

THE BLACK SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE FOR
COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT: THE DYNAMICS
OF BLACK LEADERSHIP IN DURHAM,
NORTH CAROLINA, 1968-1970

AFI GAMBA OSAKWE

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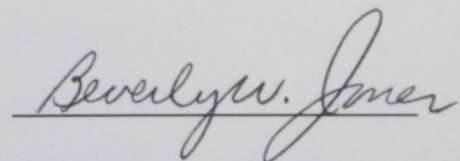
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ABSTRACT

AFI GAMBIA OSAKWE. The Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement: The Dynamics of Black Leadership in Durham, North Carolina 1968-1970. (Under the direction of Dr. Beverly Washington Jones.)

The purpose of this project is to examine the evolution, impact, and demise of the Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement (BSCCI) in Durham, North Carolina during the years 1968-1970. The procedure used in examining its history was to determine: (1) the conditions and needs of the African American community; (2) the involvement of the Committee as redress to those conditions and needs in the community through chronological events directly associated with Committee strategies; (3) intragroup structure and internal activity including conflicts of the committee; and (4) the policies and actions of the BSCCI which addressed discriminatory practices within the context of racism and discrimination.

As a result of analyzing these aspects, it was revealed that Durham's African American Community was in a socioeconomic position which was significantly less qualitative than that of whites. The involvement of the Committee was a direct response to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. coupled with African American anger and frustration with

racism and discrimination. Intragroup activity and conflict strengthened rather than hindered progress of the organization as well as Durham's African American Community. Lastly, the committee disbanded after some of its economic, social, and political objectives were met and actions of the power elite indicated a willingness to change. But the lack of will and resolve of its members and the Black Community toward being more visionary and vigilant for continued progress appears to have a direct association with the 1990s economic, social, and political maladies of the majority of Durham's African Americans--even more extreme now than then. Except now, there is no Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement.

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DEDICATION

To Mrs. Katherine Hazel Reeves Peoples

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION :

DISPOSITION OF THE CENTRAL ELEMENTS

The original concept of this analysis was to determine whether the Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement (BSCCI) was a manifestation of black leadership's idea of an economic boycott to address the discriminatory practices of the white business community of Durham, North Carolina or vice versa. The approach was developed during my tenure as Graduate Research Assistant at the North Carolina Center for the Study of Black History.

The focus of this project is an outgrowth of the Hayti Project, an historical exercise by the Center to document early twentieth-century history of Durham's Black Community in a well-known business district named Hayti. Organizational conflicts of the BSCCI itself became more pronounced as the personalities of individuals and the characteristics of the various political, fraternal and religious groups within the Durham community were uncovered.

In addition, The Art of Leadership by Oba T'Shaka, Chair of the Black Studies Department at San Francisco State University, offers a critique for construction of research questions according to his model. This paper

will use his model to examine the anatomy of group structure. The basic model of analysis undergirds and guides the process and is the design of Molefi Kete Asante, Chair of the Temple University Department of African American Studies. The paradigms of Paulo Friere and E. Franklin Frazier provided enough psycho-social understanding to analyze the impact of oppression by integrating them. Maulana Karenga gave relevance to the study. He as well as Asante utilize seven subject areas for clarity of analysis. All of them--the historical, social, political, economic, religious, communicative and psychological are incorporated in the paradigm of this project.

The principal hypothesis was modified to entertain the paradigm: Discrimination ---> Redress as Black Community Ideas + Unity = BSCCI + Economic Boycott. In other words, discrimination led to alternatives to redress it by the unification of African American leadership who decided that an economic objective was its best alternative. To entertain the equivalent of the "Which came first, the chicken or the egg?" question essentially formed a theoretical construct which was obvious after deeper contemplation. "Vice versa" need not have been broached-- except as a mental exercise--since universal knowledge of racial

any attempts at self-determination by African

discrimination precluded that discrimination did not exist in the Durham community until the formation of the BSCCI. More analytical questions needed consideration. In essence the critique became a study of the politics of economic determinism within the framework of racism and discrimination using the BSCCI as a model of similar coalitions across the country. The complexities of stratified political arrangements within the African American Community substantiated the fundamental definition of politics. That being, politics is no more than who gets what, how, when, and why. Politics can also be defined as the art of gaining, maintaining, and using power.¹

Allocation of resources within the African American Community depended upon group ideologies and allegiances to or away from the dominant culture--white society. The closer the allegiance, the more substantial the allocation. Conservative elites were those individuals who best served the interests of the white power structure and by so doing also best served themselves while protecting their ideological base. Their successful economic endeavors depended upon their ability and willingness to accommodate discrimination in its many forms. Socially and politically, this group was called upon by the White Community to diffuse any attempts of self-determination by African

Americans. They were the upper middle class benefactors, patriarchs and matriarchs, that the majority of Durham's Black Community beseeched for leadership and whom they aspired to emulate--although some in the community detested.²

The fact that the Hayti District was a thriving entrepreneurial and cultural enclave of lower middle class ownership did not mask the lack of opportunities toward material progress for the larger Black Community. This class was seemingly comfortable with its work ethic. There were those with skills such as brick masons, carpenters, automobile mechanics, stenographers, educators, physicians, attorneys and the like who also lived comfortably within this class.³

The lower socioeconomic class of African Americans carried on their day-to-day existence in a variety of low-paying menial jobs which appears to have been a major contributing factor to the discontent, frustration, and hopelessness for more than a few of them. For others, the Church and the promise of heaven was the salve that served to heal the wounded spirit. The Church, as has been its mission throughout the African American experience, was the pivotal social structure upon which the majority of African Americans depended for leadership--despite the fact that its

influence appeared to be waning in this era of what has been defined and debated as the "Black Revolution."⁴

It is within this class that we find the greatest spiritual, economic, social, and health issues. Even though the Church remained the foundation of the community, its importance as an institution of relevance dwindled among the youth as economics became more important. Mortality rates were high, substance abuse and antisocial behavior were rampant, and incarceration rates were significantly above those of the larger community. Nonetheless, this was the class from which the more radical thinkers evolved to question the objectives and methods of traditional black leadership.⁵

From generation to generation, the accommodationist policy of Durham's Black elite was expressed as an almost religious tenet of the philosophy of Booker T. Washington. This elite began to form at the turn of the century and its heirs and philosophy continue to affect the political, economic, religious, educational and social conditions of Durham's African American community. Its ultimate goal was integration for equality of opportunity. On the other hand, it can always be argued that expediency was the driving force behind this objective since African Americans were ready for relief from oppression.

However, E. Franklin Frazier's exposure of the psychological neuroses of this class during the mid 1950s begs the question of assimilation and their total denial of anything positive within the Black experience which was not applauded by the white community.⁶

The maturation of groups within each of the socioeconomic classes reveals the determinism with which individuals within them aspired to be economically successful. For some, there was literal assimilation. Of course there were fundamental African cultural characteristics which remained; and there were other characteristics which developed due to African immersion with other cultures--particularly White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant.

The fraternal, educational, religious, and social organizations which developed were often attempts to replicate the systems which existed in the white community. For instance, a number of organizations such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, Freemasons, Elks, Debutantes, and Greek fraternities and sororities were bisymmetrical clones of white "society" dedicated to the propagation of "white is right" philosophy.⁷ Although some of these groups developed with the fundamental objective of creating avenues of achievement and leadership--incorporating distinct African American cultural traits, they inevitably

replicated those values of white society which ostracized a major portion of the Black community. These traditionally oppressed Africans attempted to erase systematic miseducation by unwittingly using that "education" to achieve a better socioeconomic status.

Even when black national political organizations addressed discriminatory practices which evolved after Reconstruction, particularly during the early twentieth century, their assimilationist mandates trickled down to affiliates throughout the country. The NAACP, despite its magnificent efforts in the social justice arena, was just one example of an organization which, in the words of John Hope Franklin, "...failed to capture the imagination and secure the following of the masses."⁸

This study proposes that some BSCCI strategies adopted during 1968-1970 were not the best; they were strategies based upon a model of leadership afraid of the appearance of militancy in a country where repression and a "Law and Order" agenda by the government was a response to the aggressive elements within the Black Community.

The momentum for civil rights intensified during the 1940's guided by such forces as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

More radical organizations would later form the foundation for the evolution of associations within the African American community which were in direct opposition to those which had newly developed and those which had existed for more than sixty years.⁹

The ideologies of the various African American groups during the 60's as well as during the 1990s are basically three-pronged. Included is a fourth group because the defining characteristics of this group embrace the concept of armed struggle as self-defense. The clarifying attributes of each of these ideologies overlap at points; producing at times individuals who can be placed in two or more categories simultaneously.

The **Accommodationists** are primarily spearheaded by such persons as Booker T. Washington and Mary McLeod Bethune. Second, there are the **Radical/Reformists** who follow a matrix of interconnected and sometimes dichotomous philosophies touted by the likes of W. E. B. DuBois and Ida B. Wells. The **Black Nationalists/Pan Africanists** adhere to the ideas of Martin R. Delaney, Monroe Trotter, and Marcus Garvey. The last group supports the idea of self-defense as being a necessary characteristic of self-determination in a society of hostility toward black people. The developing **Revolutionaries** redefine the objectives and goals of African Americans through men such as Malcolm X and

institutions such as the Nation of Islam and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense; and include some aspects of the other philosophies except accommodation.¹⁰

In context, during the 1960s Durham's African American community contained individuals and organizations whose beliefs and practices were expressed as one of the three basic ideologies cited. When the BSCCI was formed as a coalition to address fundamental issues of importance within the African American Community, internal conflicts which resulted within the organization were attributed to many factors. However, the magnitude of conflict was not overwhelming and served as a basis of strength rather than one which muffled progress. According to A. J. Howard Clement, former President of BSCCI:

There [were] different approaches of people. As long as we kept focused on the mission--those...demands; as long as those demands remained unmet, unfulfilled--how we achieved them became secondary.... It behooves none of us to tell the rest of us...the best way to do things. I think that's the beauty of this whole process. Black folks ain't supposed to think alike.¹¹

Ideological diversity notwithstanding, a more complete understanding of the BSCCI is uncovered when it is placed against the socio-economic temper of the times. During the 1960s, the practice of racial discrimination had been an historical consequence of many forces--not the least of which was the legacy of

American Slavery. Another of these forces was Jim Crow law adopted by the Supreme Court in the 1896 decision *Plessy v. Ferguson*. This law--"separate but equal"--essentially stripped African Americans of the citizenship for which they had fought and died throughout their experience with Europeans and Euro-Americans.

The symbolic Supreme Court decision--*Oliver L. Brown et al., v. the Board of Education of Topeka*--overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1954, aided African Americans in reclaiming a sense of practical citizenship, and served as a catalyst for more fundamental movement toward alleviating discriminatory practices throughout the private and public sectors of the nation. African Americans from all walks of life challenged their second-class status and demanded that the federal government practice the cherished principles upon which democracy had been established. In North Carolina, this thrust significantly was centered in two neighboring regions known as the Triad and the Triangle.

Brazilian educator Paulo Friere theorizes that the most successful struggles of oppressed peoples occur when they begin to analyze the world--critically, perceive social reality, and deal with it. He says that a theory of the world must become praxis other

than a "culture of silence"; it must be liberating without becoming dehumanizing.¹² During the 1960s, African Americans whose ancestors had been denied democratic opportunity one hundred years previously had become more politically knowledgeable; and developed sophisticated strategies of Mass Movement during the interim which led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In June 1968, in Durham, North Carolina, the Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement evolved out of the frustration of the Black Community with the white power structure's determination to deny its appeal for humane and democratic treatment; despite the recent Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The collective knowledge of the Black community was organized as the BSCCI by influential organizations and individuals to fight discrimination.

The purpose of BSCCI was to develop strategies which would reverse the historical trend of Jim Crowism which had been the experience of African Americans for more than seventy-two years. Even though Durham had been recognized for several decades as the nation's "Black Wall Street," the majority of its Black population still contended with the forces of discrimination.¹³

Some individuals of Durham's Black Community had achieved entrepreneurial success. Durham housed the largest Black business in the world; and had one of the most highly concentrated areas of Black businesses in the country (the area known as "Hayti"). It had a Black financial district located downtown in the white bastion of capitalism, and without very few rivals nationwide; yet the majority of Blacks in this city had a quality of life which was significantly lower than that of its white counterpart.¹⁴

The history of this organization exposes general attitudes and impacts of individuals and organizations in the white community, both positive and negative, which either complemented or caused on-going shifts in Black Solidarity Committee strategies. The concern here is to focus on hostile elements since the organization and the Black Community out of which it was formed could not avoid them. The paradigm would be rendered invalid if the major reason for the construction of the organization were to be dismissed summarily. Yet the focus is not exclusively on individuals and institutions which discriminated against the African American Community.

Duke University, particularly its students, were sympathetic to the objectives of the Committee and the Black Community and supported in various ways. Lack of

evidence to the contrary suggests that the BSCCI Steering Committee was in total control of the amends process which it had constructed.¹⁵

The degree to which intelligence agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, had a role in counteracting the efforts of the BSCCI is weighed only theoretically. Why only theoretically? According to the US Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation in a communique:

The large number of FOIPA [Freedom of Information and Privacy Act] requests received by the FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation] has caused delays in processing. The FBI has allocated substantial resources including manpower, to insure that delays in responding to FOIPA requests are minimized. We solicit your patience and understanding and assure you that we will process your request(s) in due process.¹⁶

In essence, this is the study of the many issues of group dynamics which the Black community had to consider in moving its project forward. In this sense it is political history or history of politics. This was the largest African American coalition in Durham's history. Both black and white communities contributed; whether out of conviction to justice or the denial of it--or by caprice.

The events which occurred in 1968 and 1969 appears to have engendered better opportunities and conditions for blacks in Durham as they entered the decade of the 70s. Yet, the power relationship between the majority

of blacks and those in power does not change when persons with black skin replace persons with white skin who have followed an oppressive agenda. The fact that black persons speak in the interests of the collective oppressed means absolutely zero if their actions promote self-aggrandizement. How does one weigh the costs of attainment for a few against the despair of the greater number? An individual can weigh it by the degeneration of the majority.

Chapter II: "Psychohistorical Impact" is an analysis of the general socioeconomic condition of Durham's Black Community just prior to and including 1968-1970. The general socio-economic condition of the Black Community depended upon the racial attitudes and practices of those in the White Community who had economic power--thus political power. To understand African Americans' ineffectiveness against racism and discrimination before the BSCCI evolved, a functional definition and psychoanalytical view of its impact on the black mind is key to this critique. Later, the **"Conclusion"** will compare the current status of African Americans in Durham with that of the period being analyzed.

Racism is given prime attention for two reasons. One reason is its undeniable importance as a macro-tool for continuing to shape world destiny. The other is

its facility of developing the tendency of individuals, groups, and institutions in current society to deny that racism continues to impact by adopting agendas of multicultural infusion which the greater part of the African American community appears not to embrace. This is "Top-down" leadership.

It seems the more black leadership forces its medley of ideas concerning "diversity" upon the masses of black people, the more the majority of black people suffer. Celebration of "diversity" is the concept being projected by those who are opposed to the "politically correct" (PC) crusade--a conflict of classical European philosophy expressed as normative American values and morality. Depending upon your world view, opposing sides can view one another as PC. Blacks who promote diversity as being a panacea fail to understand the mathematical formula of tension between opposing forces (positive and negative) which produce both good and evil--the whole. Therefore, it safe to assume that positive cannot exist without negative; good cannot exist without evil. African Americans have an interrupted history of spirituality which celebrates evil as though it were good. Diversity, and the celebration of it, appears to be a compelling expression of social justice for some African Americans--despite its inherent evil.

This identity crisis is rooted in racism. The National Council of Churches and Stokeley Carmichael (now Kwame Toure) have absorbing definitions of racism. The Council begins by clarifying "prejudice" from Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dicitonary as "Preconceived judgement or opinion...formed without just grounds or before sufficient knowledge...an irrational attitude of hostility directed against an individual, group, race, or their supposed characteristics. Afterwards a denotation of "racism" is rendered as, "... racial prejudice plus power. ...the intentional or unintentional use of power to isolate, separate and exploit others. This use of power is based on the belief in superior racial origin, identity, or supposed racial characteristics."¹⁷ The Council further explained by pointing out the following aspects:

1. Racism confers certain privileges on and defends the dominant group, which in turn sustains and perpetuates racism.
2. Both consciously and unconsciously, racism is enforced and maintained by the legal, cultural, religious, educational, economic, political and military institutions of societies.
3. Racism is more than just a personal attitude. It is the institutionalized form of that attitude.¹⁸

The Council also speaks of institutional racism as being, "... one of the ways organizations and structures serve to preserve prejudice." Intended or

not, the mechanisms and functions of these entities create a pattern of racial injustice. Racism is one of several sub-systems of domination in the modern world. It interacts with these other sub-systems to produce broad patterns of oppression and exploitation which plague the world. Among these sub-systems are class and sexual oppression. Women who are victimized by racism face a compound burden. They not only have to deal with oppression due to their racial origin or identity, but they are also confronted with economic and political exploitation based on their sex and/or race.¹⁹

During the height of the Black Power movement, Carmichael said, "Racism is both overt and covert. It takes two , related forms: individual whites acting against individual persons of color, and acts by the total white community against communities of color. We call these *individual* racism and *institutional* [italics mine] racism. The first consists of overt acts by individuals, which cause death, injury or the violent destruction of property. This type can be reached by television cameras; it can frequently be observed in the process of commission. The second type is less overt, far more subtle, less identifiable in terms of specific individuals committing the acts. But it is no less destructive of human life. The second type

originates in the operation of established and respected forms in the society, and thus receives far less public condemnation than the first type."²⁰

T'Shaka, Volume 2 of Leadership speaks of confrontation with racism by blacks as, "... structured to keep Blacks on the bottom and whites on top. Assimilation into a racist society is no more possible for Blacks as a whole, than a mouse is capable of integrating with an elephant, or a dog integrating with a cat."²¹

The psychological impact of racism is entrenched in the fact that skin color is the major justification for oppression within a society that practices racism. The moment that an individual realizes privilege or the absence of it as a derivative of skin color--which is usually during childhood for the unsheltered; at that moment there are psychological consequences which become the foundation of caste identification. T' Shaka elaborates on this aspect of racism:

Following the Fanonian model, contact with white racism occurs during the disturbance stage of development. The Black victim may be exposed to racism on an individual or group level. Racist assaults may occur on the job, in school, the military, in court, or it may be experienced in some other place. On a collective level Blacks may be exposed to racist insults through political struggles for jobs, housing, or education. Whether racism is experienced on the individual or collective level, it is the condition for the individual returning to his roots.²²

Chapter III: "Durham City Profile", gives an indication of the true nature of discrimination through interpretation of statistical data based upon the 1970 Census Report. The twenty-nine census tracts of the city of Durham are given a general review. Fifteen of the twenty-nine are given a more thorough analysis. These fifteen are tracts that have notable populations of blacks.

Chapter IV: "The Committee's Evolution" delves into the actual events of the boycott as well as interaction within the committee itself. An insight into the how the Committee actually evolved, the issues and subsequent policies, major players such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association, individuals of note, black and white community response, white merchant response, and a host of other highlights give the period its characteristic turbulent hue.

The study of this period is one that connects the past with the present in such a way that an understanding of current dilemmas may bring more hopeful outcomes for all. This was the objective of the Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement--a society where everyone realizes justice. However the crucial question that this analysis submits that the BSCCI did not consider seriously after the

success of the Selective Buying Campaign is, as Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. so beautifully phrased it--"Where Do We Go From Here?"

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17. National Council of Churches, Policy Statement on Racial Justice (New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1984), pp. 4-5.

18. Ibid.

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21. Oba T'Shaka, The Art of Leadership, Volume 2 (Richmond, California: Pan Afrikan Publications, 1991), p. 467.

22. Ibid.

23. The interpretations located in this section are derived from the various data located in the city's publication Durham City Profile which was published in 1974. The publication contains information from the 1970 Census Extrapolations are based upon my computations which are not designed to be purely scientific but allow for some understanding of the different social, economic, and environmental conditions which existed in the city of Durham during the period 1968-1970. I particularly was concerned with comparing the status of blacks and whites as a condition out of which the BSCCI arose. Although I interpreted the median as if it were the mean, an understanding of average median income is not lost.

CHAPTER II:
PSYCHOHISTORICAL IMPACT OF RACISM ON THE SOCIOECONOMIC
CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

In February 1968 the Vietnam War was raging and America's young men were being slaughtered. Among them were African American military personnel from Durham, North Carolina who had left to fight for democracy abroad without having realized it at home. Some performed heroically in battle and never returned-- such as Sergeant Harold Eugene Couch of the United States Army. He was killed in action in Vietnam on November 12, 1967 and posthumously awarded the Bronze Star and Purple Heart for Heroism on December 9, 1967. The Carolina Times used the term "his country" in citing the date of his enlistment. This is an example of the experience of African American military personnel throughout the many wars fought in the name of the United States of America.¹

Nationwide, university campuses buzzed with political activity which addressed issues that governments--local, state and federal--viewed as being subversive and unpatriotic. Hippies, yippies, Black Nationalists, feminists, environmentalists and other activists--aligned to an inexhaustible number of issues--alarmed the status quo institutions of America.

The ghettos of America's largest cities rumbled with calibrated fury in the wake of such rebellions as Watts and Newark.

There is a tendency to label the inner city revolts of African Americans as "riots." But as Robert Allen points out in Black Awakening in Capitalist

America:

Rebellion, however, connotes and undirected emotional outburst. It is what Albert Camus called an 'incoherent pronouncement.' The rebel may transform himself into a revolutionary--he may conclude that liberation really does require the 'final destruction of this mad octopus'--but this is not an automatic consequence of the act of rebellion. . . . It was this consciousness, however rudimentary, which imbued the rebellions with political meaning. While the rebellions did not constitute a conscious assault on American capitalism, they did involve attacks on some of its more easily accessible and obviously exploitative aspects.²

Martin Luther King, Jr. and presidential aspirant Robert Kennedy were assassinated that year; and the agendas of both political parties were highlighted by platforms of "Law and Order" at their national conventions. Americans regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, age, political affiliation, and religion took to the streets in sustained protest over government policies.³

Student protesters were particularly incensed concerning American domestic policy and denounced it as racist, classist, sexist, homophobic, ecologically

insane, and xenophobic. United States foreign policy in general, Vietnam especially, supplied the fuel that the white youth of this nation needed to forge an intense moral challenge to the government after southern black student participation in the Civil Rights Movement had ignited national student protest in 1960. The result of the initial thrust was the Free Speech Movement, Anti-War Movement, and Black Studies Movement--all met with stiff and sometimes deadly force. The federal government responded with force, subterfuge, provocateurism and militaristic repression. University as well as high school, and in some cases, junior high school campuses erupted in violence as educational administrations were viewed as tentacles of the government--places where freedom of expression would not be tolerated. The Feds and the "rednecks" had become not-so-strange-bedfellows who were even less tolerant than in years past of those who threatened their ideas of God and "democracy."⁴

"Regardless of its precise technical meaning in 'Bureauese,' reads a passage from Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party & the American Indian Movement, "COINTELPRO [code name for FBI counterintelligence program] is now used as a descriptor covering the whole series of sustained and systematic campaigns directed

by the Bureau against a wide array of selected domestic political organizations and individuals, especially during the 1960s."⁵

The words of former U.S. Marshall and Community Relations Officer James A. Davis describe the stance of the U.S. Marshall Service which is the law enforcement branch of the Department of Justice this way: "During that period of time, the focus of federal law enforcement was on radical groups and individuals such as the Weathermen, Bonner Meinhoff Gang, Black Panthers, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), Angela Davis, Stokely Carmichael, and H. Rap Brown."⁶

Davis also analyzes these factions as having characteristics which were threefold--economic, Vietnam war resistance, and a rigid generation gap. Black objectives were more economic; whites had agendas which centered more on social change--they also viewed their parents as not being concerned about the future. Black students were concerned about prosperity. The former 82nd Airborne "Screaming Eagle" depicts black military experience, "The average black male was going to 'Nam and never returning while whites were getting deferments and fleeing to Canada. This dichotomy created a nationalistic revolutionary mindset for which the country was not prepared."⁷

"Most black nationalistic movements," Davis asserted, "sprang out of the Martin Luther King assassination; and local law enforcement agencies were caught by surprise. They did not have the equipment, tactics, or training. The feds were thrown off balance also and had to reassess its analysis of the problem. There were two problems which permeated American law enforcement circles before large-scale violence erupted. One was the need to develop a rationale for the formation of these groups; and the second was determining a profile of member-types. The interesting thing was that the only profile that could be developed was that they were young people concerned about change."⁸

The federal government finally began to understand nationalistic groups during the de-escalation of the Vietnam War. The Community Relations Service was developed as a direct result of this understanding as a vehicle to address the pressing needs of the nation's communities. This department worked with them to change the institutions and mindset which were the major contributors to societal conflict. Finally, the government fashioned policies which were in the interests of those who felt that the gap between "demos" (the people) and "kracy" (rule) was too wide.⁹

The tenor of Black Southern protest quickly began to shift toward the premise of self defense as the more militant voices of the African American Community rejected the Civil Rights Movement as a symbol of castration, ineffectiveness, and misguided ideology. Durham's African American Community had erupted as early as the 1940's during World War II. It erupted again in 1967--a prelude to an even more violent demonstration of frustration after the death of King.¹⁰

As the Black Community labored in wake of King's death, its leadership determined that it could no longer apply traditional methods to address the state of social, political and economic inequality that existed between black and white.

Black nationalism had been spreading throughout the country for years in the expressions of "dap" (a national embodiment of black solidarity symbolized through a series of handshakes and body language) and rhetoric of the war-weary, freedom-hungry, no-nonsense-taking black veteran. By 1968, it was steadfastly moving throughout the black citizenry of Durham. They loudly, clearly, and forcefully expressed that no longer would they tolerate "business as usual."¹¹ Lerone Bennett Jr. succinctly describes the major requirement of the Black Rebellion in the August 1969 issue of *Ebony Magazine*:

Power: that's the requirement of the situation. The white problem in America cannot be solved without the creation of new currents of power which can mount sustained assaults on industries and institutions which derive enormous profits from bigotry and bias. The problem cannot be solved without a profound structural modification in American society....¹²

Bennett further explains that the problem was of such proportion that "real changes" in the tax structure; relations between the private and public sectors; values; definitions of work, leisure and private property, and redistribution of income had to be realized in order to effect a relevant revolution. In effect his assessment called for an allocation of billions of dollars to be applied to a well-planned incremental reconstruction of American cities. Since it was "utopian" to believe that America would adopt a program of such magnitude without "massive pressure," he underscored the need for Black Power and the need for sustained and unrelenting pressure.¹³

One year earlier Durham's African American leadership had begun to understand the simplicity of the relationship of power in an institutionally racist society--their understanding embraced the belief that there would be no power shift toward the African American Community if those who were beyond the scope of reason continued to control the dynamics of power from warped interpretations of what economic

redistribution and political power signified.¹⁴ Those who were beyond reason included blacks and whites who were headed straight for the abyss of urban war. Both parties, one as oppressor and the other as oppressed, were so blinded by this dialectic that they could not conceive of anything less than violent confrontation. Saner voices were needed to divert bloodshed. Whatever social and psychological construct one may use to analyze the situation, these opposing forces were extreme expressions of a society which had long ago made peace with violence. Friere plunges into the morass when he states:

"Never in history has violence been initiated by the oppressed. How could they be the initiators if they themselves are the result of violence? How could they be sponsors of something whose objective inauguration called forth their existence as oppressed? There would be no oppressed if there had been no prior situation of violence to establish their subjugation. Violence is initiated by those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognize others as persons--not by those who are oppressed, exploited, and unrecognized. It is not the unloved who initiate disaffection, but those who cannot love because they love only themselves. It is not the helpless, subject to terror, who initiate terror, but the violent, who with their power create the concrete situation which begets the 'rejects of life'. It is not the tyrannized who initiate despotism, but the tyrants. It is not the despised who initiate hatred, but those who despise. It is not those whose humanity is denied them who negate man, but those who denied that humanity (thus negating their own as well). Force is used not by those who have become weak under the preponderance of the strong, but by the strong who have emasculated them."

For the oppressors...it is always the oppressed (whom they obviously never call 'the oppressed' --but depending on whether they are fellow countrymen or not--'those people' or 'the blind and envious masses' or 'savages' or 'natives' or 'subversives') who are disaffected, who are 'violent,' 'barbaric,' 'wicked,' or 'ferocious' when they react to the violence of the oppressors."¹⁵

The significant dilemma for the status quo in maintaining real power within its biased structure of economic incrementalism was in creating the "appearance of a power shift." This facade can be constructed as an example by utilizing game theory to determine optimum choices for maintaining power. The Selective Buying Campaign was created and implemented by the Black Community to apply pressure. The matrix created by the power structure had already included this option and its consequences. Thus, formed and sustained by BSCCI, the boycott was implemented according to status quo parameters which maximized outcomes for the majority of whites and a minority of blacks. It is safe to assume that in the chambers of those in power there are projections or contingencies for specific occurrences which allow them to maintain power. Therefore, the strategy of BSCCI grew out of a situation created and maintained by the white power brokers of Durham; and it was these same whites who determined the key decision of how much pressure they would allow in order for them to change or give the

appearance of change. According to Game Theory: The Mathematics of Competition:

Conflict is a central theme in human history and literature. It arises naturally whenever two or more individuals try to control the outcome of events. People compete in such situations because they have both freedom of choice and different values.... The theory of games... is concerned with notions such as selection of optimal strategies, equilibrium outcomes, bargaining and negotiations, coalition formation and stability, equitable allocations, costs or benefits, and the resolution of conflict.... Game theory is a serious mathematical subject created to study situations involving conflict and cooperation.¹⁶

Without having to introduce mathematical concepts, let us suppose that the Durham Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association in 1968 had taken lessons from like entities in Montgomery, Alabama after the famous bus boycott. Imagine, that Chambers of Commerce, filled with white men of power who network nation-wide, had established parameters of reactionary behavior or responses to their actions based upon a history of experiential observation of the black masses. Assume that they knew that blacks would either continue to beg and plead (which is the most optimal position for oppressor whites), escalate a step further through means such as a boycott (which minimizes the loss for oppressor whites by manipulating black middle class allegiance in the face of black militant uprising), or accelerate to an even higher level-- underground militant guerilla warfare which was an

option being discussed throughout the U.S. We can suppose that the last consideration caused considerable dilemma for these men since the element of the "unknown" is interjected; and options may or may not have been militarily strategic enough or internationally acceptable. Therefore, maybe men in those chambers, often referred to as "Ivory Towers," understood that the option of repression was there if needed. Perhaps, what they feared most was damage to property as an outcome of spontaneous response to their discriminatory policies. Maybe this is what they "needed" to avoid. Was the boycott the favorable option for blacks; or was it an extension of dependency?

Business-as-usual in Durham can best be described by the psychohistorical manifestations of a master/slave complex between whites and blacks which over time shifted to a more palatable and interdependent racial superiority/inferiority construct. It was a complex based upon the dynamics of racism and discrimination--it was white supremacy and exploitation.

Black Solidarity leadership surmised that a strategic non-violent method of attacking unequal Quality of Life circumstances between the Black and White Communities should immediately be implemented to

curtail the momentum of violent confrontation which appeared to be inevitable otherwise. The African American Community was suffering under a system controlled by whites which liberally used the term "most qualified" to deny blacks full participation in society.¹⁷

As the **Durham Morning Herald** so aptly phrased it, "About the only Negro in the Durham city system who isn't there because he is 'the best qualified' is the one with which the system is most concerned--the Negro student." There was only one African American on the five-member City Board of Education, Dr. Theodore Speigner who was appointed in 1964, which essentially meant that there was no representation for the Black Community whose children comprised fifty-three percent of the student population. "I don't think, as a whole, the board is doing an adequate bit in representing the Negro community," Speigner reflected at the time. "'Frequently', he added, his motions are blocked by the other members."¹⁸

Given the predicament in which Speigner found himself, The Herald quoted him as saying it was "almost impossible" to lobby for the hiring of more top-level Negro officials in the schools. City School Superintendent Lew Hannen justified the system's non-

advertisement of job vacancies, which was more advantageous to whites, as an equitable policy.¹⁹

Education is the one tool any society utilizes to optimize its productivity and creativity, minimize crime and immoral behavior and increase prestige among other nations. Whenever one segment of society attempts to maintain a substandard level of educational achievement among another division the entire society or community suffers.

The first black to hold a city-wide supervisory position in the Durham Public Schools did so in this turbulent year. Mrs. Mary L. Brooke became Director of Special Education--satisfying gender and race quotas so proficiently used by both the public and private sectors as the answer to discrimination--two so-called minorities in one person.²⁰

Herbert E. Tatum, the first African American to head a predominantly white school in Durham became the principal of North Durham Elementary School in the same year. These positions were viewed by the Black Community as token representations of desegregation.²¹

Since the institution of slavery had created both superior and inferior mentalities based upon, among other things, racial and physiological variables, the goal of whites was to maintain that arrangement and the goal of blacks was to destroy it. After formal Jim

Crowism, whites created, de facto, a racially segregated education system.

In retrospect, the majority of blacks in Durham appear to have perceived that they had no power in the educational arrangement. If so, they had no understanding of the dynamics of education. Subsequently, it was beyond their comprehension to fathom the one critical aspect of education which nurtures the roots of self determination of a nation; the one aspect that has been the driving force of all civilizations--control of the education of its future generations. Whites separated education from God and thus separated blacks from the quest of understanding themselves. Ra Un Nefer Amen says, "...we saw that one of the main factors that is responsible for the differences in cultural expressions, is the division of the brain into two hemispheres, each with its own peculiar way of thinking. We were able to go beyond the mere listing of the cultural traits of nations, and to catalogue them into two fundamental sets.... White culture, which is extroverted (left hemispheric) produced and sustains a culture that (before contact with Blacks) cremated its dead, or exposed them to be eaten by animals, and has a negative attitude toward, and horror of spirits of the dead to this day; holds its women and 'female divine powers' in low esteem (the

Christian divine pantheon is made of a Father, a Son, and a ghost, for example); low degree of social stratification and the love of freedom from authority that goes with it (*laissez faire*); separation of religion from all other institutions (government, education, etc.), and the restriction of the divine to special places, and times (church, Sunday, holidays, etc); the separation of the divine from healing, and so on. If you can't help thinking this way, it's because the left side of the brain is dominating your thinking."²²

Whites understood that blacks had to be miseducated and never allowed to return to a search for the true Self which would lead to a realization of self determination. In order for the miseducation process to continue, they, under pressure from blacks had to determine how to appease them while maintaining control under a desegregated system. Therefore, when the psychological aspects of slavery was manifested under the guise of desegregation as a panacea, blacks looked upon it as opportunity to finally be free without understanding that what it actually meant was that they were asking for acceptance "to be white." As Carter G. Woodson stated in 1933, "With 'mis-educated Negroes' in control themselves, however, it is doubtful that the system would be very much different from what it is or

that it would rapidly undergo change. The Negroes thus placed in charge would be the products of the same system and would show no more conception of the task at hand than do the whites who have educated them and shaped their minds as they would have them function." Woodson digs deeper into the psyche of the oppressed mind by further proposing, "Negro educators of today may have more sympathy and interest in the race than the whites now exploiting Negro institutions as educators, but the former have no more vision than their competitors. Taught from books of the same bias, trained by Caucasians of the same prejudices or by Negroes of enslaved minds, one generation of Negro teachers after another have served for no higher purpose than to do what they are told to do. In other words, a Negro teacher instructing Negro children is in many respects a white teacher thus engaged, for the program in each case is about the same."²³

If racism determined the type of education that many of Durham's black population received and has a causal relationship with an individual's socioeconomic condition, then the resulting poverty status of that population can be attributed to social ideas expressed as economic action through political policies. The history of African people in America has been one of struggle for freedom rooted in Eurocentric ideas.

Without a clear understanding of the concepts of freedom and justice, since they are derived from the distorted teachings and negative traditions and cultures of oppressors, some African Americans in Durham aspired to achieve the "materialistic" mindset which is produced by greed. They failed to realize the consequences of educating their children to become oppressors. Engaged in the opportunistic pursuits of dismantling racism and discrimination, many in the Black Community put forth the premise that the question of color would become mute since quotas of opportunity would be filled with even more opportunity once the issue of color became unaccented. In reality, this would not occur for the majority. Factually, opportunity for some blacks meant none for many others since the Criminal Judicial system (as opposed to Justice) and Mis-Education System (as opposed to Education) operated in conjunction with Corporate America to deny even the remotest probability for opportunity to many. In Black Awakening, Allen says:

The urban uprisings of 1967 made it painfully obvious to America's corporate leaders that the "race problem" was out of control and posed a potential threat to the continued existence of the present society... Blacks must be brought into the mainstream of the economy if they no longer would remain docile while confined outside of it. This did not mean that every black person should be transformed into a capitalist. Rather it implied the creation of a class of capitalists and corporate managers within the black community. The theory was that such a class would ease ghetto tensions by providing living proof to black

dissidents that they can assimilate into the system if only they discipline themselves and work at it tirelessly. A black capitalist class would serve thereby as a means of social control by disseminating the ideology and values of the dominant white society throughout the alienated ghetto masses.²⁴

Without an educational process created by the desire of the African American oppressed "to be like the oppressor," as Paulo Friere so eloquently expresses the mechanics of this phenomena in Pedagogy of the Oppressed, there probably would not be Black fratricide at the level we find it today. The Pavlovian Respondent Conditioning process of denial, reward, and substitution to obtain a desired behavioral modification was effected with African Americans who had long been denied throughout their history. They were rewarded for their allegiance to racists who understood the appeals made by the hungry and the inherent opportunity in satisfying only a small percentage of appetites. The bulk of Durham's African Americans were starving in various ways and conditioned to salivate at the peal of America's Liberty Bell.

NOTES

1. "Posthumous Awards for Sgt. Couch Sunday,"
Durham (North Carolina) Carolina Times, 20 April 1968,
1A.
2. Allen, Black Awakening, pp. 128-129.
3. Ibid.
4. Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, Agents of
Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black
Panther Party and the American Indian Movement (Boston:
South End Press, 1988), pp. 37-62.
5. Ibid.
6. James A. Davis, private practitioner with
Security Services in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan
Area, interview by author 13 April 1994 via telephone.
The groups that Davis cited were involved in protest on
several different levels. The Bonner Meinhoff Gang and
the Weathermen used terrorist tactics in the anti-war
movement; SDS was a radical student movement allied
with the Black Student Movement and government
accountability surrounding the Vietnam War--they both
were predominately white. The Black Panthers were the
premier, frontline, defense and neighborhood
development organization for blacks in the United
States; Angela was a professor at the University of
California at Berkely and was labeled a radical for her
Marxist ideology and activism; Stokely Carmichael co-
authored the "Black Power" slogan and is one of the
world's foremost theorists and anti-imperialism
strategists; H. Rap Brown (Jameel El Amin) was a
militant leader of the Black Nationalist movement and
is credited with the statement,
"Violence is as American as apple pie."
7. Ibid.
The 82nd Airborne "Screaming Eagles" is the
elite paratroop corps of the United States Army.
8. Ibid.
Intense civil unrest of the 60s created a
different understanding for law enforcement concerning
student activism and nationalistic movements and how
they would respond to them.

9. Ibid.
10. Clement interview.
11. Ibid.
12. Lerone Bennett, "Of Time, Space and Revolution," Ebony Magazine, August 1969, 34.
13. Ibid., 36.
14. R. Kelly Bryant, Jr., North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company Officer, Durham, interview by author October 1992.
15. Friere, Pedagogy, p. 41.
16. "Game Theory: The Mathematics of Competition, part of a text which was photocopied and part of the author's personal library; no author or publishing information.
17. Ed Martin, "'Qualified' Key Word in Schools," Durham Morning Herald, 2 August 1968, 1A.
18. Ibid., 7A
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ra Un Nefer Amen, Metu Neter (New York: Khamit Corp., 1990), p. 20.
23. Carter G. Woodson, The Mis-Education of the Negro (New York: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1933) reprint ed. AMS Press, p. 23.
24. Allen, Black Awakening, p. 212.

CHAPTER III: DURHAM CITY PROFILE

Durham City Profile, a social, economic and environmental data report of Durham published by the Durham City Planning Division in 1974, cites a black population, of 37,017; total city population of 95,176. The city area in acres was 1,784.98. A significant percentage of Durham's African American community was concentrated in the southern sector. Other sectors with significant numbers of African Americans outside of south Durham tended to have higher percentages of whites.¹

For instance, in Census Tract #5, then located near Burch Avenue, Maplewood Cemetery, and Duke University Drive, the black population was 2,527 compared to 1,860 white. Yet in Census Tract #13.01, the most comparable in size located within the southern sector, the comparative black/white population was 2,216 to 4 respectively.²

Out of the twenty-nine census tracts covering the city, only one, #12.02, had no whites living there. On the other hand, there was no tract that was without an African American resident. In some cases there were only two or four residents of either race living within zones which were otherwise racially homogeneous. In tract #13.02, which contained the highest number of

African Americans in any one tract (7,899), located Southwest of North Carolina Central University and containing Fayetteville Street and Barton Avenue, there were only twenty-four whites. Tract #1, which contained the highest number of whites in any one tract (7,049), was located almost directly opposite #13.02 at the opposite end of the city and contained a black population of 370.³

South Durham tracts 12.01, 12.02, 13.01, 13.02, 14, and 20.03 each had more than 75% African American residents and the highest concentration of blacks in the city living on 3,122.81 of the city's 23,259.95 acres. In other words, 20,612 or 55.68% of Durham's black population and 21.66% of the city population lived on 13.43% of the city's total land located in the southern sector of the city. Northeast of this sector and adjacent to it, were five of the remaining nine tracts (8.01, 8.02, 9, 10.01, and 11) which had more than 25% (#9 had more than 50%) African American residents in each tract totalling 7,446 or an additional 19.45% of the total black population and 13.97% of the total city population.⁴

The four remaining tracts are interesting if not for anything else but their geographical locations. Track 5, mentioned earlier, located northwest of south Durham, was barely connected to those eleven sectors

comprising the bulk of the black population. It was attached to 18.02's west side only by the length of a block between Pettigrew and Main Streets; separated by the 800.67 acres of #7 from the southern sector. The black population here was 299 out of a total 2,484 or .81% of the total number of blacks in Durham. This is interesting because #7 was sandwiched between the borders of 8.01, 8.02, 12.01, 12.02, 13.01, 13.02, 20.03, and #5 which contained a black/white population of 2,527 blacks and 1,860 whites. This was the only area of the city where a significant number of whites were surrounded by the majority of the black population in Durham although there were 124 whites in tract 8.01 which served as a conduit for tract 7. Tract 3.01 in the north central sector of the city and 17.03 and 18.01 on the extreme northeastern border of the city were separated from the sectors of greatest black concentration by those having significantly larger white populations. The populations here were almost equal in racial representation. They also had 3.14% of the total black in Durham.⁵

Having established the general population characteristics of the city, we are now able to explore some of the disparities between blacks and whites in Durham during the era under study to determine some of the finite causes of frustration which had reached the

boiling point in the Black Community. The BSCCI evolved out of a need to address the stark socioeconomic differences between Durham's black and white citizens.

If we define segregation as the tendency of members of different social (in this case, racial) groups to live separately from one another, and with members of their own group--the greater the tendency, the greater the amount of segregation. The Open Housing Law of 1968 and the Redevelopment Act affected the pattern of segregation from 1968-1970 only slightly. Other variables also tend to create segregation, i.e., racial group, individual preferences, lack of information about alternative housing, and limits of income. However, this study assumes that black/white segregation was most related to the discriminatory process which existed within the city limits of Durham. For that reason, evidence of inequality out of which the legitimate grievances of the Black Community were spawned must be established.⁶

Nationwide, there was little change in racial segregation during the 1960s. Consequently, by 1970 segregation levels were still very high.⁷ As the 1970 Census population data shows, Durham was a segregated community. The unique trend in Durham, however, was that it was racially integrated in census tracts

citywide. We cannot infer from this trend that these areas were not segregated according to neighborhoods or even blocks. Demographics show that even within the Black Community segregation existed according to socioeconomic status, an index measuring several variables.⁸

Family income, housing, and social characteristics indicate that the contrasts between blacks and whites in median family income and families below the poverty level tended to have a stronger positive relationship with the numbers of juvenile arrests, drug arrests, "illegitimate" births, gonorrhea cases, average number of persons per household, households headed by females, and the percentage of high school graduates among the total population over twenty five years old, and the type of housing in which families resided when incomes decreased.⁹ A comprehensive and objective view is needed for clarity of the problem that blacks faced in Durham. Based upon the following data, that picture will illustrate exactly why the BSCCI was formed to develop strategies for redress.

Tract 12.01

This tract had a population of 1,721 blacks and two whites; a total 1,723 representing 322 families of which 139 were below the poverty level (43.2%). Whites were not included as being below poverty. The median

family income was \$4,341 and 75 families received public assistance of which only 39 below poverty level were included. The whites may or may not have been included in the remaining 36. This leaves 100 families below the poverty level that did not receive public assistance.¹⁰

According to the **Durham Morning Herald**, Thursday, August 29, 1968, the state legislature passed House Bill 12080 in June of that year which established "a ceiling on the number of persons receiving federal funds in the aid to families with dependent children programs."¹¹ The Herald further states, "For example, if Durham County's allocation in that category is for a total of 4,400 persons and the county has 5,000 persons needing the aid, the federal government would assist only the 4,400." Under this arrangement, the county and state still had responsibility for the remaining 600 persons and had to split that responsibility. This law completely denied a substantial number of the poor without any public assistance.¹²

A typical family of five persons that received help under the program was allotted a maximum of \$171 a month which excluded \$3.50 for each child in school. The family received \$75.50 for food, \$16 for clothing, \$1 for medical chest supplies, \$1 for household supplies, \$4 for household equipment, and \$2 for

personal expenses. An amount which did not exceed \$60 was allocated for rent, fuel for heating and cooking, lights and water. A \$10 per month allocation was made for medical expenses which could not be used for anything else and did not include prescription drugs. The average payment per person under the aid to families with dependent children program was \$32.81 a month!¹³

In this tract, 5.6% of the males above the age of 16 were unemployed and the percentage of high school graduates above the age of 25 was only 7.8. The number of juvenile arrests per 1000 population was 2.9 which indicates that there was not a major problem with crime by the youth. Drug arrests per 1000 population was the same as that of juvenile arrests. Gonorrhea infected 11.7 per 1000 population. Females headed 29.1% of the households and 52.6% of the families in this tract had both parents in the household where the children were 18 years and under. Children born out of wedlock to mothers aged 15-44 describe 36.2 per 1000 population. There were 173 (15.9% of the tracts population) persons aged 65 and over. Only 25.6% of the households had one or more automobiles available.¹⁴

There were 608 dwelling units located in this tract; 1.92% of the city's total. Black families

rented 430 and owned 98 of the dwelling units among 325 single unit structures and 19 dwellings having had 5 or more units per structure. Whites rented 1 unit.

Housing in this area was dismal. There were 60 units which lacked some or all plumbing facilities, 4.74% of the city's total overcrowding per unit was here, 536 of the dwellings were built before 1950 and a staggering 95% of all dwellings were substandard. "For probably more than 10,000 residents," the Herald detailed, "home improvement is measured in the elimination of roaches instead of the addition of rooms....Durham, as a city, is outgrowing its ability to house its people, and the low income family feels the problem most acutely."¹⁵

Although there were pockets of low income white families, the major portion of Durham's poor were black. This tract escaped the scourge of house fires despite the number of substandard units, the other tracts with high concentrations of African Americans did not. A map graphically depicting the locations of fires shows a cluster in the black concentrated areas whereas in the rest of the city there is a scatter. In terms of numbers of fires represented by the cluster, it appears that just as many fires occurred there as did in the remaining tracts of the city.¹⁶

In the 3.01 tract, 57.4% of this tract's total population was black. The total number of families was

808 with a median income of \$6,778. Black median income was \$5,926. Out of 120 families below the poverty level (14.9% of the tract's total), 89 (74.2%) were black. 25% (30) of the total number of families below the poverty level received public assistance out of a total 96. Therefore, 90 families below the poverty level were left with no public assistance whatsoever. Only 1.6% of males 16 and older were unemployed and 44.1% of the population over 25 graduated from high school. This indicates that this tract contained the working poor. There were three times as many blacks than whites in poverty. The median income for blacks was almost \$1,000 less per year than the overall median. It is interesting that white median income was not computed separately. The median income stated was for all families in the tract. This meant that the lower black income lowered the overall median. If white median income would have been computed separately, the gap between black and median incomes for all families would have been much larger than the \$1,000 of the current formula. This trend is valid for all tracts where there is a racial mix of approximate equal number.¹⁷

Juvenile arrests, drug arrests, births out of wedlock to mothers 15-44, and number of gonorrhoea cases were 0.9, 2.4, 11.5, and 9.0 respectively per 1000

population. Females headed 17% of the households; 73.1% of the households had both parents with children under 18 as dependents. Of the population, 10% (297) was 65 years of age and older.¹⁸

The tract's total dwelling units was 1,179 (3.73% of the city's total); divided between 495 single unit structures and 95 structures which had five or more units. Seven hundred and thirty-six (62.4%) of the total number of structures were built prior to 1950. Whites rented 471 and owned 188 of these units and blacks rented 339 units and owned 115. The black population in this tract was only 230 less than whites; yet blacks occupied 205 dwellings less. These numbers indicate that the average number of persons per household for African Americans was higher by almost one person. Thirty-two units needed some or all plumbing facilities and 37% (436 units) were substandard. Automobiles were available to 68.1% of these families.¹⁹

So what we have here is a tract where the populations of both races were almost equal but blacks fed more people in less space, with less money, while in poverty at a rate three times higher than whites. Interestingly, the youth, as in the previous tract appeared to be under control. An interesting aspect to keep in mind between 12.01 and this tract is that

juvenile arrests dropped from 2.9 to 0.9 when families with both parents in the home increased 20.5%.²⁰

In Tract 5, the total number of families was 1,016. Two hundred and sixty-five (26.1%) were below the poverty level. Of the 265 families in poverty, 83.01% (220) of them were black. Blacks made up 57.4% of the population in this tract and had a median income of \$4,815 compared to the overall median of \$5,750--a difference of \$935 per year. Out of the 265 families in poverty, only 79 (29.8%) received public assistance. On the other hand, there were 152 families that received public assistance in the tract. This means that 52% of those that received public assistance were below the poverty level. The remaining 70.2% (186 families) received no public assistance. Males over 16 years of age were unemployed at a rate of 3.2% and 26.5% of those who were over 25 years old graduated from high school.²¹

There were at least 4 more arrests in this tract for drugs than in the previous two tracts. Juvenile arrests were only 1 for each 1,000 population. Female-headed households claimed 16.5% of the tract and births out of wedlock to women 15-44 years old was 26.7; and the gonorrhoea population was 14.5. Families were two-parent claimed 68.6% of the children below age 18.

Those families which had access to automobiles accounted for 60.5% of the category.²²

In terms of housing, there were 1,660 dwelling structures (5.25% of the city total). There were 736 single units and 264 structures which had 5 units or more. Whites rented 596 and owned 140; blacks rented 690 and owned 132. There were 35 units which lacked some or all plumbing facilities. 1,370 units were built before 1950 and 697 (42%) of the total number of units in the tract were substandard. Whites had an occupancy rate of 2.53 persons per household; blacks 3.1 and the tract's overall average number of persons per household was 2.69. Overcrowding, computed as units with 1.01 or more persons per room, was 7.74% (204) of the city's total.²³

Once again we find that blacks are more likely to be impoverished, receive less income, and live in overcrowded conditions than whites. This tract had a problem with drugs and sexually transmitted disease was higher than the previous tracts. There does not appear to be a juvenile problem. A 13.5% decrease in two-parent households from the percentage in tract 3.01 and a .01% rise in juvenile arrests, while not signifying a direct relationship, is a trend to watch.²⁴

In Tract 8.01 there are no family income characteristics for this population of 197 blacks and

124 whites as indicated by the 1970 Census. However, housing and social characteristics indicate that this was an extremely poverty stricken and crime-ridden area. The only datum listed under family income characteristics was the number of families--which was tabulated as being 6. This is highly unreliable since the total population in the tract was 197 (124 whites; 72 blacks and a family of unknown race). The number of occupied dwellings was 85. When interpreting variables under the classification "social characteristics", the figure 5.08 must be used when interpreting variables which have "per 1,000 population." Since the population (197) is less than 1,000 by 5.08 times, the data reflects the rate by that amount.²⁵

Juvenile arrests were 9.9 per 1,000 population and drug arrests 3.3. Births out of wedlock were 40.5 persons which was the second highest rate in the city. The highest incidence of gonorrhoea in the city were located here--29.8 cases per 1,000 population. Seven (8.1% of households) families were headed by females, 34 (40%) of the families had both parents in where children were 18 years of age and under, and the average number of persons per household is listed as being 1.65. However, when dividing the population of this tract by the number of households, the figure

becomes 2.3. Almost half (44.7%) of the population 25 and over had high school diplomas. Of all households, 51.4% had access to 1 or more automobiles.²⁶

As an understatement, housing was deficient. All of the structures were built prior to 1950 and were substandard 100%. Amid the 15 single unit structures were 73 multiple dwelling structures with five units or more. Sixty-three white families and 13 black families rented whereas 7 white families and 2 black families were owners. Units lacking all or some plumbing facilities totalled 31. There was no overcrowding problem. Only 16 persons who were 65 and over, 30 who were 18 and under, and the rest (151) between 19 and 64 made this Tract their home.²⁷

The fact that all of the housing was substandard, the juvenile arrest and births out of wedlock rates were the second highest in the city, and the highest rate for sexually transmitted disease was located in this tract indicates a culture-of-poverty mentality. Forty-one households account for 7 female-headed households and 34 two-parent ones. The remaining 44 households had to occupy persons 19 years old and above. Black and white alike were in poverty and the few juveniles there were could not be controlled by the adults it appears. It is also interesting that this tract had the second lowest ranking for female-headed

households among those tracts with significant black populations and was ranked sixth lowest out of the 29 tracts citywide.²⁸

Tract 8.02 had three hundred twenty-five families. The median income for all families was \$6,407; and for black families, \$5,452--a skewed difference of \$955 less for black families. There were 45 (13.8% of the tract's total) families below the poverty line--thirty-seven (82.2%) were black. Blacks represented 11.4% of the 13.8% poverty total and whites represented only 2.4%. Only 12 (26.7%) of the families below poverty level received public assistance. Forty families overall received public assistance (12.3% of all families in the tract). An inordinate percentage of males 16 and over were unemployed--7.8 percent which was a tie for the third highest in the city.²⁹

This tract's population was 1,322 [682 black (52%), 626 white (48%)]. Fifty-nine families were headed by females and 201 families with children 18 years and under had both parents. 169 persons were 65 years of age and older. There were no juvenile arrests, drug arrests or births out of wedlock recorded. Gonorrhea cases per 1,000 population was 2.3. The average number of persons per household was 4.06 and the percentage of high school graduates in the

population 25 and over was 32.5 (262 of the approximate 805 persons between the ages 19 and 64).³⁰

Five hundred and forty-six dwelling units were located here representing 1.73% of the city's total. There were 222 single structure units and 61 structures with 5 or more units. Whites rented 234 and owned 60. Blacks rented 213 and owned 14. White ownership was four times higher than that of blacks in this tract. Roughly 4% (20) of the dwellings lacked some or all plumbing facilities. 473 structures or 86.6% were built before 1950. There were 12 (2.2%) vacant structures in this area and 311 (57%) of the total number of structures were substandard.³¹

Blacks bore the brunt of poverty in this tract also. Income comparisons indicate that whites made at least 17.5% more in median income. Population percentages were almost equal and yet whites owned four times more real estate. According to the data, there was no major problem with the juveniles in this area despite its bleakness.³²

Population in Tract 9 was 2,996 (3.15% of the metropolis)--there were 125 whites. The elderly were 300 (10%) persons 65 years of age and above. Adolescents, juveniles, and infants accounted for 1,116 (37%) persons (those under 18 years).³³

The 741 families there had a median income of \$4,909; comparatively, black family median income was \$4,849. Two hundred and thirty families were below the poverty level (31% of the tract's total population). Two hundred and twelve (92.2%) of those families in poverty were black and 18 (7.8%) were white. Eighty-five (37%) of those families below the poverty level received public assistance which left 145 families in poverty with no public assistance. The total number of families receiving public assistance was 156 (21% of the total number of families in the tract). The unemployment rate for males 16 years and above was 8.5%, the second highest in the city.³⁴

Females headed 24% (178) of the households and there were births out of wedlock at the rate of 23 per 1,000 persons. Two-parent households comprised 59.9% (443) families. Juvenile arrests were 4 per 1,000 population and drug arrests 8.1 per 1,000. The gonorrhea rate was high (17.7 cases per 1,000 persons). High school graduates accounted for 22.3% of those who were over 25 years of age. And there was a low percentage of availability to 1 or more automobiles-- 39.1% or 290 families.³⁵

There were 977 dwelling units which represented 3.09% of the city's total. There were 526 single unit structures and 30 structures with 5 or more units.

Whites rented 20 and owned 22 of these units while blacks rented 692 and owned 215. Some units (39 or 4%) needed some or all plumbing facilities. Eight hundred thirteen units (83.2%) were built before 1950 and 664 of the total units (68%) were substandard. Overcrowding was a problem in this tract--203 units (21%) had 1.01 or more persons per room.³⁶

In this tract, blacks made up 95.8% of the population and owned only 22% of the dwelling units. Whites were 4.2% of the population and owned 2.3% of the units. This means that whites, who were twenty three times less than the black population acquired housing units at a rate ten times faster with incomes that were higher than indicated on the census. Blacks earned \$60 dollars less than all families on the average in this tract. But as was stated earlier the overall median income is skewed. Since blacks outnumber whites by a ratio of 23 to 1, their lower income negatively skews the income of whites significantly. Yet even in doing so, whites still have enough earning power to maintain at least a \$60 gap above that of blacks. The majority of blacks were experiencing subsistence living in this tract.³⁷

The total population for Tract 10.01 was 5,313 which was 5.58% of the city total. Whites made up 72.6% (3,858) and blacks the remaining 27.4% (1,442).

There was a significant number of the elderly in this tract--657 (12.4%). There also was a large number of youth below the age of 18--2,014 (40%). These two groups account for over half the population in this tract. Juvenile arrests, drug arrests, and out-of-wedlock births per thousand population were 2.2, 2.4, and 26.2 respectively. Gonorrhea per 1,000 was 5.0. Two hundred ninety three families (20.6%) were headed by females. Households with both parents accounted for 66.4% or 945 families. High school graduates over 25 years of age in this tract was 22.3%.³⁸

The median income for all families was \$6,058. Black median income was \$3,777--\$2,287 less! Three hundred and thirty-three (23.4%) families were below the poverty level (154 white, 179 black). Poverty data according to racial categories indicate that whites and blacks claimed 4 and 12.4% of this class respectively. Of the number below the poverty line, 38.4% (128) received public assistance. There were a total of 229 families who received public assistance. This means that 44% (101) of those who received public assistance and were not below the poverty line displaced 101 families of the remaining 205 families who were. One hundred four families (7.3%) were left without public assistance. Unemployment for males 16 and over claimed 7.8% of them.³⁹

Of 1,799 dwelling units (5.69% of the city's total), blacks owned 62 and whites owned 614. Whites also rented 783 while blacks rented 262. There were 1,180 (66%) units built prior to 1950. All or some plumbing facilities were needed in 45 (2.5%) of the units. Fifty-nine of the units stood vacant--3.3%. This tract's share of substandard was 864 units or 48%. The average number of blacks per dwelling was 4.5 compared to 2.8 for whites. At least one automobile was available to 59.9% of the households.⁴⁰

This tract continues the trend of black inequality in the city of Durham. Blacks owned less housing as a comparable percentage of their population than whites and had approximately two more persons per household in all units. Black income was 62% less per week than white income on the average. Although it is reasonable to assume that there were whites in poverty in this tract, the evidence suggests that those who bore the greater burden of poverty and subsistence living were African American. This area, like the others that we have observed, had housing conditions that were deplorable. A significant number of youth were located there and the data suggests that a major portion of males were unemployed, including adults.⁴¹

The population for Tract 11 was 3,469 (3.64% of the city). There were 2,138 blacks (62%) and 1,317

whites (38%). Thirty-six percent (1,237) were 18 years of age and under while the elderly (those over 65) numbered 495 (14.3%). The median income for the total 766 families was \$5,069 with black median income having been \$4,855--a negative difference of \$214 for blacks. Two hundred and eighty families were below the poverty level (36.6% of the tract); one hundred and eighty-seven (67%) were black. Thirty-four and three tenths percent (96) of the families in poverty received public assistance out of 199 total families (30% of all families in the tract) who received the same. 184 families in poverty received no public assistance while 103 who were not below the poverty level did. This arrangement displaced at least 103 families in poverty who could have received public aid; leaving 81 families who still would not have received any under the laws that existed. Unemployment for males 16 and over was almost double-digit (9.4%).⁴²

Juvenile and drug arrests, births-out-of-wedlock, and gonorrhoea cases were 3.7, 2.1, 30.3, and 19.9 per 1,000 population respectively. The average number of persons per household for everyone was 3.09. Females headed 22.7% (174) of the households while 60.7% (465 families) with children 18 and under had two parents. Only 13.3% of those over 25 graduated from high school.

Forty-four percent (337 families) had 1 or more automobiles available.⁴³

There were 1,147 dwelling units which comprised 3.63% of the city's total. Blacks rented 522 and owned 68; whites rented 352 and owned 154. This meant that whites who were 40% of the tract's population owned 69.4% of the owned dwellings and blacks who were 60% of the tract's population owned the remaining 30.6%. Whites then owned more than twice as many dwellings while being less than half of the population. Fifty-seven units (5%) lacked some or all plumbing facilities. Before 1950, 940 units (82%) were built; 75% (860 units) were substandard. Forty units (3.5%) stood vacant. In terms of the number of persons per household for blacks, there were 3.62 per dwelling as opposed to 2.60 for whites--slightly more than 1 person less for whites. The overcrowding index indicates that there were 182 (16%) units which had at least 1.01 persons or more per room.⁴⁴

The socioeconomic trend for African Americans in Durham prevailed. Blacks made less money, were in poverty at a tremendously higher rate, lived in substantially higher overcrowded conditions, and owned less property even though they were greater in number. In addition, substandard housing permeated the area.⁴⁵

There were no whites in Tract 12.02. The total population of 1,872 represented 1.97% of the city's total. Forty-seven percent (878 persons) were 18 years of age and under; the elderly represented 9.4% (176) of the total population.⁴⁶

The 421 families here had a median income of \$2,821--the lowest in the city. Two hundred and sixty-three families fell below the poverty level which represented 62.5% of all the families. Only 23.6% of those families below poverty level received any public assistance--62 families. This left 359 families without public assistance who were below the poverty level. Since this tract had the lowest median income in the city, everyone was in poverty relatively. However, an additional 23 families out of the total population were given public assistance which increased the total number to 85 (only 20.2%). When viewing this from the perspective of unemployment (4.5% of the males 16 years of age and over), male employment helped the situation very little. And only 22.6% of the population over 25 years of age were high school graduates.⁴⁷

The closest tract to this one in juvenile arrests was 8.01 (9.9 arrests). Juvenile arrests in this tract was 16.8 per 1,000 population. When compared to the average juvenile arrest rate in the remaining 28 tracts

(1.61), this tract had a juvenile arrest rate which was ten times higher! When we examine the average juvenile arrest rate (2.7) among those areas designated as black concentrated, the juvenile arrest rate in this tract is six times higher. This tract had the second highest number of births out of wedlock per 1,000 population (48.1) and a high number of cases of gonorrhoea per 1,000 at 26.2. Forty-three and six tenths percent of the households (238) were headed by females. Once again this becomes significant when we look at its direct relationship to juvenile arrests in comparison to two parent households (which in this tract was only 29.9% or 123 families). Slightly more than one third (35.8%) of the families had availability to one or more automobiles.⁴⁸

There were 582 dwelling units (1.84% of the city total) out of which 546 were actually occupied. 478 of the units were rented and 68 were owned. 331 (57%) were built before 1950 and 98 % (570) were substandard. 48 (8.2%) were without some or all plumbing facilities.⁴⁹

This tract, more than any other, illustrates the condition of the majority of blacks in Durham in 1968 and the reason for the concern of those who formed the BSCCI. The lowest median income in the city was there, everyone was in poverty or near it, only one fifth of

overall median was \$38. This means that white incomes lowered the overall median. 233 families (16.8% of the tract's total) were below the poverty level. Seven (29%) white families were included in this category. Only 24.5% of the families below the poverty line (57) received public assistance. One hundred and fifty-six families altogether (11.3%) received public assistance. One hundred and seventy-six families in poverty received no assistance--75.5% of those in poverty. Ninety-nine persons who were not classified below the poverty line received public assistance. More persons above the poverty line received government assistance than did those under it. If 99 persons in poverty had replaced those who received assistance who were above the line, there would still have been 77 families in poverty with no public assistance. And the unemployment rate there was only 2.1% for males 16 years of age and over.⁵⁹

The tract had a minor juvenile problem since 3.2 juveniles were arrested per 1,000 persons. Drug arrests were 2.0 per 1,000, births out of wedlock were 15.3 per 1,000, and gonorrhea cases were 27.1 per 1,000 (relatively high). Females headed 21% of the households (290 families). Two-parent families were a significant 69.6% (963) of the total number. Forty-nine and six tenths percent of all the persons over 25

graduated from high school and 74.1% (1,025 families) had availability to 1 or more automobiles.⁶⁰

There were 1,915 dwelling units in the tract (6.05% of the city total). Single unit structures totalled 1,215 and 354 were structures with 5 or more units. Whites rented 4 and owned two of the units. Blacks rented 869 and owned 843 of the units. One hundred and seventy units were vacant and 28 units (1.5%) needed some or all plumbing facilities. Twelve percent (229) of the units were substandard--lowest among African American concentrated areas and tied tenth best in the city. However, this tract had the highest rate for overcrowding (253 units or 20.13%).⁶¹

This tract was also one of the better for African Americans in Durham. Incomes were the second highest and there was a large number of youth who appeared to be under control; most of the households had two parents, half of the adults had, at minimum, a high school diploma; and most of the population had personal access to transportation. Blacks owned more dwellings in this tract than any other; and were ranked second best for substandard housing among the black concentrated areas. In terms of not having substandard housing, this tract was ranked among the best.⁶²

Tract 14, also like 12.01, 12.02, 13.01, 13.02, and 20.03 had a very small white population--less than

60. The total population was 4,343--seven whites, 4,329 blacks, and 7 categorized as "other." There were 1,888 (43.5%) persons 18 years of age and under and 287 (6.6%) persons classified as elderly--65 and over.⁶³

The median income for 991 families was \$5,536; black median income was the same. Therefore, neither whites nor "other" influenced the median. The number of families below the poverty level was 268 (27% of the tract). No whites were designated in this category. The data indicates that 337 families (34%) were below the poverty level and receiving public assistance; but gives a total of 193 families total receiving public assistance which obviously is in error (See Table 2). The percentage of unemployed males 16 years of age and above was 3.2.⁶⁴

Two hundred and ninety-nine families (30.2%) were headed by females. The juvenile arrest rate was 4.2 per 1,000, drug arrests 1.4, illegitimate births 25.6 per, and gonorrhoea cases 13.7. Five hundred and ninety-seven families had both parents in the household when children 18 years and younger were occupants. Thirty-nine and six tenths percent of those over 25 years of age had high school diplomas. Six hundred and forty-six families or 62.25% had 1 or more automobiles available.⁶⁵

There were 1,257 dwellings (3.97% of the city total) incorporating 625 single unit structures and 422 structures with 5 or more units. Whites occupied two rental units and owned none. Blacks rented 879 and owned 342 (27% of the tract's total). Twenty-five (2%) needed some or all plumbing facilities and 349 (27.8%) of all structures were built before 1950. Four hundred and twenty-seven units (34%) were substandard. There were 236 units (18.8%) with 1.01 or more persons per room which indicates overcrowded conditions--the second highest percentage in the city.⁶⁶

Almost half of this tract's population were 18 years of age and younger and 2/3 of the families with youth in this category had both parents in the home. Still, there was a slight juvenile problem--only two other tracts in the city had higher arrest rates. Almost 1/3 of the households were headed by females and slightly more than a quarter of the females between 15 and 44 had babies out of wedlock. It is difficult to determine the poverty level since the data was in error. However, this tract, in general, had a median black income which was average for those areas which were black concentrated. A little more than a third of the housing was substandard. Even though this tract needed improvement, its Quality of Life appears to have

been better than many of the other tracts which had significant numbers of African Americans.⁶⁷

Tract 17.03's population was 941--518 white (55%) and 423 black (45%). Three hundred and twenty-eight (35%) were 18 years of age and below; and 96 (10.2%) of the tract were elderly over the age of 65.⁶⁸

Located in northeast Durham adjacent to Tract 1 which had an overall median income almost twice as high as that for blacks, 17.03 had 227 families with a median income of \$7,841. Black median income comparatively was \$2,541 less. There were 41 families (18.1%) below the poverty level. Nine white families and 30 black families are tallied in this category which gives a total of 39 (not consistent with the total figure of 41 indicated in the data). Going with the trend that blacks were more likely to be in poverty than whites, I added 2 black families to compensate for the discrepancy. Six families (14.6% of those in poverty) amid a total 17 families (7.5% of the tract's total) received public assistance. Seven and four tenths percent of the males 16 years of age and older were unemployed. This tract had the highest rate of births out of wedlock in the entire city--65.4 per 1,000 population and no drug arrests per 1,000. The gonorrhea rate was one of the highest (21.6). Juvenile arrests per 1,000 was 2.7. There were 184 families

(81.1%) which had both parents for those who were 18 years of age and below; and 172 families (75.8%) had 1 or more automobiles available. Twenty and one tenth percent of persons over 25 had high school diplomas.⁶⁹

The data concerning housing was entered incorrectly; 297 are listed with 263 of them being single and no multiple units. However, 76 white families and 50 black families are listed as renters and 97 white families and 65 black families are listed as owners--a total of 288 dwelling units. Two units were listed as vacant which brought the total to 290 dwelling units. Forty six and six tenths percent of the units (135) were built before 1950 and 70% (207 units) were substandard.⁷⁰

This tract was located in an area far removed from the majority of African Americans in the city. Blacks made at least \$50 per week less than white families. This signifies that they were at an economic disadvantage. Income gap notwithstanding, blacks in the tract appear to have been able to live comfortably with incomes that were mid-range in comparison to other black families in the city. One disturbing fact was the number of females who were having babies out of wedlock which was the highest in the city and 25 more per 1,000 than the nearest tract to it. Over 2/3 of the dwellings were substandard and 25 of them needed

some or all plumbing facilities. Blacks there were surrounded by the opulence of whites but were not in a state of dire poverty.⁷¹

Tract 18.01 represents part of that isolated number of blacks in the northeast. Adjacent to 17.03, it had a black population which was slightly larger than its number of whites. There were 1,066 persons with 58.25% (621) blacks and 445 whites (41.75%). The population 18 and under was 412 (38.7%) and 81 persons 65 and over (7.6%). The overall median income was \$7,826. The black median was \$7,059--\$767 less. 36 families (15.12%) were below the poverty level and all were black. Even so, blacks in this tract had the third highest median income of all the tracts which were significantly black. Twenty-two and two tenths percent (8 families) who were below the poverty level received public assistance. A total of 13 families (5.7% of the tract's total) received public assistance. The data indicates that there was no unemployment for males 16 and over.⁷²

Social characteristics indicate that there were no juvenile arrests and drug arrests. Yet, births out of wedlock (21.1 per 1,000) and cases of gonorrhoea (26.1) were relatively high for a socioeconomic area such as this. Families with youth 18 years of age and over which had both parents intact represented 87.7% of

those in the tract--209 families. Eighty-three and six tenths percent (241 families) had availability to 1 or more automobiles. twenty-two and eight tenths percent of all persons over 25 graduated from high school.⁷³

There were 303 dwelling units of which all were single units. Two hundred and ninety-eight of those units were occupied and 5 were vacant. Whites rented 52 and owned 88. Blacks rented 45 and owned 108 (35.64% of the tract's housing). Forty-seven units (15.5%) lacked all or some plumbing facilities. Fifty-nine percent (178 units) were substandard.⁷⁴

This tract had a black median income which was \$1,759 higher than that of blacks located right next door in 17.03 and third among all blacks in Durham. The black population, representing more than half the population, owned approximately 1/3 of the houses in the tract. Whites made at least \$15 more per week. Very few families were in poverty but a significant number of females had children out of wedlock. Interestingly, only 18 (7.5%) of the families were headed by females. 83.6% (241 families) had both parents in households which had children under 18 years. This was the second highest number of all tracts with significant African American populations. Indicative of the socioeconomic status here, the two-parent households, and the very few female-headed

households, were the absence of arrests. Also, this area was without unemployment among males of legal working age. All of these factors point to conditions that were extremely advantageous for blacks there. Substandard housing continued to follow the outrageous pattern which existed throughout Durham.⁷⁵ Tract 20.03 was at the very southern tip of South Durham, this tract was the eighth largest of all the tracts in the city and the largest of the tracts which had significant African American populations. The total population was 2,781; blacks representing 93% (2,581), whites--195, and 5 others of unknown race/ethnic origin. There were 1,063 (38.22%) youth aged 18 and under and 182 persons (6.5%) aged 65 and over.⁷⁶

This tract contained the highest black median income in the city--\$8,836 dollars. It was one of two tracts with a significant black population to have had black median income higher than the overall median income. Median income for everyone in the tract was \$8,828--\$8 less. Sixty-five (9.4%) families were below poverty level. None of these were white. Of those who received public assistance (61 families who represented 8.8% of all families), 15.4% (9 families) were below poverty level. This meant that 52 families were not in poverty who received public assistance and 56 families

below poverty level did not. The unemployment rate for males aged 16 and above was .7%.⁷⁷

Juvenile arrests, drug arrests, and cases of gonorrhea were 2.8, 4.4, and 15.4 per 1,000 population respectively. Births out of wedlock were 20 per 1,000. Seventy-three families were headed by females. The highest percentage for two-parent families with youth under 18 years of age was located in this tract (86.8% or 600 families). This figure was also the seventh best in Durham. Forty-six and two tenths percent of those persons who were over 25 years of age graduated from high school. Drug arrests could have been better as well as gonorrhea cases and births out of wedlock.⁷⁸

There were 811 dwelling units; 807 single and 4 multiple (structures with 5 or more units). Whites rented 11 and owned 46 units and blacks rented 83 and owned 616. Black ownership in this tract represented the highest renter/owner ratio in the city (1 to 7). Fifty-five or 6.8% of all housing needed some or all plumbing facilities. Nineteen and four tenths percent (157) were built prior to 1950 and 16% of total housing (129) were substandard--second best among African American concentrated areas and eleventh best in the city.⁷⁹

This tract was best for African Americans in Durham in several areas. Incomes were highest; it had

a low poverty rate and low number of female-headed households. This tract also contained the highest percentage of two-parent households for African Americans in the concentrated areas--one of the highest percentages in the city. Although there was some substandard housing, this area appeared to be one in which Durham's most profitable blacks resided.⁸⁰

Summary

The fifteen tracts which we have just viewed contained the greatest numbers of African Americans in Durham based upon the 1970 Census. Forty percent of the city's total population resided in those areas alone. Blacks in the remaining tracts represented 4.48% or 4,265 of the city population bringing the total percentage of African Americans residing in the city to just under 45%. Tract fifteen, located as part of the central western perimeter of Durham, contained a significant number of African Americans (1,287) but was not included among the highly concentrated areas because the white population was 4.4 times higher. Even so, 173 black families there were listed as being below the poverty level while only 49 white families were in this category. The fifteen tracts included 6,696.44 acres of the city's total 23,259.95 (28.79%). This means that approximately 40% of the population resided on slightly less than one third of the city's

land. Those under 18 years of age in the fifteen tracts claimed 16.11% of the total population. They were 41.43% (15,339) of the African American population and 50.33% of the city total in that class. Elderly blacks, those classified as being over the age of 65, in these tracts were 48.85% of all the elders in the city and represented 4.49% of the total population. The average age in the fifteen tracts was 32.35; the city average was 31.71.⁸¹

Thirty percent of the families located in these tracts were classified as being below the poverty level. Only one third of them, 9,871 families, received any type of public assistance. Tract 12.02's population, from all indications, was in a miserable situation. Tracts 5, 9, 10.01, 11, 12.01, 14, and 15 were not far behind. The total unemployment percentage for the city was 3.62; black unemployment was 4.83 and for whites without work the percentage was 2.23%. Black unemployment was twice that of whites. In terms of median family income, the Table of Family Income Characteristics (see Appendix) is incomplete. An analysis of the data included, however, reveals that in every tract except 12.01, 12.02, 13.02, and 20.03 the median income for whites was considerably more than that for blacks. Interestingly, 12.01 and 12.02 and 14 had 2 whites, none, and 7 respectively and the median

incomes for both black and white were the same. However, a similar situation in Tract 13.01, where only six whites (one family) resided, created a differential in median income of \$53 dollars more for the white family. On the other hand, blacks in the most prosperous tract among those with significant black populations (20.03) had a median income only \$8 higher than that of the white median. When considering income and the variables associated with attaining more in a racist society such as Durham, African American Quality of Life suffered much more than did that of whites.⁸² Why?

The culture-of-poverty affected the social environment of those who lived within it. It has clearly been shown that at least one third of Durham's African American population lived in poverty--determined only by income. What about those who were never educated in the ways of money management, who never made sufficient incomes to live comfortably and were just as poverty stricken? This question goes to the heart of the psychological enslavement process discussed earlier in Chapter II. We discover that it is the underpinning process which ultimately affects the social aspects of people--negatively.⁸³

In 1970, (1968 was not significantly different) Durham was a city in which juvenile arrests were 2.2

per 1000 people. White juveniles were being arrested at a rate of .89; less than one juvenile out of one thousand people per tract. Yet, blacks had a juvenile arrest rate four times higher (3.5). Not only does the question of socioeconomic impact this statistic, the question of the inequity of justice among races must also be factored.⁸⁴

Drug arrests per 1,000 persons for the entire city was 2.9. The arrest rate for whites were slightly higher at 3.05. Blacks had a drug arrest rate which was 2.78--lower than that of the city total and whites. Since black juveniles had an arrest rate almost four times higher than that of whites, it is safe to assume that it was not for drugs. Those tracts which had the highest incidence of drug arrests were those in which the black and white populations were almost equal-- 17.01 and 8.01. In addition, even though median income data is not given for 8.01, 17.01 had the fourth highest median income in the city--\$11,222. Since 8.01 was located in an area where poverty was stark and juveniles were a problem; they could have been involved in drugs to a greater degree than those in other tracts. The common denominator in both of these tracts is that the black and white population was almost equal--every other category between these two were class oriented rather than racial. What it signifies

is that drugs were a condition of society whether you were black or white; rich or poor.⁸⁵

Births out of wedlock are categorized as "illegitimate" but I prefer to use the term "out-of-wedlock." Women between the ages of 15 and 44 had children at a rate of 15.1 per one thousand people in all tracts. White women had children at a rate significantly lower--6.2. Black women had children at a rate almost four times higher; producing children out of marriage 23.5 per 1,000 persons. The question of access to abortion is mute. The behavioral aspect and its impact on the total social environment is of more importance and must be considered for people who are classified as "underclass."⁸⁶

The fundamental question which should predominate any socioeconomic discussion pertaining to African Americans lay at the root of the African tradition of two-parent- extended families. In Durham, the percentage of female-headed households for the entire city was 15.74%. White female-headed households in the tracts which did not have significant numbers of African Americans had a 9.75 percentage. Black female-headed households exacted 19.94% of the tracts in which they lived. This establishes that in the tracts which had significant numbers of African Americans, men as heads of households were absent twice as much as where

whites resided. Why? Two-parent families for the entire city had a percentage of 78. White families with both parents in the tracts without significant numbers of African Americans had a percentage of 84. Black households with both parents etched out 65%. What impact does two-parent families have on the behavior of youth in general when not considering aberrations?⁸⁷

According to the data, there were 31,639 dwelling units within the city of Durham. Some were single unit and others contained five or more units per structure. Blacks rented 28% (6,983) compared to (9,395) 38% for whites. In terms of ownership, blacks claimed 13% (3,318) and whites 41% (10,200). Whites owned three times more housing units than blacks in Durham. Those units occupied by others not classified as black or white totalled 2,898. Vacant units amounted to 1,070. Substandard housing was an issue. On the average, 11% of the housing in tracts with significant white populations were substandard. Blacks living in the fifteen tracts under consideration had 58% substandard housing. If you were black, you lived in substandard housing five times greater than whites.⁸⁸

The previous information somewhat establishes the evidence of why the BSCCI was formed. It was not coincidence that blacks in Durham had a socioeconomic

status, i.e., Quality of Life less than that for whites. In terms of income, education, disease, parenting, sufficient housing, employment, welfare, and births to single females, African Americans were substantially deficient. These factors have a tremendous impact on the community in which one lives. The BSCCI determined that whites should address these problems along racial lines since they had caused them.⁸⁹

1. J. Pasley, "Segregation in 1980: How Segregated Are America's Metropolises Alike?"

2. Ibid.

3. See Appendix A, Table 2.

4. See all tables.

5. Ibid., Tables 1 and 2.

6. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Negro Community's Role in the Fight Against Segregation," 29 August 1963, 34.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2.

10. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Negro Community's Role in the Fight Against Segregation," 29 August 1963, 34.

11. Appendix A, all tables and maps.

12. Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2.

13. Ibid., Table 1.

14. Ibid., Table 1.

15. Ibid., all tables.

16. Ibid., Tables 1, 2, and 3.

NOTES

1. All information in this chapter is based upon the Durham City Profile. References will be directed to the Tables and Maps located in the Appendices of this manuscript.

2. See Appendices, Table 1 and "Percent Black Population" Map.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. J. Farley, "Segregation in 1980: How Segregated Are America's Metropolitan Areas?"

7. Ibid.

8. See Appendix A, Table 5.

9. See all Tables

10. Ibid., Tables 1 and 2.

11. Ed Martin, "Help Sought For Those On Welfare," Durham Morning Herald, 29 August 1968, 1A.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Appendix A, Tables 1 and 4.

15. Ed Martin, "Housing Complex Problem," Durham Morning Herald, 16 August 1968, 1A.

16. Appendices, all tables and maps.

17. Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2.

18. Ibid., Table 4.

19. Ibid., Table 3.

20. Ibid., all tables

21. Ibid., Tables 1, 2, and 4.

22. Ibid., Table 4.
23. Ibid., Table 3.
24. Ibid., Tables 2, 3, and 4.
25. Ibid.
26. Appendix A, Tables 2 and 3.
27. Ibid., Table 3.
28. Ibid., Tables 3 and 4.
29. Appendix A, Table 2.
30. Ibid., Tables 1 and 4.
31. Ibid., Table 3.
32. Ibid., Tables 2, 3, and 4.
33. Ibid., Table 1.
34. Ibid., Table 2.
35. Ibid., Table 4.
36. Ibid., Table 3.
37. Ibid., Tables 1, 2, and 3.
38. Ibid., Tables 1, 3, and 4.
39. Ibid., Table 2.
40. Ibid., Tables 1, 3, and 4.
41. Ibid., Tables 2, 3, and 4.
42. Ibid., Tables 1 and 2.
43. Ibid., Table 4.
44. Ibid., Table 3.
45. Ibid., Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4.
46. Ibid., Table 1.
47. Ibid., Tables 2 and 4.

48. Ibid., Table 4.

49. Ibid., Table 3.

50. Ibid., Tables 2, 3, and 4.

51. Ibid., Table 1.

52. Ibid., Table 2: The median income represents that figure which lay exactly in the middle of an array of incomes within a specific tract--in this case Tract 13.01. Half of the incomes are above the median income and half are below. However, the white median income is enough to raise the overall median \$53. This means that it was in an interval all to itself.

53. Appendix A, Table 2.

54. Ibid., Table 4.

55. There is an error in the data. Table 2 lists 512 families in this tract. However, when computing renter and owner occupied data in Table 3, the number of families increase to 777.

56. Appendix A, Table 3.

57. Ibid., Tables 2 and 3.

58. Ibid., Table 1.

59. Ibid., Table 2.

60. Ibid., Table 4.

61. Ibid., Table 3.

62. Ibid., Table 2, 3, and 4.

63. Ibid., Table 1.

64. Ibid., Table 2.

65. Ibid., Table 4.

66. Ibid., Table 3.

67. Ibid., Tables 2, 3, and 4.

68. Ibid., Table 1.

69. Ibid., Table 4.

70. Ibid., Table 3.
71. Ibid., See Black population map, Tables 2, 3,
and 4.
72. Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2.
73. Ibid., Table 4.
74. Ibid., Table 3.
75. Ibid., Tables 2, 3, and 4.
76. Ibid., Table 4.
77. Ibid., Table 2.
78. Ibid., Table 4.
79. Ibid., Table 3.
80. Ibid., Tables 2, 3, 4, Appendix B, black
population.
81. Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2.
82. Ibid., Table 2.
83. See Chapter II
84. Appendix A, Table 4.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Appendix A, Table 3.
89. Ibid., All tables and maps.

CHAPTER IV:

THE COMMITTEE'S EVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNITY'S RESOLUTION

Durham's Black Community was not without organization before the BSCCI. In fact, the organizing effort in 1968 can be traced directly to the creative economic, educational, and financial wizardry of a succession of men with hope and vision for the future. From the turn of the century, there had been tremendous leadership by such men and organizations as John Merrick, Dr. Aaron McDuffie Moore, W. G. Pearson, R. B. Fitzgerald, James E. Shepard, J. A. Dodson, Charles Clinton Spaulding, John Moses Avery, John Leonidas Wheeler, Arthur John Clement, The Royal Knights of King David, and others too numerous to mention.¹ Second, third, fourth and now fifth generation sons and daughters carrying the names and/or spirit of these men forged political strategies which moved from behind-the-scenes to mass political activism and bipartisan politics.²

The fact that only men's names have been mentioned during those early years does not negate the role women played or had played in the survival of blacks from the beginning of the African's experience on the shores of America. During this period, the men of Durham's Black Community were superb organizers who carried out their

plans from the platform of the churches in the area. St Josephs and White Rock were the spiritual headquarters of these sober, God-fearing individuals. Under the influence of Booker T. Washington's social and economic philosophy, several of them rose to national prominence. "By 1910," The Mutual Story attests, "Merrick, Moore and Spaulding had become national figures among American Negroes and were affiliated with local, state and national organizations in the promotion of the general welfare of people, especially the underprivileged segment of the Negro race. The national organization of greatest importance at that time with which the officers of the Association were affiliated was the National Negro Business League, organized in 1900 in Boston, Massachusetts, with Booker T. Washington as its first president.³ Merrick and Washington were close friends and associates in promoting the League. He and Spaulding traveled with Washington on goodwill tours throughout the South.⁴

These men were those who espoused the philosophy of accommodationism. An essay, "Booker T. Washington and the Politics of Accommodationism," gives reason to an acceptance of this philosophy and praxis thus:

In this context of worsening conditions there developed a marked tendency for many Afro-American leaders, especially in the South, to adopt an accommodating stance that tolerated, for the present, segregation and discrimination, believing it best not to protest

against the obvious oppression.... Instead, they would appeal skillfully for aid from prosperous whites...insisting that blacks could, through a program of self-help, lift themselves by their bootstraps.... Washington... was in effect chosen by white elites to represent blacks, yet just because of his prominence and his achievements, he also had a loyal following in the black community....⁵

Washington sought to do privately what could not be done publicly to achieve equal rights. He spent a great deal of time, energy and money challenging segregation in the legal arena.⁶ Yet there was another side to his secretiveness which was ruthless. He spied on and undermined the careers of leading black critics.⁷

So it was that the first definitive leadership of the 20th century for Durham's black community was strongly influenced by Washington's power of politics and economics, the Royal Knights and the Church. North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association (now NC Mutual Insurance Company), Lincoln Hospital, National Religious Training School and Chatauqua (now North Carolina University), Durham Drug Company, the Colored Library (now Stanford Warren), and Mechanics and Farmers Bank were all established before 1908.⁸

To assume that the leadership model that was so successful for these men and, as a result, a portion of the Black Community which can be considered middle class, was not effective is to dismiss history. The

model was extremely effective, but it was also practical for whites since they were able to control the rest of the Black Community through these men and not address the greater issues which faced it. Like Washington, they were able to carve out an empire which remains with many of the original families and associates today.⁹

By 1935, an organization was needed to combat the ever-present condition of discrimination which blacks faced in almost all affairs. For that reason, and out of "an inexcusable incidence police brutality"--in which an unarmed young black man was killed in his home--the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs (now the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People) was formed by community leaders.¹⁰

With this committee was born another vehicle other than the NAACP, fraternal organizations, and the Washingtonian model. This organization was a step further in the direction of radicalism even though moderate in philosophy. Its leadership, in fact, was of those who were practitioners of the early model. C.C. Spaulding, Sr. was its first Chairman from its inception to 1952. They made great strides in economics, voting, education and civic affairs for the Black Community.¹¹ According to the text from its 40th anniversary "History" document, "Aggressive, effective

leadership has played a large role in the Committee's success."¹² However, it was the belief of the Committee leadership at the time that, "In spite of...success in the past, the Committee finds itself in the midst of the current effort to combat new and subtle forms of discrimination that would turn the clock back to even greater racial injustices than have ever been experienced in the past."¹³ This statement was made a full six years after the demise of the BSCCI. The Durham Committee is currently still in existence.

In 1968, the condition of racial injustice which blacks were experiencing in Durham, coupled with the recent assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. and blacks on the verge of riot, would cause Howard Clement to comment twenty-five years afterward, "Many of us...concluded that the Durham Committee was too moderate; that it was not really relevant to the needs at that time. So, we didn't break off from the Durham Committee, we just formed an organization that was going to adopt a more militant, more activists mode of conduct."¹⁴

The evolvement of the Black Solidarity Committee began in late June 1968 as an organizing effort to address discriminatory employment practices and general unjust social treatment of blacks by whites. The

Committee was the manifestation of several factors. One was the condition and needs of the Black Community and its frustration and anger. Second, the actions (ignoring complaints of blacks, brutality, etc.) and policies of white elites which impacted the Black Community. Third, An ineffective organization--DCNA. Finally, and the most traumatizing event to blacks at that time, King's death. The committee targeted those institutions whose racist practices had the most negative effect on the collective Black Community and in turn the larger community in general.

Clement reflects, "One thing led to another up until April of 1968, that fateful day...when the news flashed across the scene that Martin Luther King had been shot to death. And I can recall, it seems like it was just yesterday, the unfolding events that occurred."¹⁵

What occurred was that groups of students from both Duke University and North Carolina Central College (now University) gathered for a march on downtown Durham, the National Guard was activated, and black leaders met with Mayor Wense Grabarek to attempt to bring "some resolution out of the growing chaotic situation."¹⁶

One week later, blacks including Ben Ruffin, Howard Fuller, and J. H. Wheeler walked out of a

meeting with the Mayor over procedural concerns. This was one of many indications that black leadership was seeking a different relationship with whites than had previously existed.¹⁷

The black community was infuriated over King. Its energy needed to be channeled into a more positive direction. It was at this point that the idea of the Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement was born with a group of community leaders who were a mix of moderate, radical, militant elements. Initially, Ben Ruffin, Howard Fuller, Nat White, John Edwards, Phil Cousin, Helena Smith, Howard Clement and others met to discuss the situation. They had been discussing the need for a more direct-action oriented organization than existed in Durham since April; but the actual birth of BSCCI did not take place until June.¹⁸

Meetings were held at Durham Business College on Fayetteville Street where its mission was determined and possible solutions to problems that affected the Black Community and the city of Durham were considered. It was decided that a consolidation of the various organizations and individuals attending these meetings should be under an umbrella known as the Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement. It was determined that a unified effort would be the most

efficient and effective way of initiating strategies specifically targeted toward social justice and economic opportunity. The organization elected A.J.H. Clement, III as temporary Chairman and Benjamin S. Ruffin, temporary Vice Chairman.¹⁹

By the week of July 22, a Steering Committee had been elected which was composed of the Chairman and Vice Chairman and temporary officers: R. Kelly Bryant, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer; and James N. Potter, Jr., Assistant Secretary-Treasurer. Others on the Steering Committee included H.M. Michaux, Jr., Attorney; John H. Wheeler, Attorney; Moses Burt, Attorney; Mrs. Belle Bradshaw, Rev. Philip R. Cousin, Larry Hinton, Mrs. Christine Ingram, Rev. A.D. Mosely, Calvin Rogers, Nathaniel B. White, Sr. who tape recorded the Committee meetings as well as the public meetings which were called Mass Meetings, and Hazeline V. Wilson. The Chairman and Vice Chairman were designated as the only spokespersons to the public and media. Also selected were consultants on questions and problems in special areas such as Dr. Howard Fitts, Jr., Education; Mrs. Ann Atwater, Housing; Mrs. Pearl Wright, Welfare Programs and Benefits; and Mrs. Reathie Rogers, Housing Authority. There were a number of additional Committee members, including ministers, who were supportive and instrumental.²⁰

Many of the community organizers who took the initiative in forming the BSCCI were those who were rising leaders in Durham. Unlike bygone eras, more than a few were motivated by the intensity and message of the Black Power movement and were determined that the greater community of blacks would not have to continue with the minimal progress which had come to be expected since Reconstruction ended.

The announcement of the formation of the Committee was met with a wide array of mixed emotions. The White Community took a "so-what" attitude; some in the Black Community thought it was a great move while others did not understand the need for another organization since the NAACP and Durham Committee already existed. The majority of negative attitudes changed over time after the implementation of the Committee's major strategy.²¹

Paramount on their agenda was isolating one specific tactic of attacking discrimination. The committee approved implementing the Selective Buying Campaign (economic boycott). The name was chosen because only "selective stores" were boycotted.²² The boycott was announced to the general public that following Sunday July 28, 1968 at the first Mass Meeting which took place at St Josephs Church.²³

The strategy's major stimulus was two-pronged. The logicians realized that strategies of the past,

including sit-ins, marches, delegations to city hall, spontaneous violence, and public appeals to the more humane side of racists had not procured measurable positive change for the majority of blacks in Durham. To avert violence by those in the community who were so inclined, the strategy had to be one that would leave no choice for whites in power but to include blacks in all phases of community life.

On Friday, July 26, 1968, a delegation from the BSCCI submitted a fifteen-page "last resort" memorandum which was signed by Clement and Ruffin to the Durham Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association citing 97 grievances in nine areas--welfare, public education, recreation, employment, human relations, political participation, private housing, public housing, and equal justice. Actually, the first four pages of the memorandum were ten demands covering the previously mentioned nine areas. They were as follows:²⁴

1. Ample provision of equal employment opportunities
2. The elimination of existing discriminatory educational practices involving all of its several ramifications
3. The establishment of an effective open housing ordinance and the affirmative pursuit of its enforcement
4. The administration of fair but firm justice under the law
5. The procurement of equitable representation on all

the several governing agencies which promulgate policies affecting all of the citizenry of Durham

6. Revamping of the public housing system as same pertain to the Durham Housing Authority
7. A thorough modification of the entire welfare system especially as same relates to those citizens of Durham who are intimately affected by same
8. The establishment of adequate recreational facilities
9. The creation of an effective nonpartisan Human Relations Commission
10. The impartial enforcement of the city's Building Code especially as same applies to private housing

Accompanying the memorandum was an 11-page Statement of Essentials (97 grievances) which purported to clarify as well as elaborate with more specificity each of the aforesaid demands. Furthermore, such Statement of Essentials brought suggestions as to how the demands were to be expedited with all due facility.

To ensure that the power structure understood that it meant business, the committee had monitors on the streets of the downtown business district at the beginning of the following business week--Monday morning, July 29th. The responsibility of the monitors was to inform the community of the boycott, its purpose, and to appeal to the consciences of those who sought justice by asking them not to shop at targeted white businesses. ²⁵

Once the memorandum was presented to white officials late Friday, they were dismayed that the

BSCCI called the boycott at the Sunday Mass Meeting before they had time to consider the demands.²⁶ "Both the timing and the selection of stores were defended by a solidarity official who said, "We had to start somewhere, sometime."²⁷

According to the Herald, "Two [vital] questions raised by the presentation of the demands was why two non-governmental agencies such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association were chosen as recipients." The other concerned the timing (Friday evening).²⁸

Regardless, by Wednesday, July 31st the executive committee of the Chamber had answered the demands by stating that it would refer the demands to the "agencies and departments involved."²⁹ The reply, signed by the Chamber president, Edward G. Lilly, Jr., was an attempt to mollify the BSCCI on the one hand and to demolish justified claims of inequity on the other. Throughout the text there were claims of support and promotion of progress for the black community, denial of the BSCCI pronouncement that little progress had been made, and ended by stating that, "It is the intention of the Durham Chamber of Commerce to continue its encouragement...not because of threat or ultimatum, but because we feel this is right and proper."³⁰

The BSCCI's repartee set the stage for protracted

negotiations and a lengthy boycott. It considered the Chamber's response as "no answer at all." And Ruffin emphasized that blacks had gone to those governing bodies and agencies before and had gotten nowhere. He further noted that the reason the memorandum had been presented to the Chamber and Merchants Association was because many of their members also sat on local governing boards and commissions.³¹

The following day, Lilly responded to the immediate backlash of whites who perceived the Chamber declaration to be an endorsement of BSCCI objectives and blacks who perceived it otherwise by emphasizing, "that the chamber 'has not endorsed' the demands of the committee.... Rather...it has 'invited the agencies and boards with jurisdiction over the areas of grievances to respond to the Human Relations Commission which is scheduled to appointed next week....'"³²

At the second Mass Meeting, held at St Joseph's Church, the following Sunday, August 4, Reverend Philip Cousin, one of Durham's most passionate orators and now a spokesman for BSCCI, urged blacks to stay away from businesses on the boycott list. "Cousin said, that the movement would not be stopped until Negroes have 'everything the white man has had for over 200 years-- constitutional rights, human dignity, and equal justice in every arena.'"³³ Cousin hurled charges at the Durham

Morning Herald for being biased and taking BSCCI assertions out of context. The concern for negative media coverage was essential for the BSCCI and grounds for its policy of select-spokespersons-only communicating publicly. This would be an issue to grapple with in the weeks that followed in terms of the internal organizational controversy.³⁴

Whereas the Steering Committee meetings were necessary for the creation of the movement's blueprint, the Mass Meetings were the vehicles of compassion and spirit which transported and revived the weary and dubious with prayer, song, and motivational speeches. It was there, in those Sunday forums, that the idea of unity and brotherhood was unmistakably generated and sustained to create an even larger movement and to move the boycott forward. In this medium of creative stamina, the bulk of the movement's funds were collected.³⁵

Every Sunday evening, even if the weather was tempestuous, one of the black churches of Durham hosted the Mass Meeting. There were appeals for continued cooperation and support "from enlightened citizens of Durham and surrounding communities." Black citizens were urged to attend the weekly Steering Committee meetings which were held at Durham Business College. And all developments pertaining to the movement were

reported to the community on Sundays.³⁶

That Monday, the next day, August 5, BSCCI representatives met with the Chamber and Merchants Association in a two-hour closed session and rejected their recommendation that grievances be "handled" by a City-Council-appointed human relations committee. Clement declared that the committee could not accept the recommendation because the human relations committee had not yet been created and the problems needed attention "now." Clement further asserted that the main accomplishment of the meeting was, "that the white people...are now exposed to the problems that exist and are aware that something needs to be done."³⁷

The president of the Merchants Association issued a statement that underscored the human relations committee recommendation in addition to a referral of BSCCI's issues to its board of directors.

The following week, the BSCCI widened the boycott. It had originally started with Northgate Shopping Center and all businesses which had outlets there, Model Laundry and Dry Cleaners, the Coca Cola Bottling Company, and Belk-Leggett's. Now the list expanded to include Freedman's Department Store, The Lerner Shop, Baldwin's Department Store, Thom McAn's shoe store, Roscoe Griffin Shoe Company, Stewart's clothing store, and Marilyn's Shoes.³⁸

Into the third week of the boycott, merchants downtown admitted that the boycott had begun to have some effect upon their businesses--especially since back-to-school sales were going on. They felt, nevertheless, that they had no power to influence city government. "It is all part of a power struggle and the merchants who are caught between the city and the minority group are in the middle of it," one merchant complained. The general feelings of merchants who felt that they had been fair to blacks in the city was expressed by another who stated, "The committee is asking us to go to the City Council when I don't go there for my own grievances." He, like many others considered it "a slap in the face."³⁹

The boycott had been successful up to a point, there were reports that some blacks continued to shop at boycotted businesses because they perceived them as having treated them fairly. Evidently, according to the Herald and documentation from BSCCI meetings, some blacks in the community objected to being told what to do.⁴⁰

Editorials and articles of white-owned newspapers, and reports by white-owned media in general; and announcements at the Mass Meetings and discussions in the Steering Committee Meetings expressed anger and frustration over the alleged coercive tactics of

monitors located throughout the city. Some of the more radical members of the BSCCI considered coercion a necessary outgrowth of struggle of this kind and intensity. Although they did not admit to having knowledge of intimidation, they clearly understood it. BSCCI spokespersons admitted that they had knowledge of people taking photographs of blacks entering stores on the boycott list but that no members of the committee were doing so.⁴¹ In spite of the charges and counter charges, a real fear had begun to grip the Black Community. People believed that their homes would be damaged or that bodily harm would come to them if they were to shop where they were not supposed to.⁴²

As the weeks passed more stores were boycotted; and black consumers were urged to go anywhere to shop but in Durham. The boycott had started when stores had been stocked for back-to-school supplies and clothing. Merchants had felt the immediate effect of "selective buying. By September, antagonisms were being projected toward the Black Community by white police officers. John Edwards then director of the North Carolina Voter Project described encounters in the Herald, "...the police call the boycotters 'boys' and other labels, trying to tempt them into illegal action." He said they particularly displayed this type of behavior after having walked into empty stores. The boycott was

working.⁴³

In addition, "The Carolina Times was assisting us", said Clement. "They would have their photographers downtown taking pictures of black folks going into stores--breaking the boycott. We had them to commit to put the pictures on the front page. This had a very inhibiting impact on folks going downtown. We even got pictures of people having trucks from Thalheimers and Belks coming into the Black Community making deliveries. Some people were trying to go around the boycott."⁴⁴

Another device that the Committee used to inspire the Campaign was "Black Pride Days" which were instituted in September "to coincide with downtown merchants' 'Fair Days'." But it was carried one step further to include every. "We're black and we're proud became the slogan."⁴⁵

On September 26, 1968, one week after Fair Days the Durham City Council endorsed a preliminary draft of an ordinance establishing a Human Relations Commission. the ordinance contained a "declaration of policy" clause which pledged the city's efforts eradicate discrimination based upon "race, color, sex, religion, ancestry, national origin or place of birth." H. Mickey Michaux was the attorney who represented the BSCCI in their scrutiny of the code. They found no

fault with it in total but wanted to ensure that the Commission would have a voice. It was suggested that city officials consult the Community Relations Service of the U. S. Justice Department before taking final action on establishing the ordinance.⁴⁶

Someone who did have a problem with human relations establishments was Howard Fuller. Speaking before the Durham Council on Human Relations on November 25, 1968, he told them, "White people tell us, 'follow these channels,' then they make sure the channels don't work. Then they say, 'you can do anything you want, but don't do this--don't be violent, don't do anything non-violent. What's left?' You are placed in a box where everything is defined for you-- what you can do; and they only want you to do things that can't work!" Speaking to the Council, he concluded, ".... Right now you don't have any power. That doesn't mean you shouldn't meet--there is value in communication. But I'm talking about raw power."⁴⁷

One of the interesting aspects of the Selective Buying Campaign was the development of Black Christmas. Like many other cities in North Carolina, Durham's annual Christmas Parade generally occurred the day after Thanksgiving. The reason for the boycott itself had grown out of the idea of putting pressure on the white business community during Christmas and had

expanded to include the months prior to its actual immediate approach.⁴⁸

The Committee decided that a boycott of the city-wide parade and the creation of a black parade would instill pride and evoke spirit among the community. Whites were invited to come and participate as spectators as show of support.⁴⁹

Full of floats, bands, colorfully dressed representatives of the many organizations, businesses, and non-affiliated individuals, the parade wove its way from the Durham College area to Pettigrew Street in the city's first and last all-black Christmas celebration. Bringing up the rear of the joyous line of celebrants was Black Santa Clause--Bill McBroom, a member of the BSCCI. McBroom gained national recognition in this role and was on call to entertain the youth of the community at a rate which would have made him a wealthy man had he gotten paid.⁵⁰

The parade was more than a celebration. It was a tactical coup de gras; a signal to white business owners that Durham's black community would not be intimidated in the bargaining process for social, political and economic justice. It was the turning point in negotiations because whites finally realized that their Christmas stock would be left on the shelves and Christmas was only a month away. In the days just

before Christmas, BSCCI increased its level of pressure on the merchants. Not long after the holiday, serious sessions began between the Steering Committee, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Merchants Association concerning a modified memorandum of grievances delivered to them on January 10.⁵¹

In time, job opportunities, a new era in race relations and upward mobility arrived for Durham's Black Community. But it was not just an effort by black people, or leaders. It took an entire community to make change--in that sense, leaders followed the will of the people. In late March, the tone of Steering Committee meetings began to change. A new kind of leadership, one which did not have the vision or expertise of those who had been the captains, interjected confusion into Steering Committee meetings. Coupled with this implosion was the burdensome responsibility of attempting to monitor the white establishment to ensure that agreements would be honored. This was a task for which they were not prepared. The magnitude of attempting to be vigilant with little human resources was, in the end, the death knell for the Committee. Evidence suggests that they shifted their energies to the organizations from whence they had come, their careers, and other enterprises. By mid April, BSCCI had become defunct.

NOTES

1. Kennedy, W. J., Jr., The North Carolina Story (USA: 1970) pp. 1-104.
2. Clement interview. Clement discusses men such as his father and grandfather who were mentors of many of Durham's rising youth.
3. Mutual, p. 39.
4. Ibid.
5. John Hope Franklin and August Meier, eds., Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982) p. 1.
6. Ibid., 13.
7. Ibid.
8. Black Leaders, pp. 1-40.
9. This is my conclusion based upon the readings in the North Carolina Center for the Study of Black History archives.
10. Nathaniel B. White, Sr., paper from personal files on the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People, 1975.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Clement on Durham Committee.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. "Negro Group Walks Out Of Mayor's Meet," Durham, Carolina Times, 13 April 1968, 1A.
18. Clement.
19. Ibid.

20. R. Kelly Bryant, Jr., personal file on BSCCI.
21. Clement.
22. Susan Taylor, "Boycott Having Some Effect," Herald, 16 August 1968, 5A.
23. Bryant file.
24. Ibid.
25. Nathaniel White Tape Collection, Mass Meeting #18, Tape 4, Side 1.
26. Ed Martin, "No Simple Solution To The Problem," Herald, 31 August 1968, 1A.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. "Chamber In Accord With Solidarity Group Aims," Herald, 1 August 1968, 1A.
30. Ibid.
31. Stan Swofford, "Black Solidarity Group Gets Reply From C Of C," 1 August 1968, 1A.
32. "Chamber Head Seeks To Clarify Statement," Herald, 2 August, 1A.
33. Stan Swofford, "Committee Exhorts Negroes To 'Slow Down' On Buying," Herald, 5 August 1968, 1A.
34. White Tapes, Tape 5, Side 1, Steering Committee Meeting.
35. White Tapes, passim.
36. Ibid.
37. Herald, "Committee Exhorts."
38. Stan Swofford, "Solidarity Unit Widens Boycott," Herald, 12 August 1968, 1A.
39. Susan Taylor, "Boycott Having Some Effect," Herald, 16 August 1968, 1B.
40. Martin, "Removal Issue Said 'Picayune'," Herald, 22 August 1968; White Tapes, Tape 4, Side 1, 18th Mass

Meeting.

41. Clement, Nat White interviews.

42. Tape 4, Side 1.

43. Stan Swofford, "Solidarity Committee Leader Says Social Change Is Goal," Herald, 8 September 1968, 1A.

44. Clement.

45. Swofford, "No Contact Yet, Boycotters Say," Herald, 16 September 1968, 1B.

46. "Council Endorses Human Relations Ordinance," Herald, 27, September 1968, 8B.

47. White Tapes, November 25, 1968.

48. Bryant interview, October 1992.

49. Clement and Bryant interviews.

50. Ibid.

51. White interview; White Tapes, Tape 8, Side 1.

CONCLUSION

This project was designed to examine the evolution, impact and demise of the Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement in Durham, North Carolina during the years 1968-1970. After the boycott ended in January, Mass Meetings were held through February. The disintegration began in March.

The Committee was the result of a mixture of historical consequences, traditional practices and the needs and condition of black people due to, among other factors, racial discrimination. One event was more instrumental than any other as a catalyst for the Black Community's mobilization--the death of Martin Luther King, Jr.

King's assassination was the event which finally brought the entire community, for a brief moment, to an unadulterated understanding of oppression. For Durham's Black Community, as well as other African American communities throughout America, the loss of this particular leader represented the simultaneous death and mourning of Self. Psychologically, the impact of his death was both an individual and collective internalization of hopelessness.

The model of analysis for this study was an integration of several existing models. In order to

make the analysis one which would have contemporary value, a functional aspect had to be constructed. Therefore, Asante's paradigm of conditions/needs, policy, and action provide the basic structure which the other models address. These dependent variables were subjectively weighed by evidence which establishes oppression and dependence as inseparable components of racism and discrimination. Thus, the mental state of Durham's Black Community, was a condition of reasoned dependence and oppression as explained by Frazier and Friere respectively. Their psycho-sociological models or explanations of dependence-reality, address function as process. The basic premise for the African American Community in Durham is that it would not have functioned in a subservient role for almost seventy years from the beginning of the twentieth century had it not been violently conditioned to do so.

References to Pavlov and Woodson support the psychological aspect of the overall model. Since psychological reasons for needs and conditions are established, actions must be given the same attention. Again, Friere supplies a powerful tool of analysis when it is applied to the development of the BSCCI. For the African American Community, the moment of stepping toward liberation (the boycott), required dialogue among black leadership which allowed them to construct

a strategy which was tactically rooted in reality while negating ideological differences which were conditional manifestations. The boycott created dialogue in the community which was, Friere contends, the first step in the liberating process. By March of 1969, liberation for some in the black community was realized, not only because of the process of defining self, but because real economic, political, and social gains were obtained to a greater degree for some people. On the other hand, there were some in the White Community who realized their role as oppressors by the use of dialogue with those whom they had traditionally oppressed. The paradigm reveals that the mental state of the Black Community as a whole, while perhaps not driven by a conscious conspiracy of mis-education by whites, was driven by institutional mis-education as an inseparable process of racism. In other words, racism has a psychological aspect which does not require the practitioner of it to consciously create systems to sustain it since they have been part of it since its inception. Its motor is the dehumanization of its victim--conscious or not.

Can one assume that blacks in Durham felt dehumanized? One must begin with the premise that in 1968 Durham's Black Community was the living result of four hundred years of dehumanization. The White

Community was in power as a direct result of that dehumanization. No-education and mis-education establish the second instrument of analysis within the integrated model. Historical evidence of conditions/needs, and action of the Black Community contains explanations which address economic, political, and sociological dynamics. The 1970 Census report, tape recordings, newspaper articles, and interviews are evidence of conditions/needs, action, and policy.

Historically, the BSCCI was the psychological, sociological, spiritual, political, and communicative organism which addressed discrimination through economic determinism. The entire paradigm rests on the shoulders of History. Without it needs/conditions, actions, and policy could not be determined in 1968. Therefore the function of the paradigm would be lost.

What is the function of the paradigm? The function of this study is to basically uncover the seven areas of Black Studies (history, psychology, sociology, economics, religion, creative production, communication, and politics) as they pertain to the events surrounding the establishment and demise, and continuing repercussions of BSCCI.

First, that individuals of Durham's Black Community were in material need does not mean that

their lives were comparatively more depressing. Once again, the argument is presented as a construct of group dynamics within the context of oppression. As we have seen, the one variable which appears to have impacted the Black Community most was its psychological dependency on those who were perceived as being the oppressor. After all, the Hayti district was evidence of black economic initiative. Yet, this study concludes that the destruction of Hayti and black neighborhoods by redevelopment is the one example of how the dehumanizing aspects of racism causes individuals to maintain dependency. And while one generation may not be dependent, the next may very well be. This is more the condition of black youth in Durham today.

The Black Solidarity Committee was a communal effort. It was an effort of people, black and white, who did not allow those who practiced injustice to determine who was radical and who was not. This occurrence was a unification of humanity. It was the first step toward independence--recognizing inequality as the needs and conditions which it produced in the society and not allowing others to define one's Self by its practice.

The 1990 Census indicates that slightly less than one third of all blacks are in poverty in Durham--

comparatively, the same as in 1970. The mean household income for all age brackets for whites is \$16,000 more than for blacks. Housing for both races appears to have improved significantly. The black population has grown 55% since 1970; yet, the highest income for blacks per capita in the nation, according to City Councilman Clement, is in the Triangle area. On the other hand, 1994, statistics indicate that black youth are more likely to commit suicide, murder, drop out of school, be suspended from school, have babies out of wedlock and at younger ages, commit violent crimes, receive less higher education (particularly males), sell drugs, and participate in lawless activity at a level greater than that of previous generations. The BSCCI opened doors for black economic prosperity but did not have the manpower or the will to become a think tank for educational and political objectives in the future. Evidence reveals that the men and women of BSCCI leadership were indomitable in spirit and vision. However, they could not do it all. In addition, there was the older generation of leaders, such as Asa T. Spaulding who worked behind the scenes to convince those whites with power that a fundamental change in race relations and power was needed.

Another instrument of the paradigm is seeded in religious teachings which are a direct development of

theology that negates connectedness to the antiquity of Africa. This paradigm is the fundamental underpinning of Africalogy, the study of African people from a place of Self-definition. The Mass Meetings of BSCCI were necessary, but they did not move the participants beyond a place of identification in practice with European values. In essence, the words were powerful but lacked substance to attract youth to ideologies which might appeal to them. The ultimate training ground for youth is the spiritual foundation. BSCCI was the outgrowth of men and women who had a theology grounded in the cultural context of Afro-America, but not one capable of establishing the foundation for the majority of the youth. Religious training institutions must be established which give black youth choices for correct action in a society dominated by experimental spirituality. The spiritual component of the Mass Meetings were the communicative aspects of the paradigm. It sustained the traditional African American view of the world as European driven. BSCCI had some of the most dynamic ministers in North Carolina. Yet, the boycott or economics overshadowed the opportunity to organize the youth. What is needed still, is a reconstructive theology.

This has been a study of the dynamics of leadership. Notwithstanding, leadership is

reciprocal. The death of King, the noted national leader of the day, inspired active resistance over self-serving, cliquish moderation.

The mobilization effort was an act of moral revolution; it was also an act which was predictable and preferred by the White Community over the destructiveness occurring throughout North Carolina and major urban areas of the United States. Committee officials turned their attention to local political and economic affairs. However, two entities already in existence, the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs and the Durham Business and Professional Chain, had many of their members duplicating efforts with BSCCI.

Another factor which contributed to the disintegration of the Committee was the tremendous burden the small number in the Community carried in terms of follow-up on employment with stores who had agreed to improve their hiring practices and treatment of blacks. It was a monumental task for Committee officials to set up mechanisms for screening employer hiring practices, monitor the Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association; and address the complaints of the Black Community.

Perhaps the greatest determinant for the Committee's demise was the incessant tensions between tenured members who were weary from thirty weeks of protracted

attentiveness to Campaign logistics and new members joining the struggle as the boycott was ending.

Ideologies clashed. Dynamic leadership styles are the result of personal ideology coupled with experience (or the lack of it). New Committee members may have had ideologies which were representative of the so-called revolutionary era but they failed to understand the vital force necessary for leadership--an understanding that leaders serve the people.

The Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement disintegrated--but not without having achieved its goal of opening the doors of justice for all of Durham.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1
GENERAL POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Census Tract Number	Area ¹ Acres	% Total City Land	Population	White Population	Black Population	% of Total Population	% of Total White Population	% of Total Black Population	Average Age	Under 6 Yrs	Population Under 18 And Over	Population 65 And Over	Dependency ² Ratio
1	1,784.98	7.67	7,444	7,049	370	7.82	12.20	5.51	31.80	704	2,386	532	64.47
2	1,767.72	3.30	2,711	2,283	416	2.85	3.95	1.12	39.64	217	698	362	64.20
3.01	350.75	1.51	2,981	1,800	1,170	3.13	2.77	3.70	31.67	348	907	297	67.75
3.02	408.60	1.76	3,695	3,550	120	3.88	6.14	0.32	37.55	279	844	576	62.42
4.01	850.25	3.66	2,948	3,246	2	3.43	5.62	0.01	36.62	255	745	435	65.57
4.02	545.41	2.34	2,948	2,317	607	3.10	4.01	1.64	35.18	392	1,302	390	62.60
5	546.33	2.35	4,404	1,860	2,527	4.63	3.22	6.93	34.38	448	1,389	580	74.62
6	1,730.81	7.44	4,615	4,518	98	4.85	7.82	0.16	31.71	170	1,712	371	77.30
7	800.67	3.44	2,484	2,177	297	2.61	0.21	0.81	37.80	6	30	16	30.46
8.01	116.61	0.50	1,197	124	72	0.21	0.21	0.19	37.69	105	348	169	64.22
8.02	271.79	1.17	1,322	626	682	1.39	1.08	1.84	34.24	333	1,116	300	89.62
9	255.26	1.10	2,996	125	2,865	3.15	0.22	7.74	31.86	582	2,014	657	101.10
10.01	530.72	2.28	5,313	3,938	1,442	5.58	6.66	0.67	32.54	424	1,257	319	64.59
10.02	793.32	3.41	4,016	3,760	247	4.22	6.51	3.90	31.93	330	1,237	495	99.71
11	334.22	1.44	3,469	1,317	2,138	3.64	2.28	5.78	34.08	197	667	173	95.35
12.01	211.19	0.91	1,872	0	1,115	1.81	0.00	4.63	31.41	260	578	334	128.85
12.02	124.88	0.54	2,224	4	1,872	1.97	0.01	5.06	28.20	155	576	155	60.99
13.01	190.07	0.82	7,999	7,455	524	8.35	0.04	11.69	29.32	605	2,576	287	434
13.02	808.02	3.47	7,945	24	7,899	4.56	0.01	3.48	24.24	591	1,888	320	100.32
14	589.48	2.53	4,343	7	4,329	7.40	9.82	0.01	26.01	482	7,733	591	41.13
15 Duke	1,164.28	5.01	7,045	5,671	1,287	7.40	1.16	0.14	31.15	365	1,505	225	39.51
17.01	325.96	1.40	4,336	669	4	4.56	0.99	0.14	33.40	89	1,328	96	66.39
17.02	2,607.69	11.21	941	4,283	51	0.99	7.41	1.14	30.75	117	412	81	86.04
17.03	541.74	2.33	1,066	518	423	0.77	0.90	1.68	31.40	117	412	194	79.54
18.01	626.21	2.69	1,066	455	621	1.12	3.43	1.42	31.37	253	918	146	45.66
18.02	1,570.12	6.75	2,587	1,982	524	2.64	4.29	0.28	29.24	284	665	196	81.17
20.01	1,331.39	5.72	2,587	2,481	105	3.44	5.33	0.47	32.09	288	1,270	182	81.17
20.02	1,882.31	8.09	3,272	3,081	175	2.72	0.34	6.97	30.11	280	1,063	182	81.05
20.03	1,199.17	5.16	2,781	195	2,581	2.92	0.34	6.97	30.11	280	1,063	182	81.05
Total	23,259.95	100.00	95,176	57,771	37,017	100.00	100.00	100.00	31.71	8,916	30,475	8,755	72.67

Unless otherwise noted, all information derived from 1970 Census.
¹ Durham City Planning Division. Area acreage obtained by planimeter from 1970 city map.
² The Dependency Ratio is the ratio of the total number of persons aged 18 and under and 65 and over to the number of persons aged 19-64.

TABLE 2
FAMILY INCOME CHARACTERISTICS

Census Tract Number	Number of Families	Median Family Income		Families Below Poverty Level		% Families Below Poverty Level Receiving Public Assistance	Total Number Families Receiving Public Assistance	% Unemployment For Males 16 And Over
		All Families	Black Families	% Total	White			
1	2,157	\$ 9,734	\$ N/A	5.0	N/A	33.6	88	1.6
2	746	9,239	5,667	7.5	32	23.0	28	1.7
3.01	808	6,778	5,926	14.9	31	25.0	95	1.9
3.02	975	10,822	N/A	5.8	N/A	0	8	0.9
4.01	978	10,590	N/A	4.3	N/A	23.8	24	2.5
4.02	846	6,038	4,250	14.1	55	14.3	47	3.7
5	1,016	5,750	4,815	26.1	45	29.8	152	3.2
6	1,246	11,429	N/A	5.4	220	0	15	1.8
7	695	13,466	N/A	6.3	N/A	40.9	33	1.8
8.01	6	N/A	N/A	0	N/A	0	0	7.8
8.02	325	6,407	5,452	13.8	8	26.7	40	8.5
9	741	4,909	4,849	31.0	212	31.0	156	7.8
10.01	1,423	6,058	3,777	23.4	154	38.4	229	0.6
10.02	1,212	9,261	N/A	7.6	N/A	27.2	62	9.4
11	766	5,069	4,855	36.6	93	34.3	192	5.5
12.01	322	4,341	2,821	43.2	0	28.1	75	4.5
12.02	421	2,821	4,341	62.5	0	23.6	85	1.7
13.01	512	6,732	6,679	15.8	7	33.3	156	2.1
13.02	1,384	7,982	7,420	16.8	0	24.5	193	3.2
14	991	5,536	5,536	27.0	268	34.0	131	4.4
15	718	4,721	2,833	30.9	49	46.4	0	-
17.01	200	11,222	N/A	0	N/A	0	27	-
17.02	1,247	11,036	N/A	4.3	N/A	11.1	17	7.4
17.03	227	7,841	5,300	18.1	9	14.6	11	-
18.01	238	7,826	7,059	15.1	0	22.2	21	2.0
18.02	741	7,652	5,559	12.3	20	17.6	0	2.4
20.01	703	10,221	N/A	4.8	N/A	0	0	2.2
20.02	895	19,121	N/A	3.5	N/A	15.1	16	2.2
20.03	691	8,828	8,836	9.4	0	15.4	61	0.7

Unless otherwise noted, all information derived from 1970 Census

TABLE 3
HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

Census Tract Number	Total Number Of Dwelling Units In Tract	Percent ² Of City Total	Units Per Structure		Occupancy		Units Lacking Some Or All Plumbing Facilities	Year Structure Built			Vacant Units	Rent Sale	% Of Sub-Standard Units In Tract	Overcrowding Units With 1.01 Or More Persons/Rm	% Of City Total
			Single Unit Structures	5 Or More Units Per Structure	Renter Occupied White	Owner Occupied White		1965 To March 1970	1950 To 1964	Prior To 1950					
1	2,667	8.43	1,993	535	1,073	66	13	329	1,208	1,130	39	7	4	113	4.29
2	1,100	3.43	670	117	418	91	14	60	272	768	55	4	12	38	1.44
3.01	1,179	3.73	495	95	471	339	32	59	384	736	26	4	37	128	4.85
3.02	1,580	4.99	904	285	792	35	22	113	479	988	43	4	9	28	1.06
4.01	1,209	3.82	1,005	29	325	0	8	35	396	778	18	4	9	20	0.76
4.02	1,233	3.90	632	140	625	147	21	36	294	903	43	4	17	120	4.55
5	1,660	5.25	736	264	596	690	35	79	211	1,370	67	3	42	204	7.74
6	1,821	5.76	1,158	414	787	20	9	417	746	658	108	9	7	33	1.25
7	917	2.90	793	5	208	70	30	17	17	619	17	9	18	37	1.40
8.01	90	0.28	15	73	63	13	31	0	5	89	4	0	100	5	0.19
8.02	546	1.73	222	61	234	213	20	0	58	473	10	2	57	49	1.86
9	977	3.09	526	30	20	692	39	39	140	813	16	0	68	203	7.70
10.01	1,799	5.69	1,124	216	783	262	45	128	491	1,180	45	14	48	197	7.47
10.02	1,558	4.92	693	119	630	75	19	358	514	686	114	7	21	79	3.00
11	1,147	3.63	653	19	352	522	57	151	56	940	32	8	75	182	6.90
12.01	608	1.92	325	19	1	430	68	4	30	536	28	0	98	125	4.74
12.02	582	1.84	281	143	0	478	98	239	30	577	14	0	53	81	3.07
13.01	796	2.52	506	0	4	444	68	4	169	696	160	10	98	106	4.02
13.02	1,915	6.05	1,215	354	2	869	28	23	799	349	23	0	53	81	3.07
14	1,257	3.97	625	422	4	879	25	4	444	683	23	6	12	253	7.59
15	1,031	3.26	154	147	570	354	6	400	484	147	39	0	34	236	8.95
17.01	291	0.92	154	100	168	3	4	146	125	30	5	2	1	7	3.11
17.02	1,399	4.42	1,252	0	300	1	26	245	866	269	16	16	6	35	1.33
17.03	297	0.94	263	0	76	50	47	0	134	135	1	0	70	30	1.14
18.01	303	0.96	298	0	161	45	65	20	44	168	4	5	59	51	1.93
18.02	799	2.53	791	4	596	70	108	44	417	365	5	6	33	67	2.54
20.01	1,116	3.53	535	292	77	35	6	458	445	172	96	7	8	21	0.80
20.02	965	3.05	973	0	821	7	16	197	650	149	5	8	1	18	0.68
20.03	797	2.54	807	4	11	83	55	229	441	157	14	13	16	89	3.38
Totals	31,639	100.00	20,111	4,747	9,395	6,983	932	4,493	10,992	16,160	1,070	152	1,018	2,637	100.00

Unless otherwise noted, all information derived from 1970 Census
 1 Durham City Management Information System. 1972 listing of structurally deficient dwelling units being compared to 1970 Census data.
 2 Durham City Planning Division

TABLE 4
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Census Tract Number	Number Juvenile Arrests Per 1,000 Population	Number Drug Arrests Per 1,000 Population	Number ² Illegitimate Births Per 1,000 Women Aged 15-44	Number Cases ³ Gonorrhea Per 1,000 Population	Average Number ⁴ Persons Per Household All Races	% Households ⁵ Headed By Females	% Families With ⁵ Children Under 18 Living With Both Parents	% Households ⁵ With 1 Or More Autos Available	% High School Graduates Among Pop. Over 25
1	0.1	1.1	4.3	1.7	2.84	11.8	83.0	92.9	53.1
2	0.4	3.7	7.1	5.5	2.61	9.5	87.2	81.0	57.4
3	0.9	2.4	11.5	5.0	2.65	17.0	73.1	88.1	44.1
3.02	0.2	2.1	3.6	2.6	2.41	9.7	82.1	88.1	68.7
4.01	0.0	0.3	1.4	2.1	2.68	10.4	86.4	92.1	59.5
4.02	0.5	3.3	8.2	3.2	2.50	11.7	77.7	73.6	35.8
5	1.0	6.9	26.7	14.5	2.69	16.5	68.6	60.5	26.5
6	1.0	1.2	0.8	2.6	2.76	5.9	91.0	96.2	79.3
7	3.2	5.9	6.4	34.2	2.84	9.7	86.5	85.9	68.0
8.01	50.4	16.8	205.8	151.2	1.65	8.1	40.0	51.4	44.7
8.02	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.84	18.1	61.8	57.1	32.5
9	4.0	8.1	23.0	17.7	2.47	20.6	59.9	39.1	37.0
10.01	2.2	2.4	28.2	5.0	3.14	24.0	66.4	83.4	23.2
10.02	0.2	1.5	28.2	11.7	3.07	20.6	66.4	83.4	23.2
11	3.7	2.1	5.5	3.7	2.83	10.5	85.8	93.9	13.3
12.01	2.9	2.9	30.3	19.9	3.09	22.7	80.7	83.4	7.8
12.02	16.8	3.9	36.2	11.7	3.20	29.1	62.6	44.0	25.6
13.01	0.5	1.8	48.1	26.2	3.41	43.6	70.0	35.8	22.6
13.02	3.2	1.8	22.0	11.4	2.78	20.8	70.0	67.7	45.0
14	4.2	1.4	15.3	27.1	3.30	21.0	69.6	74.1	49.6
15	0.0	1.4	25.6	13.7	3.50	30.2	60.4	74.1	49.6
17.01	4.3	1.4	8.3	9.4	2.54	22.9	56.5	65.2	39.6
17.02	0.0	1.0	8.4	7.2	2.40	3.6	97.7	72.9	53.1
17.03	2.7	0.0	1.7	2.3	3.16	5.6	97.7	97.8	72.4
18.01	0.0	0.0	65.4	21.6	3.27	9.4	93.4	97.8	56.0
18.02	0.6	0.0	21.1	26.1	3.27	7.5	81.1	95.8	20.1
20.01	0.6	0.3	7.0	3.3	3.64	8.2	87.7	83.6	22.8
20.02	1.7	6.2	1.1	3.0	3.23	5.1	92.0	88.1	30.2
20.03	2.8	4.4	1.3	0.5	2.57	3.8	95.0	100.0	71.7
			20.0	15.4	3.60	10.6	87.9	86.8	85.3
									46.2

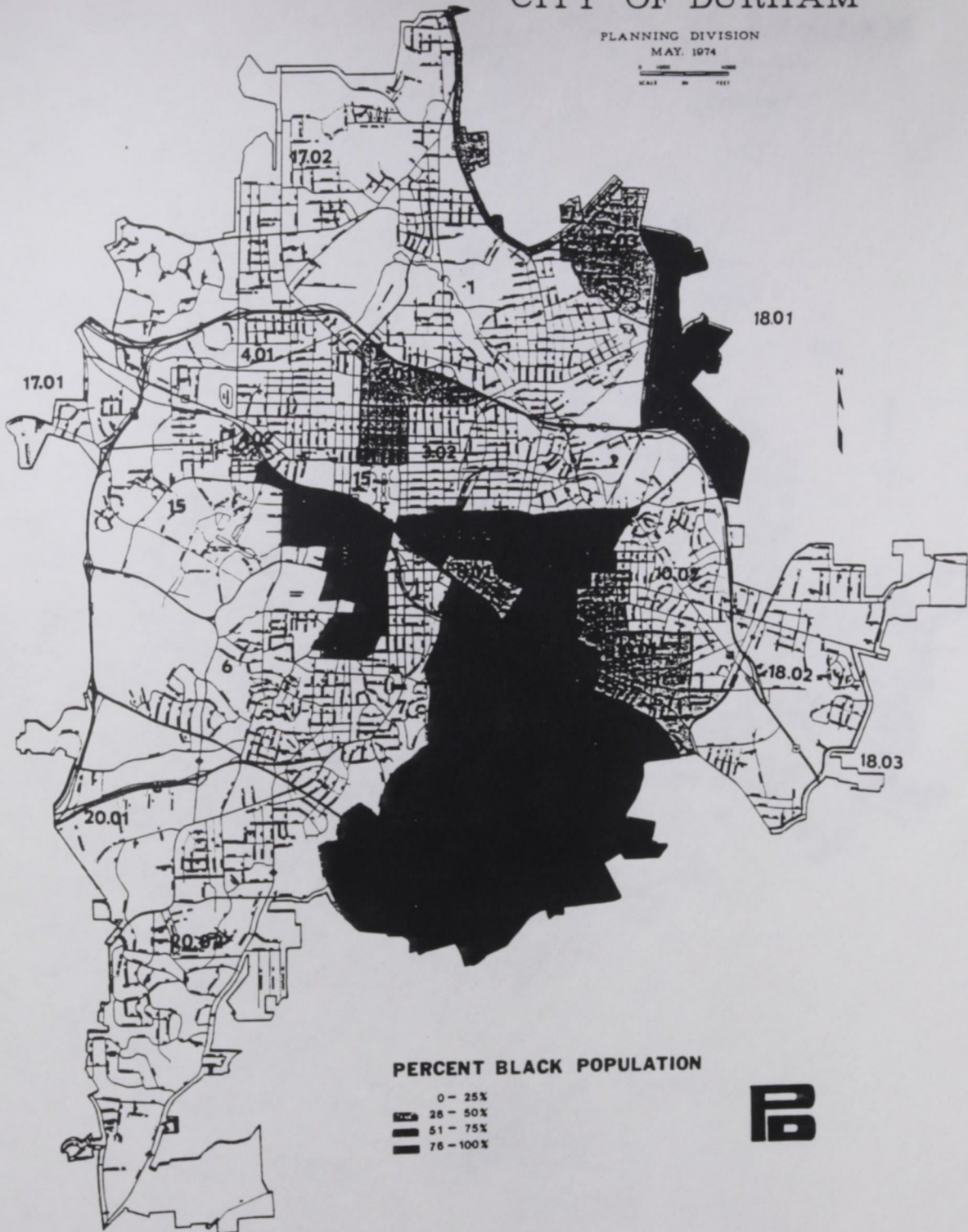
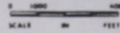
Estimated July 1, 1972 population of 102,009 used to calculate rates. City Planning Division.

- 1 Arrests records for 1972. Population used is estimate for July 1, 1972.
- 2 Births are for 1972. Women aged 15-44 are estimated by assuming they are in same proportion to total population as in 1970.
- 3 First gonorrhea cases for 1972 divided by estimated July 1, 1972 population.
- 4 From 1970 Census Report.
- 5 Calculated using 1970 census data.

Source: 1970 Census of Population & Housing, Durham City Police Department, Durham County Health Department, 1972 population estimate.

CITY OF DURHAM

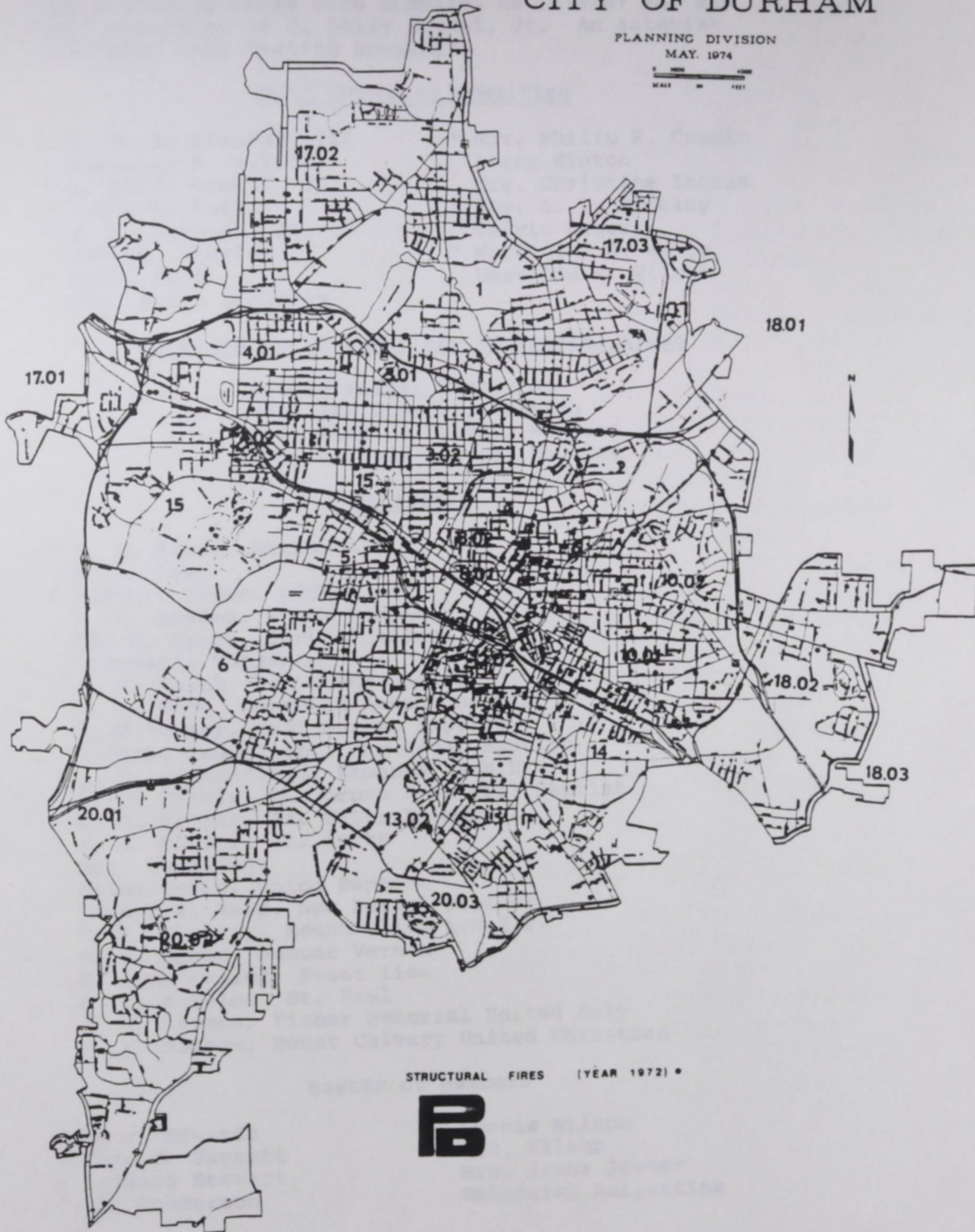
PLANNING DIVISION
MAY, 1974



CITY OF DURHAM

PLANNING DIVISION
MAY, 1974

SCALE IN FEET



MEMBERSHIP LIST

The following names were compiled on 1/19/87 and are from the files of R. Kelly Bryant, Jr. An asterisk indicates Mass Meeting speakers.

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| * Moses Burt | Hazeline V. Wilson |
| * Mrs. Belle Bradshaw | |

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 Mrs. Ann Atwater, Housing
 Mrs. Pearlle Wright, Welfare
 Mrs. Reathie Rogers, Housing

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- Leo E. Sykes, Durham College
- Lafayette McDonald
- L. M. Gooch, St. Johns Baptist
- B. A. Mack, Morehead Avenue Baptist
- F. D. Terry, West Durham Baptist
- Richard James, Sr., Haw River Baptist
- J. R. Crutchfield, Emmanuel A.M.E
- Z. D. Harris, Oak Grove Free Will Baptist
- E. N. Porter, St. Titus Episcopal
- * L. A. Miller, St. Marks
- Rev. Woodling
- Grady Davis, Union Baptist
- Lowery W. Reid, New Bethel Baptist
- E. R. Whitley, Mount Olive A.M.E.Z.
- E. T. Brown, Mount Vernon
- William Fuller, Mount Zion
- W. T. Bigelow, St. Paul
- A. M. Lawson, Fisher Memorial United Holy
- R. L. Monroe, Mount Calvary United Christian

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 * Dr. A. M. Whiting
 Mrs. Joan Burton
 * Gerald Underwood
 Ralph Rogers
 Barbara Harris
 Lottie Hayes
 Patricia Rogers
 Reginald Dalton
 Claretta Woody

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 Wilbur Hobby
 Clyde L. Green
 Edward L. Phillips
 B. A. McLean
 Lizzie Chandler
 Mrs. E. L. Hillman

Philip R. Cousin
 J. J. Henderson
 R. Kelly Bryant, Jr.
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 Walter O. Daye
 Dr. C. D. Watts
 Thomas T. Hay

