in sunlight. Yet, the urban footprint along the coast of South Carolina is growing exponentially (Allen and Lu 2003). Much of coastal South Carolina is heirs' property, land that was purchased by former slaves after emancipation and has been inherited without a will, thus creating communal ownership of the land without documentation. This land is concentrated on the sea islands and the coastal plain, an undesirable location at the end of the civil war which is increasingly sought-after. The people in these communities are commonly called "Gullah" or "Geechie," a separate and distinct founding culture of the United States descending from slaves on the rice plantations of the Lowcountry. Heirs' property is associated with traditional valuation of land, lack of access to legal resources, and historically high rates of illiteracy (Jones-Jackson 1987; Mitchell 2000) and reflects cultural values rooted in broad concepts of family and extended kinship ties (Guthrie 1996; Twining and Baird 1991). Heirs' property is particularly vulnerable to unchecked development, as any relative has the power to sell their percentage of the land to someone outside of the family who can then force the sale of the entire parcel of land (Mitchell 2000). Heirs' property owners are increasingly aware of the vulnerability of confused land titles. An investigation into the situations that beget heirs' property in the South Carolina Lowcountry immediately reveals a deep cultural value of land, including cultural identity that is inseparable from the landscape.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the role land plays in Lowcountry black slave-descendant culture and its implication for both development and cultural preservation through analysis of the results of personal interviews and a photographic community self-analysis. Wando and Huger, two communities on the outskirts of Charleston, South Carolina, serve as a case study of Lowcountry black perceptions of development and land. The main area of research endeavors to analyze the relationship between landscape and culture in Lowcountry black slave descendant communities; how development is impacting that role of land for current residents, and to a lesser extent, for people who live far from the community but see the land as theirs. The dominant culture has created a situation where development trends, local planning and zoning actions, and legal rulings endanger the survival of Lowcountry slave-descendant culture because of its inseparable relationship to the landscape.

A second area of exploration regards the values that create place attachment and place identity in Wando-Huger. Settlement patterns in historic Gullah-Geechie communities remain relatively unchanged from the patterns that developed on the rice plantations of the Lowcountry. Literature suggests that historic memory of land acquisition influences the political dynamics of development decisions, and that "place" is significantly more important to the identity of marginalized communities. Resultant implications for culturally sensitive development, preservation, and policy are explored.

The presentation begins with a summary of the regional history of land and community, integral to the understanding of attachment to place in black communities in the Lowcountry. This is followed by discussions of settlement patterns in Gullah-Geechie descendant communities,

development pressures in the Lowcountry, and heirs' property. The focus then narrows to the case study area, Wando-Huger, including demographic characteristics and a brief history of the community. This section is followed by the literature review, which covers literature on place attachment and place identity as it relates to historical memory of land acquisition in black slave-descendant communities. An explanation of the methodology, including community photographic self-analysis and qualitative interviews precedes discussion of the research results. This research analyzes the results of a photographic community self-analysis, together with personal interviews, to explore attitudes in the Lowcountry black community toward land and cultural preservation in Wando-Huger.

Themes that emerged from the photographic workshops and interviews include failure of development to benefit established residents, changes in quality of life as development encroaches on rural areas, wishes for preservation of community history, and concerns for natural resources and environmental health. Exploration of results indicates that there are five factors that create community identity and place attachment in Wando-Huger: family ties, shared historic memory, religion, education, and settlement patterns. Historically, land was the site of oppression, but because many slaves bought the very land upon which they were enslaved, that land has created a landscape of freedom. Land ownership is key to place identity; it was the basis for economic self-sufficiency following slavery, and it continues to symbolize freedom. The communal culture that was built upon the land during slavery that continues into the present depends upon land remaining in an autonomous and contiguous state.

Wando-Huger residents are losing their land in ways that are out of their control, whether through forced sale of heirs' property, outside development interests, or local government decisions, creating in effect a reenactment of the historic disenfranchisement of Lowcountry African-Americans. The interviews and photographic workshops reveal a community that is rooted in its history but has a vision that includes modern development.

A synthesis of themes arising from the research and their connections to external factors of economic change, political structures, and planning and zoning practices leads to a brief summary and a series of recommendations. Any discussion of possible solutions could not be complete without recognition of power dynamics and inequality. Distinctions are made between aspirations in an ideal world and concrete solutions in a disparate society.

1.2 A Note on Terminology

The language, the culture, and the descendants of African and Caribbean slaves on rice plantations of the coastal area extending approximately 40 miles inland 250 miles long from Beaufort, North Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida are commonly termed "Gullah" or "Geechie." The language is an English-based Creole with African grammar. "Gullah," as it refers to people, is often used interchangeably with "Geechie." Some distinguish "Gullah" as a South Carolina term and "Geechie" as a Georgia term, but this is incorrect. Many blacks native to South Carolina call themselves Geechie. Neither term is universally used in self-identification. In some areas of South Carolina, such as St. Helena Island, where the Gullah-Geechie descendant population is largely continuous, many people call themselves Gullah, while in Wando-Huger, very few people interviewed under the age of 40 identified themselves as Gullah, but most said they were descendants of parents or grandparents who were Gullah. Others said that "Gullah" was a term used by academics and people promoting tourism and self-identified as Geechie. Most agreed that the culture was distinct and considered themselves part of the overall Gullah-Geechie culture.

It seems that the name is not as important as the recognition given to this group of people with common ancestry and therefore a somewhat similar view on their communities. Disempowerment of marginalized communities often happens when the dominant culture re-names those communities

or people, as has happened in Wando-Huger, where the people are called “Gullah” and the entire area is referred to as “Cainhoy,” though Wando and Huger encompass some twenty-one neighborhoods, some of which have also been improperly named (Moore, 2004). For the purposes of this study, current residents are referred to as black descendants of slaves who live in the Lowcountry, or coastal plain of South Carolina and Georgia, “Gullah refers to the language, and the term “Gullah-Geechie” is refers to historic and living aspects of the culture, such as settlement and inheritance patterns. As for the land itself, consistent with long-time black residents’ referrals, the general areas will be called Wando and Huger, and the neighborhoods will be identified by the names in common use in the local community.

2.0 BACKGROUND TO LAND, DEVELOPMENT TRENDS, AND WANDO-HUGER

2.1 History of Place and Land Acquisition

The history of the land and community are integral to the understanding of attachment to place in black communities in the Lowcountry. At the close of the civil war, public policies regarding land acquisition changed frequently, and many former slaves struggled to buy land, especially when in competition with whites, and many had to pool their money to acquire parcels (Brabec, 2004). From 1861-64 tax sales were the first systematic opportunities for blacks to purchase land, though “the majority of the beneficiaries of these policies were Northern whites” especially on Port Royal and St. Helena Islands where only 500 of 2300 sales were to blacks (Rivers 2006). The oscillations in land sale policies to blacks continued even after the issuance by General Sherman of “Special Field Order Number 15” on January 16, 1865, designating South Carolina land from the sea islands to thirty miles inland eligible for sale to freedmen, but ownership and title were often questioned (Jones-Jackson, 1987). Freed slaves were attached to their former plantations, and many tried to purchase land in close proximity to where they had been in servitude (Vlach 1991 cited in Brabec 2004). However, titles purchased under the Sherman order that were intended to preempt the claims of the former plantation owners were altered through the Freedman’s Bill of 1866 into a lease with a six-year option to buy, allowing restoration of the land to former plantation owners (Rivers 2006). South Carolina established a Land Commission in 1868 to oversee the distribution of land in the state. High taxes forced many plantation owner to forfeit their land, but again most of the purchases were made by whites: the Land Commission conveyed 68,355 acres to whites and 44,579 acres to blacks by the end of the program in 1890 (Rivers 2006). By the end of Reconstruction 16,000 black families had obtained “at least 50,000 acres” (Rivers 2006) in the Lowcountry, creating a landscape of freedom.

In traditional Gullah-Geechie settlement patterns, houses are usually arranged within “calling distance” or in a semicircle, are related spatially and genealogically within a yard, and are related to the head household of the matriarch or patriarch as if they were still within that parental household (Guthrie 1996). The yards were important to slave culture for both cooking and socializing (Morgan 1998). This arrangement is historically related to rice plantation culture, where slaves were more autonomous than on inland cotton plantations in some part because the masters lived far from the slave cabins, and sometimes even off-site, leaving the slaves illegally without white supervision and with more control over their living arrangements (Morgan 1998).

In most modern black slave-descendant communities in the Lowcountry, the compounds are still arranged around a common yard, and land is often purchased by groups of family members. The settlement patterns and means of land inheritance reflect the high value placed on extended family ties. What makes a plot of land desirable for development in such a community is not proximity to visual amenities but to certain family members (Guthrie 1996). In practice, this creates clustered family compounds set away from the waterline and nestled within wooded or agricultural areas. This also means that the desired clustered patterns of settlement in these historic communities are often not permitted by new zoning restrictions.

These settlement patterns and practices of land inheritance reflect a cultural valuation of the land that differs from that of a simple economic asset. Richard Norton (2008) speaks of five distinct attributes of land valuation: income, use, symbolic, life support (ecological), and existence. Others (Humbach 1989 and Bosselman 1994 cited in Juergensmeyer and Roberts 2003; Daly and Townsend 1993; Geisler and Daneker 2000; and Singer 2006) discuss land ethics including concepts of

opportunity--land as a source of wealth—and responsibility—land inseparable from its societal and environmental contexts. According to Norton (2008), balancing all values of land, from use values to contributions to individual and collective well-being, means “first, that along with the right to own and use land (typically for income value reasons) comes the corresponding responsibility to acknowledge and respect limitations on that right given the other inherent values of land; and second, that there are no historically or theoretically compelling reasons for the courts to focus on the income value of land alone, or even to necessarily prioritize that value of land above all others.” Slave-descendant communities have unique cultural valuations of land that reflect emotional, ecological, and economic attributes because of the relationship that was created with the land through slavery and the struggle to acquire and retain that very land, creating a landscape of freedom. Courts and governing bodies cumulatively fail to consider these legitimate aspects of land valuation while deciding the fate of these historic communities’ land tenure and, by extension, culture; it is quite possible that if the landscape in its current physical form is lost, including traditional Gullah-Geechie settlement patterns, self-determination in development decisions, and parcel contiguity, then the culture may also be lost. This is why the legal vulnerability of heirs’ property and current development trends present such a threat for these communities.

2.2 The Heirs’ Property Conundrum

Heirs’ property is associated with traditional valuation of land that reflects high cultural values of family and emotional attachment reflecting historic memory, lack of access to legal resources, and historically high rates of illiteracy (Jones-Jackson 1987, Mitchell 2000). Heirs’ property is particularly vulnerable to unchecked development, as any heir has the power to request partition of the land or to sell his/her percentage of the land to someone outside of the family, including a developer, who can then force the sale of the entire parcel of land (Mitchell 2000). A recent South Carolina law signed during the summer of 2006 attempts to remedy this practice in part, allowing family members first right of refusal of sale of a property share. However, with poverty pervasive in black slave-descendant communities, this law still may not prevent land from being sold out of the family against the larger families’ wishes.

Documenting the extent of heirs’ property with unclear title in the Lowcountry is difficult. Tax maps naming an owner “et al” could mean a tenancy in common through intestacy or volition. Researchers hesitate to map heirs’ property for fear of directing predatory developers and lawyers to targets. A 2001 Report for the South Carolina Coastal Community Foundation (Plastrik) identified approximately 2000 tracts in Charleston County and 1300 tracts encompassing 17,000 acres in Berkeley County, the site of the case study for this research, as heirs’ property. A 2005 Berkeley Charleston Dorchester Council of Governments (BCDOG) map approximates heirs property located in the Wando-Huger area (*Figure 2.1*).

Demerson in Twining and Baird (1991) notes that joint land ownership by kin groups in black communities in the Lowcountry is similar to “post-emancipation African societies in other parts of the Western Hemisphere.” Demerson further elaborates that beginning in the early 1860s, freed slaves purchased land in cooperative arrangements and/or plots of land in close proximity to one another. Broad concepts of family and children originated during slavery “when the family was not there, when the children were literally dumped at another place, without their families, or when their mothers or fathers were sold and removed” (Guthrie 1996). “Bilateral kinship” ties are also recognized by Lowcountry black communities, which contributes to the concept that both females and males are equally eligible for land inheritance (Twining and Baird 1991). These extended concepts of family and community further complicate the heirs’ property conundrum. In describing heirs’ property and extended kinship relations in Wadmalaw, Demerson (in Twining and Baird 1991) writes:

In a community where wills are rarely made...one could conceivably have claims to many tracts of land from many different foreparents.... The third or fourth generation urbanites whose progenitor was a migrant to New York City, for example, may simply be content to be able to point with pride to the fact that their island kinfolk own ‘family land....’ But having no intention of ever living in the rural setting, they may not pay taxes on the ‘family land’ and may have no intentions of every [sic] pressing their claim to its use and ownership. It is also possible that a deceased female’s descendants may perceive no obligation to pay taxes on land that would by law accrue to them. And with the passage of time, her third or fourth generation descendants may not even conceive of such land as belonging to them.

Heirs’ property is, in legal terms, a “tenancy in common”¹ and governed by state intestacy laws. A tenancy in common gives each family member owner an undivided interest in the property, though the law does not determine how responsibility for the land is divided. The interest does not terminate upon an owner’s death, but passes to his or her estate or heirs. Heirs’ property owners with a percentage interest in the land “may not use the land as collateral to secure financing to build homes or other financial transactions” (Rivers 2006). The most common types of housing then on heirs’ property are mobile homes because they can be purchased without land collateral. Most heirs’ property is created through intestacy, or inheritance from a relative who died without leaving a will, which is different from a tenancy in common through volition, where family members agree together to create a tenancy in common (Heirs’ Property Preservation Project 2002).

Land passed from one generation to another under state intestacy laws is governed by the same set of property laws as tenancies in common created through volition. The complication comes in the origin of the co-ownership. Whereas a tenancy in common created through volition often is often co-owned by a few people who know each other well, co-ownership through intestacy “bundles together groups of people who may have little connection to one another or even knowledge of one another’s existence” (Mitchell 2000). Over time, the numbers of heirs increase and divergent interests emerge as people hold property across multiple generations with different concepts of cultural, economic, and land valuations and who are strewn geographically (Mitchell 2000). Heirs’ property is vulnerable to loss of the land due to potential conflict among multiple heirs (Heirs’ Property Preservation Project 2004).

If any co-tenant files a partition action, “the court will either order that the property be partitioned in kind (resulting in the physical division of property) or that the entire property be sold and the proceeds of the sale distributed” (Mitchell 2000). Though most state statutes identify the physical division of the property as the “preferred remedy,” courts most often order partition sales (Mitchell, 2000) so that the proceeds from the sale can be divided among the heirs, as is the case in South Carolina (Center for Heirs’ Property Preservation 2005). Courts are guided to partition sales in the event of family conflict by the South Carolina partition statute:

The court of common pleas has jurisdiction in all cases of real and personal estates held in joint tenancy or in common to make partition in kind or by allotment to one

¹ A “tenancy in common” gives each family member owner has an undivided interest in the property, though the law does not determine how responsibility for the land is divided. The interest does not terminate upon an owner’s death, but passes to his or her estate or heirs. Most heirs’ property is created through intestacy, inheritance from a relative who died without leaving a will, which is different from a tenancy in common through volition, where family members agree together to create a tenancy in common (Heirs’ Property Preservation Project, 2002).

or more of the parties upon their accounting to the other parties in interest for their respective shares, or in case partition in kind or by allotment cannot be fairly and impartially made and without injury to any of the parties in interest, by the sale of the property and the division of the proceeds according to the rights of the part[y]. (SC Code § 15-61-10).

The partition in kind, again, is the physical division of the property and is preferable for heirs' property owners because it generally allows the land to stay in the family even if some persons would like to sell their parcels, and if the family has the resources, they can buy those parcels from the family members who seek cash payment. In a partition sale situation, the family rarely has the financial resources to purchase the land, which often means that a developer will buy the land, subdivide it, bring in infrastructure, and realize much more profit from the sale of the lots. The new South Carolina law mentioned earlier in this section attempts to give family members recourse to sale of the land to a developer, but again, lack of access to resources may prohibit would-be family buyers from keeping the land in the family. The same poverty can keep families who want to sell their land from realizing full potential profits of that sale because they cannot afford to bring in infrastructure or subdivide the lots, which would have allowed them to sell for maximum profitability. Either way, what is lost to the family is economic profit, and if the sale is against the larger family's wishes, then the loss extends into cultural and psychological/emotional values of and attachment to the land. Much of what drives the market valuation of land is the symbolic value people assign to it (Norton, 2005), but the symbolic value of land to Lowcountry blacks differs significantly from the dominant culture's valuation of the same parcels of land, as discussed in "3.0 Literature Review."

Partition sales create "windfall" profits for developers, or advantages that come to them as an indirect benefit because of the difficulty many heirs' property owners face in clearing title to their land. Developers might argue that their profits are fairly won because of their "economic advantage" through their knowledge of how to maximize profits in the real estate market. However, the "fair market value" of a parcel of land is based in part upon the certainty of the way parcels around it will develop (Norton 2005). It follows then that the high market value of a former piece of heirs' property depends upon the likelihood that the remainder of the historically black-owned land surrounding it will eventually be sold and developed into large-lot ex-urban development attracting similar buyers. In other words, the maximization of economic profits for developers in the Lowcountry depends on the black community remaining uneducated about the economics of real estate, without adequate resources to clear property titles, courts continuing to favor partition sales, and zoning authorities encouraging residential ex-urban development. It also depends on the other values of the land—ecological and the historic black communities' psychological/emotional values—not being translated into economic disincentives to discourage the general public from buying the land. For further discussion of economic and societal land ethics, see "Chapter 3.0: Literature Review."

A low level of understanding of legal rules governing inheritance of land contributes to the loss of land. Most tenancies in common in poor rural black families result from lack of estate planning. In the case of heirs' property, especially if owned by poor family, the problems are magnified by the inability of a "diligent"² co-tenant, e.g. one who has paid taxes, to force other tenants to contribute to the costs of maintaining land and are compounded by racial inequality leading to an overall lack of access to legal services that could ensure equitable distribution of responsibilities (Mitchell 2000).

² "Diligence" here basically means the payment of taxes with perhaps some upkeep of the land.



Figure 2.1 Heirs' Property in Wando-Huger (BCDCOG 2005)

Among heirs' property owners in South Carolina, the original land owner has often verbally designated an heir, and subsequent heirs assume that this verbal expression, if accompanied by payment of taxes, results in a clear property title (Heirs' Property Preservation Project 200405). When the original owner or subsequent "named" owners pass away, taxes may go unpaid for some time. If there is a lien against the land, courts commonly sell the entire parcel to satisfy the lien, though there have been some (as yet unsuccessful) efforts in the South Carolina Legislature to limit the sale to the amount needed to satisfy the lien. In the South Carolina case *Folk v. Thomas*, 543 S.E. 2d 556 (2001), the court held that while the language of South Carolina Code § 12-51-40(d) permits the partition of property in order to avoid selling the entire parcel at a tax sale, the pre-sale burden to determine the "divisibility of the property" rests with the property owner or the party seeking divisibility, not the county or tax collector (Bloodgood 2004). This means that unless heirs' property owners understand the law, it is possible that much more land than necessary will be sold to satisfy the tax lien. Rivers views the heirs' property conundrum as follows:

As a result of the lack of estate planning and the operation of South Carolina's intestacy laws, heirs' property owners have been relegated to a lesser class of ownership that denies them the full 'bundle of rights' of property ownership. This unstable form of ownership grants full rights of ownership to all heirs but fails to equitably distribute responsibility for the land between heirs. Thus, for heirs' property owners, the bundle of rights is half empty (Rivers 2006).

Inequalities inherent in land allocation systems imply that a simple market-based approach to land-use may not maximize social benefit. Rutherford H. Platt points out in his history of law, geography, and society, within the capitalist system:

Ownership implies freedom to use land as the owner wishes, subject to minimum legal constraints imposed by society to limit harmful externalities.... A further attribute of capitalism is social inequity, whereby a small fraction of the population controls most of the land while the rest of the population owns little or nothing" (Platt 2004).

That the black population of the Lowcountry is losing its freedom to use the land in ways that reflect diverse cultural values may be an inherent result of the capitalist system. What is left then, is a decision about where the rights of ownership and where the public good begin and end. "Minimizing public rights" could be of detriment to cultural, ecological, and ecological resources, while "minimizing private rights" could undermine speculative land investment (Rose 1996 cited in Juergensmeyer and Roberts 2003). Yet, "maximizing private rights" increases economic inequality, though the converse could diminish "individual liberties" (Ellickson 1994 cited in Juergensmeyer and Roberts 2003). Balancing all of these land ethics is the jobs of public policy makers. Currently, economic growth in the South Carolina Lowcountry often means sacrifice on the part of the black community: If diversity and the survival of Lowcountry slave-descendant culture are of importance to the larger community, then further legislation must be enacted that recognizes cultural values of land that differ from those of the dominant population. A windfall to the community and real estate investors of enacting such legislation could be preservation of much more green space and thus a much more desirable community than would be possible with market-driven development alone.

2.3 Wando-Huger: The Case Study in Context

Wando and Huger are two contiguous communities outside Charleston, South Carolina at the confluence of Charleston and Berkeley Counties. The northeastern border of the community is the Francis Marion National Forest, and the Cooper and Wando Rivers form its eastern and western

borders. This rural, historically predominantly slave-descendant community is comprised of approximately twenty-one unique neighborhoods, most of which is heirs' property, as depicted in *Figure 2.2* (Moore 2004).

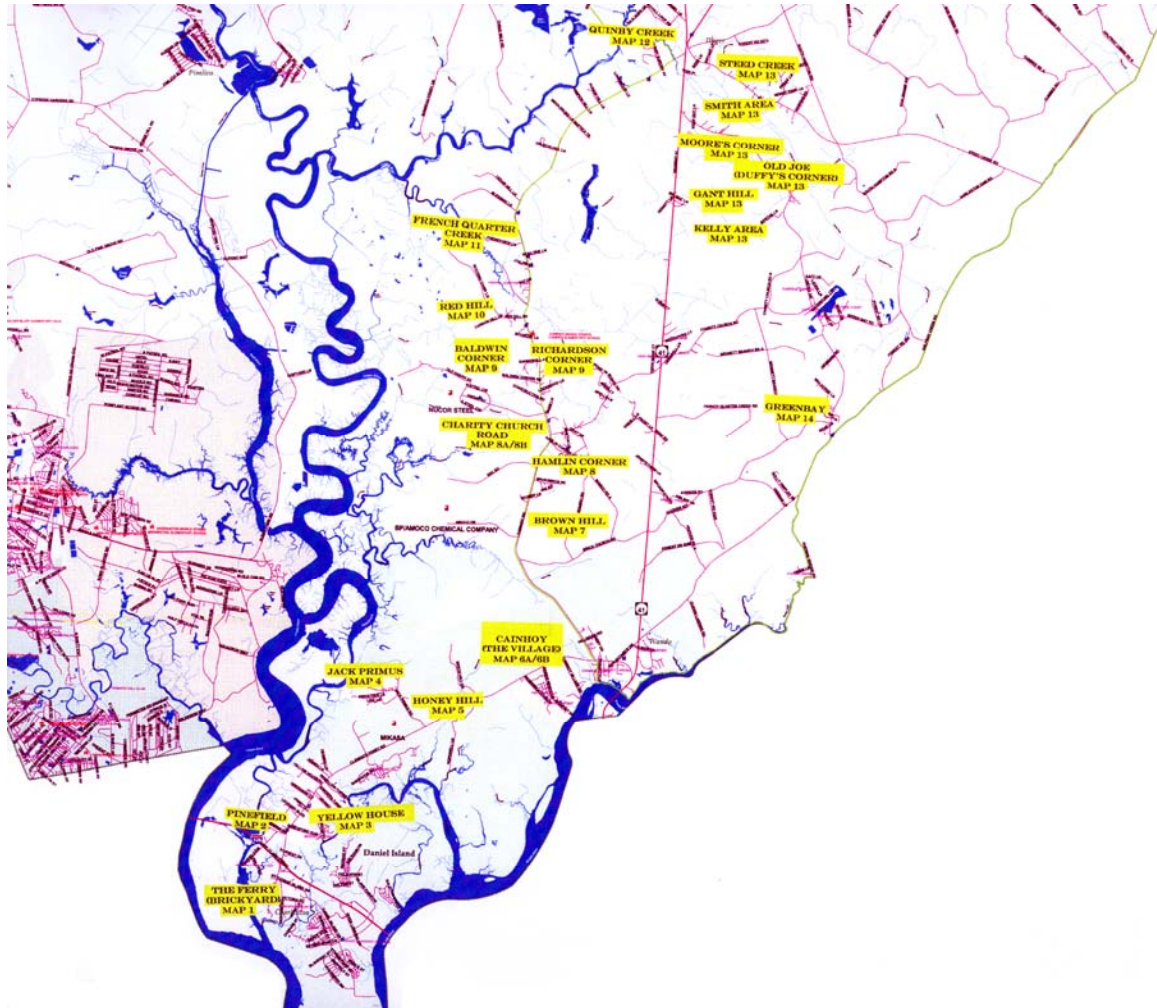


Figure 2.2 Map of Wando-Huger Neighborhoods with Traditional Names (Moore 2004)

The main arterial roads are Clements Ferry Road, which runs from the I-526 interchange through Wando and up to Cainhoy Road and Highway 41, which both run roughly north through Huger (*Figures 2.3 and 2.4*).

In Wando-Huger, community members use both geographic boundaries, such as creeks and plantation lines, as well as membership of church parishes to define their neighborhood parameters. Additionally, the name developers, planners and white residents have given a particular community is sometimes different from the name the long-time black residents know it by. For example, the area where the Daniel Island master-planned development now sits is still known as “Daniel’s Island” to local black residents. In turn, new white residents commonly call the historic community nearest them “St. Thomas Island,” but black residents call the same area either “The Ferry,” because the ferry to Charleston left from that area, or “Brickyard,” because there was a brickyard there. Similarly, “Jack Primus” has been normalized from “Jack Promise,” a place where, according to local lore, land was promised to black residents by a plantation owner named Jack. “Cainhoy,” a name commonly

used by many Charleston residents to refer to all of Huger and parts of Wando, is known to most historic residents as “The Village” and refers to a much smaller historic area in Huger. These traditional names are consistent with Pollitzer’s (1999) observations that places named by “American blacks” commonly reflect “a human situation, such as hardships in slavery,” and though relatively powerless, black people on the sea islands of South Carolina were “most fertile at naming everything.”

The communities “share a common history of farming, logging, and slavery” (Moore 2004). After the Civil War, many former slave families remained on the plantations or traveled to Daniel’s Island for work as sharecroppers, loggers, brick makers, and cowboys and acquired their land over time (Moore 2004). Today this area has few public services or facilities. There is one public school that includes grades K4-8, but there is no public library, police sub-station or patrol, medical facility, recreation center, “functional community park” or grocer (Moore 2004).

Wando is closer to the I-526 interchange and Daniel Island and has therefore experienced more developmental change than Huger. In the late 1990s, the South Carolina State Ports Authority proposed a “Global Gateway” terminal on Daniel Island that would have placed rail lines through historic black communities through forced displacement and increased truck traffic. Opposition to the terminal was diverse. The Wando and Huger communities, referred to as “Cainhoy” in most media reports regarding the terminal, were the public face of the opposition even though it benefited the Daniel Island residents to a great degree. Many of the leaders of that fight are from Wando and helped found the Wando-Huger Community Development Corporation (CDC). Some participated in the interviews for this study and relay stories of land loss in the face of the port expansion in “Chapter Four: Results.”

2.4 The Structure of the Planning Process

Wando and Huger fall between many jurisdictions and as yet pledge allegiance to no one entity. Both communities are unincorporated neighborhoods under the jurisdiction of Berkeley County, though the City of Charleston has annexed properties on its boundaries and thus has an influence on transportation planning and future development (*Figure 2.5*).

There were discussions in both neighborhoods of incorporating as independent towns, but the efforts failed for many reasons, as discussed in “Chapter Four: Results.” Many of the leaders who organized that effort are leaders in the Wando-Huger Community Development Corporation and the Wando-Huger Steering Committee, which act as informal governments in Wando-Huger. Members of these entities organize through email and word of mouth community participation at Berkeley County Council meetings regarding development. These networks were quite strong during the Global Gateway protests mentioned earlier in this chapter, but participation and methods of communication seem to have declined, as detailed in the interview summaries in Chapter Four. The Cainhoy Elementary/Middle School in Huger has been the central node for informal community communication, but once a family no longer has a child in the school, they lose connection to this network.

There are one or two charismatic leaders that rose to some amount of public notoriety during the struggle with the State Ports Authority, and these leaders are often called upon by the press, organizations, and agencies in the greater Charleston area; it could be said that these persons act as unofficial “mayors” of Wando-Huger. Yet, none of these leaders sit on Berkeley County Council.



Figure 2.3 Map of Wando Region Including Daniel Island (Moore 2004)



Figure 2.4 Map of Huger (Moore 2004)

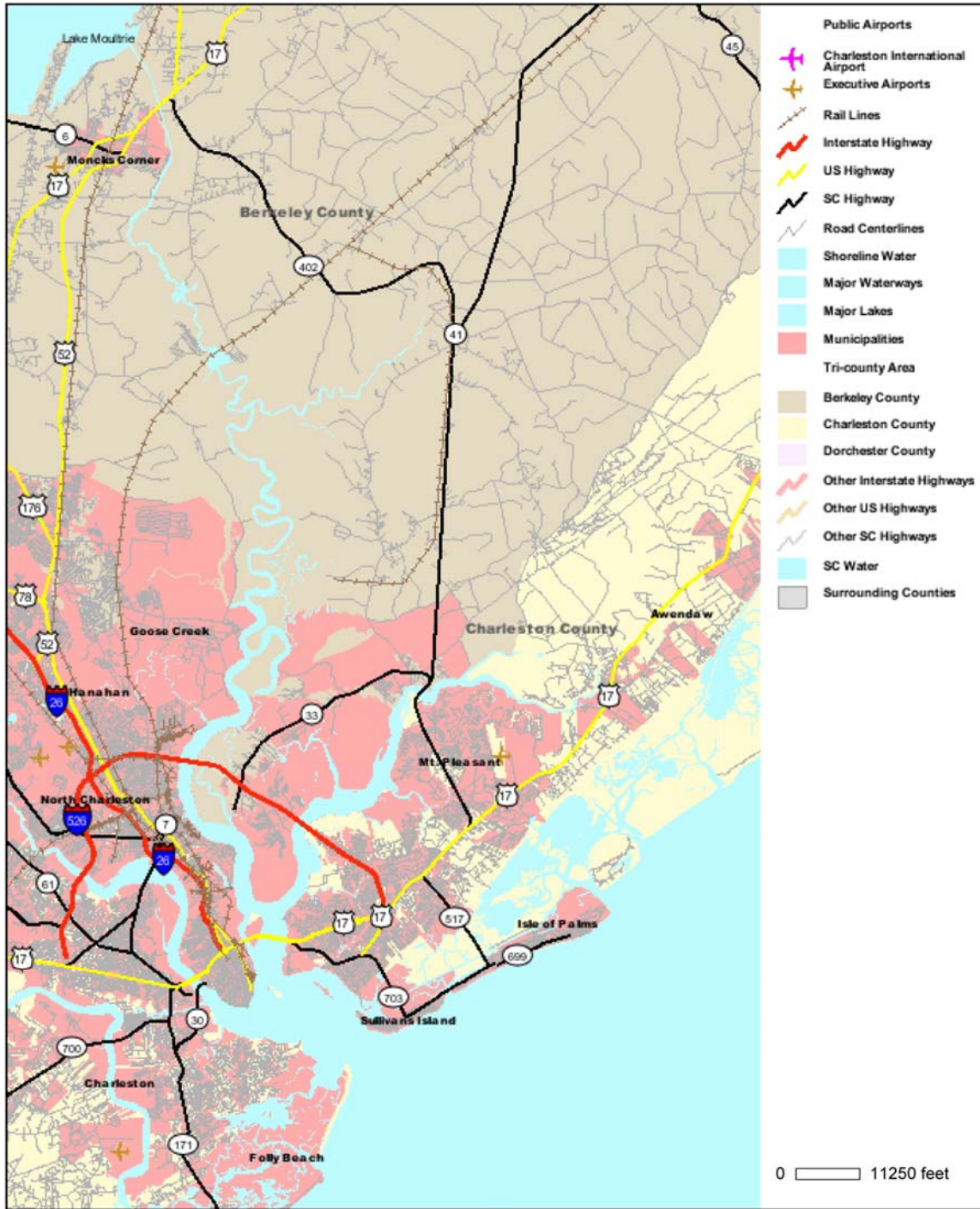


Figure 2.5 Wando-Huger Region (BCDCOG 2008a)

Berkeley County Council makes most of the decisions regarding development and zoning for Huger. Berkeley County has significantly less resources and tax revenue than Charleston County or the City of Charleston with a planning staff of three persons at the time of research (2004) as reported by a staff planner answering a phone inquiry. Berkeley, Charleston, and Dorchester counties cooperate under the umbrella of the BCDOG on transportation and water planning. BCDOG is federally recognized as the metropolitan planning organization responsible for transportation planning across all three counties. Since late 2004, BCDOG has focused on regional land use coordination in areas of overlapping jurisdiction.

Much of Wando and all of Daniel Island has been annexed into the City of Charleston. In 1995 the City of Charleston entered into a binding development agreement with The Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation and The Daniel Island Development Company, Inc. to annex Daniel Island into the City of Charleston and develop it as a master planned community. Locals often perceive the City of Charleston as aggressively annexing outlying areas to build its tax base. The City often finds itself defending its actions as efforts to provide comprehensive planning and keep the surrounding area from being a patchwork of unincorporated areas of small towns. Areas that have been annexed into the City, from James Island to Johns Island continue to develop rapidly.

Though it has no official jurisdiction, the neighboring Town of Mount Pleasant is trying to curb the rapid pace of its growth up Highway 17 to the southeast of Huger. Residents and community leaders in Mount Pleasant have been active in the efforts to stop development on former timber parcels in Huger.

2.5 Development Pressures

Wando and Huger face immense development pressures as the Charleston metropolitan area expands and as the Berkeley County area seeks sites for industrial and residential development. The completion of highway connector I-526 in the 1990s made this previously isolated area attractive to developers and residents. The first large-lot residential community in the area, Daniel Island, a wealthy, master-planned development, borders the southern end of the Wando-Huger community and was a former plantation site. Many residents trace their roots to the slaves of this and other area plantations. A number of large-lot suburban developments now dot Highway 41 in Wando.

The development pressures on Wando and Huger are not unlike those in other coastal areas: rapid increases in waterfront property values have combined with large-lot suburban sprawl and population growth to create rapid development. The Daniel Island development and much of Wando have been annexed by the City of Charleston, while most of Huger and parts of Wando, such as Jack Promise, remain in unincorporated Berkeley County, though there is a road construction proposal presently before the City of Charleston planning board that would bring City water and sewer to a large section of Huger around Steed Creek Road. There is a proposed residential development in this area that many black residents oppose. Their opposition is summarized in the “4.3.4 Relationship with Local Government.”

Berkeley County is one of the fastest growing areas of the Charleston region, with a population increase of 11% from 1990 to 2000 as compared to an increase of 5% and 16% in neighboring Charleston and in Dorchester counties (BCDCOG 2004). Wando and Huger fall into the “Wando” planning area of Berkeley County. This area has experienced a 60% increase in the total number of housing units from 1999 to 2000 (BCDCOG 2004).

The larger U.S. Census Santee East Planning area of Berkeley County, including Wando and Huger, shows a racial composition increase of 3% in the “African American” population compared

with a 33% increase in the White population, bringing the total population by race composition to 49% “African American,” 49% White, and 2% other or two or more races (BCDCOG 2008b). In 1999, median income for the Wando U.S. Census tract number 204.02 was \$43,164, though this figure may not be representative of the sample population since this tract includes the relatively wealthier Daniel Island. By comparison, census tract 204.01 includes the north portion of Huger, and the 1999 median income there was \$29,951 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000) (*Figure 2.6*). This influx of wealthy white residents represents a cultural change for the area, though there is little interaction between the new residents and the surrounding black community.

The National Forest that borders Wando-Huger is both a protective mechanism that acts as a large development buffer and, more recently, a source of surprising developmental threat. Within the borders of the Forest are large timber parcels owned by paper and timber companies which have begun putting their properties on the market in large quantities. Conservation groups do not have the resources to compete with private development interests for acquisitions of this surge in environmentally sensitive and rapidly available land. In the past three years, on the South Carolina Coast, the Watson Hill Tract (6,600 acres), the Bonneau Ferry Tract (10, 697 acres) and a 3,385 acre tract inside the forest have been sold (Menchaca and Bartelme 2004). Out of state developers of large-lot subdivisions are commonly interested in the land. Suburban development near Steed Creek Road and the Forest will create a sandwiching effect on Wando-Huger with development pressures coming not just from the south, where I-526 and Daniel Island are located, but also from the north and east.

One of the most recent real estate threats to the community is the 4,592 acre Keystone Tract in Huger, also located inside the boundaries of the National Forest. As explained by Coastal Community Foundation consultants and staff as well as by interviewees, inside the tract are historic black residential clusters whose residents believed their land to be in-holdings on National Forest land. Many residents of Wando-Huger and surrounding communities are opposed to the development, including a Franciscan monastery, and view the Keystone Tract as a symbolic parcel of land that will start a trend of large-parcel sales that could mark the death of present community life. The Keystone Tract was sold by International Paper to developers for \$19 million in 2005 (Peterson 2005). The threat of sale of the Keystone Tract presented an opportunity for place-based collaboration. Meetings opposing the development of the area included representatives of local industries, wealthier neighboring areas, and Wando-Huger. Some black Wando-Huger residents are hopeful that they will be able to influence the developers of the tract to incorporate their concerns into the development plans. The threat of development on this national forest inholding that under current Berkeley County zoning would have allowed 6,500 houses to be built was a wake-up call to planners and the County Council. A compromise was reached with the developer to not seek sewage extension to the tract and to limit the housing density to 880 (Paras 2007). As a result, Berkeley County planners have begun discussions on development incentives for open space preservation in exchange for clustered development on large tracts of land.

The traditional settlement patterns of Gullah-Geechie descendant communities in many cases conflict with planning and zoning designations. A combination of traditional clustered housing patterns, non-subdivided tenancy-in-common lots, and a lack of socio-economic resources create situations where multiple families live on the same large lots and rely on the same septic tanks and wells for water. In 1994, the South Carolina Legislature passed *The South Carolina Local Government Comprehensive Planning and Enabling Act*, § 6-29-310 et al, which required all local jurisdictions with prior zoning laws to develop comprehensive plans. In South Carolina, comprehensive plans are not legally binding documents but are meant to guide development patterns. The zoning ordinances are the true legal enforcement of the comprehensive plans.

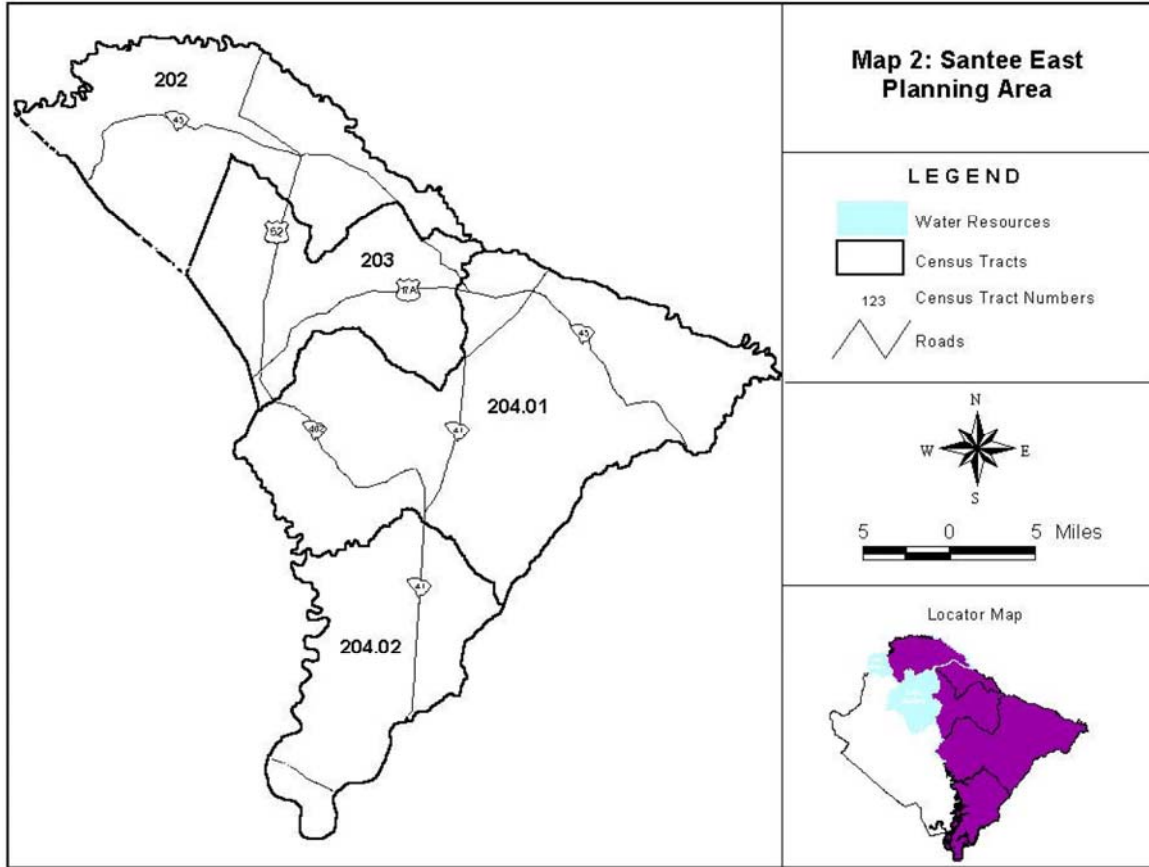


Figure 2.6 U.S. Census Santee East Planning Area Map (BCDCOG 2008b)

The Berkeley County Comprehensive Plan, published in 1999 and last updated in 2004, designated seven “Rural Villages” that represent “the heritage of development in Berkeley County rural landscape” (BCDOG 2004)(*Figure 2.7*). These land use areas cover concentrations of historic slave-descendant communities, but many of the communities in Wando are in areas slated for residential growth. Many of the Rural Village areas are contiguous to plantations that have been designated “Resource Conservation Areas” in the comprehensive plan and are protected by the zoning designation R15, Preservation Rural District, while no similar corresponding zoning code exists for the Rural Village areas. Some light industrial sites have been zoned into Wando-Huger historic residential areas, including NuCor Steel and BP-Amoco facilities.

While the comprehensive plan supports means for preservation of historic slave-descendant communities, to date they have not been included in the Zoning and Development Standards, adopted in 2001. Instead, the updated plan recommendations present a further challenge to heirs’ property owners. Rural villages are presented in the updated plan as “opportunities for moderate density [and] mixed use development in rural areas,” but the county has refrained from recommending them for high-density development “due to consideration of natural or cultural resources and/or lack of public services” (BCDCOG 2004). However, the new recommendations limit the number of dwelling units in Rural Village areas to 1-2 units per acre, down from 1-4, unless the lot is formally subdivided. This effectively creates legislation against clustered familial compounds on heirs’ property. The difficulty many heirs’ property owners face in dividing their land and in limiting the number of dwellings per parcel is discussed in the section on heirs’ property earlier in this chapter.

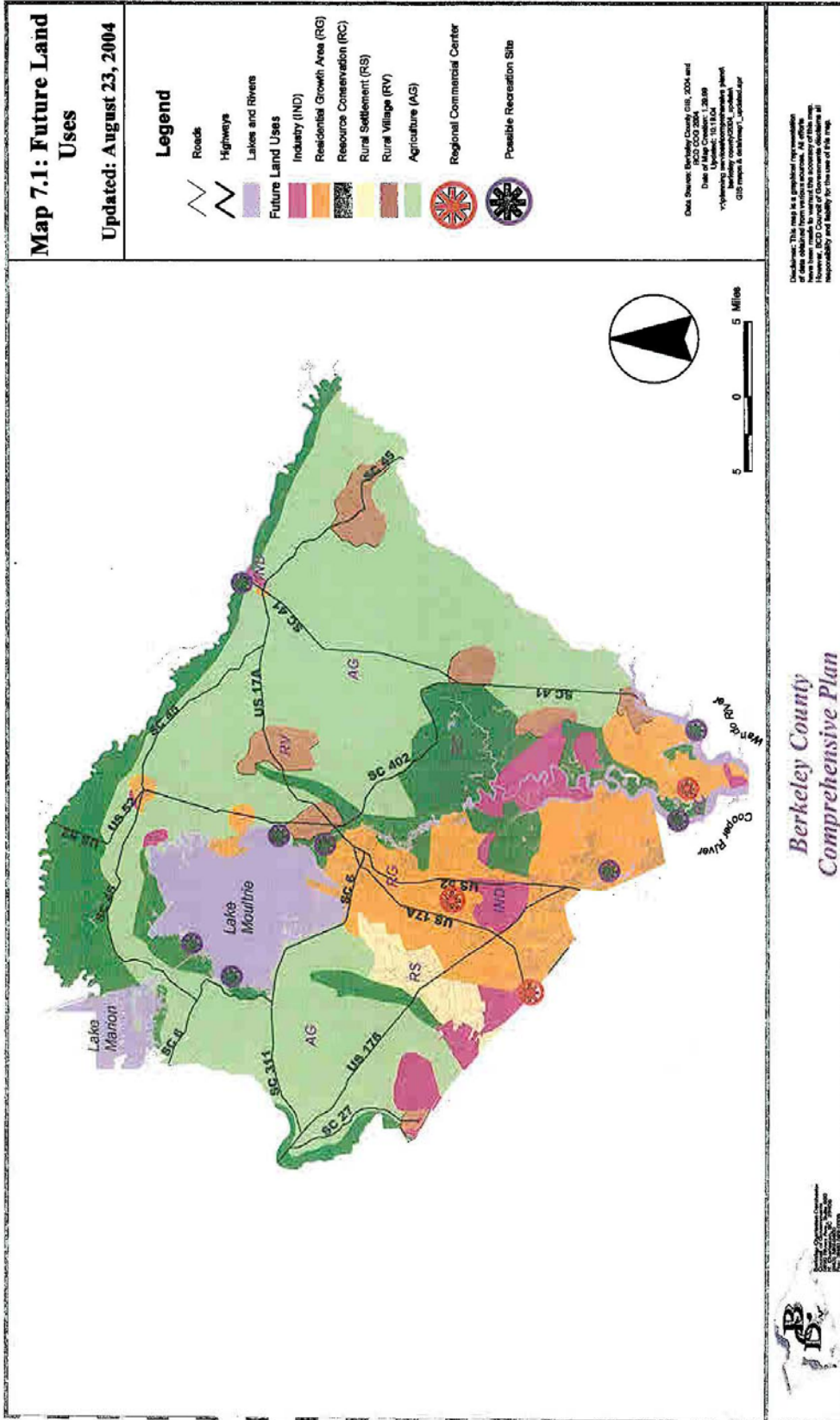


Figure 2.7 Berkeley County Future Land Use Map (BCDCOG 2004)

The Berkeley County Comprehensive Plan suggests that sewer and water should only be extended to “areas designated for future growth in the land use element” (BCDCOG 2004). Water and sewer lines are being installed along Clements Ferry Road to connect to S.C. Highway 41, where the large riverfront timber and former plantation tracts mentioned earlier in this section are being sold. Commercial land is selling for \$400,000 an acre and riverfront home lots for as much as \$1 million (Peterson 2004).

Currently, the majority of the Rural Village Areas are zoned Agricultural District Flex 1, which allows a minimum lot size of 30,000 square feet of non-subdivided land with “no more than four principle dwelling units per one acre (43,560 square feet) of platted land, lot, or parcel” if there are only individual wells and septic tanks available (Berkeley County 2001) (*Figure 2.8*). With public water and sewer available, this zoning designation allows for a minimum lot size of 4,000 square feet, or ten houses to the acre. Urban planners commonly use agricultural zoning designations to hold land on the rural/urban fringe for future suburban development. It is possible, given the build-out scenario with public water and sewer available, that the Rural Village Areas will fall into this category unless specific zoning protection is enacted.

A BCDCOG focus group on the Wando-Huger area began its work in 2005 on the report “Cainhoy Peninsula Future Land Use” which outlines plans for all developable land in Wando-Huger. In an effort to preserve historic black communities designated “rural communities,” BCDCOG recommends that local governments allow multiple housing units using the same septic system on the same parcel. However, BCDCOG’s primary focus is on transportation planning, and their recommendations for the widening of settled roads like Steed Creek Road that cut through historic black communities to connect two rapidly developing centers endanger the cohesiveness of the communities (BCDOG 2005) (*Figure 2.9*). BCDCOG claims that the planning for commercial nodes at the intersections of Clements Ferry Road and Highway 41 as well as with a new connector road to Point Hope Island will spare them from spin-off development and traffic. Since the roadways leading to these commercial centers do travel through historic black communities, infrastructure expansion combined with planned growth threaten historic community character however carefully the plans have been intentioned.

2.6 Description of Organizations Involved

The Daniel Island Company master-planned Daniel Island as a mixed-use development and continues to market themselves as “a catalyst for the evolution of authentic small towns” on their website (Daniel Island Company 2008). According to their website, the primary investor behind the Daniel Island Company is Crow Holdings, a group of international real estate investors. Affiliates of the Daniel Island Company include the Daniel Island Real Estate Company and the Daniel Island Property Owners Association. The Daniel Island Real Estate Company is in charge of all original sales on Daniel Island and makes home sites available for sale in phased releases.

The Daniel Island Property Owners Association enforces the covenants of Daniel Island. A percentage of sales from all homes and homesites on Daniel Island returns to Daniel Island in the form of a “Community Enhancement Fee.” The Daniel Island Community Fund was established in 2003 as a 501(c)4 with the funds from the “Community Enhancement Fees” to serve social needs on Daniel Island as well as the “underserved communities” surrounding Daniel Island--mainly in Wando. The Coastal Community Foundation handles the funds from the Daniel Island Community Fund and also helps to identify grantees.

The Daniel Island Company and its affiliates funded Karimah Moore’s “Study of the Huger/Wando Communities” through the Coastal Community Foundation. The interest in helping

heirs' property owners could be a recognition of the contrast between the wealth of the master planned development and the surrounding community, but possible real estate interests in heirs' property had several former Coastal Community Foundation staff wondering about the motives of the company's funding.

The Coastal Community Foundation, formerly The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina (name changed in 2004), is a philanthropic organization connecting donors to grantees in the South Carolina Lowcountry. CCF functions as many other community foundations do across the country by handling donors' funds while providing recommendations on worthy causes, organizations, and individuals.

Some of the most influential people in the Lowcountry have served on the CCF Board, and the president of the Daniel Island Company, Frank W. Brumley, sits on the Coastal Community Foundation 2007-2008 Board of Directors. Under the direction of the former CCF Executive Director, Madeline McGee, the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation formed first as a project of CCF and later became an independent non-profit. Madeline worked with then-staff member Jennie Stephens to bring me to CCF to conduct the research for this study under their guidance.

The Center for Heirs' Property Preservation was originally formed as the Heirs' Property Preservation Project in 1999 with funds primarily from the Ford Foundation. The Heirs' Property Preservation Project was initially a joint project of the South Carolina Coastal Community Foundation (then The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina), the Coastal Conservation League (then the South Carolina Coastal Conservation League), the South Carolina Bar, the South Carolina Bar Foundation, the South Carolina Appleseed Legal Justice Center, and the South Carolina Centers for Equal Justice. Its mission was to educate the South Carolina community about heirs' property, to provide pro-bono legal services to families trying to clear title on their heirs' property, and to preserve the historic communities and development patterns in which heirs' property is prevalent. The program was staffed by Jennie Stephens, who was a Program Manager at CCF.

In 2005, the Heirs' Property Preservation Project became the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation, an independent 501(c)3, as was always the intent of the original project. The Center for Heirs' Property Preservation works to educate those working in the judicial system, nonprofits serving heirs' property owners, and the general community about heirs' property as well as to provide education and legal services to heirs' property owners who do not intend to sell their land after clearing title. Jennie Stephens is the Executive Director of the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation.

The primary attorney who worked with both the Heirs' Property Preservation Project and the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation, Willie Heyward, left the Center in 2006 to form his own for-profit law firm specializing in heirs' property, the Heirs' Property Law Center. This firm works with families who wish to clear title and develop their properties, which is specifically outside the mission of the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation. The mission on the website for the Heirs' Property Law Center includes community education and outreach programs similar to those offered by the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation. Because The Heirs' Property Law Center was founded without the knowledge of the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation and because its stated work mirrors some of the Center's work, there is little collaboration between the two organizations.

The Coastal Conservation League, formerly the South Carolina Coastal Conservation League, is mentioned here because they were an original partner in the formation of the Heirs' Property Preservation Project and because if there were an environmental organization championing the cause of heirs' property preservation, they are the best equipped to do so. The League is a membership-

based non-profit focused on conservation, and it is by far the most influential and well-connected environmental organization in the Lowcountry. Its staff are highly educated, savvy lobbyists and analysts focusing primarily on issues of ecosystem conservation, climate change, and urban sprawl.

Coastal Conservation League staff provided some analysis of city and county planning policy effects on heirs' property but largely concentrated in areas other than heirs' property during the 1999-2005 Heirs' Property Preservation Project. While some of their work fighting leapfrog-type urban sprawl in the Huger area directly benefits the preservation of heirs' property, preservation of heirs' property per se is not a programmatic priority of the League. The League was at the forefront of the fight against the Global Gateway Terminal mentioned earlier in this chapter, and because of this and other anti-sprawl campaigns, many of the residents interviewed for this study have a high opinion of the of the League and its work. A prominent member of the Wando-Huger Community Development Corporation sits on the Board of the Coastal Conservation League.

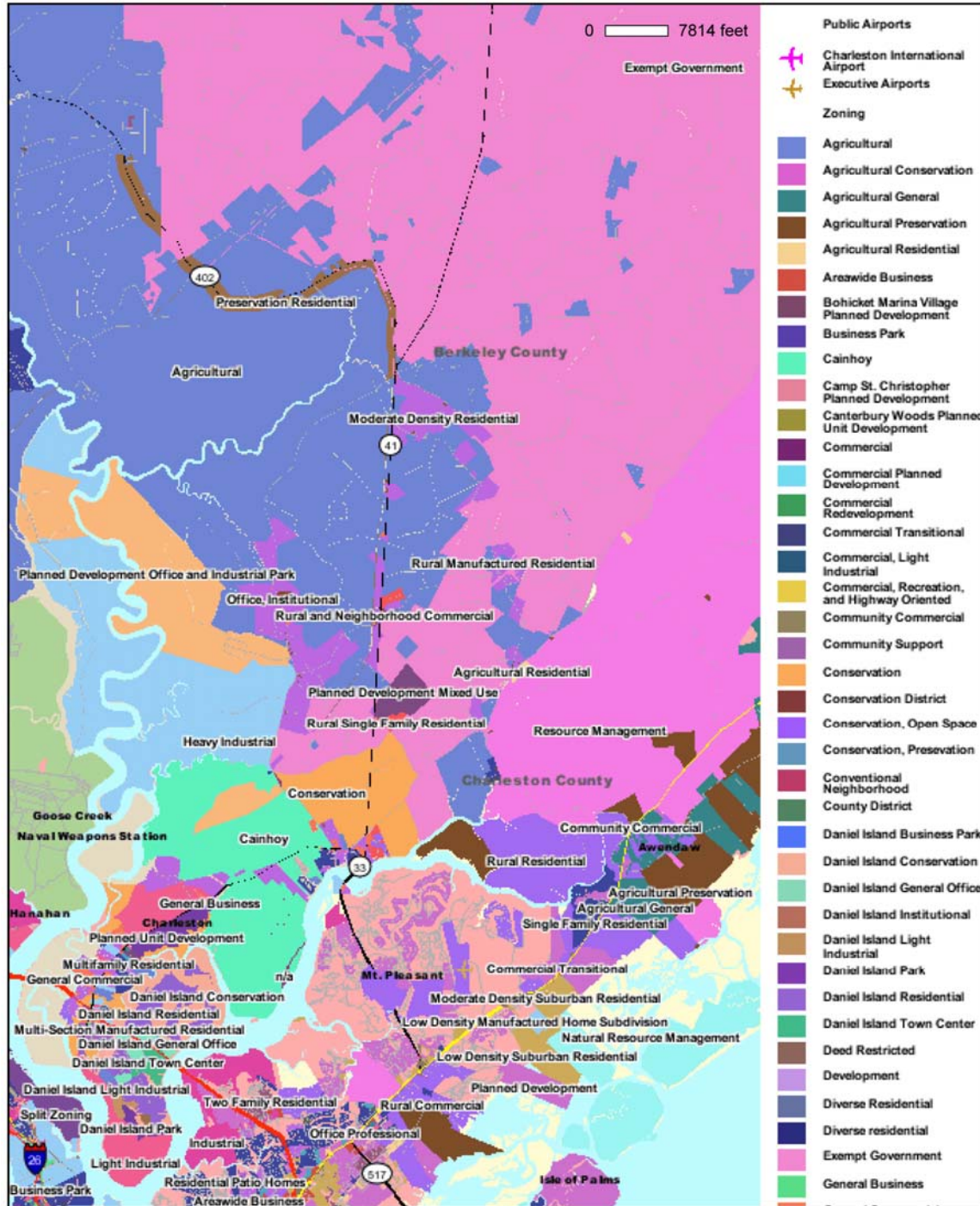


Figure 2.8 Wando-Huger Area Zoning Designations (BCDCOG 2008a)

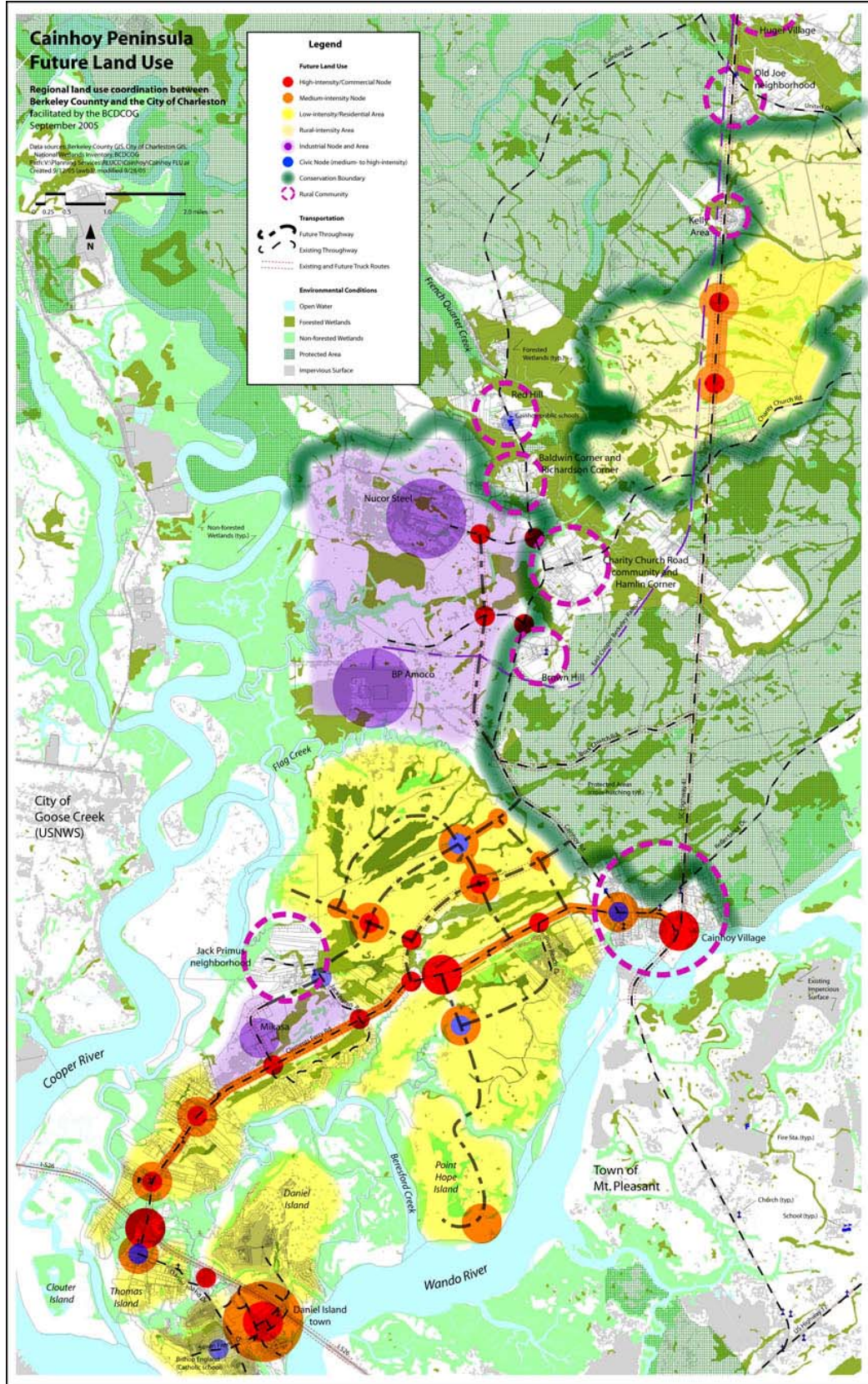


Figure 2.9 Wando-Huger Future Land Use Map (BCDCOG 2005)

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Overview

Before beginning case study research in South Carolina, a preliminary review of local newspaper articles was conducted. An internet search on archived articles from the Charleston Post and Courier regarding all publicized cases of heirs' property court cases and black slave-descendant culture was reviewed. A search through the Post and Courier archives on development trends in the study area over the past decade, including timber parcel sales, new subdivision development, and local environmental and land preservation groups' efforts to curb sprawl, was supplemented by a clippings file which contained articles from smaller local papers which otherwise would not have been readily accessible. Conservation Loan Fund Staff at the Coastal Community Foundation compiled this clippings file. While researching developmental trends, special attention was given to emerging controversies over large parcel sales during the years 2003-2005. Additionally, the Comprehensive Plans and Zoning Codes of Charleston and Berkeley Counties were reviewed with an eye toward treatment of heirs' property and other "traditional settlement" preservation. This review provided a basis for the framing of research questions and angles of inquiry. Review of theoretical literature regarding place attachment and identity as well as historic Gullah-Geechie relationships to land informs the discussion of community identity and land in Wando-Huger.

3.2 Settlement Patterns and Historic Memory in Lowcountry Black Communities

The historic memory of Wando-Huger residents contributes to a distinct historic valuation of the land, which in turn continues to affect settlement patterns and landscape within Lowcountry slave-descendant communities. Historic Gullah-Geechie descendant settlement patterns in the Lowcountry are related to rice plantation culture, which differs markedly from upland plantation life. The late 18th century Lowcountry landscape was shaped not by gardens, but by riverfront rice plantations (Morgan 1998). Due to the heat and disease on the marsh-front plantations, white owners increasingly left their plantations to black slave-drivers, creating a more independent culture than that of the upland plantations (Brabec 2004). Over time, slave housing became "more private, substantial, and orderly" and also "more autonomous," with slaves building their own dwellings and incorporating African influence "in material and form" (Morgan 1998). This independence allowed slaves to develop attachment to the very land upon which they were enslaved. Thus, at the close of the civil war, many tried to purchase land in close proximity to where they had been in servitude (Vlach 1991 cited in Brabec 2004). Many freed slaves struggled to pool their resources to purchase land (Brabec 2004). This immediate communal ownership of the land set the stage for the heirs' property conundrum, but more importantly, created a landscape of freedom where land became the tangible symbol of freedom, and the history of land allocation and retention created a very strong, particular attachment to place and place identity in post-slavery black Lowcountry culture. Numerous residents of Wando-Huger have memories of their parents, grand-parents, and great-grandparents struggling to pay the taxes to keep their land, often going without food in order to do so.

Attachment to place can center around kinship ties, social networks and institutions, and the land itself. Place has been defined as a geographical area imbued with socially constructed values (Cheng *et al* 2003). This study looks at the role the physical land and its ownership, settlement, and development plays in the culture as well as the social values that create the sense of place that conceptually creates "place" from "land." Attachment theory originates in mother-child bond theories, and in terms of "place" includes formation of relationship to a place through local

interactions with people and the desire to stay within safe range of familiar places (Fried 2000). Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) reiterate the definition of place attachment as “a positive affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place.” Place identity differs from place attachment in that it includes construction of interpretations of self that engender a sense of being “at home” and “uses environmental meaning to symbolize or situate identity,” often including “*affiliation of self with place*” (Cuba and Hummon 1993).

There is little agreement on how to measure sense of place, but attachment to place can be a “powerful social influence,” especially in struggles over natural resources (Cheng *et al* 2003). For the purposes of this paper, the definition of place attachment as presented by Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) and Fried (2000) will be used, focusing specifically on the desire to maintain closeness to Wando-Huger, and place identity will refer to the ways in which residents shape their identity around their land and community. Place identity is so strong in Wando-Huger that one could argue that the land itself is a foundation of the culture, and it is quite possible that if the landscape in its current physical form, encompassing black settlement patterns, self-determination in development decisions, and parcel contiguity, is lost, then the culture may also be lost.

Historical memory is one aspect of place attachment and identity, “transmitting selective knowledge about the past” which over time becomes a collective memory that contributes to the formation of group identity (Brundage 2000). The place attachment and place identity of descendants of slaves on Lowcountry plantations are influenced by their historic memory, which is radically different from that of the dominant population. Beginning in the early twentieth century, the elite white society in Charleston worked to reclaim and reconstruct their historic memory into “what John Bodnar would call an ‘official public culture’ based on memory claims in which alternate and dissenting interpretations were unwelcome, thus reinscribing ‘in ideal rather than complex or ambiguous terms’ the traditional hierarchies that guaranteed their power” and distinguished itself from the larger American culture “that had abandoned its [Charleston’s] agrarian values and racial organization” (Yuhl 2005 quoting Bodnar 1992). This in part contributes to both the cultural valuation of land differential between whites and blacks as well as black hesitancy to participate in sustained political action in the Lowcountry.

In many colonized cultures, the memories of how and what happened in land allocation are different between descendants of the oppressed and the colonizers. Moore (1993) sees the conceptualization of cultural meanings and local social hierarchy as constituted by relationships to land where “landscapes are experienced, remembered, and contested in multiple arenas.” Selective inclusion and exclusion of events over time can create a cultural history that is skewed or romanticized, as in the case of late nineteenth and early twentieth century writings on the American South (Brundage 2000). This romanticized depiction of Charleston and its surrounding areas persists in the present and helps fuel the tourism industry. As Yuhl (2005) points out, “[u]ntil a more inclusive representation of the past becomes the core of its identity, Charleston’s fuller history and its public discourse about issues such as racism and poverty will continue to be obscured through the haze of selective history, as will our national discourse about the past and its relationships to citizenship and power. Care must be taken not to revise history according to the narrative of any one group. One scholar from the Lowcountry recently named black heirs’ property owners “indigenous families, a significant number of whom can trace their ownership back to purchases by former slaves” (Rivers 2006). A “fuller history” in the post-slavery south would have to include the historic memory of acquisition and retention of land in the black community as well as the land tenure of Native American tribes that inhabited the land before colonization.

Manning Thomas (1977) documented the political and economic forces that began the development of sea islands on the South Carolina and the power imbalance between the

development companies and local black land-owners. The development trend on the sea islands that began in the 1970s and continues to the present stage is framed as “corporate tourism” by Manning-Thomas (1977). During the 1970s, sea island black residents organized against development on Hilton Head and Kiawah islands and shared stories with Manning Thomas (1977) about a “defunct land title clearance program” promised by a development company and other ways they felt betrayed by development interests and legal authorities as their land was sold and/ or lost through partition sale. These memories persist in modern black Lowcountry communities.

Historical memory is related to social power, and the evolution of an historical memory reflects the struggle of different groups to influence public memory (Brundage 2000). These historical memories, whether oral or written, are often passed through generations to shape cultural identity. Blacks’ historic memory of oppression and marginalization in Wando-Huger and elsewhere in the Lowcountry affects social interaction and identity while creating a marked distrust of the local political process.

The settlement patterns that persist in Lowcountry slave-descendant communities today, including Wando Huger, have changed little from the system of inheritance and house construction that developed out of the rice culture plantations and are influenced by the strength of familial relationships and traditional cultural values. In historical archaeology, settlement patterns can be a product of interaction between available technology and the environment as well as social, political, and religious aspects (Trigger 1968). Trigger also asserts that the layout of communities are “strongly influenced” by kinship relations, especially in “primitive societies” (Trigger 1968). In traditional Gullah-Geechie settlement patterns, houses are usually arranged within “calling distance” or a semicircle, are related spatially and genealogically within a yard, and relate to the head household of the matriarch or patriarch as if they were still within that parental household (Guthrie 1996; Demerson in Twining and Baird 1991). These types of compounds, dating back to pre-civil war era, are “reminiscent of African (and West Indian settlements)” (Morgan 1998). While the settlement arrangements echo those in the countries of slave origin, patterns of family compound settlements in slave-descendant communities do not appear in literature until 1930, indicating that they are also unique to America and a reflection of the current patterns of community interaction (Brabec 2004).

Analysis of settlement patterns and the cultural role of land in Wando-Huger cannot be separated from the powerful influence of familial relationships. Kin ties in general are important in black culture, especially defining their place in society (Morgan 1998). People are raised in family plots where they develop their sense of belonging, as Fried (2000) has suggested, through interfamilial attachment, social-spatial affiliations, and community roles. In their teen years, most people in Lowcountry black communities “catch sense,” or come into understanding of right and wrong and communal knowledge, a concept unique to these communities (Guthrie 1996). Often children in these communities are raised by unofficially adopted parents, so it is the place that gives meaning to where they “catch sense,” which contributes to identity associated with place (Guthrie 1996). Where people are raised relates to how they are able to acquire land in slave-descendant communities: those who “catch sense” in a certain place are usually able to acquire land there from a relative (who may not actually be blood related) free of cost, whereas outsiders would have to buy the land (Guthrie 1996).

Demerson in Twining and Baird (1991) notes that joint land ownership by kin groups in black communities in the Lowcountry is similar to other “post-emancipation African societies in other parts of the Western Hemisphere.” Beginning in the early 1860s, freed slaves purchased land in cooperative arrangements and/ or plots of land in close proximity to one another (Demerson in Twining and Baird 1991). Residents in Lowcountry black slave-descendant communities combine this kinship relationship to land with geo-spatial and community institutional orientations to define their place within a community. Brabec (2004) asserts that members of Lowcountry slave-

descendant culture define their locations through a “hierarchy of space” consisting of the geographic location (such as an island), the family compound, and the home. While Brabec continues with the contention that Sea Island black residents use islands as geographic boundaries as township boundaries, in Wando-Huger, community members use both geographic boundaries, such as creeks and plantations, as well as membership of church parishes to define their neighborhoods (Moore 2004).

The historic memories of disenfranchisement and traditional land valuation extend beyond the influence on settlement patterns to the protective system of inheritance freed slaves created to maintain control of their hard-won land. David Harvey (1996) notes that “when slaves, indentured servants, or the lowliest agricultural laborers convert whatever money they can acquire into wealth, then they procure for themselves a genealogy, symbols that use the powers of money to preserve value over time to sustain identity from one generation to the next.” Land continues to be understood as commonly owned by all family members (Demerson in Twining and Baird 1991) and in Wando-Huger is understood as the family inheritance, a legacy from the first freed slaves in the family. The heirs’ property system is a product of lack of access to legal resources and illiteracy as well as historic valuation, but it has also served as a protective mechanism to keep the title confused and away from predatory prospective buyers (Jones-Jackson 1987). This historic desire to keep land in the family may be related to Harvey’s (1996) observation that “[t]he inability of families to part with ‘the family silver’ even in the face of the direst of necessities, has everything to do with a reluctance to convert valued wealth as a symbol of genealogy back into its point of origin in the ephemerality of money as a means of circulation.” For the purposes of this paper, such a value is encapsulated in references to emotional and cultural valuations of the land.

Differing principles of ownership are sometimes referred to as “land ethics,” though the “land ethic of opportunity” that defines property as a source of wealth is the predominant ethic in American capitalist society (Bosselman 1994 cited in Juergensmeyer and Roberts, 2003). Within the capitalist economic system, land is divided into parcels where “ownership” connotes the right to use the land according to the owner’s wishes-- limited only by legal constraints serving the public’s interest (Platt 2004). Other ethics are created by societal values and norms of land use. John A. Humbach (1989 cited in Juergensmeyer and Roberts 2003) notes that land in the context of society and the ecosystem creates a “land ethic of responsibility” to the community and the environment. Land use law is then the arena for balancing multiple land ethics and “due process, equal protection, free speech, and religious freedom.” (Juergensmeyer and Roberts 2003; also Daly and Townsend 1993; Geiser and Daneker 2000; Singer 2006; and Norton 2008). Land in Wando-Huger is still much valued by black residents as a tangible legacy of the post-slavery struggle for survival. Observations regarding increased economic valuation of the land in Wando-Huger’s historic community are discussed in “4.3.2 Losses of Heirs’ Property and Development.”

3.3 Effects of Development on Place Attachment and Identity

Despite the strength of black attachment and valuation of land, the dominant majority has largely shaped development priorities in the South. Brundage (2000) reminds us that white elites in the American South have defined the public face of the region with little input from Southern minorities, creating a landscape dotted with symbols of white privilege which form cornerstones of regional tourism. Given this social context, blacks in the South may be more likely to see history as evolving to incorporate more of their “hidden” memories, which have been maintained through fraternal orders, churches, schools, and other organizations (Brundage 2000). This is echoed by the factors identified through research in Wando-Huger that contribute to community identity and place attachment, including historic land valuation, kinship, churches, and schools. How development impacts these factors is a major area of interest in this research.

Wando-Huger is experiencing increased internal conflict because of developmental pressures, especially in families holding heirs' property. Family bonds are at times tenuous and forced, and the introduction of conflict over land may further strain these relationships as confirmed by Dyer in the 2006 study of the legal and cultural implications of heirs' property in Alabama. Attachment to land in Wando-Huger is strong, but it is not uniform. While a group culture can form around place, Agrawal and Gibson (1999) argue against treatment of a community as an organic whole without incorporating differentiated power roles and ideas within the community as well as the institutions that affect them. Fried (2000) suggests that family ties may sometimes serve as a bonding agent, but strong kinship ties can also be forced by proximity because low-income groups do not have as much choice in residential space, creating obligatory relationships as much as relationships by choice. While obligatory relationships may be tested by the introduction of a resource conflict amongst Wando-Huger residents, place attachment and identity remain strong, and the overall strength of family ties is demonstrated by the role they play in maintaining place attachment and identity for residents who migrate as well as by the continued strength of traditional familial hierarchical roles in determining land-use decisions on family land.

Migration patterns in Wando-Huger are evidence of the strength of place attachment over the life-cycle. Although community members often migrate to northern industrial cities to seek employment or higher education, they sustain ties through family reunions and frequent visits, and many retire back to family plots. Studies of southern black migration patterns include Falk's (2004) focused treatise on why blacks stay in one particular Lowcountry community and Stack's (1996) study of why southern blacks leave and return later in life; both find that place attachment is key to individual and familial identity. Stack describes familial lore that details hardships endured to retain land ownership in black families as shaping place attachment in ways similarly discovered through this research in Wando-Huger. Place attachment literature shows that the nature of place attachment can vary as historic memory fades or as life situations change. Cuba and Hummon (1993) have shown that place identity is constructed differently over the life cycle: people aged fifty five and older construct place through their home while younger people do so through family ties. This is congruent with patterns in Wando-Huger, where place identity is formed through place and family until adulthood, but for older people who return home, place identity is connected to their land and house. In their study of place attachment over different spatial ranges in Spain, Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) found that across socio-economic classes, social attachment is greater than physical attachment, yet people are still attached to the "physical dimension of places," so it is the combination of place and community that creates affection for place.

The ways in which place affiliation are affected by mobility are debated, but effects include decreased attachment due to decreased place differentiation, short term residence not allowing places to become imbued with meaning or strong community relationships, and feelings of displacement and mourning (Cuba and Hummon 1993). The pattern of Wando-Huger residents' migration shows their strength of place attachment: the frequent visits to the community and their retirement in the area exhibit their ability to differentiate between their place of employment and the area they consider "home," which remains Wando-Huger. Cheng *et al* (2003) posit that once people have formed a relationship with the land, the physical space becomes imbued with prescribed meaning that determines human behavior, and this relationship to place is not necessarily transferable to other places.

Class and race contribute to historically high valuations of land and heightened place identity in Wando-Huger. Place identity and cultural valuation are further amplified by threats to land ownership and community contiguity. Marc Fried concludes that place attachment is more important to "minority" and low-income communities because of the buffering effect the strong internal group identity of working class minority communities provides against pressures experienced

in the world outside of the security of their enclave (Fried 2000). If wealthier people have more options beyond residence to satisfy their social need for community, the implication is that poorer people have fewer options and thus residential community has a much higher value for them (Fried 2000). If the land is lost, community depression may ensue or increase, which is consistent with reports from residents in Wando-Huger. Loss of land and community is associated with grief and mourning (Fried 2000), especially in cases of forced movement (Cuba and Hummon 1993), which often happens to tenants of heirs' property.

A strong attachment to place has been shown to be a basis for coalition-building across divergent interests in local settings (Cheng *et al* 2003). Wando-Huger residents may be able to build a broad-based coalition to preserve their sense of place by calling upon the place attachment and place identity of all residents of the region. In their study of place-based conservation coalitions, Cheng *et al* (2003) make six propositions: (1) human perceptions of the environment result from place-based identity, (2) perception of the environment is a composite of multiple perceptions of place, (3) "place" includes both biophysical attributes and ideas of appropriate activities for that site, (4) disputes over place management are more often associated with the groups organized around the dispute than the resource itself, (5) groups endeavor to change place meaning to favor their desired use for the site, and (6) human identification with place varies with geographic scale, with national scale debates often creating polarizing arguments. Place-based collaboration across socio-economic and racial lines has happened on a limited scale in Wando-Huger. The most prominent example is the late 1990s response to a proposed State Ports Authority Terminal on the Wando River that would have impacted the historic black community and the burgeoning Daniel Island development. Such collaboration is being seen again in a limited response to the sale of large tracts of timber in Huger. However, Cheng *et al*'s fifth proposition--that groups angle to change place-meaning to fit their desired use--is currently trumping place-based collaboration in Wando-Huger. The historic black communities' prevalent definitions of place in Wando-Huger, including the ability to maintain historic settlement patterns and cultural place-based attachment, are being subducted by the perception that the land is prime undeveloped waterfront proximal to urban centers and thus ripe for development.

Though place attachment may be strong in Wando-Huger, residents' situation as an historically disempowered group contributes to low political participation to preserve their sense of place. In his study of Zimbabwean National Parks and historical peasant land struggles, Donald S. Moore (1993) relates that state conservation efforts falter because of a failure to incorporate the historic memory of locals "suffering for the land." If the available public channels appear to be a continuation of the oppressive social regime as exists in historic memory, then resultant participation by the marginalized group may be diminished. The struggle, then, for black residents, is to include or define Wando-Huger in terms of their historic memory and desired land use, which is unlikely to come about without some support from the white community. Moore's (1993) study acknowledges that within the State there are many opposing bureaucracies, and that even state and local administrators have "multiple social identities" with contradictory interests. However, individuals are able to act only within their greater social context. If individuals define themselves in relation to "inherited conventions and hierarchies," then collective memory and "self-identification" are inseparable (Brundage 2000). The extent to which partnership across group lines is possible partially depends upon the extent to which marginalized groups' historical memories are included in the collective memory and corresponding plans for development.

3.4 Summary and Contributions of the Study

This literature review provides the foundation for the discussion of critical factors contributing to the cultural role of land, place attachment, and the influence of development in Lowcountry black

slave-descendant communities. The preservation of land and culture is often connected in places with strong place identity, such as Wando-Huger. The rice plantation culture in which white owners left plantations in black oversight allowed slaves the relative independence to form settlements that reflected the value of extended family relationships and community life while fostering attachment to the land, and these settlement practices continue into the present. The symbolic valuation of land as a sign of freedom combines with the historic memory of disenfranchisement and the lack of access to social, political, and economic capital to create and sustain inheritance patterns which lead to heirs' property. These same factors also generate strong place attachment and place identity that makes the culture inseparable from the landscape. Place identity literature shows that attachment forms based upon societal and geographic factors, but historical memory, social hierarchy, and power dimensions magnify the place attachment of marginalized populations, as in Wando-Huger, and adversely affects their participation in efforts to retain control of land. Development patterns initiated by the dominant culture in the greater Charleston region, including Berkeley County, do not fully incorporate the historic memory of the black community and fail to attribute value to their historic development patterns or place-identity. The tourism industry thrives on and perpetuates a romanticized myth of the antebellum South and its stratified racial society. Post-slavery Lowcountry black communities have strong place-based identity that is inherently tied to the landscape, including traditional settlement patterns and land ownership rooted in deep cultural values of extended familial ties. Mechanisms to protect this historic landscape cannot be incorporated into existing development plans without influential support by the dominant culture. Strong attachment to place could provide the basis for coalition building across otherwise divergent interests in the local setting, and the extent to which this is possible in Wando-Huger depends on the extent to which the dominant population is able to build value into its culture of the Lowcountry black community's historic memory and vision for development.

Although all the aspects of historical memory, place attachment, and place identity cannot be explored within the scope of this research, these concepts will guide the discussion of the themes arising from research conducted with Wando-Huger residents regarding cultural valuation of land, place attachment, community identity, and the impacts of local developmental trends.

A great deal of study has been conducted on the survival of the Gullah language and folkways, but little exists specifically on the influence of Gullah-Geechie culture on the land. Some (Jones-Jackson 1987; Guthrie 1996; Morgan 1998; Twining and Baird 1991) look at settlement patterns and land ownership within the larger context of socio-anthropological study. June Sheralyn Manning Thomas (1977) in her analysis of planning for blacks on the South Carolina sea islands examined the effects of tourism and land development on the black population through the late 1970s. Elizabeth Brabec (2004) furthered the analysis of the historic influence of Gullah-Geechie culture on landscape, but her area of focus extends only to the 1950s. This study builds on Brabec's and Manning Thomas's research by examining the influence of present development trends on historic Gullah-Geechie landscapes and cultural concepts of land valuation.

There is little to no existing research on the Wando-Huger area, whether historic or modern. Geographically, Wando-Huger falls between the plantation epicenters of Charleston and Georgetown, South Carolina, and one can only surmise that it is too far from both to be of interest to historians in the antebellum or postbellum periods. Brabec (2004) has reviewed and analyzed all publicly available plantation maps of the South Carolina Lowcountry, and none are known to exist of Wando-Huger. This study builds on a community assessment conducted by Karimah Moore (2004) commissioned by the Daniel Island Company through the Coastal Community Foundation (CCF) with the intent of identifying community needs and philanthropic priorities. In the process, Moore created the first known area maps of neighborhoods and roads, many of which are not present in existing GIS data sets which helps build the understanding of spatial delineation in Sea Island black

communities. She also pieced together the first known comprehensive written history of Wando-Huger.

The research for this study was conducted in 2004, at which time there was little to no existing research on heirs' property and cultural implications of collective ownership. Since that time, awareness of the issues associated with heirs' property has grown, and a few other studies have been published that underscore the urgency of the situation and contribute to the understanding of mobility in black slave-descendant communities in the south. Notably, J.F. Dyer (2007) through Auburn University's Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station published an exploration of the legal and cultural implications of heirs' property including case studies depicting increased familial conflict due to heirs' property, which supports part of the findings of this study. Dyer's work, while important in the understanding of the heirs' property conundrum and cultural aspects of the issue, does not directly address development impacts or implications for Gullah-Geechie culture. Policy prescriptions offered by Dyer are useful, including clearing title, legislative remedies such as laws requiring "first right of refusal" for family members when a family member forces a sale, continuation of legal aid (including the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation), and charitable housing improvements.

This study goes a step beyond Dyer's prescriptions with discussions for areas of collaboration between preservationists, planners, developers, and service organizations. In particular, it asks the questions:

- What is the cultural role of land in this slave-descendant black community, and how does development impact that culture?
- What factors create community identity and place attachment in Wando-Huger and how are those factors affected by development pressures and heirs' property ownership?
- What, if any, development patterns are desirable for Wando-Huger residents?
- How are Wando-Huger residents participating in shaping development in their community? What are the obstacles and drivers for participation, and what are the effects of historic memory on participation?
- Why is family land sold in Wando-Huger, and how do development pressures and increased economic valuation of the land affect willingness to sell and place attachment?
- Given the findings of the research, what are the implications for preservationists, government agencies, and service organizations?

This research furthers the understanding of place identity in slave-descendant communities, cultural concepts of land valuation, and the effects of development on the evolving Gullah-Geechie landscape. Additionally, this work explores some of the ways racial discrimination can be perpetuated through planning decisions and the legacies of slavery and colonization in the Lowcountry, which should be of interest to students of environmental and cultural justice. Academic understanding and use of the terms "Gullah" and "Geechie" has been muddled, and this work endeavors to shed more light on these terms.

4.0 METHODS, DATA, AND DISCUSSION

The research project involves the collection of qualitative data structured into two parts: 1) Photographic Community Self-Analysis and 2) Interviews Concerning Perspectives on Land, Development, and Tools for Community Preservation. Both of these components address the relationship between development pressures and socio-economic implications for heirs' property owners within the family unit and in their community. The research was conducted with the help of The Coastal Community Foundation (CCF), where I served as an Intern in Land Use and Preservation from June-August 2004 as part of the Heirs' Property Preservation Project, which worked to establish an infrastructure that promotes citizen input in local and regional planning. The Heirs' Property Preservation Project, created in 2002 as a pilot project, has now evolved into The Center for Heirs' Property Preservation.

What follows is a description of the research methodology combined with a discussion of selected themes: the cultural role of land in Lowcountry black slave-descendant communities; the impacts of development on that role; the community's relationship with local government concerning zoning and preservation decisions; and the community's vision for development.

The interviews and photographic workshops reveal a community that is rooted in its history but has a vision that includes modern development. The ties to the land and its history, including plantations, remain strong. From discussions with residents, land appears to continue to have a strong valuation in terms of familial history and is rarely sold without some amount of grief. These reports support studies on the role of land and community in historic Lowcountry Gullah-Geechie descendant culture (Twining and Baird 1991; Jones-Jackson 1987) as discussed in "3.0 Literature Review," suggesting that these results are representative of other modern black Lowcountry communities.

The results are presented in a manner meant to allow residents' voices and opinions to inform the discussion. Discussion and analysis will follow the presentation of the interviews and photographic community self-analysis results. The results include concrete suggestions for commercial, recreational, institutional, and residential development, which means that inherent in the community's vision are suggestions for planners working in this and similarly situated areas. Because the interviews provide the larger and richer context for the photographs and their commentary, the results of the interviews are presented first, though pertinent results arising from discussion in during the photographic workshops are presented in the interview section.

4.1 Participation

Before beginning case study research in South Carolina, a preliminary review of local newspaper articles was conducted, the Comprehensive Plans and Zoning Codes of Charleston and Berkeley Counties were analyzed, and theoretical literature regarding place attachment and identity as well as historic Gullah-Geechie relationships to land and community were utilized to form the research project, as described in "3.0 Literature Review."

Selection of appropriate participants was determined by their degree of interest in the Heirs' Property Preservation Project of the Coastal Community Foundation, which was an indicator of interest in preservation of heirs' property in general. Advertisements for the Heirs' Property Training Sessions (which are free of charge) are published by what was then part of the Coastal Community Foundation and what is now the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation in multiple newspapers that

target areas where heirs' property is prevalent. Several community members from Wando and Huger who attended these workshops continued to work with the Coastal Community Foundation in the Community Assessment conducted by Karimah Moore, and these were the first people to whom I was introduced and whom I asked to be a part of this study, meaning that this sample is one of convenience based on accessibility. This original convenience sample snowballed as community leaders suggested others in the community whose stories they thought may be important for my research. Selection of participants was determined by their consent to be a participant. The Wando and Huger communities, while distinct in culture and proximity to development, are experiencing similar developmental effects. Every effort was made to ensure that representatives from each of the different communities were represented to ensure the most comprehensive research possible. Because different age groups have differing perceptions regarding land rights and development, the recruitment of cross-generational family members allowed a more representational participant base.

The participant recruitment method effectively means that the participants were primarily leaders in the effort to preserve heirs' property and their relatives, though they were asked about other possible opinions on cultural and land preservation. The participants are representative of the persons most knowledgeable about development trends in their community as well as efforts to preserve heirs' property by clearing title on the land.

The participants in the photographic community self-analysis and the interviews overlap. Three more participants started the photographic workshops than completed the process, meaning eighteen people completed the community self-analysis and/or were interviewed. The participants were drawn from a core group of leaders from the community who were involved with the then Heirs' Property Preservation Project. These leaders were identified through meetings and house visits with CCF staff.

There were three male and nine female participants between the ages of 21 and 79 in the photographic community self-analysis. All participants were black with the exception of two white women. All participants in the photographic community self-analysis who completed the process were interviewed, and an additional six participants were either identified by original participants as elders whose knowledge was essential to the purposes of the research or were family members who participated in group interviews with the original participant. There were a total of seventeen interviewees with an average age of approximately 53 at the time of research (2004); two interviewees did not provide their age. The participants in the case study were primarily leaders in the effort to preserve heirs' property and their relatives. Because this paper focuses on black cultural land valuation, only results from black participants are examined here, which means a total of fifteen interviewees' input is included.

This study is intended as an exploratory examination of slave-descendant culture as related to land. The sample is not a randomized sample with statistical significance, and achieving such a sample was never a goal nor would it necessarily have been possible or made sense for the scope of this study. While the sampling means the results of this research may not be extrapolated to other communities, it certainly suggests that the complex array of undercurrent concerns and dynamics uncovered by the research are likely felt by others in Wando-Huger and similar communities. Further research could explore in greater depth the issues identified in this study and may identify other relevant dynamics. Simultaneously, this research has made clear that there are nuances and differences of perspective concerning the cultural role of land and development impacts in this community, and without this study, the complexity of the situation would not be understood in these terms.

4.2 Note on the Author

My personal interest in the research area comes from growing up on a barrier island west of the Charleston peninsula that has seen rapid transformation from a rural to a suburban landscape since the 1930s. The land I grew up on is just off a street that contains plots of heirs' property. Though the neighborhood is now mostly wealthy suburban households, it is likely that it too was once black-owned farmland. My early childhood was immersed in a school where the socio-economic class and language differences between white children who lived in the newer suburbs and the black children whose families had mostly been long-time residents of the island were a constant presence. As a member of an extremely small Asian-American ethnic group, I learned to walk in the racial nether-regions of the neither black nor white South and thusly learned multiple perspectives on racial dynamics in the community. My parents also encouraged me to spend most of my free time playing in the woods and the marshes of the Lowcountry, where I developed my own strong attachment to the land. Gaining trust in such a closed community as Wando-Huger often meant disclosing my own personal opinions on preserving heirs' property and developmental trends. This does not mean that the participants were asked leading questions. While I am not a totally unbiased observer of this landscape or its people, I have tried my best to present this study in a way that allows the reader to come to his or her own conclusions and have conducted myself similarly throughout the research process.

4.3 Interviews

Wando-Huger residents' perspectives on land, development, and tools for preservation were investigated through qualitative interviews. The purpose of this component of the study was to examine how cultural and economic values toward land may be shifting in the community and the influence of development on those values and the vision of the community for the future.

What was revealed through interviews with Wando-Huger residents was not just the story of the history of the land, its valuation, and the struggle to maintain traditional senses of community, but a vision of the type of development residents desire and a distrust of existing authorities' commitment to incorporate that vision into land-use decisions. The community's vision is not an antiquated yearning for a way of life that remains fifty years behind. Rather, modern development is encouraged with the caveat that the development include jobs and housing that is, in the words of one young woman, "Nice, comfortable, not something real big. Something for someone like me."

4.3.1 Methodology

Interviews were conducted in locations preferred by participants, usually in their homes or at the Community Center, next to the Cainhoy Middle/High School. Where possible, subjects were interviewed individually, but due to time constraints, it was sometimes necessary to interview subjects in groups no larger than three persons, though the subjects' answers may have biased one another. In two instances, relatives observed the original participant interviews but then agreed to subsequent individual interviews. One interview was conducted while two women drove Karimah Moore, Coastal Community Foundation consultant, and me around their neighborhood pointing out areas of change and significance. In another instance, the original participant answered questions while two of her relatives added substantially to the conversation.

The qualitative interviews were conducted using an oral consent process. Before beginning my research, I had been advised by those with experience in working in Lowcountry black communities that the act of signing a consent form may be problematic for a number of reasons. Primarily, heirs' property owners may be hesitant to sign any documents regarding land issues. Additionally, the

cultures are more traditionally based on an oral tradition, and documents and signatures are representative of the dominant culture. Because of these perceptions, I thought the process of written consent forms possibly could have less meaning to the interviewees, could be perceived as foreign and alienating, and unfamiliarity with the process could lead to misunderstandings of the nature of the consent form, though many of the participants signed written consent forms for the photographic workshops. However, many more personal and sensitive topics were addressed in the interviews. Because of this, consent for the interviews was obtained orally based upon a script that conforms to the University of Michigan Institutional Review Board consent guidelines. The potential participants were informed about the procedure orally in the process of recruiting them, and then at the start of each interview, participants were again informed about the objective and procedure of the interview process. Participants were given a written copy of the intent of the project and contact information should they have any questions following the interview. The data collection protocol, oral consent script and information sheet can be found in "Appendix A."

The interviews generally followed the data collection protocol with an effort to keep the tone more conversational than formal. Opening questions on "Historic Values" focused on community and how cultural values about the land may be changing. This section included questions such as "Who lived around you growing up," and "Could you describe in as much detail as possible a situation in which you were taught values about your home and the land around you?" Opening with an opportunity for story-telling was intended to put the interviewee at ease. This transitioned into a section of questions regarding "Current Values" including the questions, "What are your hopes/fears for the land," and "What are the strengths of this community?" This section also included identity questions, such as, "Do you consider yourself a member of the Gullah culture," meant to give the interviewee the opportunity to talk about community identity and definitions of culture by outsiders.

The 2004 designation of the "Gullah/Geechee Coast" as one of "America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places" by the National Trust for Historic Preservation was a transitional question into the next discussion area, "Current Development." This group of questions asked, "What drives development in this region," how the community is involved in determining development patterns, and how development is impacting the community both positively and negatively. A section of questions regarding community "Empowerment" asked, "What development path would you like to see the Wando/Cainhoy/Huger area take," and was followed by questions gauging levels of activism around these visions such as, "How is this path being pursued," and "What additional information or skills do you feel you need to overcome [obstacles to this vision]?"

The final data collection protocol section, "Heirs' Property", usually the most sensitive area of inquiry, included questions such as, "When did you first become aware of the issue of heirs' property," "What is your perception of the best way to keep property in the control of your family," and "How easily do you feel [a process to clear title] would be undertaken in your family?" These questions aimed to explore familial land loss, familial strife, legal processes to clear land titles, and perceptions of community impacts due to land loss. Many interviewees had more thoughts and stories to add throughout the question and answer period, and these stories are reflected in the results.

Interviews averaged approximately 80 minutes long. All of the interviews were recorded with a mini disc player and later transferred into mp3 format and transcribed. Because of the difficulty in hearing all of the tapes, quotes used in this paper may not be exact. In some cases where the interview ran over the length of the mini disc, I had to take notes by hand, and in these cases, there is likely some paraphrasing of quotes. Some participants wished to be identified by name and others wished to remain anonymous. However, to protect the interest of all participants, fictitious names have been assigned to all participants. Syntax is unaltered because of the influence of traditional

speech patterns, including the influence of the Gullah “skr” in place of the “str” sound, e.g. “skrong” for “strong,” as well as subject-verb agreement patterns and drops of the possessive “s.” The traditional names of neighborhoods are used by the long-time residents of Wando-Huger, including “Daniel’s Island,” which differs from the Daniel Island Real Estate Company and the name they use for marketing.

4.3.2 *Losses of Heirs’ Property and Development*

As discussed in “2.2 The Heirs’ Property Conundrum,” heirs’ property results from lack of access to social and financial capital, legal resources, as well as traditional familial valuation of the land. Each successive generation sees the number of heirs with rights to the property grow as the land is inherited without a clear title or deed. Once thought by community members to be a means by which land could be prevented from sale to predatory whites, a confused title now makes the land more vulnerable than ever to sale in the increasingly desirable coastal plain; tenancies in common mean that any one family member can force the sale of land out from under the often multiple families living on the parcel in patterns that are directly attributable to settlement patterns formed on the rice plantations.

There is a certain amount of debate in planning and conservation circles about why people sell heirs’ property and whether there has been an increase in sales as property values increase, which would imply a shift from cultural-familial valuation of land toward commodification. While there has been a reported limited increase in commodification of land, the general consensus in the community is that heirs’ property, and property in general, is rarely sold because of a happy circumstance. People who have sold their land have been described as elderly people who need money; people who are “hurting and don’t think about the future;” people who can no longer afford to pay the property taxes; and families whose internal feuds have been exploited by opportunistic lawyers and/ or family members. Interviewees thought that the people who are most likely to sell are people who do not feel a vested interest in the future of the community, especially family members who live far removed from the parcel and who are not likely to return to South Carolina. Development has played a part in increasing family strife and the loss of heirs’ property, according to Kevin, a man in his late fifties who is deeply concerned about his community and development:

One of the negative impact is that we have less property than we had before. Folks have limited avenue of providing a home for their family. ...Also, with development in the area, driven the taxes up in the area, you provided jobs, but the jobs are menial and low paying. ...But, if you driving up the taxes and you’re only paying low wages, you have not realize anything from the increase in jobs in the area. You have somehow driven a wedge between family members, because the price of property went up. There’s some dispute over holding onto the land or getting rid of the land.

As she looked out the window at her own family’s compound, Abigail summed up the community sentiment about selling land due to financial hardship by saying, “I don’t think nobody want to lose what they have, actually, just because they can’t afford it, because they’re being pushed out by commercial companies coming in. I really think people enjoy where they are.” This sentiment about being pushed out because of taxes or development was much more common among Wando interviewees where the development pressures are much stronger, though those in Huger are aware of the issues. In Huger, the fear over land loss mostly centers around family members who might want to sell off the land.

4.3.2.1 Familial Strife

An infamous example of the loss of heirs' property due to a family feud is the story of the Rivers family, whose case was highly publicized in local newspapers (Bartelme 2001; 2002) and was the catalyst for many Wando-Huger residents' realizations that a tenancy in common could be a liability. In the case of the Rivers, one family member wanted to force the sale of waterfront property; she was more interested in a cash settlement than keeping the land. Many other family members, most of whom lived out of state, joined her in the fight to sell the land. The patriarch of the family, described by Wando-Huger residents as a "proud" man before he lost his land, could not read. Many community members believe that the lawyer representing the disgruntled family member took advantage of Mr. Rivers' illiteracy which eventually resulted in a court sale of the land, leaving seven families living on the parcel homeless.

Almost inevitably, in response to the question, "When did you first become aware of the issue of heirs' property," following a tale of a grandparent or parent explaining the way the property was passed from generation to generation, or after asking, "What was the most recent time you were worried about your land," the Rivers' story would come up as the first scary moment when people realized their land was not secure. Victoria said through her tiredness at the end of the workday that she first became aware of heirs' property:

When Johnny Rivers lost his property down in Cainhoy—it was an eye-opener. That's the first that community ever had to experience like that. [And of the story of the land loss], nobody gonna know the real deal. It's a family fight, and you know, nobody will tell you the real side of it. One side always gonna blame the other side, but it's a family feud that sparked everything that got outta hand. And I wouldn't even say it got out of hand; my perception of it is that the attorney saw an opportunity, and he took it, you know? That's another case where people were, I would say, misconceived, scrutinized. Mr. Rivers couldn't read, and the attorney found out somehow that he couldn't read and took advantage of that, and kinda escalated the whole thing where, took it so far that it could not be turned around, whether they wanted to or not. Which they wanted to solve, they wanted to at least resolve the differences, but they weren't even allowed to. ...[The attorney] gave him documents to sign; he gave them misleading information.... It was going to be appealed, but Mr. Johnny in returns began to get ill—he couldn't take the pressure anymore, because we're talking about a man that born and raised there, been there seventy years. Seventy years is not a short time to be born and raised up, and it kinda like killed him in a way, and it took away his self esteem. It kinda took away, it took away everything from him, and he's just not skrong enough to fight it anymore. So, he would rather just go ahead and live in peace.... His children was very much hurt by that, too, because they all were born and raised there also, and it's just a lot of people don't think about things like that—how much it impact a person's life until it actually happen. It's not as if I could just get up and go and take root somewhere else. He was too up in age to start all over again, which he had to do. The children, they're young, you know, you know, children, I mean young people, bounce back, but older people don't. It didn't impact them as hard as it impacted Mr. Rivers. [As for an appeal], once again, we're raised with respect, with the level of respect, that that's not what you [the elder] want to do, then we won't do it. It would not be any forced issue there.

A majority of the interviewees concurred that heirs' property has the propensity to increase family strife. As Abigail put it as I sat in her kitchen after work while dusk settled over the marsh outside:

Heirs' property, I think, heirs' property is, it can change a family, even if you're close. Heirs' property can really tear that down if you're not smart and watching, in a sense. And you can be smart and watching, and there're other family member who would look in with greed when it come down to that.... If one member of a family group wants to sell they portion of the heirs' property, and if they talk to a few others and they can wiggle their way into selling also, you have to either sell or buy them out. And, it's still a tough task because heirs' property in the family around this area [The Ferry] runs back to the early 1800s, so what you're looking at is spending a great deal of money if they didn't have the Ford Foundation [funded Heirs' Property Preservation] Project out, and you could--sometime it just didn't make sense on how you can untie, not only just untie the knot with the heirs' property, or just get together and talk as a family, because this one is saying, 'I'm paying the tax,' and the next one saying they're paying the tax, and it just corrupt the mind of the family, and it brings 'bout a division, so I, I really don't like that aspect of heirs' property.

4.3.2.2 Tax Burdens

Kevin's and Abigail's concerns bring up the concerns of many family members—some who told me their stories in person, and others whose stories were relayed to me in many interviews—regarding payment of property taxes. Family members who have been diligently paying taxes on the family land are not rewarded for this financial output in the case of a court-ordered sale of the property. Instead, those heirs who have paid taxes and those heirs who have not contributed to the taxes are treated equally in the eyes of the court. These matters and others contribute to family strife over land and provide little incentive for family members to share the burden of property taxes. Kevin has his finger on the pulse of most land struggles in the community and gave this example of a resident struggling to pay the taxes on the heirs' property on which she lives:

And we have another situation. We have people own property on the deep water side over here, and one lady she own at the time, about, I think even right now she still owns about 20 acres, but she was only living on social security. Probably bringing in four to six hundred dollars a month. Now the property value went up. The taxes went up. So now she has in the last few years been forced to sell some of her property just to maintain the taxes on it, and I think that's going to be the detriment to areas like this. The property value goes up so high. And the folks who own it, they're not going to be able to develop it, and they're not going to be able to pay the taxes, and it's residential property, so what can you do with it?

To give an idea of how much taxes have risen in areas near Daniel Island, Abigail said with incredulity as she explained:

To others, it's a goldmine. To me, it's home. So, now we're stuck with taxes that are outrageous in a area we're in, this piece of property that I'm on now, say, five or six years ago, I might've paid eighty dollars in taxes. Right now, I'm paying four hundred and ninety some dollars, which would be, which next year would be much more, and that's with a discount.

The tax discount, according to Abigail, is not substantial and does not counteract the effects of the influx of wealthy families and upper-income-oriented housing into the community. Rather, she worries,

The state allows certain little things out. I don't remember all of it. But too our fire fee is in that also, so that's fifty dollars fee that we pay, and then we pay fee for soil

conservation, soil, trash, different things like that, yeah. But, they call themselves discount us for some reason, in some areas, which they do for everybody, but I think eventually we're gonna have to speak to our county supervisor concern this special tax district in this area, because where now, we were, years ago, the majority, we're begin to be a minority in the area, so with our elderly people who're still here and not able to work, and some of them never did work: the husband brought in money for the family, so when you lose a spouse in that area, the large, the bulk of money that you were receiving, you don't anymore. You just have to live off that little money and whatever your kids can give you....

4.3.2.3 Roles of Family Hierarchies and Kinship

In Wando-Huger, the matriarchs and patriarchs of the family make the decisions pertaining to the land. Because Mr. Rivers chose not to appeal because "he couldn't take the pressure anymore," according to one community member, the younger people in the family will not appeal because of their respect for his wishes. This respect for family hierarchy shows continuation of the importance of kinship ties identified by Jones-Jackson (1987), Twining and Baird (1991), Guthrie (1996), and Morgan (1998). John, a feisty, affable man who sat on many social service boards, described the way his family's matriarch and patriarch, his aunt and uncle, a sister and a brother, control the land as "whatever they say goes because they're the oldest, so no one challenges [them] because we know who's in charge, and it keeps people in check. Everybody knows who's gonna take [charge of] the land— [the next oldest person], and it's never discussed, it's just done."

These tacit understandings of familial hierarchy, strong kinship ties, and respect for social harmony run deep in Lowcountry black culture. Violet sat with her mother Doris in their living room on a quiet lane off of Cainhoy Road and tried to explain why no one in her family is challenging a group of family members who have offered a ninety-nine year lease on a parcel of heirs' property even though other family members do not want the land leased. Those receiving proceeds from the lease are not sharing the profits with other family members who have legal right to the land. Violet said of those who do not want the land leased:

They don't want to cause confusion; they think it's confusion [to confront the others]. They don't want to rock the boat. They don't want to cause confusion with the other family members, because in the black race, people are very religious, you know, so they feel that, well, if we go after these people, you know, then we are fighting over land and something bad may happen, and there's all kinda myths. ...[Instead], everybody going right along.

While no one else put it quite as succinctly or explained the religious theory behind it, almost everyone agreed that in Wando and Huger there is a strong social pressure to "go along to get along," as John and others call it. Fear develops as stories circulate of people who are willing to "rock the boat" for personal gain, and the Rivers' story continues to exemplify this willingness.

4.3.2.4 Fears and Far Away Relatives

Many of the Rivers family members who lost their homes now live in apartments in North Charleston. The original petitioning party in the Rivers' case believed at the time that the cash settlement she won was the best deal possible, but according to some of the residents interviewed, she now realizes that she and the rest of the family could have received much more money for her land, which has been subdivided by developers, connected to water and sewer, and was selling for approximately \$500,000 per lot in 2004, if they had managed to subdivide it and sell it off themselves.

Perhaps the only "positive" to come out of the Rivers' situation was that, as Ella put it sitting at a table in the back of her family convenience store one afternoon, "...[W]hen they have a problem

with the Rivers' property, then everyone really concerned then, you know, to see—people went to meetings to find out about heirs' property...[to see] if they were going to lose theirs. If we were going to lose ours, rather.” Those meetings were the precursors and products of the Heirs' Property Preservation Project and were intended to teach people the implications of tenancies in common and paths to clearing title on the land.

Though the Rivers' story is the most well-known, property sales by family members seeking wealth and by those who do not live on the land or even in the vicinity are being repeated especially in Wando near Daniel's Island. The greatest concern seems to be over those relatives who live out of state. Kevin said in an authoritative, explanatory tone:

... [N]ow you go other places, like right in the vicinity right here, which we call Yellow House and the Ferry. Now, what's happening with them is two-fold. There's property that it went up in value greatly—tremendously—in value, and they have family that don't live here. Let's say if they have a family in New York, probably living in an apartment, you know, in a project, and now he is hearing that property value is in the thousand dollars, and they think, which is somewhat inflated, but this is what he's hearing and he realizes he has property here. He's living in an apartment up there and not doing that good, and he's not planning on moving back down here, so the incentive for him to say, 'Well, I can use fifty thousand dollars.' So, those are the folks we have the most problem with in the sense of this property here.

This sentiment regarding those living out of town who have no ties to the land as being the most willing to sell was widely echoed. Almost every interviewee knew of someone who was scared of out-of town relatives forcing a sale on their land.

4.3.2.5 Place Identity and Familial History

As a counter-point to those who have no ties to the land and those who are willing to sell is the strong sense of place identity through genealogical narrative. Most interviewees expressed a belief that this history, if owned by subsequent generations, will perpetuate land ownership. No interview was complete without a story of who acquired the family land after slavery and the hardships that were endured in the effort to keep the land. Doris, a woman in her nineties, perked up at the chance to speak of her father and said with great emphasis, “My father, he died, but he would always say, ‘Must hold the land, don't sell the land,’ ‘cause my grandfather had a lot of lands, and my daddy always try to keep ‘em together.... And we'd try to keep it together as much as we can.” Doris's daughter Violet shared her perception of this narrative:

And they made sure, the older people then, they didn't make a lot of money, but they made sure to pay the taxes. (Doris echoes at this point, nodding her head, “Pay the taxes.”) Because they felt that's where their richness came from because a lot of the land was purchased where some of them probably was making a dollar a week, maybe. A dollar a week was not a lot of money, but they would save so they would be able to purchase the property because they felt that would be the only thing they would be able to leave for they children.

Approximately two-thirds of the interviewees relayed a similar sentiment that their elders wanted to keep the land in the family so they would have a legacy to pass on to future generations.

4.3.2.6 Opportunistic Outsiders and Unprepared Community Members

Holding onto the land in times past was difficult not only because of the difficulty in making property tax payments. Victoria said with her well-manicured hands emphasizing the story:

Well, they were losing land because they couldn't afford the taxes, and some people was cheated out of they property by influential people, so.... Yeah, I remember a story. One of the person that I, not personally know, but I hear my parents talk about them, and I also-- my father before he passed away help to retain the property back-- was George Avinger. He owned a store, you know, a little mom-pop store, in the area they call Cainhoy, and that was sorta like the grocery store of Wando, and he would, like, people couldn't afford groceries, so he credit them food, and when they weren't able to pay they bill, he took they property! And he would have them to sign away they property because a lot of the older people didn't know how to read and write. So, yeah, that's how he acquired a lot of his property, and if you do any research on the Avingers, they have a lot, and even now, he's dead and gone, but his daughter, she inherited what he obviously stole from the community.

Victoria, now in her late forties, said that this happened when she was young in Yellow House. “[Avinger’s] store was in Cainhoy, but the properties that he owned, he owned what he was on in Cainhoy, and then he owned what he stole from others in Yellow House.” She said that he concentrated on Yellow House especially “because the older people didn’t know how to read or write and they were mostly intimidated by white people.” She clarified where Yellowhouse was by saying, “Pinefield, well, see, we call all of that Yellow House, it’s just a different section of Yellow House. Pinefield stems off, and that’s a road where the Fordham family lived in Pinefield and Rivers, and then Yellow House, which is now called Clements Ferry Road, it stems from 526, the little bridge, as I was explaining to Karimah, the little bridge up until Jack Promise, that’s Yellow House.” This description led to the realization that the Rivers’ property that was lost was also in Yellow House, meaning the preying on illiterate members of that community by opportunistic outsiders is not a new phenomenon.

4.3.2.7 Commercialization and the Younger Generation

Elizabeth, one of the last interviewees, is a woman in her seventies who was raised in Baldwin Corner and who spent much of her adult life in Philadelphia. She sat with me across a table in Huger. She described the struggle to hold onto the land by saying, “People fought tooth and nail, some took their food money sometimes, I’m sure, to pay they taxes and hold onto this property.” She said her elders were afraid to pass the land on to her generation because they were afraid the younger people did not understand the value of the land and the hardships endured to hold onto it and this lack of appreciation would lead them to sell it. Now it is those in Elizabeth’s generation and the ones below it who fear the young people in the community don’t care about the land and are too willing to sell it. Yet Elizabeth’s own children, now in their forties, developed place identity through summers spent with their grandfather on the land in Huger away from their home in Philadelphia. Of these children who are moving back to Huger, Elizabeth said:

My father would say about my children, ‘When they get out of school, send them back here,’ every summer until they didn’t want to go anymore: until they became teenagers. So, my daughter was saying the other day, ‘You had a good experience, and we had a good experience [here]. That’s why this place means so much to me.’

Those least worried about sale of land by the younger generations of their families are those who feel that the younger folks in their family know and respect the narrative of hardship that went into acquiring and holding onto the family land. As John said with pride that he never worries about his land because everyone in the family “talk about the land in terms of people been dead over one hundred years—grandma and grandpa who came off the plantation,” I remembered him gazing at his family’s shade tree where they gathered. He continued, “So they don’t talk about [the land] in terms of their parents or ‘mine.’” This sense of ancestral ownership, John believes, is what will keep them

from selling the land. This does not, however, stop John from worrying about what he calls “the Pepsi generation” of the community and that they “will see the land as a cash cow and trade it for some ungodly material piece of junk.” Most of the interviewees echoed these fears, though perhaps with not as many colorful expressions.

Victoria, who still looks quite young herself, said the younger folk “don’t know as much and can’t picture the past. They don’t know nothing about horse and buggy. They don’t know nothing about the ferry boat [that was the only transportation across the water]. They can’t even picture that in their mind because those things are gone. Only thing they know about is Lexuses and Infinities and stuff and nothing recorded.” Victoria remembers when the roads in Wando weren’t paved, pigs, chickens, and things her children will never see: where the hog pen was and where the chicken coop was. “They don’t know what it was to have just two dresses to go to school in—they had a new outfit every day. If you haven’t experienced it, it’s hard to appreciate that.” Still, she says, “As they get older, similar to me, you never see the struggle, but it was there—they see a people without a home, but they can’t grasp it, and it’s hard for them to imagine.” The fear that commercialism will cause the younger generation to lose their sense of community and appreciation for the land was relatively universal among the interviewees in their forties and older, or all but two of the participants.

Tameka is a woman in her early twenties whose childhood was punctuated with development changes in Wando. She now attends college in upstate South Carolina. She brought her niece to the Coastal Community Foundation, and as her niece colored while she sat at the Executive Director’s desk, we spoke about her memories, feelings about development, and hopes for the future. She said about those who are selling land, “I think it’s elderly people looking for money and people who are, who are, I guess money-crazy. They’re not thinking about who it could be hurting or not thinking about the future: ‘Well, if I sell this now, what could they put here in the future?’” She said that the best way to keep property in the family is for no one to sell, and in her family she “...[doesn’t] think people our age would. I think they look at it as, ‘They work so hard to keep this, why would we sell it now?’ ...Our land will probably be ok unless cousins that don’t feel that way about the land and just want they chunk, I think it’ll be alright.” Tameka has clearly taken the family narrative about the land as her own, which might be of great surprise to her elders. Still, her comments acknowledge that there are cousins who live away from Wando who might be willing to sell for economic gain. She did clarify that the cousins who might be willing to sell were not those cousins living in downtown Charleston, but those who live further away.

The perception of land and the propensity to sell among the generations of twenty- and thirty-somethings is unclear from the interview sample, partly because so many young people leave for school or career, and those who remain in the community are not active in preservation efforts that would have made them readily accessible given the sampling method. John’s son Peter is in his mid-thirties and lives in the Los Angeles area and was in Huger visiting his family when I interviewed his father. As we sat in the Cainhoy Community Center next to the school, a regular community gathering place for everything from meetings to quilting, he said that he believes whether the younger generation will hold onto the land depends on whether they are “the ones that stayed or the ones that left for college,” because the ones who left “don’t have a closeness to the land, so it’s easier to sell it because they only come [visit] for a couple of weeks.” Peter said he feels connected to the land because he used to “come visit” and “knew all the family.” Though he does not see himself living in Huger except maybe in retirement, he said he would not sell the land because he understands the value of the land. Having just listened to his father detail the familial valuation of the land, it was unclear if Peter meant just the monetary value of the land, or the intangible value of the land to his family. Peter said he always understood the value of the land, and following John’s interview, it seems that that understanding was one John tried to instill in his son.

Perhaps those most likely to hold onto the land are young people who have a strong sense of place; those who have moved away and returned, or the “come back heahs,” (A plural form of, literally, one who “come back here,” as opposed to the “been heah” person who never left.) as they’re known; and those across the generations who view the land in terms of its social-cultural legacy and economic value. Roughly two-thirds of the interviewees were either come-back-heahs or people currently living away from Wando-Huger for college or work, and both groups felt that their time away instilled an appreciation for the community and the land that had not been there before they left. Many of the come-back-heahs say, as Violet did, that they came back because they “don’t want to raise [children] in the city,” and they “don’t want to get old in the city—it doesn’t matter what city!” This implies that the rural lifestyle is of great importance to this demographic.

Jenny, Violet’s sister, stopped by her mother’s house in the middle of the interview to say hello and ended up caught up in the discussion. She added that the come-back-heahs “have the understanding to know that with all the industry that is coming in, how industry can destroy a community. And I came back here for another reason: for the quality of living,” she said. “In the area I live on 99 [Charity Church Road], when I first came back here, it was very quiet, and we could walk in the dark. Now you can’t walk in the daytime! So much traffic! Yes! [It’s been about thirteen years since I’ve been back], and I have seen this community change so much, it’s impossible.” This reaction to development may explain why so many of the come-back-heahs, like Violet, John, Abigail, Kevin, Elizabeth, and Victoria, are so active in the effort to control development impacts in Wando and Huger. Violet explained that she used to be much more active, but after coming down with a serious illness, had to limit her efforts. Others told me later that if Violet were not ill, she probably could have become the charismatic leader she said the community needs to galvanize widespread community activism to protect the community.

4.3.2.8 Historic Race Dynamics

Keeping the responsibility for the fate of the land in the hands of the elders does not always mean that the land will stay in the family. Victoria is active with the Wando-Huger Community Development Corporation and one of the people most familiar with development pressures in the area. She said:

...[D]ue to all of this building, and...the land, the value, the sentimental value is just about gone with all the development coming around and, I would say, now it don’t have that sentimental value as it did before. Before, everybody had value, had that same value, until, I guess, they start seeing dollar signs. And our area, we weren’t rich in money, but we were rich in family, and we rich in land, see? And, developers took advantage of that ‘cause the older people that were still here that were in charge of the properties, a couple thousand dollars look like a million. They didn’t really know the value of money as the younger generation do. And, they pretty much, you know kinda sold their land out right from under their family, but when, that’s when our community group started taking charge of anybody that came into their neighborhood, because the older generation still was intimidated by white people, you know, for some reason, they just had that, that mentality that they were inferior. Yeah, and I guess, you know, they saw little bit of slavery time coming out. And, and, the segregation—they came up in the segregation time, where they were taught they weren’t equal. So, I guess the developers relied on that type of, you know, attitude and they kinda take advantage of it.

Stories of elderly persons who are experiencing hard times or being taken advantage of and who are selling the family land came up in many interviews. This implies that shifts in perceptions of land valuation from the familial-cultural toward the economic may be happening among the elderly and those under forty, but the willingness to sell among the elderly may also be due to historic social

dynamics. Post-slavery Southern culture included social norms and laws that required blacks to defer to white preferences, and Victoria suggests that the elderly in Wando-Huger raised under that Jim Crow system retain those false perceptions and are vulnerable to the demands of white developers, mirrors of demanding whites in positions of authority, even when the decisions being asked of them are damaging to the overall family well-being.

4.3.2.9 Reasons to Sell and Solutions

There was little discussion about the reasons to sell the land among interviewees. Elizabeth explained towards the end of our interview, the shadows already grown long through the pine trees, that the only two instances where she sold property were in times of need. She said:

When we first came back [from Philadelphia], we started a Head Start Center. The County was paying the rent at first, but when the County stopped paying the rent and [after some confusion about paying the rent with grant money]..., they said they were going to take it to Daniel's Island. I said, 'Oh no you're not.' ...What my brother and I had to do was, we sold them two acres of land to put that Head Start Center on. And I sold one acre to a cousin who didn't have anywhere to go. Sure, I use the money, but I didn't sell it to get money. I sold it because I had a reason to sell it.

Regardless of the reasons for sale of familial lands, black leaders in the community believe that heirs' property contributes to development problems because the land stays in huge tracts of land which are attractive to development. These leaders believe that if they were able to subdivide the parcels within the family, developers could not "do much with it." The lack of education surrounding market value of the land and options for clearing title exacerbates the problem. Many in the community who are aware of the liabilities associated with a tenancies in common are eager to clear the title on their land, but the resources are not readily available.

Kevin sees a clear path of action. He spoke decisively while ignoring the noise of the telephone and the television in the background, as one who has examined many facets of a problem and come to the best conclusion might:

I hope that all the...family members could be educated on [heirs' property], [and] can...once educated on it, sit down and try to figure out how they could now preserve the land and how they could now legally channel the land in a way that it would be beneficial to them without having to sell the property, and that's what we're trying to maintain: a stable community, a community of landowners.... We have inherited it now, so that's why it's important to us to hold onto the property, and I think we could set up a limited liability corporation...where you could have a management group from in the family with by-laws and guidelines, and those properties...could have...people sit down and go 'head and divide the property up. I think those are the two options we have: divide it up or set up a corporation.

Charles agrees that a corporation is the best way to keep land in the family "if the family is getting along." His family's heirs' property was put into a corporation. One of the few places in the interview where he elaborated of his own will, he described the process as taking a long time, but there was no family conflict: "It was a pretty smooth process." The family went through mediation to establish the corporation and then held a family meeting and selected seven members to sit on a board of directors with staggered terms. They put an easement for a road through the middle of the property. The plan for the land is that "it's protected and will always stay right in the family," and even if one person wants to sell, "we'll have enough money in the corporation to buy their interest out," he said. Charles said he found out about the corporation by "hear[ing] people talk about it, and

decid[ing] it was the best way to go.” He talked to lawyers for advice. The catalyst was not the Rivers’ family story, because they were just getting started with the process at that time, but the “thing over the [proposed State] Port[s] Authority Gateway Terminal] was when we started looking at protecting it,” he said.

Though a man of efficient words, Charles has clearly spent some time thinking about ways the rest of the community can hold onto its land and believes building “some low income houses so houses are not so expensive” would help keep property taxes down and enable many to hold onto their property. John agreed with Kevin and Charles that the preferable way to hold onto family land is “communal ownership,” but he said, “The way things are going, going ahead and subdividing it is better.” The goal for John, then, is protection of property by securing a clear title above and beyond the communal values he holds so dear. Violet says that many people in the community now understand what they need to do to clear title, “but a lot need mediation.” Many others believe much confusion remains around the process of clearing title and who in the family has rights to heirs’ property. So while the need for education still exists, the far greater need is for mediation, and in some cases, actual legal services. Elizabeth said people still need to write more wills—people are still dying without wills—and they need to listen to the lawyers who are coming to assist and teach, such as those from the Center for Heirs’ Property Preservation, and understand that they cannot sell property that does not have a clear title. While the community struggles to hold onto their property and keep their families and community from losing traditional cohesion, they face many challenges from development and in-migration.

4.3.3 *Developmental Impacts*

Development has meant a multitude of changes to the way of life in Wando-Huger, and these lifestyle changes intermingle with interviewees’ opinions on developmental impacts. The loss of heirs’ property is the most glaring impact of development in Wando-Huger, but other oft-mentioned impacts are traffic--expressed in terms of decreased walkability and communal space, increased speed, and large trucks cutting through residential areas; lack of zoning consistent with existing uses; environmental and environmental health concerns; deterioration of familial and societal cohesion; and increasing property taxes as discussed in “4.3.2 Losses of Heirs’ Property and Development.”

4.3.3.1 Lifestyle Impacts, Traffic, and Safety

The proliferation of traffic brought by I-526 and the residential, commercial, and industrial development has put an end to the safety of being able to walk along or use the roads, forests, and fields for traditional uses. Frequently, residents like Prudence and Jamey mention that they used to have regular parades in the streets or used to visit each other by walking either along the roads or cutting through woods and fields. I interviewed them while they drove Karimah Moore, Coastal Community Foundation consultant, and me around the dirt roads of Huger in the back of their station wagon, with the windows down to let in less heat than was in the car, on that summer day. Each field, stretch of woods, or family settlement we passed came with a story, including the old rice field hidden by trees that Jamey worked as a child. Upper Huger, in the Steed Creek area, is a good thirty miles away from lower Wando, near the Ferry, so this means that people walked great distances to visit each other in the old days, they told us. Some families in Huger describe having walked to church or school by way of roads and a cut through a field, then changing into clean socks and “church shoes” when they arrived.

Roughly one-third of the interviewees mentioned similar losses of traditional access to open space and lands. This decrease in publicly accessible forests and fields seems attributable to outsiders buying the land who are unaware and/ or insensitive to traditional access, current owners’ shifting perceptions of communal ownership, diminished accessibility, and fragmentation of the community

due to development patterns. Kevin affectionately described the way the community was when he was growing up in Wando:

They [the extended family members] were like--all of them were like parents. In the community, there was no boundary in the community. Long as you were in the community, you could travel at will, at a young age—5 years old—you could go anywhere in the community without any permission from your parents because they know you were protected. Family members in the community...gave you guidance, they disciplined you on the spot Anyone older could discipline you, so that in itself was a more of a security blanket for you. You know you were protected. You know you were loved. And at the same time, you knew you didn't have a lot, financially, but you had a lot as a community, you had togetherness.

John described with a real sense of loss and a touch of anger the loss of traditional access through the woods in Huger:

[We] have a situation where people are used to walking through the woods and going places. Well, once the land is bought, the first thing the new owner are doing is putting up 'No Trespassing' sign. Well, gee whiz, those people are walk through the woods for years.... And I know right there on Charity Church road there's a road that used to through, straight through from Charity Church Road to Highway 41. And people used to walk through there, and all of a sudden they put up this 'No Trespassing' sign through there, and the people who owned the property, and basically what they're saying now to the community is, 'You know, I don't care what your history has been, you know, this is my property now, and you keep out.'

In some cases, the decreased walkability is clearly attributable to the widening of roads and increased traffic and traffic speed, as is especially the case in Wando, in addition to the introduction of industrial uses and inaccessibility of previously accessible lands into these traditionally agricultural-residential communities. Tameka, who again is in her twenties, described with some nostalgia in her quiet manner the changes she has seen in her own short life:

I remember, we used to be able to walk the road without having to watch out for big trucks or we could even walk say, from St. Thomas Island to where, all the way up Clements Ferry, probably even up to Pinefield. We used to ride bike' up there all the time. But it's, now you have to watch out for this truck, that truck. It's a lot of traffic going in and out, so now we basically have our road and then, even St. Thomas Road is becoming a lot busier now with the stadium and house, stores, Suncom's back there. It's a lot of traffic going on, it's cutting out much of what we used to do, and the smaller kids, they can't, they can't even like go ride bike' down the road. ...We used to run through the woods from this street to the next street. Now we can't do it. Everything's cleaned off, everything's for this person, that person.

As Tameka continued, it became clear that casual walking and biking are not the only casualties of increased traffic—there were community parades that used to happen on a regular basis on the then infrequently traveled road in the vicinity of NuCor Steel.

[We] used to have a parade from the fire department in Huger to Cainho School.... Sometimes they would have parades just like, say for instance, a family's having a family reunion, they wanna raise money, so they would get people to put their cars in parades to raise money like that.... Say, it'll probably be, like fifteen dollars to put

your car in the parade. For this band to come, it'll be like such and such, and for homecoming we would have a parade, a Christmas parade.... In the streets, having fun. Oh, it has been a loooong time [since we had the last parade]. Hmmmmmm-mm-mmnn. It's been a long time. I'd say probably 'bout, oh, I'm twenty-one now, I'd say probably, I know it's probably more than six years [since 2004]. ...We used to have it along Huger Road, so I think because of the traffic, you know from NuCor and trucks coming in through the back way, I think it'd be hard to cut [the street off], you know? 'Cause they have to do the deliveries and stuff.

Tameka was the only interviewee who mentioned the parades, but most interviewees mentioned traffic impacting community life and walkability, including Violet and Jenny who moved their mother Doris's mailbox from across the road because they considered the traffic conditions not safe enough to cross the street to get the mail.

Increased vehicle speed has not deterred all residents from walking the roads of the community. As explained in "Chapter Two: Background to Land, Development Trends, and Wando-Huger," the main arterial roads in Wando-Huger are Clements Ferry Road, which runs from the I-526 interchange through Wando and up to Cainhoj Road and Highway 41, which both run roughly north through Huger as depicted in *Figures 2.3 and 2.4*. Residents report that vehicles regularly traverse these primarily two-lane roads at speeds in excess of 55 mph, though the designated limit is usually 45 mph. Many young people and children walk along the sides of the roads, though there are no sidewalks. Residents are especially upset that the large trucks traveling from the industrial sites regularly disobey rules prohibiting them from traveling past the middle/ elementary school on Cainhoj Road or down residential roads in their rush to get out of the community. Residents report that the industries claim they are not responsible for the actions of the truck drivers and that when police have responded to their complaints by staking out the roads, they ticket residents of the community for speeding rather than the truck drivers.

4.3.3.2 Incompatible Uses

In lower Wando, where commercial development and new residential development is much more intense, residents complain of incompatible uses or residential uses of much higher intensities being sited next to long-time residential areas. Victoria's exasperated story of development impacts includes the effects of a new large-lot subdivision's construction and efforts to downplay her house's presence at their entryway:

It kinda like sometimes your energy runs out, because I'm constantly fighting things. I'm fighting cable companies, [South Carolina Electric & Gas] SCE&G, I'm fighting, I mean, I'm fighting at just about everything just to keep a little of my home! You know, they drive all in my yard, like I don't live there. Disrespect! SCE&G, Comcast, I'm still yet to call them. I take pride in my yard. I went look: they killed all my grass, and, and they gonna replace my grass because when the guys was parking the truck, you know to reach the cable, they, I told them, I said, 'You're on my property. You're on my grass.' 'Oh, we need to get here,' but then you know, 'I live here! You didn't knock on my door and aks if you can drive on my property?' And I'm constantly being bombarded by things like that. You know, there's no respect. None at all. Just because, and you know, they accommodating the subdivision right behind me. That's what accommodation is. When I look, they plant trees, and that's another thing, I have to call, too—I can't even see to get out of my own driveway, they plant the trees, the trees are so high. So...to kinda block my house... [t]hey paint the fence the color I paint my house. I meant to paint my house orange and polka dot to see if they were going to change their fence! (Smiles.) I was going to do it. I thought about it, but I said no. At first, they make

me mad, and I was going to do that. I was going to paint it bright it bright gold-orange, something off the wall.

In almost every interview, the double standard mentioned here about policy makers' accommodation of new development's wishes and the failure to incorporate the existing community's visions or needs into development decisions was mentioned. Victoria continued to say as I interviewed her in the air-conditioned board room of the Coastal Community Foundation, a contrast to the noise-laden difficulties of her community that she was describing, that the city allowed a trucking company to build next to her house where diesel trucks idle all day.

It's a constant battle, really, to maintain it as a homefront. I'm bombarded by trucks running all night, I have to call the company constantly, remind them, 'Hey, there's a home next door.' On the weekends, if they, same thing, on the weekends coming and going, seven days a week, I'm going through this. I have, well, you know, since 526, the road is busy every second, and I hear more sirens, and now ambulance than ever. It is just a big interruption. ...[T]his weekend past, I had to call [the trucking] company and tell them, 'That [leaving trucks idling] is not what you need to do, and it wasn't an agreement that [they could leave the trucks idling] before they went there.' I could really really stir up some things, but like I told them, I'd rather be a good neighbor, and I would appreciate it if they do likewise, 'cause I know everybody need to make a living, but don't disrupt my life, you know, doing it. Because all of them that works--and that's another fascinating thing--most of the people that work in that area do not even live there. The developers don't even live there, so they, you know, they don't have that sense of, that we have, that sentimental value of the property that we have!

4.3.3.3 Exclusive Decision-Making

Many interviewees expressed similar frustrations with development decisions being made for their community by decision makers (discussed in more detail in "4.3.4 Relationship with Local Government"), developers, and commercial-industrial operators who do not live in the community or have an appreciation of its history. They say many of the housing developments are being built by national companies with headquarters out of state. The preference Victoria mentioned to keep the peace with neighbors instead of complaining is common among interviewees, as mentioned in the previous section, though many identify the need to fight the zoning changes that drastically change their sense of place. Victoria originally tried to fight the placement of the trucking company next to her house, but according to her, the land was "grandfathered" due to the "pre-existing commercial zoning" designation on that piece of property. Fighting undesirable zoning changes is an on-going effort by leaders in the community, especially those who work with the Wando-Huger Community Development Corporation, as discussed in "4.3.4 Relationship with Local Government."

4.3.3.4 Crime

A few interviewees mentioned that with the arrival of I-526 came more crime. Victoria said, sounding still slightly surprised at the report, "When 526 first opened, we had some problems in our area, you know, murders in our area, people didn't even belong to the area, but they murdered people and bring 'em here, and that never happened before. That's one of the biggest things of the opening of 526. We had a couple of bodies found in the area."

4.3.3.5 Environmental and Health Impacts

About one third of residents named environmental and environmental health impacts associated with development as major concerns. One participant reported strange "sonic booms" coming from NuCor Steel's plant and cracked foundations and walls in houses in the plant's proximity. Victoria struggles with asthma and noise issues as she lives next to the trucking company. Abigail said in a

tone that indicated a long struggle that around NuCor Steel, “Water was a big issue. Some people had well, deep well, they couldn’t get water anymore. They well’s dry. ...So now we finally got Santee-Cooper to bring water out there. Water and sewer now.” While the drawing down of the water table around industrial plants is a concern to many of the residents who rely on well water for household use, the arrival of water and sewer lines, as mentioned in “4.3.5 Community Vision for Development,” has the propensity to encourage development. It is unclear from the research to what extent the water table has been drawn down from industrial uses; these are anecdotes that should be taken as such. Of industrial impacts to the community, Abigail added:

We’re affect’ by Amoco, Bp-Amoco, that’s another one: chemical. They’ve never done a study on the area to see. Amoco was there for over twenty years now. Shouldn’t they do a study on cancer and different things in that area or something now? Should’ve been done long time ago. There are people in those area dying with cancer.

These comments indicate that an environmental justice study of this community may reveal disproportionate impacts from development affecting health and quality of life in these communities, not to mention ecological degradation.

4.3.3.6 Loss of Common Values

The interviews reveal that the impact of development extends far beyond the dangers of traffic or even the visual and commercial fabric of the community. As Victoria said, “People are moving in that don’t have that communal sense of value, even within the African-American community,” which creates conflict in the community where “not getting along was never tolerated” before. She continued to say that the type of teaching that she had from her elders is almost gone from the community. She said there’s a “loss of sentimental value and common values” where “dollar signs affect value” now, whereas before, they “were not rich in money, but [they] had the land before now.” The propensity for some family members to force the sale of family land only endangers the cohesive community more, as explained in 4.3.2 “Losses of Heirs’ Property and Development.” As John said with derision, there are predatory lawyers and developers who are all too willing to take advantage of the situation:

When people were poor, everyone took care of everyone. But all of a sudden when one person get a few dollars more than their grand-parents or great-grandparents, all of a sudden they think they can wield that as a means of jerking things from people, and then you have people waiting on the side for a opportunity to step in and do things.

When loss of heirs’ property forces multiple families off a single parcel, most of the interviewees involved with land activism in Wando and Huger, or approximately a third of the interviewees, recognize it as a loss of non-government-subsidized affordable housing. Kevin spoke with a mix of pride and sadness of why Wando-Huger has no government-subsidized affordable housing:

[B]ecause of these properties that I speak of, these heirs’ properties, that is why the government doesn’t need any [affordable housing], because folks have a place to stay, and now those same properties that have assist in low-income without a penny from the government that the government now through eminent domain force these folks off their property [to make way for new roads], now the government going to have to turn around now and find affordable housing for them. So, we see our community as a product that the government should try to protect since our community saves millions of dollars by providing low income housing. In a sense, even when they build subdivisions and they talk about affordable housing, it is never

affordable. The only affordable housing there is is a mobile home. That's affordable. The young ladies working at McDonald's can afford a second hand mobile home. They can't afford a house. So, so that's what we consider affordable, and that's the bottom line on affordable housing.

As the cohesive community culture deteriorates, whether through property loss, the influence of financial pressures, or the willingness to break the peace, the strong community safety net may be breaking down. John said incredulously that the increasing property taxes create,

...[A] a situation where people now becoming dependent on social service agencies, because when you separate these people [from their families and community], and they not in a, within reach that they can share things the way they used to, they will have to depend on people.... Now say, for example, I was at Trident United Way this morning, and I saw some people from Huger. Now, going back many years ago, if something happen to someone in this town or if there were a need, you bet somebody know about it and things get take care of. But then again, nowadays with people deciding they have 'arrived' [financially], and there's not this cohesiveness in the community the way it used to be, what happen now people have to go other places to get things, and I think have to go all the way to Moncks Corner Trident United Way.

This was the only instance of an interviewee mentioning charitable dependence in this manner, but others spoke of assistance offered by United Methodist Relief Fund in helping provide trailers or housing repairs. If what John says is true, not only is the community social safety net deteriorating, but those with more money than other family members may be trying to increase their wealth by selling or leasing the land out from under the rest of the family. The influx of newcomers with whom the existing community has little to no interaction is bemoaned by about half of the interviewees. Two of the interviewees suggested some sort of meet-and-greet program between the existing community and newcomers so the in-migrants could understand the history of the community they are moving into, and so the long-time residents could get to know their neighbors. This shows the extent to which community relationships are valued by Wando-Huger residents.

4.3.3.7 Endangered Landscapes of Freedom

Development is changing the cultural fabric of the society in Wando-Huger, and land valuation is changing from a highly spiritual-symbolic value to one increasingly influenced by capitalist demand values. The root of this historic valuation was explained by John with a sense that he was imparting something of great importance:

[The elders] consider the land a major part of their life, not just a place to stay, but whatever it takes to sustain them and their family, whether it's just for their own consumption or the consumption of someone else' consumption, or even use it as, if you look at it in a sense of agricultural currency.... Basically, it's the bank, like moneyed folks go to the bank, well back then, all of your income came from the bank.

This comment implies that the historic valuation of the land as subsistence and "agricultural currency" may have been due to lack of access to monetary streams of capital. More common among interviewees was the sense that the land held a greater symbolic value coming out of slavery times because it meant they were no longer slaves. Kevin, speaking of the way land has been valued in his community and with reverence for his elders and their struggles, said:

And one thing that [the elders] always stress: that coming out of slavery, only property was something special, because just in the previous year, you were property. Now you own the property. Now, if you own property, that means you were no longer a slave. Slave was property. Property owners, therefore, were not slaves.

This confirms Harvey's (1996) assertion that when slaves and "low[ly] agricultural laborers" convert money into wealth forms representative of genealogy, there is often great reluctance to convert this wealth back into money as a form of circulation because of its hard-won symbolic nature. In post-slavery society, land was the tangible sign of freedom after emancipation, and the modern loss of heirs' property symbolizes a rescinding of freedom and a disregard for systems of allocation created by blacks in the Lowcountry. Modern laws, including existing zoning ordinances, create situations where value systems and settlement patterns created by slaves and freed slaves are being forced out of existence.

4.3.4 *Relationship with Local Government*

4.3.4.1 Few Opportunities to Participate

From the perspective of many community members, local government officials have little regard for their concerns or for preserving the historic nature of the community but instead focus on growing the economic base of the county. Of development trends Tameka says almost with resignation, "The current development path has no regard for the type of people they bring in—just bring more people in." On residents' efforts to change that path of future developmental in Wando, Victoria reported that she feels residents would participate more if they were given the opportunity to do so, but she feels that residents are so shut out of any decision-making process that they "go to bed tonight, and tomorrow the building's up." Abigail explains community participation, and lack thereof, in terms of reactionary participation, distrust, and die-hards partly because of her experience with organizing the Wando community against the State Ports Authority proposed Global Gateway terminal. She says of local community participation:

We have some people who would come out and help us in meetings and talk with different ones that we invite, but if you have a issue going on in the community wherein they're affected, their home is affected, you have a tendency of getting at least 80% of the people out there. But if it's something that they don't feel like it's important, that go back down to 3 or 4% of the people. ...[Issues that are important are] [w]hen they find out they could lose their home. They gonna build a warehouse close to their home, or someone's turning their property into commercial property next door to them, oh yes, they want you [members of the Wando-Huger CDC] to work then! ...[Community members], they just, if it's not happening, 'If it's bothering me, why should I rock the boat?' And then, you got the people in the community who work constantly, run the meetings, do this, leaving your family behind, going out trying to make things right, because when we fought State Port Authority, [those same community members] told us that we couldn't do it. 'That's the state. No need in trying.... They gonna get what they want.' And, I mean, it was like, sometime, going out two and three times a week to meetings, not just in our community here, but Charleston, at the lib'ary and different places like that: we had to go.

4.3.4.2 Lack of Trust

Abigail's description is consistent with what I observed and heard from other community members: that there is a core group who keep watch over development decisions at the local level,

but most other community members do not participate unless they perceive a direct threat to their piece of property. Their lack of participation at public hearings, however, is not an indication that they do not care about the proposed development changes, but rather, a sign that they do not trust that the decision making process will incorporate their concerns. Outside of the circle of community leaders, participation in zoning hearings is not widespread unless, as Abigail says, there is a “direct threat’ to residents’ land.

4.3.4.3 Internal Community Communication

Ella and her extended family all live in Huger, relatively far from the effects of development prevalent in Wando, yet she sensed some years ago that her region would not be long immune. She used to be more involved in community activism around land-use decisions, but attributes her declining participation to lack of communication. This is important for local decision makers to understand, because though they may only see the same faces at their meetings, that does not necessarily mean that there are not other concerned populations out there who either do not know about the meetings or distrust the process so much that they will not even participate. Though the Wando-Huger CDC and other community activists say they try to notify the community about meetings and know about developments such as The National Trust for Historic Preservation’s Designation of the “Gullah/Geechee” Coast as one America’s Eleven Most Endangered Places, Ella says with some consternation:

That’s what I’m saying, because, when you mention it, it’s not, I never heard of that. Maybe John knows, heard about it. Maybe, like people he be’s around heard about it, or maybe Kevin heard about it, you understand? But it’s not the people, like, maybe a few on that end and a few here, but it’s not where the whole community could, it’s not posted on a bulletin board where everyone would know about it, and newsletters, or anything, the newsletters in the churches, it’s not there. [They go] to meetings. People contact them. But they don’t tell others. ...I think they could put flyers in the children’s book-bags, but most parents, especially elementary, elementary and middle school, most parents keep up with elementary school, put it in their bookbags, ‘They going to be a meeting concerning the community, we need you all to come on out because it’s very important,’ I think if you give it the school, you’ll get a whole lot people more there. That’s what I think.

Ella attributes her lessened contact with the school to her decrease in knowledge of community meetings and development decisions. She’s frustrated by it and feels that community organizers could do a better job of sharing information throughout the Wando-Huger area. Most other interviewees were relatively involved in community activism or related to those who were, so it is hard to gauge how widespread Ella’s sentiment is, but she is well-connected in Huger, and it would not be too much of a stretch to say that this is a concern that is representative of those outside the “inner circle” of community activists. Those within that inner circle are either called upon by outsiders or have their own means of staying abreast of critical meetings. Prudence and Jamey stay informed about possible development by staying on the county council’s mailing list.

4.3.4.4 Win Some, Lose Most

During the second photographic community analysis workshop, community members agreed that for the past three years, they feel as if they have been “continuously fighting zoning issues.” “You win some, and you lose most,” said Kevin about the zoning fights. There were two areas of recent concern at the time of research. The first area is off Steed Creek Road in upper Huger, which borders the Francis Marion Forest and is a mixed white and black community connected by mostly unpaved roads. The parcel in question was reported by community members to have been zoned R15, Preservation Rural District, like many plantations surrounding it, in accordance with the comprehensive plan. The current owner would like to build a subdivision on this land, but many of

the participants in this study are fighting the rezoning request, citing its lack of existing infrastructure and its “eight to ten miles” distance both from Clements Ferry Road and Highway 17 with rural housing and fields in between. These residents wish to both preserve the rural characteristic of the surrounding community and to curtail the sprawl they feel such a development would encourage.

The second area is off of Cainhoy Road in Wando. There was a parcel that was reportedly zoned RNC, Rural and Neighborhood Commercial, three years before the time of the interviews (2004). The landowner’s original request was a zoning change to GC, General Commercial. The residents who had organized to fight the re-zoning acquiesced in a “gentleman’s agreement” for RNC when the landowner promised to build offices and a moving company. Three years later, at the time of the interviews, the landowner submitted a request for a change to LI, Light Industry. That the interviewees characterize their interactions with County Council around rezoning as a “continuous fight” does not engender confidence that they feel they are being heard or that their concerns are being adequately incorporated into formal decisions. Add to this frustration the stories of broken promises by developers of all sizes, including small zoning changes, and a picture of exasperation of community preservationists begins to emerge. The breaking of promises such as these only increases frustration and distrust in historic black communities in the Lowcountry.

4.3.4.5 Broken Promises

The few verbal deals the community feels they have been able to secure with incoming developments have not been actual conditions of development created by regulatory agencies and/or have simply not been realized, perhaps because there is no regulatory backing. Elizabeth said that NuCor Steel promised the community a recreation center verbally over the course of a couple of meetings when they were coming into the community. She said they have some minutes from those meetings, but since then, NuCor has lost a couple of the key personnel who were involved. But she asked, “Can we go back to NuCor and ask, ‘Well, what happened? Because you promised us. You promised us a building. That’s all we asked for: a building.’” Elizabeth said they asked for a steel building in which to place a recreation center because “there’s a real need because there’s many children, and there’s nothing going on in the summer for them.”

Many interviewees mentioned that the industries that have come into the community, especially NuCor, arrived with promises of “bringing in jobs, advertise salaries, but not say what skills were needed,” as Elizabeth puts it, but the community never saw those jobs in the numbers publicized. Abigail said, “One time they were talking about training people to work at NuCor: that never happened.” The majority of interviewees desire as a condition of development the hiring of local people and job training programs. Abigail said in a tone more exasperated than hopeful:

I’d like to see some of the company come in and help embrace the community, help some of the people in the area--they have good business ideas and stuff like that. Work with them! Instead of bringing other subcontractors in, we have contractors, people who can do contract work right here.

When I asked Abigail what she thought the community needed to ensure local hires, she said, “I guess a knowledge of who’s coming in,” and, “Communication.” The majority of interviewees agreed that they felt most development deals were made outside of the public arena, and that they had no chance to provide meaningful input during the decision-making phase. In the eyes of most interviewees, this translates into a losing deal for the community as they see commercial-industrial uses transforming and fragmenting their community, changing its character, and most of all, not giving back to the community or meshing with the existing built or cultural environment.

Nearly every interviewee mentioned that Daniel Island was supposed to create affordable housing but failed to create anything that is affordable for residents of their means. Abigail has worked hard to better the fate of her community and seemed tired of the fight as she said:

When they first open up Daniel's Island, the city got it, they supposed to building homes that would, people who wanted to live over there but who could not afford a great deal, they would have a certain amount of property over there for the people. Now, naturally I knew it wouldn't be homes in the fifties [thousand dollar range], and I knew it wouldn't be homes in the sixties, but they don't have no homes over there under 90 thousand dollars,¹ so if you wanted a home over there, they've got it SO high that you would think again, and with the way the property value is over there now, that's everybody else leave! Once they finish developing and doing what they can over there, eventually they're going to move this way to try to get more property to develop and move on, because over here, on [that street] coming in? On your left going out, they've got property and lots over there near the water and they're trying to sell for \$300,000 a lot!"

John said with little of the usual humor in his voice that development has the potential to benefit the community, but for the community to benefit, it will take community-based planning:

I don't think right now if you put a massive development, I don't see [the benefits]. If they don't come together with the entire community, they don't sit down and plan what's the best way or the most sensible way of doing it, if they don't do that, then basically what it'll do is separate this good old culture that have always been here: one of those. And then everybody just go up by the wayside.

4.3.4.6 Perceived Favoritism of Newcomers

The community's perception of County Council and the County Supervisor is that they welcome newer wealthy development with open arms, and while they will listen to the existing community's concerns, they will not act to try to meet them or incorporate them into development decisions. Abigail gave this example with some mirth:

If you call him, naturally [then-County Supervisor] Mr. Rosier is good about calling you back. He will communicate with you. Now, as of communicating, calling and talking (chuckles), but that's 'bout it. We were talking about a playground for our kids forever, and he helped in to get grants...for a playground, and they got a little place up in Huger there, wherein, if you just blink, you miss it if you drive by. ...That's nothing, in this area, but yet, when Daniel's Island came and wanted the tennis court, he gave x thousands of dollars towards that, and they were newcomers out here!

John would like to see decision-makers and planners consider all aspects of impacts to the community when making development decisions. He said in his problem-solver manner that there needs to be:

[A] coming together, not coming there and saying, 'Look this is what I wanna do,' but [a potential developer] should come and say, 'Look this is what I would like to do. Let's talk about how this thing is gonna match up with the way things used to

¹ Author's note: Housing prices over the last ten years in the Charleston region have increased a great deal. For reference, in 2001 it was possible to buy a three-bedroom brick house on desirable James Island, much more convenient to downtown Charleston than Daniel's Island, in the \$150,000 price range.

be and how it's going to affect the community environmentally--not environmentally in terms of the land itself, but the people culturally—and then work things out.’

This indicates, as have many other interviews, that the community perceives that County Council members and Berkeley County officials do not protect the traditional development patterns and character of Wando-Huger in their development decisions or zoning ordinances. Many residents of Wando-Huger are quite lucid about the driving forces of development in the region and their community. Many of the interviewees, long-time residents of Wando-Huger, identified area development drivers during workshops as “economy, in-migration to South Carolina, residents not having input into development, and developers who are not from here.” Though the community recognizes that if they could clear title to their own land, they would have a better chance of stopping community fragmentation through development, they would like to see planning and development decisions that value their community cohesiveness, culture, and development patterns. Basically, they hope for a process of inclusion and a mentality in their decision-makers. At the same time instead of simple disdain for change or for development, many of the residents have similar visions for development that would create a vibrant, livable, mixed use, and mixed-income community.

4.3.5 *Community Vision for Future Development*

4.3.5.1 Maintain Community Character

When the community members participating in interviews and photographic workshops were asked what type of community they hope to see develop in Wando-Huger, there were visions that, when synthesized, articulate a plan that respects and preserves a place for the historic black community and other long-time residents of the land, while providing a path for residential and economic development. Excluded from the vision are the types of roads used by outsiders and industrial trucks to cut-through the community, but not necessarily all commercial or institutional uses. The theme that ran throughout the discussions was not the static preservation of the culture, but the preservation of a place for black slave-descendants in the current and future plan for Wando-Huger.

While Victoria said in a strong, determined voice that she hopes to “preserve [their] culture, [their] neighborhood, and sense of history...in one of the oldest established African-American neighborhoods” in the country, she sees a need for neighborhood enhancement. Tameka,, quiet and thoughtful, said that she would like to see more subdivisions in her community, as long as they were intended for people like her and her family. Abigail, despite her weariness, maintains her hope for a community that maintains its rural atmosphere and allows amenities to be built with compatible adjacent uses:

If it's not too late for this area, I would love to see it maintain this rural atmosphere, and still yet progress a little along with all the other areas. I would like to see us living—we've got water coming now, sewers, I would like to see us have the resource that any and every body else has. I really do. I'd like to have grocery store, more grocery stores, shopping center, malls, I'd like to see that, *but* I still want to see the area where residential is residential. I don't like to see the area chock up with large trucking company, here right next door to you, warehouse, taking away from your home. I would love to see the ruralness of this area continue.... If everyone would work together as a whole, we can maintain a nice environment for our kids. We can have just what anybody else have: playground, we can have those kind of things. Right now, we don't, but if we work as a team, and that's what it's all about: working together as a team.

4.3.5.2 Clustered Development and Preservation

John, ever the champion for subsistence farming and livestock husbandry, has some ideas about how to maintain the agricultural-residential community character even though most development is in the control of non-slave descendant people now:

This part of the country, there's a major major transition, and the fact that the land that was once owned by the people, the foreparents of the people who live here, which is no longer the case in many instances, the people who now own the land have the right to do with it whatever they please. *However*, there's a common sense approach to it, and I don't see where the common sense approach is the first thing they think about. They think about, 'What is it this land can get for me,' ok? Roll back into the pocket. So, I see down the line many of the areas here will be developed, but what I wish they would do, as they do the development, do it in a planned way. Some people use the term, 'Protect the land.' The land don't need to be protected—the land protects itself, ok? And you don't need to protect the land from anyone. It just that there need to be a more manageable way in dealing with it, because houses don't need to be clustered on top of each other, and you don't need to make concrete jungles. You don't need that mess. You can actually build, take a large tract of land, build houses far apart enough that you can still maintain the greenery of it, you can grow trees, you can do farming, you can do gardening, you can do all the service-type issues.

Though this description may sound to many planners like a wish for a large-lot, gentleman's estate-type subdivision, in the context of the rest of the interview with John, he's asking for clustered development nestled in wooded areas with small subsistence-based type farms. He is asking for a plan that maintains the traditional clustered development patterns in Wando-Huger and/ or creates development that is contextual to the existing built environment. It is interesting that John does not identify with traditional green environmental language about land preservation and conservation, but what he describes as desirable development patterns essentially create what planners understand as conservation-oriented development.

As we sat in a building near the beginning of rows of private plantations cloistered in pines protected by zoning ordinances, Ella brought up the hope for preservation of the entire community's character including the overlapping black and white built history of plantations while allowing for some development. The types of development she would like to see are:

[A] few more subdivisions, few more houses, more businesses, small shopping area, grocery store, you know, naming a few. ... Well, I know it won't stay like it is, but I don't want it to be overpopulated. I wish, I hope we'll keep our Francis Marion Forest, you know, like that? And our plantations. But I know there's going be something's going to come. But I don't want it to be too humongous or not a lot.

The pride in the forest and the plantations was echoed in the visions emerging from the photographic workshops. It is a challenge to planners, developers, and decision-makers to configure development that honors the entire historic district, from plantations to the evolution of freed slaves' evolving communities.

Specific suggestions for a comprehensive plan for the Wando –Huger area are as follows from Abigail:

We'd like to see going straight up Highway 33, we know that's commercial now, we know it's very little we can do to stop that area from fluctuating the way it is now.

Everything from Mark-Clark going up, it's going to be commercial, and we know that. So, if we can work together with the [same] mind and try to slow the progress in this area down, coming down toward Daniel's Island, when we get up into the little areas like Jack Promise and some of the areas behind, Yellowhouse and all that, we can preserve this area, like Pinefield continue to be more or less a rural area, rural housing area, it would be nice. ...Cainhoy Road is not there yet, so as a team, if we can work together, we can slow that down a little.

4.3.5.3 Recreation, Aesthetics, Amenities, and Connectivity

A common component of community vision is "a place for their kids to play." Though there are recreational facilities in the Daniel Island development, one woman told me that when her children tried to go to the pool there in the summer, they "were not welcome." It is a continuation of the theme that though development is happening around them, residents of Wando-Huger do not feel that they are able to benefit from it. Victoria said in a tone in which you could almost hear her greeting new neighbors of her hopes for development:

Ok, my unrealistic one is for them to revisit zoning, and whatever the area was slated to be zoned, work towards that to, I would say, limit commercial in the area, and at least some, accommodate the neighborhood. Beautify the neighborhood, and let us at least enjoy some of the commodities. Even with these subdivisions going up, they putting up pools and tennis courts. They come in to be a gated community, you know, gating us out, and if we're neighbors, I think we should live like neighbors, and not be a community within a community, so that's one of my unrealistic. But my realistic one is just to slow down the commercial development, and our area is gonna grow, but to monitor, I would say, growth, 'cause it's bursting at the seams already, and just, you know, beautify the neighborhood and cater to the community! Which they don't even do that.

Victoria's sentiment that amenities in new developments should be shared and made economically accessible to existing residents was shared by many interviewees. Even the grocery store on Daniel's Island has been identified as one that is too expensive for residents to shop regularly. Many in the community still grow their own vegetables, and some also keep livestock. As revealed in the photographic workshops, there has been a long-standing vision of having a community garden, and some have the idea that if there is surplus, the extra produce could be marketed to local organic markets. Both Abigail and Victoria's wishes indicate a preference for historic residential districts that mirror and/or preserve traditional development patterns while slowing or limiting commercial growth. The overarching preference among most interviewees is for modest residential growth.

4.3.5.4 Transportation

Many people in the community see a dire need for basic services and transportation reform, especially public transportation and traffic re-routing, as mentioned earlier in this chapter in "4.3.3 Developmental Impacts." Bus service to Wando-Huger was reportedly discontinued a few years ago, although in the interviews it was explained that "RTMA," or the Tri-County Link Rural Bus System, will pick people up for doctor's appointments. With true concern in their voices, Jamey and Prudence said that if public transportation could even come to the community two times a day, it would make a great deal of difference for the community. Victoria believes the community needs "... facilities for the elderly, but NOT a highway; traffic needs alternative routes." She identified other needs including infrastructure and public transport. "Infrastructure" for many families means basic water and sewer, though they know that with water and sewer comes development. There was a proposal developing at CCF at the time of this research to create community wells that would serve

approximately fifty families at a time, creating a clean-water alternative to water and sewer lines that would otherwise make land more susceptible to development.

4.3.5.5 Economic Development and Employment

Development that would bring employment is an essential part of the community vision. Commercial or institutional development would be welcomed in Wando-Huger if it would employ people from the community. To be specific, one person said they would like to see a “high-tech company with a welcome mat to people in Wando-Huger” come. Victoria said that people in Wando-Huger “have skill levels; education is an emphasis of the community and they are laborers [too].” At the same time, the community is not willing to take any just any commercial-industrial endeavor that offers employment. Victoria said with frustration of development proposals:

[G]ive us the chance to oppose it, don't come... think that, just, 'Well, this is good for jobs,' when you get in the jobs, and then you gonna get sick later on from whatever chemical they're using, and I think if they regulated a little better, and if the ordinance is right followed by the letter, we would have a chance to preserve a little more than we've been given anyway. We're not being made aware of a lot of development. I am the kind of person, I like to see neighborhoods flourish, I like to see the economy growing, *but* with the economy growing with industries, comes along these plants, later on everybody getting sick, don't know why, and no need to have a neighborhood if nobody living, you know, so you kinda like have to have to weigh the odds. We would like to see development where we would benefit socially and economically, which would, I know there is never a happy medium, but at least be met half way. You know, give us some kind of involvement opportunity, allow us to sit on your boards, allow us to, you know, make decisions, because after all, that's our livelihood. Give us a bigger role to play than we are doing now, 'cause we are like, I would say, ignored. Give us a level of respect such as we are homeowners, you know; respect that, and I think we'll get along just fine.

Victoria is not alone in her sentiment that the community is not closed to all industries locating in the area. This may be good news for local decision makers and prospective developers. The community is simply asking for more transparency and consultation in just what kinds of entities locate in the area as well as some guarantee of public health and local employment.

One of the oft-repeated complaints with newer industries in the community is that though they promised to employ local people, “they brought people with them and [our] young people with degrees leave to work out of state.” Residents estimated that approximately 30% of young people from the community with higher education want to stay in the community, and they would even take fewer benefits if they could find a job in the area. Some people who have a vision for a more vibrant community think that it is possible to reverse the numbers and have 70% of their young people stay in the community! The general sentiment is that “progress could be a positive thing if it had benefit the community.” Tameka said, “Support for development [in Wando-Huger] will come when jobs for this community come (too).”

The overall hope for seeing their visions for development realized is not high among most interviewees, but that does not mean their hopes are not real, and it also does not mean that some of the vision cannot be accommodated into development decisions, as discussed in “5.0 Conclusions and Recommendations.”

4.3.6 *Summary*

While Wando-Huger remains a historic slave-descendant black community with much of its cohesive community culture intact, it is increasingly under pressure from development which fragments the community physically and psychologically. Traditional methods of travel and relationship are prevented by development patterns focused more on economic development and traffic flows than communal interaction. The community is largely unprepared for the increased interest in their land. The combination of what would be minor problems, such as familial dispersion, interpersonal conflict, lack of estate planning, understanding of market values, and literacy, much of which is the legacy of black American oppression and migration patterns, creates an environment ripe for predatory developers and lawyers. The interviews reveal that though the community is politically active, their pleas to government agencies responsible for planning and zoning are largely ignored. Efforts to hold incoming commercial-industrial ventures responsible to existing plans and zoning ordinances, not to mention informal agreements that would see some benefit for the community, go unmet and without regulatory backing from the governing bodies that could see their enforcement. What may be of some surprise to these same government agents is that the community actually favors development as long as it includes accessible amenities and housing. Their calls for community interconnectivity would include elements of planning regimes being promoted across the country as best practices including smart growth, conservation planning, cluster development, and livable design. These interviews provide the context for snapshots from the community of preservation priorities and development impacts.

4.4 **Photographic Community Self-Analysis**

The Photographic Community Self-Analysis provides an overview of the social, economic, and environmental concerns of the community pertaining to perceptions about development impacts. The process was created to promote dialogue about important issues—in this case, the impacts of development on the community—through group discussion and visual expression. These photos were used in a presentation on a larger study on Wando-Huger conducted by Karimah Moore for the CCF Board, the Daniel Island Community Fund, a nonprofit organization sponsored by local development sales, and other non-profits associated with CCF. The intention is to also use the photographs to engage policy makers at a future date.

4.4.1 *Methodology*

In an introductory seminar, fifteen participants were given a presentation on the effects of the Berkeley County Comprehensive Plan's effects on Heirs' Property and participated in a brainstorming session on elements of community, elements of development, and the prospective audience for the community's concerns. Local professional photographers then gave a basic photography training lesson. After being given a chance to choose to continue participation, twelve disposable black and white cameras were distributed, and the participants were given a week to take photographs of their communities in response to two theme areas: 1) Community Strengths and Areas of Which You Are Proud, and 2) Developmental Impacts on the Community. At the end of the week, participants were given back their photographs and given time to discuss emerging themes. There was only one planned second meeting, but because many of the participants had prior commitments, including out-of-town engagements, an additional follow-up training was scheduled. This third meeting fell directly after a tropical storm, meaning the community was without power for several days. Though some participants came to the meeting, I completed the process with two others in their homes. After selecting three to five photographs they felt best represented their concerns, participants were asked to write a few sentences on what the image means to them. As in the interviews, the spelling and syntax are presented as written because of the influence of traditional

speech patterns, though where explanation is needed it is given in italicized [*brackets*] following the original writing.

The photographic community self-assessment workshops used a written consent process to protect the participants, the subjects, and their photographs. The photographic negatives remain the property of the participants and were lent to me to make reprints and enlargements at the discretion of the participants. Three forms of consent were utilized: participant consent for participation in the project, subject consent to be photographed, and participant consent for permission to use the images and descriptions for educational and teaching purposes. Written consent forms are included in *Appendix A*.

The second photographic workshop, wherein a majority of the participants discussed their photographs and the themes arising from them, was recorded with the oral consent of all who participated using the oral consent process as described in the “Interviews” section below. This recording is used to supplement the information gathered in the oral interviews. The second and third workshops involved a series of discussions of the photographs taken by participants and themes emerging from the photographs. Results from the photographic workshop discussions echo the sentiments expressed in the interviews and precede presentation of the photographs, which reveal social, economic, and environmental concerns. The pictures illustrate a rich history, including pride in plantations and markers that are yet officially undesignedated as historic sites.

4.4.2 *Photographic Workshops*

During the first workshop, after the presentation on the Berkeley County Comprehensive Plan and current zoning laws, residents participated in a series of brainstorming sessions to begin discussion on development and impacts on the community. Some surprising results came from the brainstorming sessions. Highlights from this discussion are presented below with the corresponding brainstorm results contained in accompanying tables.

Table 4-1 Brainstorm “Community Means”

Brainstorm: Community means...	
Family A group of people who live together and speak the same language (but some people speak Gullah!)	Tradition Celebration* Reunion
Churches	Means of income
Schools	Library
Multiple generations	Restaurant—More than one!
A store	Gas stations
A recreation center	Transportation
Health services	ATM
Parks/ playgrounds	(What about a full-service banking facility?)*
Movie theater	Central location to pay bills
Fire department—Manned 24 hours!	High-tech employment to stabilize community and keep young folk
Mail	Creative outlet
Sense of belonging	
* Suggested by facilitators/ non-community members	

As in the interviews, the vision for what a “Community Means” revealed through brainstorm includes preservation of social and kinship ties and ideas for development that would create a mixed-use, developed community, including restaurants, bank services, and transportation (*Table 4-1*). The conversation then turned to “Impacts of Development” (*Table 4-2*).

Table 4-2 Brainstorm “Impacts of Development”

Brainstorm: Development means... (Positive)	Brainstorm: Development means... (Negative)
Improvements—On everything!	Traffic and more danger
Homes	Noise
Low-Income housing (Make it available.)	Damage to the roads
Health center (Build one.)	Choking out people who are already here/ crowded out
Sewer system	Houses damaged by NUCOR’s “sonic booms” cracking the foundations
Water	Pollution in the waterways; Can’t catch fish anymore
All utilities!	Forced condemnation to expand the roads
Employment, but not heavy industrial	Chemical and steel plants prevent long-range positive development possibilities in the area
Nice shopping center, not a mall!	Lack of emergency preparedness for industrial malfunction: The plants are prepared, but not the community for evacuation or communication
Good community center for the young and old	The outside takes only, but doesn’t give back
Keep the community like it is, just with better resources	
Things to help maintain a good life	

The first unexpected result occurred when the participants returned only positive improvements in the community, such as utilities, restaurants, health services, and stores. It was only after asking if they saw negative impacts from development that they began listing the ways they feel development has been detrimental to the community, illustrating the extent of hope among residents that development could be positive if their views were incorporated into development decisions.

The second surprise occurred in the naming of the “Negative Impacts of Development.” Previously unmentioned to area workers or researchers were cracks in housing foundations participants believe to be caused by activity at the nearby industrial plants. Participants described “sonic booms,” which they believe to be caused by rapid drops in temperature at an industrial plant. Also previously unknown to community researchers was a reported drop in water tables and pollution causing fewer fish and fish species diversity in the waterways, indicating that the impact of local industry on the community may extend into areas of environmental concern. Furthering this area of concern, the community is concerned about the absence of an emergency preparedness plan for residents in the event of an accident at one of the industrial plants. Because of all of the perceived impacts, the community is not eager to see more industrial development. In fact, they believe that the community has benefited very little from the presence of the plants, not even employment opportunities, and fear the plants may stymie the type of livable commercial and residential development they envision.

The third remarkable result was the breadth of persons named in the “Wishlist for an Audience for Community Concerns” (Table 4-3).

Table 4-3 Brainstorm “Wishlist for an Audience for community concerns”

Brainstorm: If we could present our concerns, these people would be in the room...
Jim Rozier (Berkeley County Superintendent)
Highway Department from state and county
Sheriff—Mr. Wayne Dewitt “in person”!
City of Charleston—Mayor Joe Riley
Representatives from the industrial plants in the area
Representatives from the Berkeley and Charleston Chambers of Commerce
Representatives from the Berkeley, Mt. Pleasant, and Charleston Planning Departments
New Principal from the Cainhoy Elementary/ Middle School
Church pastors—All of them! But they’ll fight. Maybe not. No, we need ALL!
Fire Chief
Head of Berkeley County School District (Superintendent)
Trident United Way
The Coastal Community Foundation
Red Cross
Federal Emergency Management
Bank representatives
Department of Health and Environmental Control
Media
Candidate for S.C. State Representative Joe Jefferson
U.S. Representative Jim Clyburn
S.C. State Senator Larry Grooms

The community has a comprehensive grasp of whom they should approach with their concerns, but there is a perception that policymakers do not necessarily listen or respond to their wishes. Some of this perception is fleshed out in the subsection “4.3.4 Relationship with Local Government” in the “Interviews” section of this chapter. Similarly, when excerpts were presented from the Comprehensive Plan regarding zoning to protect Rural Village character, an attendee who was clearly familiar with this wording piped up, “It’s just words.” The community knows what it wants to say about development trends, and they know who needs to hear their concerns and who has the power to make a change in current development patterns, but they are distrustful that their concerns would be fully heard or incorporated, and the comprehensive plan is another symbol of their broken trust. Within the comprehensive plan there are mechanisms to preserve their community and culture, but residents feel that none of those intentions have been supported by zoning and planning actions.

Additionally, it is clear from some comments made during the workshops that conflict between church leaders keeps the churches from being centers of community organization across parishes, though churches seem to play a strong role in individuals’ lives. In the end, those residents present at the first workshop decided it would be better to include these pastors in the conversation about future land-use in Wando-Huger rather than further isolate them and perhaps thereby perpetuate their conflict.

When participants gathered in the follow-up workshops to discuss their photographs which were taken according to two theme areas, 1) Community Strengths and Areas of Which You Are Proud, and 2) Developmental Impacts on the Community, a discussion rich with excitement followed the distribution of the photographs. Subjects of the photographs included farming, rural roads, new

highways, boating, newly cleared lots, families who had lost heirs' property, churches, un-staffed fire departments, and "for sale" signs.

Table 4-4 Brainstorm "Self-identified Photographic Themes"

Self-identified Themes Emerging from Residents' Pictures
Quality of life issues, including differences in rural vs. developed areas
History of the community
Natural resources and environment
"Progress" (Put in quotes because of the positive and negative aspects—at what point does "the bad outweigh the good?")
Lack of respect for rural communities' ways of life
Preservation of land and community
Heirs' property problems and "being taken advantage of"
Nostalgia ("10 years ago not anyone but the mosquitoes knew Hwy. 33 was back there. Now there's not even as many mosquitoes" because the wetlands are being filled in.)
Development
Commitments to gardening and raising livestock

As each participant discussed why his/her pictures were important, different themes emerged. One was the struggle to maintain ownership of heirs' property. Another was the rapid change in the community brought by the construction of I-526, industry, and the Daniel Island development. The yearning for slower times and rural life was not limited to senior citizens, but even shared by a woman in her twenties. The history of the area was discussed, some of which is evident through depictions of churches and slave-constructed waterways. The photographs depict a number of historic sites that are in need of evaluation for historic designation and restoration funds. Participants compiled a list of self-identified themes arising from the photographs, which are presented as recorded at the workshop (*Table 4-4*).

4.4.3 *Photographs*

Participants were asked to pick the three to five photographs they felt best represented their depiction of the assignment and to write a few sentences about each chosen image. The photographs that best represent themes arising from the interviews as well as those from the photographic workshops are presented below along with their accompanying summaries.

This picture of Victoria Road was taken by Tameka, a resident who has seen much of the area around her home cleared to make way for housing intended for wealthier residents.



The picture that I chose to be the best was the picture of the open area that was recently cleared to put homes and bring traffic onto Victoria Road. Instead of putting homes, which is a good thing, I believe it would be a good idea to put something in that area that better accommodate those already there. Putting a set of homes of greater value makes the people who are already there feel less important and devalue what they have worked so hard on. (Photo credit: Tameka)

The following picture is a portrait of Mr. Rivers, the patriarch of the Rivers family whose story of property loss was made so famous by local newspapers, as related in section “4.3.2 Losses of Heirs’ Property and Development.” The photograph was taken by Kevin and was one of the few pictures returned with any human subjects:



This picture intention was to show the impact of I-526 on the community and individual. This person’s land became valuable and was eventually sold by the court leaving seven families homeless. (Photo credit: Kevin)

The depiction and accompanying comment shows the human side of heirs’ property loss detailed in the interviews. In discussion of this photo, Kevin said that even Mr. Rivers’ posture changed since he lost his property. He used to stand up so straight and proud, Kevin said, but now he slumps a bit and looks down a lot. That Mr. Rivers is framed by I-526, the conduit for traffic changes, in-migration, and increased development, makes the depiction all the more poignant.

Heavy traffic that greatly diminishes walkability and the rural character of Wando-Huger was a common theme in the interviews and photographic workshops. Measures to prevent commercial traffic from speeding down residential roads and in the vicinity of the Cainhoy School go largely unenforced.



This is a heavy duty truck that we do not want to travel the narrow roads of the residential communities.
(Photo credit: Elizabeth)

Elizabeth reported that after she took this picture of a truck speeding down her road where large trucks are not supposed to travel, the driver stopped, turned the truck around, and in turn took a picture of her. She surmised that he was trying to intimidate her because he thought she was taking pictures to turn into the police.

Meanwhile, zoning codes prevent the perpetuation of traditional settlement patterns related to kinship ties. Often within a family compound, older buildings are put to use for some time before they are abandoned. Some buildings, especially those with a certain amount of significance, are never demolished even though they are no longer in use. As in construction on residential heirs' property, the following picture depicts a newer church built on the same plot of land as the old church without demolishing the older structure.



This picture is the old wood church from years ago. It's still in good condition. The newer church is in the background. This church was established in 1882. (Photo credit: Jamey)

In Wando, where development has become prevalent, the tension between historic residential use and commercial use is much more evident. Development that occurs on former heirs' property stands as a reminder of loss to people in the community who would rather have seen it stay in the ownership of community members. A number of residents' photos depicted development next to residential uses or parking lots they thought could be better landscaped. None, however, depicted the conversion of family land into commercial use quite as starkly as the following photo and comment from Victoria:



This was heirs' property. (Photo credit: Victoria)

Pride in the history of the community surfaced in many ways including depictions of historic markers, cemeteries, and multiple depictions of plantation avenues. There is a great deal of pride in the history of the community, including the transition from slavery times to a freed community that worked hard and educated its children. Education continues to be valued in Wando-Huger. The Keith School is a building that many see as a symbol of their community, and some of the pride in the old school has been transferred to the Cainhoy Elementary/Middle School. Residents fought to keep the Keith School structure from being demolished and hoped to restore it. The school is bordered by an entry-way to a large-lot subdivision built by D. R. Horton, a national developer. In 2006, D.R. Horton gave \$56,000 toward a community center and a museum at the school site after the Wando-Huger CDC agreed to demolition of the school; the museum/community center is estimated to cost approximately \$60,000 (City of Charleston 2006). During the photographic community self-analysis, again, conducted in 2004, Charles took two pictures of the school, with the second picture showing its proximity to the subdivision.



KEITH SCHOOL HOUSE, WANDO, SC. This schoolhouse was built by families from the Wando Area in 1921. It was built from wood that various family members collected as it washed up on show {shore}. Youth from the Wando Area went to this school. Keith School consisted of two (2) rooms. One room housed children from first through third grade and one room housed students in fourth through sixth grades. Keith School was in existence until 1955. Along with the children from the Wando Area was transferred to Cainhoy Elementary School in 1955. Most of the children who attended this school went on to finish high school and obtained good jobs. Some also went to college. (Photo credit: Charles)



(Photo credit: Charles)

Frustration over lack preservation of black history was common among interviewees and photographic workshop participants, and normally came up in terms of the Keith School and black cemeteries. These cemeteries pepper areas being developed, including Daniel's Island. Residents do not feel the developments respect these cemeteries nor maintain them as they have promised to do. Charles's comments about the photo he took of one of these cemeteries reveal that not only are the cemeteries a link to the black communities' history, but that the cemeteries are still in use and should be treated as active cultural/religious sites.



SLAVE GRAVEYARD, JACK PROMISE ROAD LOCATED IN WANDO, SC. A slave owner, Mr. Venning, donated this graveyard in the 1800s for the burial of slaves. This graveyard is still used by the surrounding neighborhood today. (Photo credit: Charles)

A common perception in dominant culture is that plantations are a symbol of oppression that invoke anger in black populations. Yet, many photographs returned from the study in response to “what we are proud of” depicted plantation lanes and were accompanied by stories of family members who worked these plantations.



This picture has a lot of history because this is an old plantation. The oaks was planted by slaves. They are over a hundred years old. (Photo credit: Jamey)

Were the plantations in the area open to the public (many are still in the hands of the descendants of the plantation owners and remain in private use), perhaps pictures of the actual plantation grounds or housing would have appeared. While the results of this study cannot be extrapolated to other communities, these photographs and comments do suggest that other slave-descendant communities take pride in the plantations upon which their ancestors worked and reiterates that freed-slave-descendant communities are extensions of historic plantation landscapes and should be treated with equal reverence in preservation considerations.

4.5 Discussion and Summary

Themes that emerge from the interviews and photographic community analysis depict a unique historical community with a strong sense of its past that is under threat. Development patterns that fragment the community and its culture are perpetuated by decision makers who are either unaware of its uniqueness or insensitive to its preservation. New commercial, industrial, and residential development pays little to no attention to matching the existing community’s fabric or honoring the community’s wishes to calm traffic, create recreation areas, hire local workers, or build economically accessible housing. The changes cumulatively force tears into this rural, clustered, subsistence-based community through sheer physical presence and secondary impacts such as unaffordable property taxes, traffic pressures, and population changes. Newcomers to the area are similarly unaware of or indifferent to the effects their presence have on the existing community.

These changes are happening on and amidst family compounds built by freed slaves and their descendants, much of which is still in need of a process to clear title. Efforts by local service providers such as the Center for Heirs' Property Preservation have increased the understanding in the community about the cumbersome process to clear title, but most families still do not have adequate means to access family mediation or legal services necessary to clear title. Additionally, the financial capital needed to buy out family members who wish to sell their land is often simply unavailable.

Family land is sold in black slave-descendant communities in the Lowcountry mostly due to situations of need, greed, or indifference: elderly people who need money; people who can no longer afford to pay the property taxes; families whose internal feuds have been exploited by opportunistic lawyers and/ or family members; and people who are indifferent to the fate of the community, especially family members who live out of state and have no intention of returning to South Carolina. Disagreements over land contribute to family strife and threaten traditional cultural norms that advocate deference to familial patriarchs and matriarchs and harmony over individual complaints. Predatory lawyers and developers seem all-too available to take advantage of disgruntled family members' greed and the vulnerable tenancies in common.

Elders in the community with strong cultural-familial valuations of the land struggle to perpetuate the genealogical narrative in younger generations in the hopes that they will see the land as a landscape of freedom to be passed on from generation to generation as their ancestors' living legacy.

Though a foundational American culture proud of its heritage, the community is not stuck in the past and envisions development that includes commercial, industrial, and residential growth with the caveat that each be sensitive to the existing community. All new development should consider the existing community and be planned, built, and landscaped in a manner that mirrors its clusters and rural character. Commercial-industrial ventures should provide significant numbers of jobs and opportunities for training to local residents and should not cause undue public health or environmental impacts. Any amenities created, such as playgrounds or shopping areas, should include elements accessible to existing community members. These wishes are not different from those of most communities facing development pressures across the nation, yet the unique landownership situations and cultural norms and history make the challenges place-specific.

Community members are cognizant that their hopes, though not unrealistic, may be hard to realize. At the very least, they ask the decision makers who hold the fate of their community in their hands--the policy makers, planners, and developers—to give their hopes and concerns due considerations when making decisions. If protective measures are not taken soon, the living cohesive culture of these slave-descendant black communities may be irreparably forced into extinction.

5.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The black slave-descendant culture of the Lowcountry is a separate, distinct, and founding culture of the United States. The interviews and photographic community self-analysis conducted in Wando-Huger show strong place attachment and place-identity that are deeply rooted in the history of slavery and plantations and the legacy of land acquisition through struggle and sacrifice. There were limited reports of individuals who view land as an economic commodity. As development and fragmentation of the black community increases, this phenomenon may increase. Yet, most respondents report that despite the increased real estate values of their land, the cultural valuation of land is something that both ties families together and ties them to their ancestors. Because emotional and cultural value of the land is still strong, heirs' property is never sold without some amount of grief. Rather, it is usually sold by people who do not feel a vested interest in the future of the community.

Because landscape and familial land ownership have been shown to be inextricably tied to the factors that create community identity and place attachment, preservation of this landscape and land ownership is inseparable from preservation of the culture. Heirs' property owners cannot hold onto their family land without a clear property title, nor can the community vision for the future be realized without land ownership. In order to maintain their lands, land deeds must be cleared. To pass their land on from one generation to another, traditional methods have been replaced by a legal system of property allocation. Heirs' property has become a liability instead of a protective mechanism. Ironically, the very process that protects family land from forced sale and development, i.e. clearing property title, has the potential to change the community's strong emotional/psychological values of land by undermining traditional familial and communal perceptions of land and to make the community more vulnerable to fragmentation due to sales of smaller parcels. Residents want to preserve their cultural identity, including the traditional system of land allocation. But in order to save the land, they must abdicate these traditions of land allocation in favor of the more dominant cultural legal system of allocation where land values are tied to money. Historic social and political power dynamics descendant from the plantation system create a defensive posture in historic Gullah-Geechie communities with "no choice" type decisions as the only available action. If Wando-Huger residents are in a defensive position of protecting their land in the face of poverty, political disenfranchisement, and fractured kin relationships, it is questionable whether a decision to sell the land is conscious and informed. That traditional valuation of land has remained so strong in the face of development pressures over the past thirty years is a testament to the symbolic value land continues to play in post-slavery black communities in the South Carolina Lowcountry.

Even if only one family member has been influenced by the increase in real estate value, it is enough to allow that person to force the sale of the entire parcel of land. Though it appears that a small minority of the community has an increased view of land as an economic commodity, economic and development trends are impacting the entire community and its ability to maintain autonomy in land ownership.

There are overwhelming benefits to many sectors of seeing heirs' property titles cleared: it improves property values right away, makes the development process much smoother, and allows current residents to leverage their property. Clearing title may also readjust the development process within the existing community toward smaller scale developments by reducing the availability of large tracts. Cleared titles mean easier sales of land, and though the research does not suggest there are great numbers of people eager to sell family lands, there is the possibility that subdivided, cleared titled lands could lead to fractured family compounds. Mostly, subdivided lots secure in the hands of

their owners should give more power overall to local planning agencies and the community and less to developers, lawyers, and disgruntled family members.

Zoning laws that fail to implement preservation language found in comprehensive plans encourage large-scale development and discourage traditional settlement patterns. Development driven by economic gains and in-migration with an apparent lack of concern for preserving traditional land use patterns compounds the threat of extinction for historic black Lowcountry culture. Key to the findings of this research is that the historic black community does not wish to stop growth but rather encourages it. The desire is not for a static preservation of the culture but for a substantial continuance of the black historic community in the current and future plan for Wando-Huger. Protection of traditional settlement patterns and cultural valuations of the land of slave-descendants would mean making growth plans consistent with community values.

If decision-makers value diversity and the survival of this culture, then legislation and judicial action at all levels of government must be enacted that protects traditional settlement patterns and black cultural land values. What matters most in Wando-Huger and other Lowcountry slave-descendant communities is autonomy and freedom to determine land-use decisions. Decision-makers may be bound by a property rights system that does not accommodate historical and psychological/ emotional values of black-owned land. Yet, this conundrum presents a challenge to policy makers to rethink the purpose of government and the purpose of public interest in ways that prevent an endangered culture from becoming extinct.

The remainder of this chapter includes recommendations and considerations for different sectors of players involved in Wando-Huger, including legislators, local agencies and planners, residents, developers, new residents, industrial operators, and local service providers and organizations. A short list of queries for further research follows a final reflection section.

5.1 Legislative Solutions

Private property rights and land values in slave-descendant communities must be protected. Fundamental changes in state property laws that recognize the legitimacy of communal land ownership and the heritage of slave-descendant communities would present immediate relief. The new law allowing family members right of first refusal is a good start toward fending off predatory developers. However, more must be done to prevent unwilling sale of family land.

In the short term, a possible remedy would be legislation that limits the sale of heirs' property to the amount needed to satisfy a lien, as introduced in the South Carolina legislature by Clementa Pinckney in 2003 (S.0732). Residents in Wando-Huger believe legislative solutions that incorporate property tax relief are needed to help protect their community from forced sales due to increasing property taxes resulting from upscale development trends. The influence non-resident heirs' property owners have over their family's land must also be addressed through education and further legislative protection. As suggested by Faith R. Rivers (2006) any statutory changes must include "a clear mechanism to compensate heirs who made substantial improvements to the property or who assumed responsibility for maintaining the property and paying taxes." Property tax relief for heirs' property owners in a manner similar to what is available to senior citizens in the South Carolina homestead exemption, which exempts \$20,000 from the home's assessed value, could help preserve endangered historic black communities. This would lessen the increased pressure to sell due to increased property taxes.

5.2 Recommendations for Local Agencies and Planners

At the local level, an incorporation of appreciation for Gullah-Geechie descendant culture and its historic settlement patterns into existing planning structures is a good start. A collaborative approach enables planners to work with residents to understand and implement the community's vision for development. Local officials and planners can help facilitate healing of the wounds of slavery rather than perpetuate the disenfranchisement of the black community. Because planners carry out rules that apply to certain situations, e.g. placing the center of growth and commerce at a transportation node, they often fail to remember the context in which they are working. Yet, trust is imbedded in the work of planning, and planners must remember the greater social and historic fabric they are impacting. Planners must balance the long-term economic, ecological, and psychological/ emotional values of land in land-use plans. This mandate is even more imperative for County Council members enacting zoning laws because their implementation will determine the fate of historic black communities.

Recall John's request in "4.3.4 Relationship with Local Government" that decision-makers and planners consider environmental and cultural impacts when making development decisions. This type of environmental impact assessment mentality requires County Council members and Berkeley County officials to demand such conditions on behalf of the community from developers. John also suggested planning for "massive developments" with community-based planning and/ or a charette that includes community members so the development doesn't "separate this good old culture that have always been here." Though on its face these changes may seem to require decision makers to value only the traditional development patterns and culture of Wando-Huger, conditions such as these are winning solutions for the entire community. Too often communities go cheap for development and fail to realize the full package of potential benefits available from would-be developers through the permitting process.

Abigail wishes more commercial ventures would be like the one shop owner in Wando who tried to learn about the community and made an effort to hire existing local labor both at his shop and for personal lawn maintenance. Another interviewee appreciates businesses that pick up trash and make their landscaping match the plantings in surrounding yards. These types of efforts, however small, make a big difference in how the community perceives the incoming businesses respect the local community. These are the sorts of minimum measures local government should require of any newly permitted development.

Ella hopes for preservation of community character including the overlapping black and white built history of the plantations while allowing for some development. The challenge to local planners and decision-makers is to perceive the entire built historic district as something worthy of preservation. The built history does not stop with "the big house" and the slave cabins, but continues with the translation of freed slaves' culture into the evolving clustered familial compounds surrounding the plantations. A cultural overlay district that protects this built history, as has been done for the Highway 61 plantation corridor in a neighboring area, is appropriate and necessary, especially given the development proposals that are possible on large tracts of former timber land. This is not to suggest that the plantations and black communities of Wando-Huger transform themselves into a museumified tourist attraction in the name of historic preservation, but rather a measure to preserve this community as best possible in its current lived-in state. This was an area of some discussion, and Wando-Huger residents generally appreciate their privacy and would not take well to tours of their community.

Charles believes that the encouragement of low-income housing and/or mixed-income communities will help to balance property taxes and lessen the feeling of stratification in the community. Elizabeth suggests that development be phased in smaller amounts, because the large-

scale, self-contained developments do not create opportunities for interaction with the community. She believes quite correctly that if development came in smaller, scattered patterns throughout the community, the new residents would be much more likely to meet their neighbors and get to know the community. Most developers will not find this suggestion practical, so instead planners and decision makers must find ways to create natural nodes of interaction.

Planners and decision makers should make every effort to weave together the fragmented pieces of Wando-Huger into a communal fabric that does not echo historic Charleston in residential enclaves surrounded by strip mall development. The goal should be to instead create a livable walkable region that is visibly cohesive in character, designed for interaction, and incorporates places for all income levels and life stages. This could be accomplished through gathering places such as public parks and shopping areas connected by some of the community's traditional walkways through woods and open space. As a note, the Cainhoy School serves as the central Wando-Huger gathering place and communication hub and its preservation should be of utmost import, as should all natural gathering places that hold the community together.

Regulatory tools that could be wielded to the community's benefit include design codes that enforce rural character and landscaping in relation to the surrounding community context have the potential to diminish resentment of new development while creating a more cohesive aesthetic. Easements for pedestrian travel through private woodlots could be required as a condition of development.

As these suggestions may well overwhelm the two planners on staff as of 2008 at Berkeley County, continued partnership should be fostered with BCDCOG to ensure these measures are examined for applicability, and the County should prioritize expansion of and deference to its planning staff if it wants to maintain the sense of place that makes it lucrative for development in the first place.

And as a final note, if the zoning ordinances actually incorporate and enhance the protective measures for Rural Villages that are outlined in the Comprehensive Plan with cluster zoning, traditional clustered development could be protected and encouraged. Care should be taken that these design standards do not create mock-communities that "Disnify" these culturally distinct communities. Zoning should also protect traditional uses such as livestock and farming. What better time to address these issues than during the current Berkeley County Comprehensive Plan update?

5.3 Suggestions for Residents of Wando-Huger

The threat of development of large tracts within the Francis Marion Forest and the City of Charleston's plans to bring infrastructure to these areas may present opportunities for place-based collaboration for preservation. Meetings opposing the development of the area have seen broad-based participation from local industries, wealthy area neighborhoods, and Wando-Huger. Obstacles to community organizing presented by historical memory, low socio-political capital, income, and time may be tempered by a broad coalition focused on a joint solution, all catalyzed by intensified attachment to place brought by an outside development threat.

If this type of collaboration is to coalesce, members of the historic black community will have work to overcome differences in opinion and approaches to community preservation, including better communication about meeting dates and results of those meetings as well as an end to inter-church conflicts. The community should begin to trust more completely its own advocates instead of doubting their efforts or legitimacy as spokespersons; the best spokespersons are the ones who can bridge the gap between Wando-Huger and the halls of decision-making. Those who want to see

these community leaders become more accountable should find ways to become involved themselves. Simultaneously, these leaders should seek ways in which they can communicate their work to their community more regularly and effectively and include more of the community in advocacy efforts. If community leaders become gatekeepers for information and opportunities instead of training a large cadre of capable advocates, the possibilities for realizing community visions are diminished

Ella felt that community organizers could do a better job of sharing information throughout the Wando-Huger, perhaps through announcements through children's bookbags or in the churches. She suggested a bulletin board at the R and T Sweet Shop store near the intersection of 41 and Cainhoy Road in Huger, or perhaps at Miss Libby's Kitchen on Cainhoy Road, the only sit-down restaurant in Huger at the time of research (and one that helped sustain this research with pork chops and all-you-can-eat fried catfish and macaroni and cheese). The R and T sweet shop has take-out food and sees a constant stream of local people picking up sundries and workers stopping in for some food while hearing the community grapevine news of the day. These types of informal community hubs could become more formalized areas for informational exchange to the benefit of the community.

There is enough need and potential work in the community for Wando-Huger to sustain its own community organization. At the time of research, the Wando-Huger CDC was beginning to fill that gap but had yet to obtain its 501(c)3 status so it could obtain foundation money. If the CDC has not already transitioned into this role, it should, or some other implementing organization should create and implement an agenda through grant funding. Community members struggling to provide education on heirs' property and the effects of zoning changes could provide grant-funded training programs especially focused on youth. These programs could potentially build the desired land ethic that you want to see in them through summer programs, in-school and after-school curricula. Grants for low-income community-based agricultural programs and community-based research methods should be researched and pursued. The cancer study suggested in the vicinity of the BP-Amoco plant could be conducted by community members in partnership with the Medical University of South Carolina or other research entities interested in public health. The long-standing vision of having a community garden could come to fruition, and the extra produce could be marketed to local organic markets. Those in the community who do not believe that they can make a difference may be encouraged through their children's participation in such programs.

Clearing property title is an important community strategy to gain control over large tracts of land that are vulnerable to development and to leverage for personal capital. Simultaneously, education and planning should shift within the community to prepare for the repercussions of a more segmented community with the power to sell smaller pieces of property. Outreach regarding the value of land and the pitfalls of credit and predatory lenders should begin now if they have not already. Strategies to perpetuate cohesion between newcomers and long-time residents as well as for the community as a whole should be planned.

Community organizers should continue to build coalition with well-connected organizations to pursue desired development patterns, as Moore (1993) suggests and as the fight against the State Ports Authority terminal shows can be successful. Meanwhile, research and outreach should be conducted to find those on local and national levels who are willing to support preservation of such communities. With this funding, it may be possible to concentrate on proactive planning with decision-makers and to evaluate which strategies will create the most desirable outcome for the community, including whether to incorporate as its own town, to join the City of Charleston, or to stay with Berkeley County. Of more immediate import is to ensure all agreements with potential developers or local landowners regarding zoning changes, affordable housing, recreation centers, etc, be put into writing though it is inconsistent with the oral agreements that carry weight in the

traditional community. All of this is of course more easily said than done, but these are actions that could be accomplished in an ideal situation.

5.4 Thoughts for Developers, New Residents, and Commercial-Industrial Operators

Sharing the amenities of upscale planned developments or making them economically accessible to the existing black residents of Wando-Huger probably seems like a stretch to any developer, and perhaps even to many of the residents of these communities, but would help create a more desirable, vibrant community of the entire region. Mixed-use and mixed-income developments are highly marketable under the rubric of “sustainability.” Attracting businesses that can cater to both existing and incoming residents should be a priority. Businesses that could sell the produce of local farmers and potential community gardens would be ideal.

It behooves developers to see titles cleared for obvious reasons such as transparency in land sales. The hidden benefit is that if the community is not on the defensive all the time because of fears of land grabs, and if developers are willing to work with the community to create their desired types of industrial, residential and commercial development, the developers may gain the benefits of community involvement that advocates for their proposal.

Existing developments and industries still have the potential to live into promises made to the community while bringing others into these partnerships. Daniel Island could still assist in creating affordable housing within economic reach of the existing community. The local job training body could offer job training to local residents perhaps in partnership with NuCor, other industries, and Trident Technical College. NuCor could then extend its offer to hire local workers. NuCor could also build the promised shell for a recreation center, and other would-be developments could help to create funding for equipment and programming.

New residents on Daniel’s Island and in surrounding communities might enjoy cross-cultural exchanges and chances to get to know community members through activities such as an educational series on sweetgrass gathering practices and basket weaving and an open house at the Cainhoy School. Amenities like a farmers market with locally grown produce could provide a soft interface for exchange between community members. Community gardens that provide programming and space for all residents are a similar venue. Tapping into any of these residents’ conservation or heritage mindsets could create allies in the call for community preservation.

Giving back always looks good, and it can feel good, too.

5.5 Conclusions for Local Service Providers and Organizations

Due to the efforts of the Coastal Community Foundation, the Center for Heirs’ Preservation Property (CHPP), the South Carolina Bar Foundation, and others, there has been an increased awareness in the local community regarding the dangers of heirs’ property, the process it takes to clear title, and more coverage in local papers about the issues the communities face. What remains is the incredible task that CHPP is already engaging which is to assist families in clearing title. CHPP’s stated mission is to educate the legal community, service providers, and the wider community about heirs’ property while helping heirs’ property owners who want to retain their land to clear title and better understand market dynamics. Local lawyers who donate their time to such cases find them incredibly taxing and time consuming. Few cases can be tackled in a year. The Heirs’ Property Law Center assists families who can afford to pay to clear title and is willing to help families who want to sell or develop their land. Efforts on both sides should be made to bridge the rift forced by the

underground formation of the Heirs' Property Law Center to give the community as much joint support as possible without duplicating efforts.

Though the goal is self-determination in the fate of family land, without guidance and education about ways to keep property from the hands of predatory lenders, clearing title may lead to greater community fragmentation and different forms of unintentional land loss. Community capacity building in advocacy and leadership development could be a useful focus for CHPP. A community center spearheaded by CHPP that educates families about finances and market trends and trains community members in culturally relevant facilitation could serve many of the families in need of mediation who cannot afford legal services and prepare those clearing title for the coming decisions regarding land management.

At the same time, decisions are being made by local, regional, and state agencies that impact the viability of this community. Clearing title alone and building community capacity is not enough. There needs to be a concerted effort to write into law, at the legislative level and through zoning ordinances, protections for historic slave-descendant communities. Fortunately, CHPP realizes these needs. In their recently revised Guiding Principles and Values CHPP included empowerment of families "through education and legal services to maximize benefits from their property through preservation and development;" preservation of "the character and culture of the families' neighborhoods throughout our service area;" and collaboration "to address...heirs' property from a holistic perspective. Though CHPP would like to focus on advocacy and planning, it currently lacks the funding and staff to do so.

If CHPP and/or any coalition of sister organizations were to launch such an advocacy effort, it could begin by organizing repeated presences at the community scoping meetings for the Berkeley County Comprehensive Plan Update Fall 2008- Spring 2009. The Berkeley County Plan is the last regional plan to be updated; Charleston and Dorchester Counties' community scoping meetings went without input from CHPP, but Beaufort County did meet with CHPP staff. The time is now for Berkeley County. To ensure enforcement of any protective measures for slave-descendant communities written into the comprehensive plan, CHPP and potential partners (discussed below) should keep key decision-makers Berkeley County and the BCDCOG accountable through focused meetings and campaigns, if necessary, to make sure these measures are translated into zoning ordinances.

An educational campaign to include black historical landscapes in historic preservation and landscape conservation mindsets could be launched. Because decision makers may not fully appreciate the community's vision for development, CHPP could organize a meeting with the players identified in *Table 4-3* and community leaders to communicate this vision and to launch such a campaign. The educational effort could also focus on educating heirs' property owners across the country about the effects their actions have on their heritage. Misperceptions about property values in the South and the best ways to realize profit from land could be special areas of concentration for this effort.

CHPP might partner with other organizations with expertise in advocacy, such as the Coastal Conservation League (CCL), to examine strategies and promote solutions that will ensure the longevity of these unique communities. An unintended result of the formation of CHPP away from the Coastal Community Foundation (CCF) and other founding organizations of the Heirs' Property Preservation Project is that CHPP is now somewhat marginalized from the powerful old-money circles that support CCF and CCL. CCF, CCL, and CHPP should work together to maintain those relationships and funding sources as best possible and to bridge the understanding gaps in the Charleston region regarding the Gullah-Geechie culture's perpetuation and the role of development decisions. CHPP desires partnership with CCL since they are the conservation force to be reckoned with in the Lowcountry, but to date CCL has not engaged community members in preservation

processes outside of the effort to fight the State Ports Authority Global Gateway Terminal nearly ten years ago.

Local environmental organizations and historic preservation groups like CCL, the local Sierra Club chapter, and the local National Trust for Historic Preservation could include in their programmatic priorities protection of these historic black communities, if for nothing more than the benefits their preservation have in preventing urban sprawl and maintaining open space. A preferable outlook would be one that encompasses preservation of all Lowcountry culture and landscapes, not just the romanticized white south and pristine open space. Players might be identified whose strengths include advocacy on local development decisions, legislative remedies, and public outreach. Potential partners well-versed in the racial implications of development decisions such as the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark-Atlanta University are essential for helping to build community capacity. The reality is that the best support from other organizations may come from outside the Charleston area, but that does not mean that efforts to build local coalition should go untried.

Though it was not a specific area of research, different service providers came up in conversation. Many interviewees were thankful for the support offered by the South Carolina Coastal Conservation League during the opposition to the State Ports Authority Terminal, and others recognized the research and education conducted by Karimah Moore, Jenny Stephens, and Willie Heyward through the Coastal Community Foundation and now the Center for Heirs' Preservation Property and the Heirs' Property Law Center. Some people are confused by the practices of charitable organizations such as the United Methodist Relief Fund, including allocation of resources and decisions made on what to construct. Sadly, for various reasons, many of these groups and personalities are no longer partnering with each other for the betterment of the community, though the community perceives them all as helpful and having similar motivations. The conclusion from these comments is that charity and justice work are often most effectively conducted in coalition in great partnership with the community rather than on behalf of the community.

5.6 Closing Thoughts

The solutions are complex and multi-dimensional. Clearing property title may lead in time to more division of property and fracturing of traditional family cohesion. Some family members in time may sell their lots, creating a patchwork of family-owned and outsider-owned plots. Family cohesion throughout the United States now strengthened by frequent family reunions on large plots of land may decrease and lead to diminished place attachment. Additionally, as property titles are cleared, kin who live far from the South may choose to sell their percentage rights to the land. Thus, their pattern of retiring "back home" and with pensions and increased appreciation for the local community may lessen. Even legislation that in part protects family rights to buy the land or lessens property tax pressures does not necessarily provide families who would like to buy the land enough capital to hold onto the land in perpetuity. Companies funding efforts to clear title on heirs' property may be doing so with business interests in mind. The Center for Heirs' Property Preservation continues to work with the South Carolina Bar Association to clear title for the families who need it most. As far as general public participation goes, the best step toward survival of historic Lowcountry black communities is for the entire public to see the value of traditional slave-descendant settlement patterns and to support its protection in law and in practice. It is in the best interests of the county, the state, and the nation to protect this part of this region's cultural heritage, as it is in the interests of the residents to maintain the place and community they cherish.

Time is of the essence. Development decisions made in the next year or two will determine the survival of Wando-Huger and many other historic black communities in the coastal plain of South Carolina and Georgia. The challenge is to find a way to make the transition from rural isolated

communities to developed suburban areas as painless as possible while maintaining familial ownership of land. If land represents freedom and autonomy in Lowcountry slave-descendant communities, then in the struggle to preserve Wando-Huger for its current residents, an opportunity presents itself to right history.

5.7 Questions for Further Research

Throughout my research and analysis, different research ideas occurred to me that either were not in the scope of this research project or for which time simply did not allow. I include them here as a note to self of things to which to perhaps return and as an invitation to the reader to contemplate other aspects of the issues.

- To what extent are the themes raised by this research present in other Gullah-Geechie communities and in southern black communities in general?
- What is the propensity to sell family land among those who have moved away from the community and how do they value the land, or, as Elizabeth put it, “What I’m wondering is, some of those people that are still away, are they still, do they still love the land as much as we do who are still living on it? Do they still see the value in it?”
- What do decision-makers, developers, new residents, and service providers have to say about their role in the preservation of Lowcountry slave-descendant culture?
- What are the effects of commercial/ industrial operations on public health and the environment in areas reported by community members:
 - Verification of NuCor drawing down the water table and wells running dry
 - Exploration of the “sonic booms” and cracked foundations around NuCor
 - Extent of asthma in the community
 - Effects of chemicals used at area plants, including Amoco, disposal of toxic waste, and incidents of cancer in the vicinity
- To what extent do courts prefer partition sale of heirs’ property over the partition of the property to avoid selling the entire parcel at a tax sale?
- What are the effects of natural disasters such as Hurricanes Hugo and Katrina on the mentality of previously rural areas, awareness of the region to prospective developers, and subsequent development patterns?
- How do development pressures’ effects on traditional culture in black slave-descendant coastal communities compare with those in other traditional coastal communities such as Hawai’i?
- How do sea island Gullah-Geechie communities’ experiences of the cultural impacts of development compare to those of island nations and other island areas? Are there special implications for planning in island cultures and preservation in the face of development, tourism, and in-migration pressures?

6.0 REFERENCES

- Agrawal, Arun and Clark C. Gibson. "Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation." World Development 27.4 (1999): 629-49.
- Allen, Jefferey, and Kang Lu. "Modeling and Prediction of Future Urban Growth in the Charleston Region of South Carolina: A GIS-Based Integrated Approach " Conservation Ecology 8.2:2, (2003).
- Bartelme, Tony. "Father Dreads Family's Eviction in Heirs' Property Dispute." Post and Courier 27 September 2001.
- Bartelme, Tony. "Heirs: Land At Risk." Post and Courier 23 June 2002.
- BCDCOG (Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester Council of Governments). Berkeley County Comprehensive Plan 2004 Update. North Charleston, South Carolina: BCDCOG, 2004.
- BCDCOG (Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester Council of Governments). "Cainhoy Peninsula Future Land Use: Draft Prepared for Regional Land Use Coordination Focus Group." September 2005.
- BCDCOG (Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester Council of Governments). "Map It" Online Mapping Interface. <http://bcdcog.binarybus.com/app>. Accessed November 2008a.
- BCDCOG (Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester Council of Governments). "Santee East Census Data." http://www.bcdcog.com/publications/census_data_planarea_census_tract/berkeleyco/santee_east.PDF. Accessed November 2008b.
- Berkeley County Government Planning and Zoning. Berkeley County Zoning and Development Standards Ordinance. Moncks Corner, South Carolina: BCDCOG: 2001.
- Bloodgood, Nancy. "Tax Sales of Heirs Property." A paper presented at the Saving Heirs' Property Program, Harbour Club, Charleston, South Carolina, 2004. Bodnar, John. Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century (1992): 14 quoted in A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston, Stephanie E. Yuhl. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005. 14.
- Bosselman, Fred. "Four Land Ethics: Order, Reform, Responsibility, Opportunity." Environmental Law 24 (1994): 1429 quoted in Land Use Planning and Development Regulation Law, Julian Conrad Juergensmeyer and Thomas E. Roberts. St. Paul, Minnesota: West Group, 2003. 392.
- Brabec, Elizabeth. "A Clash of Cultures: The Landscape of the Sea Island Gullah." Draft paper, 2004.
- Brundage, W. Fitzhugh. Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Center for Heirs' Property Preservation. <http://www.heirsproperty.org/about.html>. Accessed 2005.
- Chang, Kwang-chih, ed. Settlement Archaeology. Palo Alto, California: National Press Books, 1968.

- Cheng, Antony S., Linda E. Kruger and Steven E. Daniels. "Place as an Integrating Concept in Natural Resource Politics: Propositions for a Social Science Research Agenda." Society and Natural Resources 16 (2003):87-104.
- City of Charleston. "Community Center to Be Built on Site of Old African American School." <http://www.charlestoncity.info/shared/docs/0/keith%20school%20groundbreaking%201.12.06.doc> Press release, January 12, 2006.
- Cuba, Lee and David M. Hummon. "Constructing a Sense of Home: Place Affiliation and Migration Across the Life Cycle." Sociological Forum vol.8, no. 4 (Dec. 1993): 547-572.
- Daly, Herman E. and Kenneth N. Townsend, eds. Valuing the Earth: Economics, Ecology, Ethics. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1993.
- Daniel Island Company. <http://www.danielislandcompany.com/about-us.asp>. Accessed March 3, 2008.
- Demerson, Bamidele Agbasegbe. "Family Life on Wadmalaw Island" in African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia: Sea Island Roots, Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1991. 57-87.
- Dyer, J.F. Heir Property: Legal and Cultural Dimensions of Collective Landownership. Bulletin 667. Auburn University, Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station, 2007.
- Ellickson, Robert C. "Liberty, Property, and Environmental Ethics." Eco Law Quarterly 21 (1994): 397 quoted in Land Use Planning and Development Regulation Law, Julian Conrad Juergensmeyer and Thomas E. Roberts. St. Paul, Minnesota: West Group, 2003. 392.
- Falk, William W. Rooted in Place: Family and Belonging in a Southern Black Community. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2004
- Fried, Marc. "Continuities and Discontinuities of Place." Journal of Environmental Psychology 20 (2000): 193-205.
- Geisler, Charles, and Gail Daneker, eds. Property and Values: Alternatives to Public and Private Ownership. Washington, District of Columbia: Island Press, 2000.
- Guthrie, Patricia. Catching Sense : African American Communities on a South Carolina Sea Island. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 1996.
- Harvey, David. Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 1996.
- Heirs' Property Preservation Project. And The South Carolina Appleseed Legal Justice Center. Saving Heirs' Property. A collection of presentations from a program presented at the Harbour Club, Charleston, South Carolina, 2004.
- Heirs' Property Preservation Project. Heirs' Property: "A family tree can wither if nobody tends its roots." Booklet distributed at Heirs' Property Preservation workshops, Charleston, South Carolina, rev. 2002.

- Hidalgo, M. Carmen and Bernardo Hernández. "Place Attachment: Conceptual and Empirical Questions." Journal of Environmental Psychology 21 (2001): 273-281.
- Humbach, John A. "Law and a New Land Ethic." Minnesota Law Review (1989): 339 quoted in Land Use Planning and Development Regulation Law, Julian Conrad Juergensmeyer and Thomas E. Roberts. St. Paul, Minnesota: West Group, 2003. 392.
- Jones-Jackson, Patricia. When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1987.
- Juergensmeyer, Julian Conrad and Thomas E. Roberts. Land Use Planning and Development Regulation Law. St. Paul, Minnesota: West Group, 2003. .
- Manning Thomas, June Sheralyn. Blacks on the South Carolina Sea Islands: Planning for Tourist and Land Development. Ph.D. dissertation submitted to University of Michigan, Urban and Regional Planning, 1977.
- Menchaca, Ron and Tony Bartelme. "Conservation Groups Save Land Tracts When Possible." Post and Courier 19 September 2004. http://charleston.net/stories/091904/loc_19conserv.shtml
- Mitchell, Thomas W. From Reconstruction to Deconstruction: Undermining Black Landownership, Political Independence, and Community Through Partition Sales of Tenancies in Common. Research Paper 132. University of Wisconsin, Land Tenure Center, 2000.
- Moore, D. S. "Contesting Terrain in Zimbabwe Eastern Highlands - Political Ecology, Ethnography and Peasant Resource Struggles." Economic Geography 69.4 (1993): 380-401.
- Moore, Karimah. "Study of the Huger/Wando Communities." Charleston, South Carolina: South Coastal Community Foundation, 2004.
- Morgan, Philip D. Slave counterpoint : Black Culture in the Eighteenth-century Chesapeake and Lowcountry. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. "The Ecology of Gullah's Survival." American Speech 1997, 72, 1: 69-83.
- Norton, Richard K. Personal conversation. 27 October 2005.
- Norton, Richard K. "Property Rights, Responsibilities, and Values: The U.S. Regulatory Takings Doctrine and Implications for Planning Practice." Paper read at Symposium II: International Academic Group on Planning, Law and Property Rights, at Warsaw, Poland, 2008.
- Paras, Andy. "Berkeley Council OKs Keystone Deal." Post and Courier 9 October 2007. http://www.charleston.net/news/2007/oct/09/berkeley_council_oks_keystone_deal18566/
- Peterson, Bo. "Community Tries to Preserve Its Roots: Water, Sewer Lines to Run Near Historical Tree in Cainhoy." Post and Courier 27 June 2005. <http://archives.postandcourier.com/archive/arch05/0605/arc06272399582.shtm>.
- Plastrik, Peter. "An Heirs' Property Collaborative Initiative for Coastal South Carolina." South Carolina Coastal Community Foundation, 2001.

- Platt, Rutherford H. Land Use and Society: Geography, Law, and Public Policy. Revised ed. Washington, D.C: Island Press, 2004.
- Pollitzer, William S. The Gullah People and Their African Heritage. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1999.
- Rivers, Faith R. "Restoring the Bundle of Rights: Preserving Heirs' Property in Coastal South Carolina." Article Presented at the American Bar Association's 17th Annual Estate Planning Symposium, San Diego, CA, 2006. Session: 531-562.
- Rose, Carol M. "A Dozen Propositions on Private Property, Public Rights, and the New Takings Legislation." Washington and Lee Law Review 53 (1996): 265, 297 quoted in Land Use Planning and Development Regulation Law, Julian Conrad Juergensmeyer and Thomas E. Roberts. St. Paul, Minnesota: West Group, 2003. 395.
- Singer, Joseph W. "The Ownership Society and Takings of Property: Castles, Investments, and Just Obligations." Harvard Environmental Law Review 2006, 30: 309-338.
- Sinkler, Michelle. "Community Comprehensive Plans Assessment." Heirs' Property Preservation Program, 2003.
- South Carolina Code of Laws. <http://www.scstatehouse.gov/code/statmast.htm>. Accessed December 7, 2008.
- Stack, Carol. Call to Home: African Americans Reclaim the Rural South. New York, New York: Basic Books, 1996.
- Trigger, Bruce. "The Determinants of Settlement Patterns" in Settlement Archaeology, Ed. Kwang-chih Chang. Palo Alto, California: National Press Books: 1968. 53-77.
- Twining, Mary A. and Keith E. Baird, eds. African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia: Sea Island Roots. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1991.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2000 Census. <http://factfinder.census.gov/>. Accessed November 17, 2008.
- Vlach, John Michael. By the Work of Their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folklife. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1991.
- Yuhl, Stephanie E. A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

APPENDIX A. DATA COLLECTION PROTOCOL

Interviews will be open-ended interview questions that will address topics of community, heirs' property, land development, and the environment.

I. COMMUNITY AND VALUES

Historic Values

The first series of questions will be about your experiences of your neighborhood as you were growing up.

1. Who lived around you?
2. How did you interact with them?
3. Could you describe in as much detail as possible a situation in which you were taught values about your home or the land around you?
4. How do you think your elders value(d) this land?
5. Do you recall a time when someone in your family or outside your family had attitudes that were different from what you had been taught about the land?

Current Values

The next group of questions is about how you feel your community is changing in terms of valuing the land.

6. What are your hopes for the land?
7. Your fears?
8. What are the strengths of this community?
9. What are the times when you are most proud of where you come from?
10. Are you aware that earlier this year the National Trust for Historic Preservation designated the "Gullah/Geechie Coast," which includes this area, as one of "America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places?"
11. Do you consider yourself a member of the Gullah culture?
12. What does it mean to you to be in an area designated as one of "America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places?"
13. How do you think this designation might affect development in the area?

II. DEVELOPMENT AND LAND

Current Development

1. What drives development in this region?
2. What is the level of participation of local residents in making development choices?
3. What is your perception of community support for this development?
4. What are the benefits of this development? to the community? to the economy? Other?
5. What are the negative impacts of this development? to the community? to the economy? Other?
6. Are these/ How could these negative impacts be addressed?

Empowerment

7. What development path would you like to see the Wando/ Cainho/ Huger area take? (If asked for examples, expound with a wide variety of options, e.g. "Would you like to see this area become an industrial park? An area with additional rental

housing? A tourist resort? High-end suburban communities? Leave it exactly the way it is?)

8. How is this path being pursued?
9. What are the obstacles to pursuing this type of development?
10. How positive do you feel about the region overcoming these obstacles?
11. What additional information or skills do you feel you need to overcome these obstacles?
12. How positive do you feel about the ability of the communities in this region to work together to overcome these obstacles?
13. What has been your experience with people or organizations coming into your community to do preservation work?
14. How do you feel about them?

Heirs' Property

15. Do you know what heirs' property is? Can you explain it to me? (If they explain it incorrectly, explain, "The Heirs' Property Preservation Project defines heirs' property as 'land that was deeded or purchased by former slaves after emancipation and has been inherited by family members without a will, creating communal ownership of the land without documentation.'")
16. When did you first become aware of the issue of heirs' property?
17. Are you familiar with the process it takes to clear title on heirs' property? (If yes, continue, if no, explain that all possible heirs and family members must be contacted, including those who live off the land and possibly out of state.)
18. Do you have heirs' property in your family?
19. If a lot in a neighboring community, like (give an example) goes up for sale or is ordered into sale by the courts, how do you feel that affects you?
20. Do you ever go to meetings to find out what is going to be built on those lots?
21. Why or why not?
22. What was the most recent time you were worried about your land?
23. What was the incident and what were the worries?
24. What is your perception of the best way to keep your property in the control of your family?
25. Do you feel that your family would like to do so?
26. How do you feel as an individual?
27. How easily do you feel such a process would be undertaken in your family?
28. What would be the obstacles?
29. How positive do you feel in overcoming these obstacles?
30. If your family did clear title, what is your perception of what would happen to the land?

CONTACT INFORMATION

Heirs' Property and Land Conservation in the South Carolina Lowcountry

The purpose of this study is to learn about heirs' property in the South Carolina Lowcountry and the prospects for community and land conservation. This study will look at the heirs' property and development trends in the area, learn how people feel about the current development trends, and find out what actions are being taken to preserve the culture and the land. The people participating in these interviews are residents in the Wando and Huger communities.

Should you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact:

Terry Yasuko Ogawa
University of Michigan
School of Natural Resources and Environment
Dana Building
430 East University
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1115
(843) 437-0374

During the Summer of 2004, The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina is sponsoring me as an intern with the Heirs' Property Preservation Project. If you have any further questions regarding this project, please contact:

Jennie Stephens
The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina
90 Mary Street
Charleston, SC 29403
(843) 723-3635

Should you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant in research, please contact:

The Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board
Kate Keever
540 East Liberty, Suite 202
Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210
(734) 936-0933
email: irbhsbs@umich.edu

ORAL CONSENT FORM

Heirs' Property and Land Conservation in the South Carolina Lowcountry

To be read verbally to individuals before interviewing:

The purpose of this study is to learn about heirs' property in the South Carolina Lowcountry and the prospects for community and land conservation. This study will look at the heirs' property and development trends in the area, learn how people feel about the current development trends, and find out what actions are being taken to preserve the culture and the land. The people participating in these interviews are residents in the Wando, Cainhoy, Huger, and St. Thomas Island communities.

The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina is conducting a special project supported by the Ford Foundation called The Heirs' Property Preservation Project in partnership with residents of Wando, Cainhoy, Huger, and St. Thomas Island to communicate the concerns and assets of the Wando, Cainhoy, Huger, and St. Thomas Island communities regarding development on Daniel Island. Terry Yasuko Ogawa, the interviewer, is a student at the University of Michigan School of Natural Resources being sponsored as an intern by The Community Foundation to conduct this study.

This interview will take about one and a half hours. I will ask you to share your knowledge and perceptions about your community, heirs' property, development of land, and the environment.

Participation in this research is voluntary. At any time during the interview, you may end your participation by just telling me. Also, you may choose not to participate in any part of this interview and you do not have to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable. You may also ask me any questions or make specific requests before, during, and after this interview. This will not cause any problems. I will provide contact information to you at the close of this interview should you have any further questions regarding this study.

The information from this interview will be used to prepare a report on Heirs' Property and Land Conservation that will be submitted to the University of Michigan School of Natural Resources as my Master's Thesis. During the summer of 2004, I am being sponsored as an intern by The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina. I would specifically like to learn about your perceptions as a long-time member of this community. For this reason, I would like to record your name and possible quote you as a source. If you prefer, any part or all of the interview can be kept confidential. If you would prefer to remain anonymous, I will not record your name directly on the interview and the answers you provide will be kept confidential. Neither your name nor any identifying characteristics will be used in any reports of this study.

Also, I would like to tape-record this interview so that I will be better able to accurately represent your answers and perspectives in this study. I will keep the tapes and notes in my personal possession and they will be destroyed in the future. If you would prefer not to tape-record this interview that is not a problem.

Would you like to participate in this interview?

Is it ok to tape-record this interview?

Do you have any questions?

CONSENT FORM

Photovoice Heirs' Property Preservation Project

I understand that The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina is conducting a special project supported by the Ford Foundation called The Heirs' Property Preservation Project in partnership with residents of Wando and Huger to communicate the concerns and assets of the Wando and Huger communities regarding development on Daniel Island. I understand that Terry Yasuko Ogawa is a student of the University of Michigan School of Natural Resources being sponsored as an intern by The Community Foundation to conduct this Project.

By participating in this project, I understand that:

- 1) I will be involved in an activity in which I will take photographs of where I live and topics related to land and property that are important to me and my community.
- 2) Over the next four weeks I will attend 2 Photovoice Heirs' Property Preservation Project training sessions. During this time:
 - (a) I will be taking photographs.
 - (b) I will meet in groups to discuss photographs with other people who are participating in the project, including photographs I have taken that are most meaningful to me or that I like best.
- 3) Photographs that I take will be used to help inform The Community Foundation, policy makers, and the community about residents' views about development concerns and community strengths in Wando and Huger.
- 4) While I will not directly or indirectly benefit from participating in this study, I will be given the photographs that I take to keep. The negatives are also my property to keep, and may be lent to the project team to make reprints or enlargements if and only if I choose. No photographs or any of the associated stories will be used without my written permission and the permission of identifiable people in the photographs.
- 5) My participation in this project is voluntary. I can refuse to participate in or withdraw from the project at any time without penalty or loss of any benefit.
- 6) One possible risk of participating in this project is staying safe when I am taking photographs in different places and when I am attending the series of group meetings. All group meetings will take place at Cainhoy Community Center, 2424 Cainhoy Road, Huger, South Carolina, 29450.
- 7) In the unlikely event of physical or mental injury resulting from my participation, The Community Foundation or any other partners in the Heirs' Property Preservation Project will not provide compensation to a person who is injured when participating in this project.
- 8) For answers to any questions about the project, I may contact the following persons:

Terry Yasuko Ogawa
Jennie Stephens

(843) 437-0374
(843) 723-3635

- 9) For answers to any questions regarding my rights as a participant in research, I may contact the following person:

The Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board
Kate Keever
540 East Liberty, Suite 202
Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210
(734) 936-0933
email: irbhsbs@umich.edu

One copy of this consent form will be kept on file by The Community Foundation and a second copy will be given to me to keep.

I have read the information given above. I understand the meaning of the information. Terry Yasuko Ogawa and Jennie Stephens have offered to answer any questions I have concerning the project. I hereby consent to participate in the project.

Printed Name

Consenting Signature

Date

ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND RELEASE

Photovoice Heirs' Property Preservation Project

I understand that participants in the Photovoice Heirs' Property Preservation Project will be taking photographs throughout the community. The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina is conducting this special project supported by the Ford Foundation working in partnership with residents of Wando and Huger to communicate the concerns and assets of the Wando and Huger communities regarding development on Daniel Island. I understand that Terry Yasuko Ogawa is a student of the University of Michigan School of Natural Resources being sponsored as an intern by The Community Foundation to conduct this Project.

My decision to be photographed at any time for the Photovoice Heirs' Property Preservation Project is completely voluntary.

I give permission to have myself photographed.

I understand that any photographs taken may be (1) used for educational and teaching purposes; (2) published in print; and (3) used positively to promote our community's health.

Signature

Date

Witness

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____
11. _____
12. _____
13. _____
14. _____
15. _____
16. _____

For answers to any questions about the project, I may contact the following persons:

Terry Yasuko Ogawa	(843) 437-0374
Jennie Stephens	(843) 723-3635

For answers to any questions regarding my rights as a participant in research, I may contact the following: The Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board, Kate Keever, 540 East Liberty, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, (734) 936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu

CONSENT FORM

Photovoice Heirs' Property Preservation Project

I understand that The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina is conducting a special project supported by the Ford Foundation called The Heirs' Property Preservation Project in partnership with residents of Wando and Huger to communicate the concerns and assets of the Wando and Huger communities regarding development on Daniel Island. I understand that Terry Yasuko Ogawa is a student of the University of Michigan School of Natural Resources being sponsored as an intern by The Community Foundation to conduct this Project.

Please check one and initial:

- 1. ____ No, I do not want to have ANY of my photovoice images/descriptions used in the future in any manner by Terry Yasuko Ogawa or The Community Foundation
- 2. ____ Yes, I give you permission to use ALL of my photovoice images/descriptions for teaching and educational purposes.
- 3. ____ Yes, I give you permission to use ONLY the following of my photovoice/images descriptions that I describe below for teaching and educational purposes.

Signed _____ Date _____
 Print name _____
 Witnessed _____ Date _____

For answers to any questions about the project, I may contact the following persons:

Terry Yasuko Ogawa	(843) 437-0374
Jennie Stephens	(843) 723-3635

For answers to any questions regarding my rights as a participant in research, I may contact the following: The Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board, Kate Keever, 540 East Liberty, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, (734) 936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu

Heirs' Property and Land Conservation in the South Carolina Lowcountry
Photovoice Project Description
Contact: Terry Yasuko Ogawa (843) 723-3635

Purpose The purpose of this project is to learn about heirs' property in the South Carolina Lowcountry and the prospects for community and land conservation. This project will look at the heirs' property and development trends in the area, learn how people feel about the current development trends, and find out what actions are being taken to preserve the culture and the land. The area of this study is Wando and Huger.

Background The Community Foundation Serving Coastal South Carolina is conducting a special project supported by the Ford Foundation called The Heirs' Property Preservation Project in partnership with residents of Wando and Huger to communicate the concerns and assets of the Wando and Huger communities regarding development on Daniel Island. Terry Yasuko Ogawa, the interviewer, is a student at the University of Michigan School of Natural Resources being sponsored as an intern by The Community Foundation to conduct this study. She will work in partnership with Jennie Stephens and Karimah Moore.

Method We will be using a technique called Photovoice, which empowers community members to document their own community and concerns using photography. Disposable cameras will be distributed, and participants will be given a week to take photographs of their communities in relation to developmental impacts. At the end of the week, participants will be given back their photographs and given time to discuss emerging themes. After selecting the photograph they feel best represent their concerns, participants will be asked to write a few sentences on what the image means to them. The process promotes dialogue about important issues—in this case, the impacts of development on the community—through group discussion. The photographs may also be used to engage policy makers at the close of the project. We will be working with a few area photographers who will help train the group in photography techniques.

Participation Out of the Wando/Huger Community Assessment that Karimah Moore conducted for The Community Foundation have emerged a core group of leaders, and they are also considered the core of this Project. As each of the leaders considers participating in this Project, they are requested to commit to bringing at one or two other people to participate. One of the concerns in this community is about young persons' changing attitudes about the community. While minors cannot participate, persons 18-35 are encouraged to participate. There are also elders who hold stories and knowledge for the community, and they are also encouraged to participate. As much as possible, the group should contain a wide range of ages.

Trainings **At the Community Center, Cainhoy Road**
Initial Training: Monday, July 19, 2004 6-8:30 pm
Training 2 (Picture Return & Discussion): Tuesday, July 27, 6-8:30 pm