

# **STORMY WEATHER**

## **THE ANDERSON COUNTY ECONOMY IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

**A Report to Anderson County Council**

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### STORMY WEATHER

In the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, Anderson County developed around a manufacturing economy. By the late 1970s, more than forty percent of its work force was employed in manufacturing.

The post World War II years were good for manufacturing economies in the United States. With most of the old industrial economies in Europe laid low by war, American manufacturers faced almost no international competition. American industrial workers experienced rapidly rising levels of living.

Anderson County participated in this industrial prosperity. It benefited particularly from the movement of branch plants to the Sunbelt and South Carolina's very successful strategy for attracting such branch plants to small and middle-sized South Carolina towns.

But by the 1970s, change was afoot. The Germans and Japanese rebuilt their industries and entered world markets in competition with American manufacturers. Soon other European and Asian countries also joined the competition. Storm clouds appeared in local economies all across the United States. They were darkest and most threatening in places where manufacturing dominated local economies.

Anderson County was one such place. The 1980s, particularly, were a time of stormy weather in the Anderson County economy. While the nation lost about ten percent of its manufacturing jobs, and the state of South Carolina lost about five percent of its manufacturing jobs, Anderson County lost twenty percent of its manufacturing jobs between 1980 and 1992.

That was a big hit, the economic equivalent of a series of tornadoes that wipe out large hunks of income-producing property each year.

The jobs lost, as a class, were the highest paying jobs in Anderson County. Still Anderson County added 13,500 jobs between 1980 and 1992. Yet the bulk of new jobs were in the trade and services sector, and they paid less than the jobs that were lost. The same pattern was occurring elsewhere in the country and region, but Anderson County suffered especially because it was relatively more heavily dependent upon manufacturing in the years after World War II.

There are some high paying jobs in the service sector, jobs for engineers, software developers, finance specialists and technicians, for example. Yet almost all of these higher paying service jobs require post high school education. Compared to some other I-85 counties, Anderson County has a relatively large percentage of its workplace with less than high school education and a relatively low percentage with four or more years of college. Moreover, the demographically adjusted rate of growth in high school, technical school, and college graduates in Anderson County lags that of the nation and other I-85 counties.

Differences in levels of education attainment explain almost all of the differences in per capita income between Anderson County and neighboring counties. The school districts in Anderson County continue to rank in the bottom half, statewide, in local funding for schools as a percentage of local taxable wealth. The facts seem to illustrate a reluctance to invest in education that has profound

implications for income growth in Anderson County.

Incomes are jeopardized in Anderson County by the relatively low investments in education that the people of Anderson County are making relative to their competitors along I-85 and in much of the rest of the world. Unless the people of Anderson County have something to sell in world labor markets that is superior in quality to what can be bought at a comparable wage elsewhere, they will have to settle for low wages and a hard scrabble existence.

But improving the skills of the work force through education is a long-term undertaking. In the meantime, Anderson County can attempt to maximize the locational advantages it enjoys along I-85. Steps to provide water and sewer services to all I-85 interchanges are likely to pay big dividends. Steps also are needed to open up the southeastern half of the county to development through highway and water/sewer construction. Equally important, Anderson needs to protect its livable environment and market environmental amenities in attracting the great wave of Baby Boomer retirees likely to head to South Carolina soon after the turn of the new century.

## STORM DAMAGE

### The Unemployment Rate

Many people in Anderson County understand firsthand that the local economy has been through a damaging storm. Anderson County's unemployment rates through the 1980s and early 1990s indicate there has been real economic pain in Anderson County families in the last few years.

Anderson County entered the 1980s with a relatively high unemployment rate compared to South Carolina as a whole and neighboring counties along I-85. The Anderson County unemployment rate remained above the state level until 1987 and has tracked along side the state rate since, sometimes a little above, sometimes a little below.

Among neighboring counties along I-85, Anderson County's unemployment rate has

generally been below that of Cherokee and Oconee counties, but higher than that in Greenville and Pickens counties. Except for the late 1980s, Spartanburg also had lower unemployment than Anderson.

The worst of the storm visited workers in Anderson County in the mid 1980s. High un-

County Unemployment Rates

	Andrsn	Chrkee	Grnvll	Ocnee	Pckns	Sprtnbrg	State
1980	7.6	7.8	5.4	8.1	5.8	5.8	6.9
1981	9.6	9.1	7.0	10.9	7.8	7.9	8.4
1982	11.9	11.6	10.1	15.5	10.9	10.7	10.8
1983	10.5	9.6	8.9	13.2	9.4	9.3	10.1
1984	8.2	6.2	5.7	9.0	7.8	5.9	7.1
1985	8.8	7.8	5.4	7.2	6.6	6.5	6.8
1986	7.4	7.0	4.8	6.8	5.8	5.9	6.2
1987	5.7	5.1	4.0	5.9	4.6	4.9	5.6
1988	4.4	4.6	3.2	4.5	4.4	3.4	4.6
1989	4.6	5.2	3.3	4.7	3.8	4.0	4.7
1990	5.3	5.7	3.6	5.2	4.1	4.4	4.7
1991	6.6	6.9	4.9	7.7	5.3	5.5	6.2
1992	5.9	6.1	5.1	7.2	4.9	4.8	6.2

employment hit Anderson and Oconee counties earlier in the 1980s than it struck neighboring counties, and the hit was harder with the unemployment rate going into double digits. And recovery from high unemployment came a year or two later in Anderson than in neighboring counties.

A lot of people in Anderson County lost their jobs in the 1980s, a larger percentage of the local work force than in South Carolina generally and in every neighboring county except Oconee. Compared to their neighbors, Anderson County people were out of work longer because their labor market came back slower.

But it has come back. In 1992, the unemployment rate in Anderson county was below the state average and lower than where it was when the 1980s began. Yet, it was still high relative to that of Greenville, Pickens, and



Spartanburg counties.

## Jobs Lost/Jobs Gained

The high unemployment rates in Anderson County in the 1980s mean that jobs were lost. The falling unemployment rate in the 1990s means jobs were gained.

What kinds of jobs were lost, and what kind were gained? What did the storm bring in, and what did it blow away?

There is a short answer on the jobs lost. About 5,000 manufacturing jobs, mostly in textiles, and about 500 farm jobs disappeared. So almost all of the job loss occurred in the core of Anderson County's post World War II economy. Since manufacturing was the highest paid employment for workers in Anderson County, the storm blew away a lot of the good paying jobs which enable workers to raise a family.

Still, the Anderson County economy created

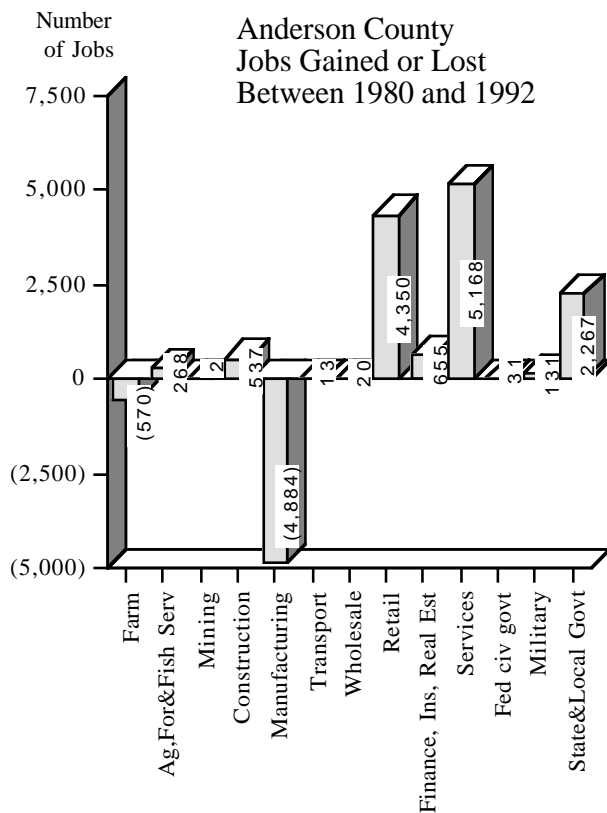
about 8,000 net new jobs in 1980-92. With the loss of 5,500 in the core sectors, that means the Anderson County economy grew by 13,500 jobs in 13 years, averaging a little better than one thousand new jobs per year.

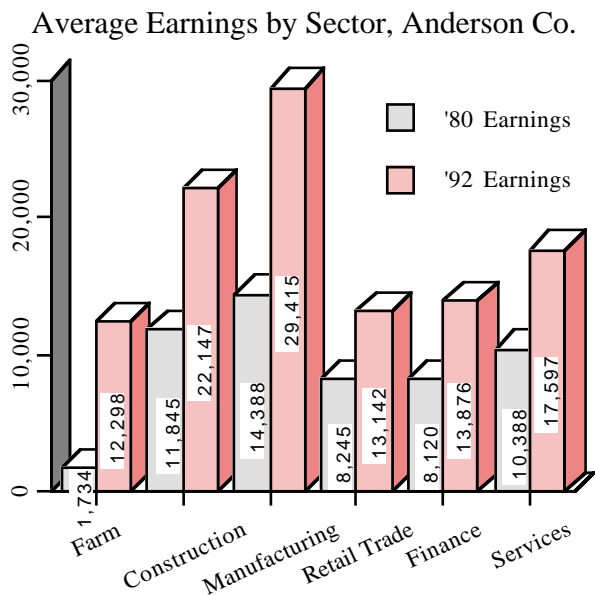
Five thousand of these new jobs were in the services sector, and four thousand of them were retail trade. Another 2,500 or so were new government jobs, mostly jobs with state and local governments. About 1,500 were jobs of persons who worked for themselves. The remainder were scattered across construction, transportation, utilities, and financial sectors.

In general, it appears that manufacturing jobs in Anderson County are being replaced by jobs in trade and services. That is also a pattern in other local economies across the United States that were long dependent upon manufacturing bases. Anderson County differs from neighboring counties largely because it was more heavily dependent upon manufacturing than other I-85 counties when the transition first got underway.

Although some trade and service jobs offer lucrative salaries sufficient to support affluent families, there are also many minimum wage jobs in these sectors. The better-paying jobs typically require post high school training and education.

A job in manufacturing is still the place that offers an Anderson County worker the best chance for a middle-class income. The new trade and services sector jobs that Anderson County gained offer lower wages and salaries than manufacturing jobs. Workers displaced from manufacturing were earning little more in 1992 in trade and service sector jobs than the average manufacturing worker in Anderson County was earning at the beginning of the 1980s. And inflation still eats away at the buying power of stagnant income in many Anderson County households.





## Income

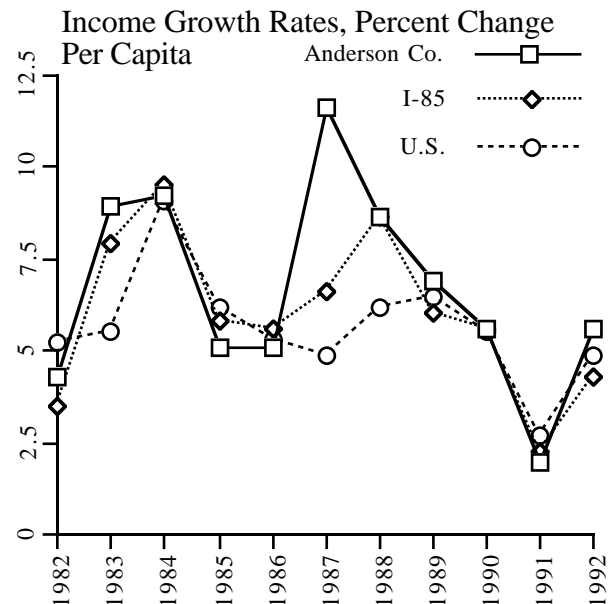
This brings us to Anderson County Council's concern that prompted this study: Why has per capita income in Anderson County been lagging behind that of neighboring counties?

First, Anderson County entered the 1980s with per capita income below the mean of I-85 counties, but above the mean for South Carolina. It entered the 1990s in roughly the same position.

Indeed, by the two benchmarks above, Anderson County even gained a little ground. In the early 1990s, per capita incomes in Anderson County were growing a little faster than per capita income in all I-85 counties or statewide. It was even gaining some ground on the national average per capita income.

Yet by national standards, per capita incomes in Anderson County remain relatively low. Anderson gained on the national average only because the annual rate of growth in per capita income generally has been falling since 1980. And, as the graph below shows, the annual rate of growth generally is falling in Anderson County, too, only not as fast as na-

tionally. Greenville County has had the highest per capita income along I-85 for a long time. Historically, Anderson County has ranked third or fourth among the six I-85 counties in per capita income, behind Spartanburg and sometimes Pickens. But Anderson dropped to dead last among the six counties in the second half of the 1980s. It recovered its old spot back in third place only in the early nineties when income growth in Pickens and Cherokee counties slowed sharply. But it was a tie for third. The influx of relatively affluent retirees into Oconee County caused it to draw

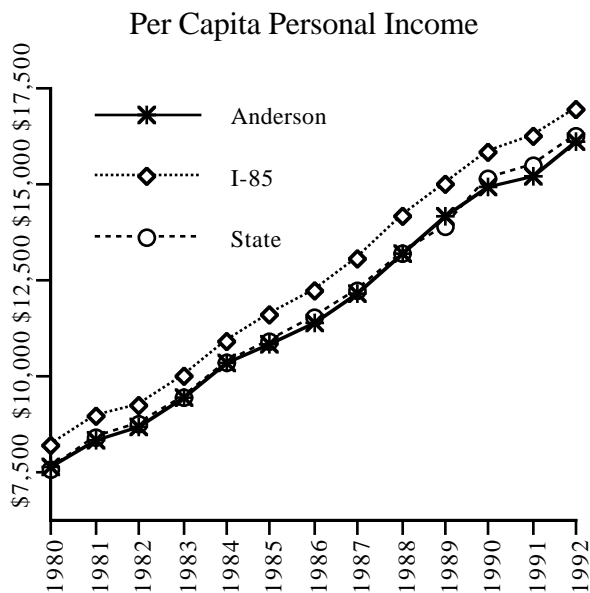


virtually even with Anderson in per capita incomes by 1992.

## Sources of Income

We can expand our understanding of what has been happening to per capita incomes by looking at what happened to income growth by source in the 1980-92 period.

**Wages and Salaries.** Wages and salary are by far the most important source of income in most American communities as in Anderson County. Wages and salaries paid out annually in Anderson County increased by \$550



million in 1992 over that paid out in 1980. But the growth rate was slower in Anderson than in both the United States as a whole and in the I-85 counties. If Anderson County had kept up to the pace of the I-85 counties, salaries and wages would have expanded by more than \$700 million by 1992.

The sluggish performance of wages and salaries in Anderson County shaved \$1,000 off of Anderson's per capita income relative to what Anderson County would have experienced if wages and salaries had kept up to the pace in neighboring counties.

**Proprietors' Income.** Proprietors' income is that realized by persons working for themselves. In contrast to salaries and wages, proprietors' income grew by a rate that outpaced the nation and other I-85 counties during the 1980-92 period. The growth rates were strong both for farm and nonfarm proprietors' income, resulting in an addition of about \$85 million in new personal income in Anderson County in 1992 above that of 1980. Still, the average proprietor in Anderson County in 1992 earned less than the average manufacturing worker.

**Dividends, Interest and Rent.** Dividends,

interest and rent are returns to capital and property. They include returns on capital and property in Anderson County owned by local people and returns on capital and property that are outside Anderson County but owned by local residents.

The relatively high interest rates that prevailed throughout most of the 1980s meant that this source of income performed well over the 1980-92 period and produced about \$170 million in new income in Anderson County in 1992 above what was realized in 1980. Income from dividends, interest and rents grew faster in Anderson County than in the nation as a whole, but slower than the I-85 counties as a whole.

**Transfer Payments.** Transfer payments are income earned in another time period and/or by some other person than the time and person where they are received. They include private pension payments, insurance settlements, social security, Medicare and Medicaid, unemployment compensation, food stamps and the various types of public assistance generally labeled *welfare*.

Not surprisingly, given the high unemployment rates in Anderson County throughout much of the 1980s and given the increasing proportion of the population that is retired, transfer payments grew strongly in the county during 1980-92. The growth, coming to some \$270 million more in local income in 1992 than in 1980 and dwarfing the growth in proprietors' income and in dividends, interest and rents, was faster in Anderson County than across the nation or in neighboring counties.

As a result, people of Anderson County are more dependent upon transfer payments for income in 1992 than in 1980. That makes them less vulnerable to economic cycles, but increasingly vulnerable to deficit-cutting politics in Washington. Not all the storm clouds have gone away.

## Review

Let us review what we have discovered so far about the economic storm that visited Anderson County in the 1980s.

- Anderson County lost 20 percent of the jobs in its core industries, agriculture and manufacturing.
- As a group, the jobs were lost in the highest paying sectors of the local economy.
- Still, there was vigorous job growth in the county, especially in the trade and services sectors.
- The highest paying new jobs in the growth sectors require at least some post-high school education.
- Income growth, except for salary and wage income, in Anderson County has been as good or better than in neighboring counties; but since salaries and wages provide the bulk of income for people in Anderson County, sluggish growth in salaries and wages has had a dampening effect on growth in per capita incomes.

Conclusion: If we want to understand what has been slowing per capita income growth in Anderson County, we need to understand what has kept the lid on salaries and wages.

### Average Annual Earnings Compared

Comparing average annual earnings in Anderson County in 1992 with those in neighboring counties along I-85 by employment sector tells us about income opportunities in Anderson County.

By comparing counties in the following graphs, it is obvious that the farming sector is the only one where Anderson County has the highest average annual earnings of any of the I-85 counties.

On a sector-by-sector comparison, Pickens is

the only neighboring county where average annual earnings in all sectors of employment are below those in Anderson County.

In most sectors, average annual earnings in Anderson County are below those in Greenville and Spartanburg counties but above those in Cherokee, Oconee, and Pickens. Indeed, in all three of the *big* employment sectors—manufacturing, trade, and services—Anderson earnings are about average for the region but significantly below those in Greenville and Spartanburg counties.

As long as this condition exists, per capita incomes in Anderson County are likely to lag those in Greenville and Spartanburg counties.

### Earnings and Educational Attainment

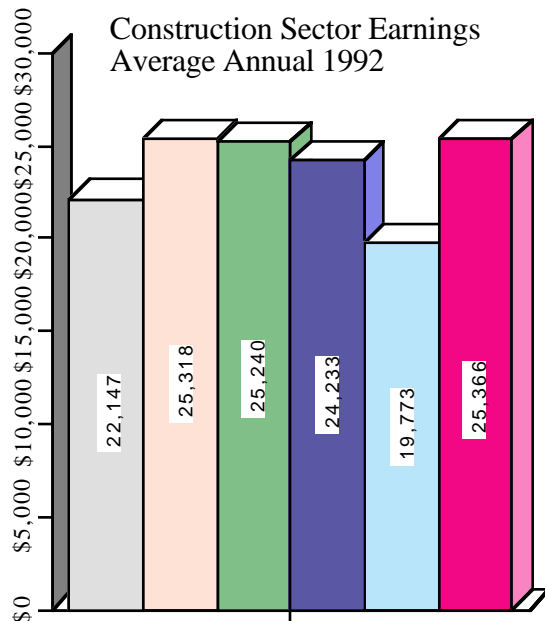
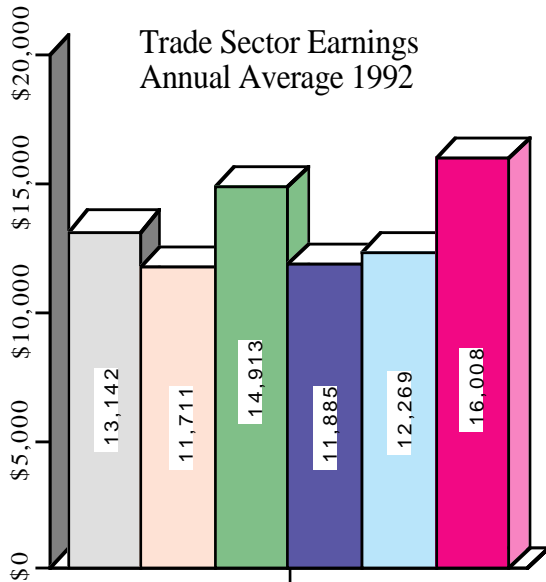
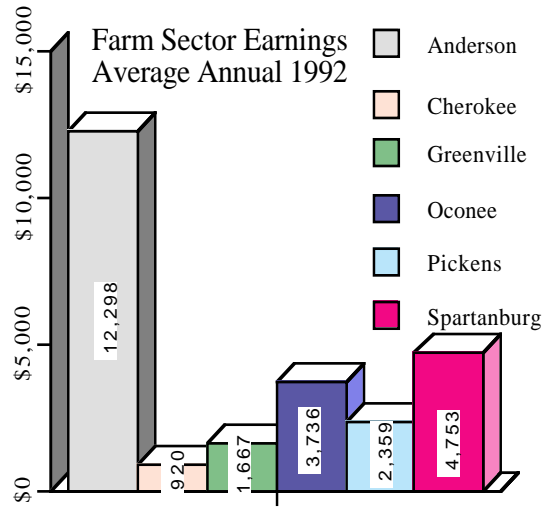
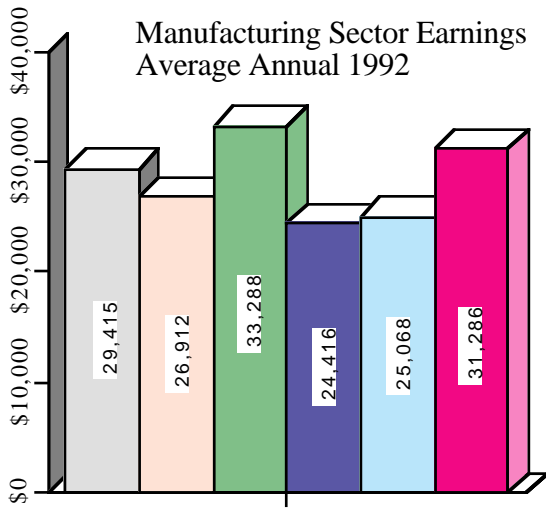
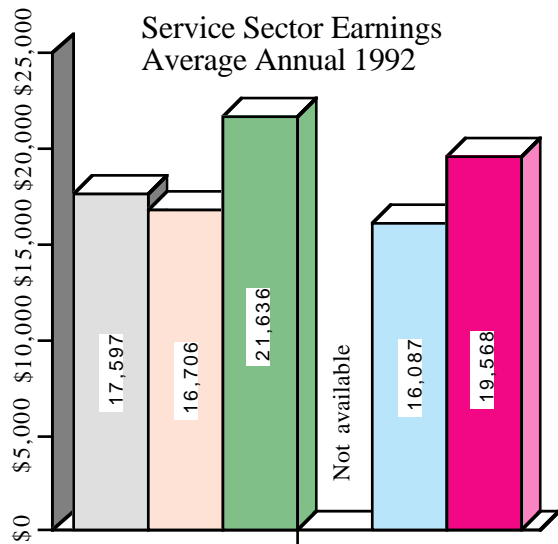
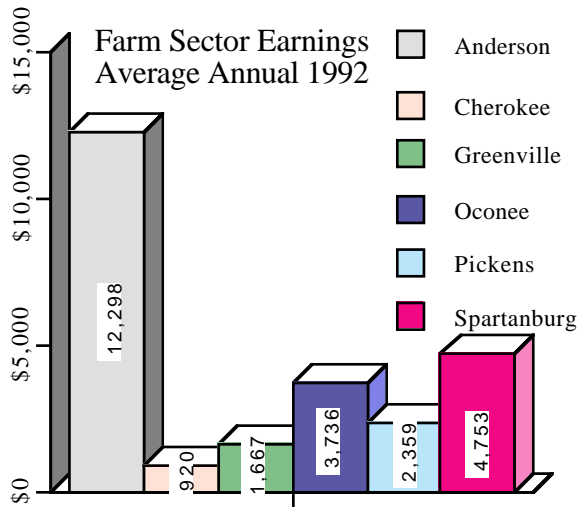
There are studies upon studies that verify the strong relationship between earnings and educational attainment. The data from the last census puts numbers on what almost everyone knows: the more education you have, the higher your income is likely to be.

Less than 9th grade	\$12,687
9th-12th grade (no diploma)	14,282
HS graduate/GED	17,418
Some college/no degree	20,448
Associate degree	22,211
Bachelors degree	29,536
Masters degree	31,790
Professional degree/doctorate	52,925

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census

So if there are differences in earnings in similar industries between neighboring counties that are part of one geographic labor market, one probable cause is differences in levels of educational attainment.

Does the level of educational attainment in Anderson County explain why average earnings are lower there than in Greenville and Spartanburg counties? It may not explain all



the differences, but it seems to explain a part of them.

In 1990, about 30 percent of Anderson County's population over 25 years of age had a high school diploma but no post high school education. In that regard Anderson was actually a little better off than some neighboring counties.

Moreover, Anderson had a slightly larger percentage of its adult population than neighboring counties with some college or other post-secondary education. These two facts were favorable to income growth in Anderson County.

Yet 38 percent of Anderson County's adult population had less than a high school education or its equivalent compared to only about 18 percent in Greenville County. Only about eight percent of the adult population in Anderson County had a four-year college education compared to almost 19 percent in Greenville County.

The impact of the gap in post-high school educational attainment shows up most dramatically in average annual earnings in service sector jobs. The best jobs in the service sector require some post-secondary education. But there are also a lot of low paying jobs in the service sector. The higher the average earnings in service sector employment, the higher the number of higher paying jobs (requiring higher education) relative to the lower paying jobs employing persons with less than high school educations.

In 1992, the average worker in the service sector in Anderson County earned about \$4,000 less than his or her counterpart in the service sector in Greenville County. That difference can be explained by the differences in average levels of education attainment between the two counties.

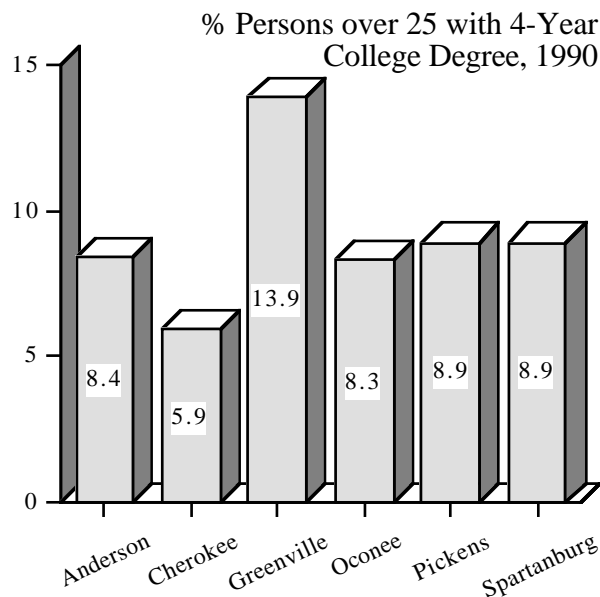
Hence the relatively low level of educational attainment in Anderson County has been a brake on the county's income growth.

## Making Income Grow

Everyone in Anderson County has an interest in making local incomes grow. As income grows, opportunities increase for even additional income growth. The process feeds upon itself.

The surest way to make income grow in Anderson County is to increase the average level of educational attainment of Anderson County citizens. In truth, that is easier said than done. There must be a broad consensus in the population to make sacrifices in the present moment in order to find the time and material resources to upgrade skills. And there must be persistence in making such sacrifices even in the face of occasional disappointments, and at best, only slow, steady improvements in economic well-being.

Anderson County's record of investment in educational attainment is mixed. The best products of its public schools can compete with the best from the best schools anywhere. During the 1980s, the proportion of the



Anderson County adult population with less than ninth grade education dropped by a third and the proportion with four or more years of college more than doubled. About two-thirds of the county's high school graduates in 1992 continued on to some type of post secondary education. That is a record that compares favorably with neighboring counties.

But local employers complain that many local high school graduates fail entry-level application tests. Anderson County schools are still producing too many graduates who lack the foundations for a lifetime of continuously upgrading their job skills.

And ranked on the basis of local taxable wealth allocated for schools, the five Anderson school districts rank in the bottom 50 percent statewide. Among the six I-85 counties, Anderson ranked next to last in 1992 in per pupil expenditures on public education.

There is no established correlation between the quality of education and what is spent to provide it. Spending more money on education might not make more high school graduates pass job tests. But local tax effort to support schools in Anderson County might be symptomatic of a reluctance to make current sacrifices (in time as well as money) so as to improve the educational attainment and earnings of the oncoming generation.

### **An Agenda for County Council**

There are very real limits to what county council can do to make incomes grow. But county council can and must provide overall leadership for the County's economic development and must take care not to do anything that hampers the development process.

Specially, an income growth agenda for county council should include the following items:

- **Promote Education.** The surest way to make incomes grow in Anderson County is to increase the average level of educational attainment of Anderson County citizens. County council

does not run the schools, but it can lend its support to efforts by the school trustees, administrators, teachers, and citizens groups trying to improve the schools. It can speak out on the need for every citizen in the County to increase their investment in education, including taking advantage of opportunities for adult education that upgrades job skills.

It is vitally important that county council members refrain from doing anything that can be interpreted as disparaging education or that undermines the moral of teachers and students.

- **Water and Sewer on I-85.** County council should move as rapidly as is consistent with orderly processes to assure that every interchange with Interstate 85 has sufficient water and sewer to meet the needs of potential industrial development. Providing such infrastructure to the interstate highway interchanges should be the top priority in expansion of water and sewer services.
- **Open up Southeastern Part of County.** The southeastern quarter of Anderson County has not fully participated in the county's development. The assets in that part of the county must be developed if incomes are to continue to grow in Anderson. County council should explore ways to open up the Iva/Starr/Honea Path/Belton sector, including construction of a limited access perimeter road around Anderson and expansion of water and sewer services into that part of the county.

- **Protect Environmental Quality.**

Retirement development along the lakes has considerable promise for Anderson County, but only if Anderson County protects the lake and foothills environmental amenities that attract retirees to the area. Land use controls that minimize unsightly developments and protect scenic vistas and the pastoral character of the Piedmont landscape are essential if Anderson County is to maximize its potential for retirement development. Even though enacting such controls will be politically difficult, failure to do so will have adverse consequences for incomes in Anderson County.

- **Think Regionally.** Anderson County's greatest asset for economic development is its location in the I-85 corridor. The county's overall economic future will greatly depend upon the willingness of county council to work cooperatively with neighboring counties to improve linkages with Atlanta and Charlotte so as to tie the Anderson County economy closer to these two prosperous urban centers. Turf guarding mentalities must be discarded and opportunities for regional cooperation exploited to their maximum limits.

## TABLES

### Anderson County: Jobs Gained or Lost, 1980-1992

Job Sector	Jobs	% Change
Farm	-570	-28.6
Agricultural Services, Forestry, Fisheries	268	122.4
Mining	2	7.4
Construction	537	17.3
Manufacturing	-4,884	20.1
Transportation and other Public Utilities	13	0.1
Wholesale Trade	20	1.1
Retail Trade	4,350	45.7
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	655	8.6
Services	5,168	67.5
Federal Civ. Government	31	9.5
Military	131	14.1
State and Local Government	2,267	36.1

### Average Earnings by Sector, Anderson County

Sector	1980	1992
Farm	\$ 1,734	\$12,298
Construction	11,845	22,147
Manufacturing	14,388	29,415
Retail Trade	8,245	13,142
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	8,120	13,876
Services	10,388	17,597

### Per Capita Income Growth Rates Percent Change

	Anderson County	I-85 Counties	United States
1982	4.3	3.5	5.2
1983	8.9	7.9	5.5
1984	9.2	9.5	9.1
1985	5.1	5.8	6.2
1986	5.1	5.6	5.3
1987	11.6	6.6	4.9
1988	8.6	8.6	6.2
1989	6.9	6.0	6.5
1990	5.6	5.6	5.5
1991	2.0	2.3	2.7
1992	5.6	4.3	4.9

### Per Capita Personal Income

Year	Anderson	I-85	State
1980	\$ 7,656	\$ 8,170	\$ 7,558
1981	8,317	8,936	8,366
1982	8,671	9,249	8,735
1983	9,444	9,979	9,403
1984	10,313	10,923	10,302
1985	10,836	11,554	10,912
1986	11,394	12,201	11,478
1987	12,153	13,012	12,197
1988	13,203	14,129	13,192
1989	14,115	14,976	13,884
1990	14,906	15,820	15,101
1991	15,210	16,189	15,484
1992	16,063	16,892	16,212

### Average Annual Earnings by Sector, 1992

County	Anderson	Cherokee	Greenville	Oconee	Pickens	Spartnbrg
Farm	\$12,298	\$ 920	\$ 1,667	\$ 3,736	\$ 2,359	\$ 4,753
Construction	22,147	25,318	25,240	24,233	19,773	25,366
Manufacturing	29,415	26,912	33,288	24,416	25,068	31,286
Trade	13,142	11,711	14,913	11,885	12,269	16,008
Finance	13,876	13,356	21,999	11,610	12,563	16,411
Services	17,597	16,706	21,636	NA	16,087	19,568

### Education Level by % of Population

County	High School	Some College	Associate	BS/BA
Anderson	31.5	15.1	6.4	8.4
Cherokee	33.1	12.2	4.5	5.9
Greenville	27.9	18.7	6.4	13.9
Oconee	32.5	14.6	5.4	8.3
Pickens	27.5	23.9	5.3	8.9
Spartanburg	28.4	16.6	5.7	8.9

### Operating Expenditures Per Pupil by School District

	Anderson 1	Anderson 2	Anderson 3	Anderson 4	Anderson 5	S.C.
1980-81	1,458	1,511	1,234	1,577	1,585	1,641
1981-82	1,841	1,796	1,279	1,728	1,854	1,894
1982-83	1,812	1,791	1,476	1,864	1,869	1,895
1983-84	1,864	1,877	1,560	1,906	1,892	2,057
1984-85	2,294	2,313	1,993	2,232	2,440	2,521
1985-86	2,493	2,693	2,280	2,559	2,592	2,757
1986-87	2,515	2,702	2,352	2,589	2,668	2,796
1987-88	3,833	3,125	2,831	3,090	3,061	3,248
1988-89	3,001	3,330	3,133	3,431	3,234	3,439
1989-90	3,282	3,652	3,390	3,675	3,580	3,780
1990-91	3,892	3,931	3,655	3,918	3,851	4,052
1991-92	3,840	4,018	3,733	4,057	3,915	4,098
1992-93	3,936	4,260	3,990	4,157	4,089	4,260
1993-94	4,033	4,364	4,098	4,438	4,242	4,421

	Cherokee County	Greenville County	Oconee County	Pickens County	Spartanburg						
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1980-81	1,697	1,635	1,669	1,349	1,630	1,563	2,054	1,585	1,534	1,714	2,081
1981-82	1,975	1,937	1,802	1,506	1,883	1,783	2,395	1,759	1,800	1,971	2,447
1982-83	1,933	1,876	1,850	1,670	1,958	1,782	2,456	1,740	1,892	2,002	2,380
1983-84	2,124	1,931	1,981	1,919	2,238	2,017	2,590	1,999	1,997	2,198	2,559
1984-85	2,648	2,389	2,759	2,340	2,647	2,457	3,111	2,561	3,990	2,656	3,209
1985-86	2,864	2,605	2,594	2,525	2,977	2,668	3,453	2,720	2,594	2,880	3,540
1986-87	2,836	2,769	2,665	2,590	2,893	2,742	3,525	2,798	2,569	3,098	3,413
1987-88	3,390	3,150	3,131	2,989	3,404	3,205	4,141	3,262	2,992	3,466	4,344
1988-89	3,536	3,303	3,368	3,146	3,485	3,383	4,431	3,379	3,148	3,631	4,561
1989-90	3,930	3,675	3,735	3,513	3,842	3,741	5,000	3,840	3,531	3,880	4,994
1990-91	4,175	3,955	4,160	3,786	4,192	3,986	5,011	4,076	3,840	4,268	5,412
1991-92	4,440	3,909	4,263	3,743	4,203	4,036	5,027	4,006	4,029	4,198	5,454
1992-93	4,462	4,105	4,673	3,780	4,603	4,060	5,255	4,053	4,286	4,313	5,697
1993-94	4,607	4,154	5,180	3,905	4,526	4,186	5,434	4,235	4,516	4,321	5,832

Source: Rankings of the Counties and School Districts of South Carolina, S.C. Department of Education.