



Public Health



Partnership for a
Healthy Durham

20th anniversary: 2004-2024



Wall of Hope: Photo courtesy of City of Durham

DURHAM'S HEALTH AND HISTORY

Connecting Our Past to Our Present

October 2024

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INTRODUCTION

Overview

“The social, economic, and environmental conditions that shape the health of populations are not just the products of contemporary circumstance; they are part of an historical continuum.”^[1]

Today’s health outcomes are tied to our history, our past impacting our present. The aim of this report, *Durham’s Health and History*, is to tie the throughline of historical policies and practices to current health outcomes and inequities that exist among population groups in Durham, North Carolina. From colonization in the 1500s to present day, politics, prejudice and racism have molded our society and created disparities in all aspects of health and wellness.

Many factors influence health such as income, housing, education and the environment that one lives in. This report aims to correct the incorrect narrative that populations are at fault for their situations. The authors show that throughout Durham’s history, some populations have received advantages while others have faced racism, discrimination and exclusion, and that the impacts of those actions can still be seen today, generations later.

Across nearly all categories, white residents have better health outcomes than American Indian and Alaskan Natives, Black or African Americans, and Hispanic and Latina/o/x residents. It is important to connect our past to our present to give a fuller picture of issues that affect health and well-being.

“The social, economic, and environmental conditions that shape the health of populations are not just the products of contemporary circumstance; they are part of an historical continuum.”

As we reflect on our past, we continue to look forward in order to promote the health and wellness of ALL Durham County residents.



Photo courtesy of Discover Durham

INTRODUCTION

Set up for the Report

This report consists of two chapters: 1. Colonization, Displacement and Slavery and 2. Housing. These chapters contain a narrative which recounts the history of Durham, starting from pre-colonial history to present day. Since Durham is impacted by state and federal policies and laws, those have been included in the report with a focus on Durham County and the City of Durham.

After the narrative sections within each chapter, current health data has been added to visually demonstrate differences in health outcomes because of our history. Sources in the narrative are listed at the end of the chapter with citation numbers located in the text. The sources for the data sections are listed with the relevant charts and graphs.

2023 Community Health Assessment Acknowledgment

This report builds on the information in the Durham Facts and History section of the 2023 Durham County Community Health Assessment (CHA). Some of the language in this report is from the 2023 CHA. Both are authored by the same individuals. Information from the 2023 CHA is cited within the report.

Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge the work of community organizations and initiatives to compile Durham's history. Many local sources are used in this document such as Bull City 150, DataWorks NC, Dr. Jeffrey Baker with Duke University School of Medicine, the Duke World Policy Food Center, Legal Aid of North Carolina and the Durham Eviction Diversion Program, the North Carolina Collection at Durham County Library, North Carolina Digital Collections, Open Durham, Durham author and historian Jean Bradley Anderson, and others. We are grateful for their work in these areas and have attempted to build on and compile a concise narrative utilizing the histories and information they previously collected and reported on. This report would not exist without them.

We also acknowledge the willingness of multiple individuals and partners to serve as reviewers, editors and thought partners throughout the development of this report. This report could not have been completed without their valuable insights and contributions. Their names are listed on the page prior to the introduction.



Photo courtesy of Discover Durham

INTRODUCTION

Durham County Government Land Acknowledgement

"We stand on the stolen ancestral lands of the Catawba, Eno, Occaneechi, Shakori, and Tuscarora peoples, whose deep connection to this land predates our arrival. We acknowledge with humility the unjust displacement and violence that occurred, leading to the dispossession of indigenous peoples from their homelands. Their resilience in the face of such adversity is a testament to their strength and spirit.

May we humbly honor the ancestors and elders of these nations, both past and present, by committing ourselves to fostering understanding, healing, and justice for all who inhabit this land. Let us walk forward together with open hearts, acknowledging the past and embracing a future guided by compassion, respect, and unity."^[2]

Language Acknowledgements

The authors' intent was to use language that is inclusive and respectful. The authors acknowledge that racial and ethnic groups select terms they prefer to use and that variations in language used may exist within population groups. Those terms may differ from language used in this report. The authors have used terms throughout this document to refer to population groups such as Indigenous, American Indian, Native American, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino/a/x and white.

Next Steps for the Report

This intention is to release the first part of this report in fall 2024. Part II will include additional chapters that expand on the 2023 CHA sections on access to care, education and income/employment in 2025.

The authors also intend to create a digital exhibit of information included in this report.

It is the hope that the information contained in this report be used to understand the connection between Durham's history and health outcomes. And to make informed decisions about addressing root causes of health inequities so all Durham County residents have what they need to maintain their health.



1887 Durham Map Image courtesy of North Carolina Collection

COLONIZATION, DISPLACEMENT AND SLAVERY

Introduction

The development of society in the United States plays a role in how systems such as housing, education, legal, healthcare and more impact the health outcomes we see today. "...health inequities are the result of more than individual choice or random occurrence. They are the result of the historical and ongoing interplay of inequitable structures, policies, and norms that shape lives." [i] It is vital that everyone in Durham has the opportunity to make healthy choices wherever they live, work, play, and pray and that requires systemic, societal knowledge and change.

The ability to make this choice has not always been the case for those who have lived in Durham. American Indians who first inhabited and were then removed from the area we now call Durham County, Africans and American Indians who were enslaved and forced to work on local plantations, and the descendants of both groups were the first to suffer from the long-reaching effects of colonization, displacement and enslavement.

The roots of American capitalism are based on forced servitude, the theft of land from American Indians and profit from selling stolen land to white settlers and land speculators. [ii] This economic system advantaged some groups above others based on race. This hierarchy has helped shape the United States' culture, laws and practices that structure our society and account for the inequities seen today. [i]

This chapter focuses on the history of colonization, displacement and slavery in Durham.

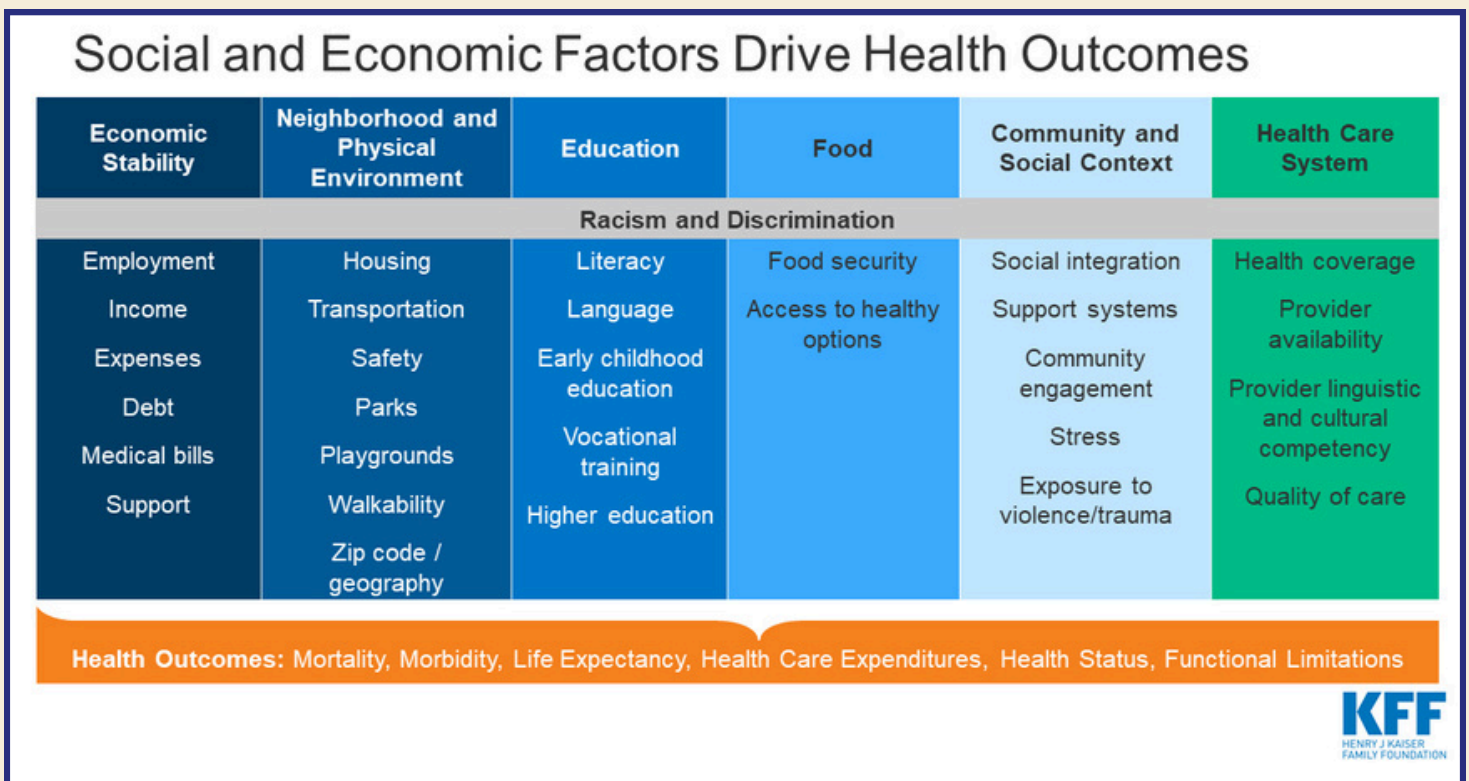
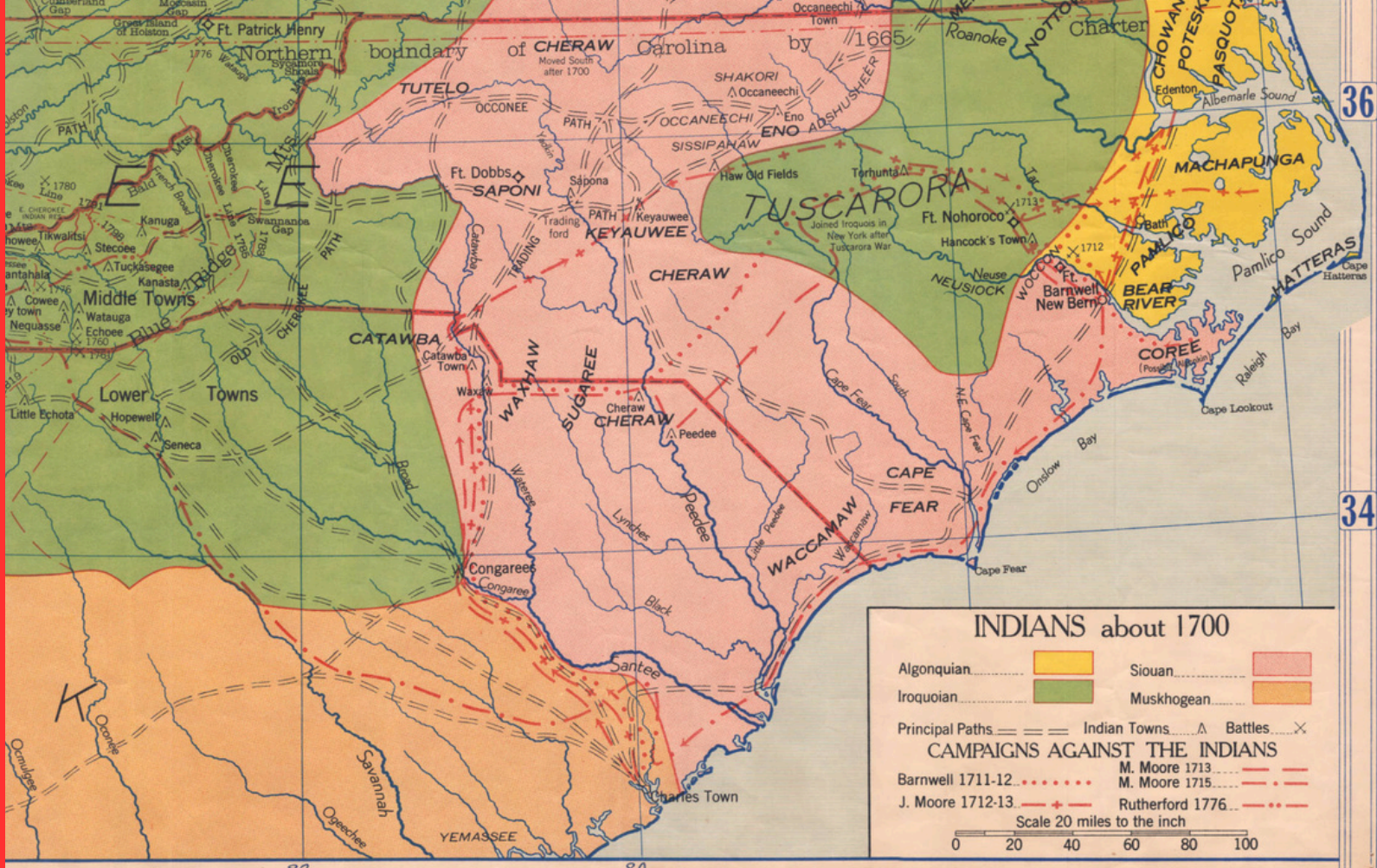


Image courtesy of Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation



American Indian territory map of Southwest, about 1700
Image courtesy of North Carolina Collection

American Indian Population in the North Carolina Piedmont Region: 13,000–8000 B.C. to Early 1700s

The land we know today as Durham and the surrounding region has been home to American Indians since the Paleo-Indian period, approximately 13,000–8000 B.C. [iii] Durham County was home to many Indigenous tribes and communities, the most prominent in the area being the Occaneechi, Eno, and Shakori. [iv]

“In the early 1700s, the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation lived in a bountiful land with little European presence.”[v] Although the Occaneechi did trade with Europeans, they managed to keep their traditional way of life and family structures during this period while facing threats from the North Carolina government and enemies. The Occaneechi moved across lands in what is now North Carolina and Virginia, merging other American Indian communities into their own. [v]

“The Eno Indians were likely one of the loosely related tribes of Siouan-speaking Native Americans living in the Piedmont of what is now North Carolina at the time of European exploration. Little is known about them, and their existence is recorded primarily in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Virginia and North Carolina documents.” [vi]

Colonizers negatively impacted American Indian tribes through exposure to unfamiliar diseases, dispossession, slavery and the introduction of alcohol. [vii] This led American Indians to seek refuge and protection with larger tribes, combining numbers. [viii] The village of Adshusheer, named for its tribe and located near what is now Durham, was one such grouping, incorporating people from the Shakori, Eno and Adshusheer tribes. [ix] Where a few decades earlier explorers found these peoples living independently of one another, by the early 1700s, “at least one group of Shakoris was living with the ‘Eno Indians’ at the town of Adshusheer on the Eno River.” [x]

Although the village of Adshusheer has not been conclusively found, archaeologists have made recent discoveries. Based on these findings, the village of Adshusheer may have been in what is now Duke Forest. [vii] More research needs to be done to confirm whether this is the true location of the settlement.

Two major American Indian trading paths passed through North Carolina. The first of these is the Great Trading Path, also called the Occaneechi Path, which approximately followed what is now I-85 and passed through Durham. [ix] "...with the establishment of a fur trade between Virginians and the Catawba, Cherokee, and neighboring Siouan tribes during the 1670s, it quickly became the primary route of travel and commerce across the North Carolina Piedmont." [ix] This Path and the American Indians who lived, traveled, and traded on it helped mold Durham by establishing settlement sites, transportation routes and environmentally friendly patterns of natural resource use. [x]

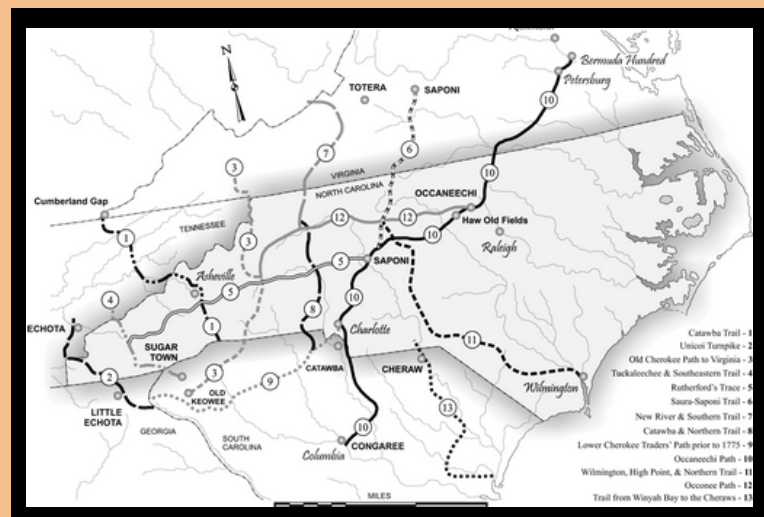
The second major American Indian trading path, the Warrior's Path, was also utilized by tribal groups living in and around Durham. [xi] "The local Siouan tribes, Saponi and [Occaneechi], among others, often acted as the middlemen in the commerce along this path, trading with the Cherokee and Catawba... and then with the Europeans. Long before Europeans came to this part of the world, American Indians traded goods between themselves and other tribes, regularly traveling between settlements." [xi] Once Europeans arrived, the Warrior's Path became a primary route of trading and commerce in the Piedmont area of North Carolina.

Although each American Indian tribe was unique in its culture, language, traditions and beliefs, tribes had common features at the time of European contact. American Indian ways of life reflected values such as collectivism, oral traditions, shared land ownership, and land management and care.

American Indian Way of Life Pre-Colonization: Pre-1700s

There were dozens of American Indian tribes living in North Carolina during the first half of the sixteenth century. [xii] American Indians understood that humans were part of their natural surroundings and valued this connection. [xiii] "Indigenous ways of life and traditions are highly connected to the environment and the foods it provides. Long before their contact with Europeans, Indigenous Peoples populated the Americas and were successful stewards and managers of the land." [xiv] This was also reflected in how American Indians viewed land as belonging to the collective. "Native Americans, did not appreciate the notion of land as a commodity, especially not in terms of individual ownership." [xv]

Spirituality and religion have been and continue to be an important aspect of American Indian life. American Indian writer Vine Deloria Jr., stated in his book *God is Red*, "The planet itself calls to the other living species for relief. Religion cannot be kept within the bounds of sermons and scriptures. It is a force in and of itself. It calls for the integration of lands and people in harmonious unity. The land's weight, for those who can discern their rhythms. The peculiar genius of each continent, each river valley and rugged mountain, the placid lake for all call for relief from the constant burden of exploitation who will find peace with the lands, the future of humankind, lies waiting for those who will come to understand their lives and take up their responsibilities to all living things." [xvi]



Great Indian Trading Path route
Image courtesy of North Carolina Office of Archives and History

The spiritual and physical are viewed as being intricately linked. "Because physical and spiritual health are intimately connected, body and spirit must heal together." Traditional healers who perform ceremonies to restore the body and spirit reflect the concepts of "Spirit, Creator and the Universe." [xvii] These ceremonies can include prayer, songs, stories, chants and sacred objects. [xvii] The locations of these ceremonies are sacred, whether held in Medicine Lodges or other places. [xvii] Medicinal plants are also an important part of the Native American healing process. [xvii] These traditions and knowledge are passed down orally between generations.

Relationships between extended family, members of the tribe and elders have been and continue to be vital to the lives of American Indians. Family lines are matrilineal, or through the mother. [xviii] "Many societies further organized kinship through matrilineal lineages or clans—extended families in which all members could claim descent from a particular ancestor or totem." [xviii] Clans unite members as they are expected to provide hospitality to kin from other villages and cultural knowledge is passed down the clan line. [xviii]

Children were raised by their parents, extended family and the community. As girls grew up, they received training in the growing, preserving and storage of food from their mothers and other female relatives. [xviii] Boys were instructed by their fathers and male family members. [xviii] Children rarely received corporal punishment. [xviii] Shaping behavior was usually done through encouragement and correcting improper behavior. [xviii] Identity was developed through "careful observation and nurturing of individual talents and interests by elders and family members; rites of passage; social and gender roles; and family specializations, such as healers, religious leaders, artists, and whalers." [xiii]

When European colonists began arriving during the 16th century to explore the land settled by American Indians, they brought their contrary beliefs such as patriarchal society, private land ownership, competition for resources, the sanctity of the written word and the conviction that other cultures were inferior to theirs.

Europeans felt it was their duty to force what they saw as an uncivilized society to adopt their beliefs and practices. This led to a drastic change in the way of life for the American Indian population in the United States, including what is now known as the Durham area.

European colonizers who began settling in the United States during the 17th century thought of American Indians as savages who did not have a right to their land despite their rich history, culture and their inhabitation. Over the ensuing centuries, actions by Europeans led to the forced displacement and decimation of American Indian populations, massacring Native populations through war, disease and enslavement. "In British America, there was no greater sense of Otherness than between Europeans and Native Americans. Both Indians and Africans represented the 'other' to white colonists, but the Indians held one card denied to the enslaved Africans—autonomy." [xix]

Relationship Between American Indians and Colonizers: 1600s to Early 1700s

American Indians and Europeans had a complicated relationship. "From a Native American perspective, the initial intentions of Europeans were not always immediately clear. Some Indian communities were approached with respect and in turn greeted the odd-looking visitors as guests." [xx] At times, there was conflict between the two groups, and at other times they traded and worked together. "Initially, there is evidence to suggest that North Carolina's native peoples worked and lived cooperatively with the Europeans, teaching them agricultural techniques for corn, tobacco, and other cultivation as well as fishing and other necessary survival skills. In return, the white settlers offered the Indians manufactured goods from their homeland." [xxi]

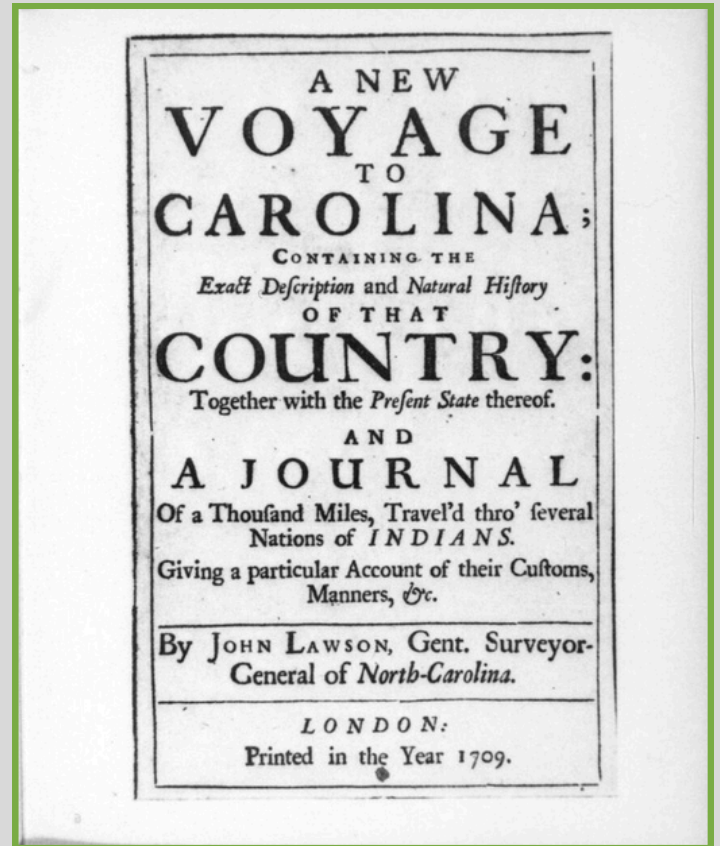
"From a Native American perspective, the initial intentions of Europeans were not always immediately clear. Some Indian communities were approached with respect and in turn greeted the odd-looking visitors as guests."

Seen as sovereign, American Indian nations and the European colonies often operated as peers. "In trade, war, land deals, and treaty negotiations, Indians held power and used it." [xix] This did not prevent the Europeans from taking advantage of American Indians.

Experiences with Europeans differed by tribe. "For many indigenous nations, however, the first impressions of Europeans were characterized by violent acts including raiding, murder, rape, and kidnapping." [xx] American Indians became disillusioned with the Europeans soon after their arrival due to their mistreatment of Indigenous people.

Englishman and explorer, John Lawson detailed in his journals the ways that the American Indians were kinder to the Europeans than the way they were treated by the foreigners. This included American Indians providing the Europeans with food when they were in need, but these actions were not returned in kind. Lawson goes on to acknowledge that they abandoned their homeland to drive out American Indians and possess their land.

The Englishman also noted that Europeans regularly cheated American Indians in trade, selling them goods at inflated prices and introducing them to drunkenness. Lawson wrote that Europeans looked down on the American Indians with scorn and thought the American Indians were "little better than Beasts in Human Shape..." [xix] but did acknowledge about Europeans, "if well examined, we shall find that for all our Religion and Education we possess more Moral Deformities and Evils than these Savages do, or are acquainted withal." [xix]

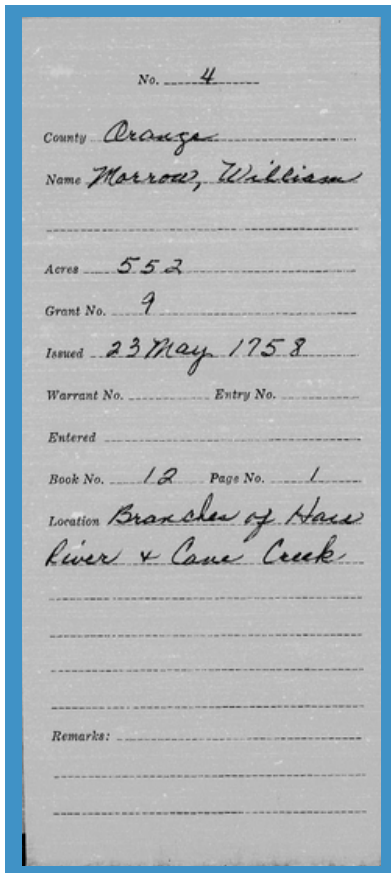


Cover of John Lawson's journal
Image courtesy of University of North Carolina Libraries,
Digital Collections Repository

Colonization: 1600s to 1700s

The land around Durham was abundant and lush, which likely attracted Europeans to the area. "In the early 1700s, an excursion of English passed through the land near what is now Durham, North Carolina and remarked that "They had never seen 20 miles of such extraordinary rich Land, laying all together, like that betwixt the Haw River and the Occoneechee Town." [xxii]

The Europeans developed a system of land ownership that stole territory from American Indians. This was based on the policy of Doctrine of Discovery, in which the fifteenth-century Catholic Church declared that Christian explorers had the right to appropriate lands they "discovered."



NC land grant for Orange County (Durham County was previously part of Orange County)
Image courtesy of the State Archives of North Carolina,
Microfilm call # S.108.947 frame 10

This placed the authority of these lands under the Christian religious leaders in Europe. The 1452, 1455 and 1493 Papal Bulls (official documents issued by a Pope of the Catholic Church) detailed these rights. "The Papal Bulls asserted that any land that was not inhabited by Christians was available to be "discovered", claimed, and exploited. If the "pagan" or "saracen" inhabitants could be converted, they might be spared. If not, they could be enslaved or killed." [xxiii] This doctrine applied to land worldwide. The Doctrine of Discovery "is the basis for all Indian land law in the United States" and all over the world, which continues to negatively impact Indigenous populations in modern times. [xxiii]

The Doctrine of Discovery preceded the land grant system, which originated with King Charles II in 1663. The king gave eight English loyalists the right to distribute land in the Carolinas. [xxiv] Over time, this developed into the land grant process. To obtain a land grant, an individual had to file an application with a government official for the piece of land they sought. After the land office reviewed the application and established that there was no legal opposition, the official authorized a survey of the land.

A surveyor would examine the land parcel, draw a map of the boundaries and report his findings. In the final step, officials would give the applicant the land grant after receiving the required documentation and payment. [xxiv] In contrast with land sharing by the Native people, the land grant process involved several documents including the entry/application, warrant, plat or survey and grant/patents. [xxv]

"With this legal document, all the land and its resources became private property." [xxvi] American Indians began losing land through the creation of a land grant process they were not part of, while building a system of wealth for Europeans.

Europeans settled in the region in the middle of the 17th century. Much of what is known during the early 18th century and about North Carolina's American Indian population is through Lawson's detailed writings. He explored North Carolina and surrounding areas in multiple expeditions between 1700 and 1711, including passing through Adshusheer. Lawson encountered "more than a dozen tribes living throughout the Piedmont" in 1701. [xxvii]

During his travels in 1701, Lawson met a leader of the Eno Indians and associated tribes, Eno-Will. "He was entertained at Occaneechi, then located on the Eno River near Hillsborough, and Adshusheer, a combined Eno, Shakori, and Adshusheer village 14 miles east of Occaneechi." [vi] Lawson found that smallpox had nearly devastated multiple tribes in the Piedmont area, greatly reducing their populations. Outbreaks could destroy whole towns, "without leaving one Indian alive in the Village." [xxvii]

American Indian populations greatly declined after European colonization. About twenty years after Lawson encountered Eno-Will, "North Carolina east of the mountains was essentially cleared for white settlement." [xxvii] "The various strains of European diseases such as smallpox, bubonic plague, typhus, and measles inflicted severe misery upon many Indian tribes, which had no immunity against them." [xxviii] These outbreaks sometimes could wipe out large portions of populations such as nearly half of the Cherokee due to smallpox in 1738. [xxviii]

The American Indian population had never encountered these infectious diseases before the arrival of the Europeans. "It is estimated that 95 percent of the Indigenous populations in the Americas were killed by infectious diseases during the years following European colonization, amounting to an estimated 20 million people." [xxix]

American Indians continued to lose their land to European settlements. Some tribes made treaties with colonial governments, [xxx] leaving for areas further to the west. "Some Indian "tribes" in the coastal and piedmont regions voluntarily relocated in advance of colonial frontier expansion." [xxxi] There were American Indians who fought the Europeans but lost and were forced to leave. Much of this displacement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries throughout Eastern and Central North Carolina was due to "Euro-American and African-American colonists, farmers, slaves and townspeople." [xxxi]

Radical Change to American Indian Ways of Life: 1500s to 1700s

The Europeans brought items from their homeland to the Americas. This included plants like wheat and sugarcane, animals such as horses and cattle, guns, metal tools, Christianity and Roman law. [xxxii]

Before the arrival of Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries, "North Carolina was home to many flourishing communities of indigenous peoples..." [iii] "After the first arrival of Europeans, however, these native cultures changed decisively as natives interacted—sometimes productively but often violently—with European settlers." [iii]

European settlement increased friction between American Indian tribes. [xxi] Europeans' introduction of tools such as metal knives, hoes, guns and ammunition increased American Indians' reliance on these goods. Acceptance of these tools left American Indians open to manipulation from the Europeans, turning tribes against each other for their advantage. Many white traders also charged some American Indians higher prices for their goods which led to bad feelings among the American Indians that led to more clashes.

"Furthermore, providing the Europeans with commodities they demanded—not only material products like deerskins but also human products like the labor enslaved American Indian people—caused tremendous competition among American Indian tribes and often resulted in violence between them. The pressure exerted on the American Indian population by the constant expansion of European colonization also caused many hostile acts on both parts." [xxi]

Battles over land and war among American Indians killed many. Continued contact between the English colonizers and traders caused clashes within the Shakori tribe. "Eno-Will informed Lawson that his affection for the English had alienated the Anglophobes in his tribe, causing him to fear for his life." [vii]

War Between American Indians and Colonizers: Early 1700s

Although the exact reason for its beginning is not known, it is thought that friction between the European colonizers and the American Indians led to the Tuscarora War. "The English systematically enslaved Carolina's native peoples. European farmers occupied Tuscarora hunting grounds, and the Tuscarora found themselves squeezed into less and less land." [xxxiii] Virginia's governor warned the North Carolina governor that, American Indian retaliation was "excusable, since your people have been the first aggressors, by seating without Right on the Lands of which the Indians had first possession." [xxvii] Just before the beginning of the war in 1711, Lawson was executed by the Tuscarora tribe for revenge "against injustices brought by white settlers." [xxiii]



Capture of John Lawson
Photo courtesy of North Carolina Archives and History



Distribution of American Indian Tribes in Southeast, around 1715
Photos courtesy of North Carolina Collection

The Tuscarora attacked settlements in North Carolina to drive out colonists who were backed by the Yamassee tribe, to reclaim their land. American Indians fought on both sides of the war and nearly all tribes in North Carolina were affected. Thousands of American Indians were killed or captured in the war that lasted from 1711 to 1715. American Indians who were captured were enslaved. "By order of the Executive Council of North Carolina, Indians captured in battle by colonial forces were sold into slavery" during the Tuscarora War. [xxvii] The war ended with a treaty signed by members of the remaining North Carolina Tuscarora. [xxxiv] Most Tuscarora then moved to New York, joining the Iroquois Confederacy while some remained in North Carolina, resettling in Bertie County. [xxvii]

Following the 1715-1716 Yamassee War fought by American Indian tribes against British colonists in South Carolina, "the Shakori, who had once lived around Hillsborough, also joined [the Congaree, Sugaree, Wateree, Waxhaw, and other Indians of South Carolina's Piedmont] them. They lived on the North Carolina-South Carolina border south of present-day Charlotte and were the origin of the modern Catawba nation." [xxvii] "The Sara and Eno peoples, who had recently lived in the northern Piedmont of North Carolina, joined with the Cheraw in northeastern South Carolina." [xxvii]

In 1709, prior to the Tuscarora War, the "Saponi and Occaneechee and other groups moved to northeastern North Carolina from the Piedmont to be closer to colonial trade." [xxvii] These same tribes went on to form the Saponi nation in 1714 during the Tuscarora War, later joined by other groups. [xxvii] The Eno disappeared from historical records shortly after 1716. "They were possibly incorporated into the Catawba Nation." [vi] Many American Indian tribes that were once based near Durham were displaced from their homeland and forced into other parts of North Carolina or other East Coast states.

Genocide of American Indians: 1500s to 1900s

In 1550, before the arrival of the first permanent European settlers, more than one hundred thousand American Indians were living in present-day North Carolina. By 1800, that number had fallen to about twenty thousand. [xxviii]

"This biological extermination was only the first wave of atrocity, but it set the stage for the type of relationship that Western settlers would have with a once flourishing ancient civilization. The destruction continued as Western expansion pushed the tribes that remained further and further westward." [xxxv]

The following decades of wars and treaties saw American Indian tribes cede their lands in the second half of the 18th century.

Throughout the 19th century, many in North Carolina were pushed to the western, eastern and southern parts of the state. This is also the time that the United States government began enacting laws and policies designated to eradicate the Native peoples in North Carolina and throughout the country.

In 1819, U.S. Congress “appropriates \$10,000 to pay what it calls people of “good moral character” to help the U.S. eliminate Native military resistance and suppress Native traditional practices.” [xxxv] This includes converting tribes to Christianity, and adopting European styles of dress, housing and farming methods. In 1823, the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Johnson v. McIntosh* that American Indians had a right of occupancy to land and but did not own the land. [xxxvii] This ruling was based on the Doctrine of Discovery.

In 1830, President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act into law. This allowed the president to grant lands west of the Mississippi River in return for American Indian lands within existing states. [xxxviii] As a result, in 1838 and 1839, 17,000 Cherokees from North Carolina were forced west to what is now Oklahoma on a march that became known as the “Trail of Tears”. [xxxix] An estimated 4,000 Cherokee Indians died on the 1200-mile route. [xxxix] The tribe members who stayed in North Carolina eventually established the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. These laws continued with the General Allotment Act or Dawes Act of 1887 through the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, resulting in the loss of more than 90 million acres of land for American Indians. [xl]

When American Indians were forced from their lands, they were forced to adapt to life on reservations with arid land, sedentary lifestyles, government-provided processed foods and eventually federal government provided healthcare. They also lost their active lifestyle, natural food systems and spiritual healing practices. These radical changes continue to have an impact on American Indian populations today.

“By the 1870s, a federally funded boarding school system, consisting of hundreds of schools, began educating generations of Native children far from their tribes and families.” [xxxv] American Indian children were removed from their parents’ custody and had their identities erased. The schools forced the children to assimilate by preventing them from speaking their Native language, cutting their hair and prohibiting practicing any of their traditions or religion. A common phrase related to this policy was, “Kill the Indian, Save the man.” [xli] Physical and sexual abuse were common in these schools along with forced labor. [xxxv] Investigations revealed marked and unmarked burial sites at many of the boarding schools in the United States. [xl]ii]

Jerry Wolfe from the Eastern Band of Cherokee recounts his experience at boarding school, “I went to Cherokee Boarding School when I was eight years old in 1932. I was always very uneasy and uncomfortable at school. It made me feel uneasy in my skin.” [xlii] He went on to say, “... I felt tight in my shoulders for so many years (because of the experience). It was like walking on eggshells. I was a grown man before I let the tenseness go away, before I could open up.” [xlii]

The four North Carolina federal boarding schools were located in Cherokee, Henderson and Randolph Counties and in Valley Towns. The Trinity College Industrial Indian Boarding School in Randolph County was the original site for Trinity College, which moved to a more urban location and later became Duke University in Durham. [xliii] “Duke University still operates the Trinity College of Liberal Arts and Sciences today in Durham.” [xlii] The last of the federal boarding schools closed in the 1960s, leaving behind generational trauma for these populations and communities.

American Indians in North Carolina were successful in establishing their own schools for children. The North Carolina General Assembly passed a law in 1885 that allowed for separate schools. [xliv]

Over the next century, tribes opened additional schools throughout the state. One of the first schools, The Croatan Normal School eventually became the University of North Carolina at Pembroke. [xlv] In contrast to federal boarding schools, “the American Indian Schools were supported by the communities they served and remain a matter of local pride.” [xlv] Efforts are being made to preserve these schools’ history before first-hand knowledge by elders disappears.

American Indians in NC Today: 2000s

The American Indian population is much smaller in North Carolina and the Piedmont area due to the history of forced removal, war, disease and laws meant to eliminate them. “By the early 2000s the Indian population in North Carolina was just under 100,000 people, or approximately 1.24 percent of the total population.” [xlvi] North Carolina is “home to two of the largest Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and the Lumbee Indians, along with a number of smaller recognized tribes and unaffiliated Indian groups.” [xlvi]

The eight recognized North Carolina tribes are the Coharie Tribe, Eastern Band of Cherokee, Haliwa-Saponi Indian Tribe, Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina, Meharrin Indian Tribe, Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, Sappony, and Waccamaw Siouan Tribe. In addition to these eight tribes, there are four Urban Indian Organizations recognized by the North Carolina Government. Those are Cumberland County Association for Indian People, Guilford Native American Association, Triangle Native American Society and the Metrolina Native American Association. [xlvii]

“By the early 2000s the Indian population in North Carolina was just under 100,000 people, or approximately 1.24 percent of the total population.”

Today there are approximately 2,285 American Indian and Alaska Natives living in Durham County and 130,000 in North Carolina. [xlviii],[xlix] The Triangle Native American Society promotes and protects the identity of American Indians living in the Triangle counties of Wake, Johnston, Durham, Orange and Chatham. It also serves as the “official governing body for the Native American population in the Triangle area.” [i] They have a variety of programs including a community garden, social events and are part of the Healthy Native North Carolinians Network. [iv] American Indian communities remain in the state, retaining their culture and identities, which have evolved over time. They continue to be “vital participants in the state’s social, cultural, economic, and political spheres.” [iii]

Slavery as an Economic Tool: 1600s to 1865

Slavery was an economic tool that provided great wealth through forced and free labor by those who were enslaved. Historians have found that “...slavery was central to the US economy: by 1860 the nearly four million enslaved people were by far the country’s most valuable economic asset; valued at approximately \$3.5 billion, they were worth more than all of the country’s manufacturing and railroads combined.” [lii] Slavery as an institution was built on a “system of exploitation, a system of inequality and exclusion, a system where people are owned as property and held down by physical and psychological force, a system being justified even by people who know slavery is morally wrong.” [lii]

Slavery has existed for millennia. In ancient civilizations, the enslaved typically consisted of individuals from other groups who were captured during warfare and sent into indentured servitude for an explicit period of time. In ancient Rome, those who became enslaved “included children born into slavery, people captured in war, individuals who were sold or self-sold into slavery and infants abandoned at birth. Less common were children sold by their parents, people being enslaved for debts or as punishment for crimes and people who were victims of kidnapping and piracy.” [liii]

Those in ancient Rome could gain their freedom in multiple ways such as, "by being included in the census list, through a lawsuit in the presence of a magistrate, or if granted freedom in a master's will." [liii] Enslaved women in ancient Rome also had the option to earn their freedom through marriage. Once freed, these individuals regained their citizenship, but still owed duties to their masters and could not run for public office. [liiii]

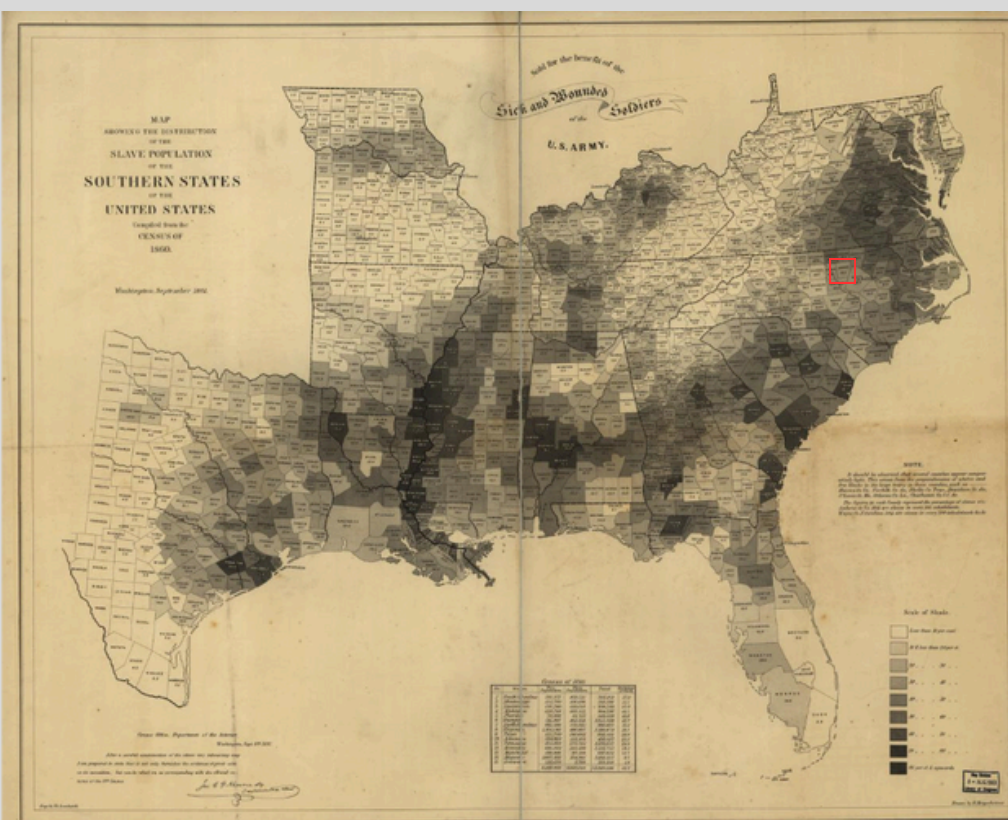
Many tribes captured other tribal members as an outcome of war. Some tribes were also involved with U.S. enslavement. In contrast to slavery in other civilizations, chattel slavery in the United States from the 17th through 19th centuries was different because it was based on race, lasted for life and was hereditary. "What the colonists created was "an extreme form of slavery that had existed nowhere in the world... For the first time in history, one category of humanity was ruled out of the 'human race' and into a separate subgroup that was to remain enslaved for generations in perpetuity." [liv]

The 246-year system of slavery in the United States viewed people as property with monetary value, to be converted into wealth for the owners and the capitalist economy. Slavery was profitable for slaveowners in the South as well as businessmen in the North who profited from the slave trade and investments in plantations. [lv]

"The transformation and cultivation of the land in North Carolina could not have taken place without the farm labor of enslaved West African people, who were taken by force from their homeland from the 1500s through the 1800s. Working from dawn to dusk, enslaved people provided the free farm labor on stolen land that was the basis of the economy and the foundation of the wealth of this nation." [xxii]

Enslavers depended on the labor of the enslaved African and Black workers to build North Carolina's economy. "Enslaved Africans built canals that connected the state's interior piedmont region to coastal ports, underpinning the state's economic development." [lvi]

American Indian land theft and the inability of the enslaved to build wealth due to bondage for centuries serves as the basis for the continued wealth gap between whites, American Indians and Blacks or African Americans in the United States.



No.	States	Free Population	Slave Population	Total	Per-Centage of Slaves
1	South Carolina	301,271	402,541	703,812	57.2
2	Mississippi	354,700	436,696	791,396	55.1
3	Louisiana	376,280	333,010	709,290	47.0
4	Alabama	529,164	435,132	964,296	45.1
5	Florida	78,686	61,753	140,439	43.9
6	Georgia	595,097	462,232	1,057,329	43.7
7	North Carolina	661,896	331,081	992,667	33.4
8	Virginia	1,105,192	490,887	1,596,079	30.7
9	Texas	421,750	180,682	602,432	30.0
10	Arkansas	324,323	111,104	435,427	25.5
11	Tennessee	834,063	275,784	1,109,847	24.8
12	Kentucky	930,223	225,490	1,155,713	19.5
13	Maryland	599,846	87,188	687,034	12.7
14	Missouri	1,067,352	114,965	1,182,317	9.7
15	Delaware	110,420	1,798	112,218	1.6
		8,289,953	3,950,343	12,240,296	32.2

North Carolina Data from Map

Present population- 661,586

Slave population- 331,081

Total population- 992,667

Percentage of slaves- 33.4%

Orange County percentage of slaves- 31.1%

(As Durham County did not yet exist)

Distribution of 1860 enslaved populations in the Southeast
Map courtesy of the Library of Congress

Early Years of Slavery by Europeans in the United States: Early 1600s to 1700s

By the 1600s, the Spanish, English, French, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish and other European nations had trading relationships with West and Sub-Saharan African countries and participated in the kidnapping and transporting of Africans to the Americas. [lvi] This was achieved through the Triangle trade, where European ships sailed to Africa and traded enslaved men, women and children for firearms and goods. These ships would then bring their human cargo to North, Central and South America and the Caribbean. [lvii] The ships would then leave the Americas, returning to Europe with cotton, sugar, tobacco and other crops produced by the enslaved. [lvii]

The trip across the Atlantic was called the Middle Passage. Men forced onto the ships were held in horrific conditions including being forced to lay side-by-side chained to one another and "lie in urine, feces, blood, and mucus, with little to no fresh air." [lvi] An individual who was part of the slave trade, testified that captives "had not so much room as a man in his coffin, neither in length or breadth, and it was impossible for them to turn or shift with any degree or ease." [lvi]

Women and children were not typically chained or held in such tight quarters as the men, but still had to deal with appalling conditions.

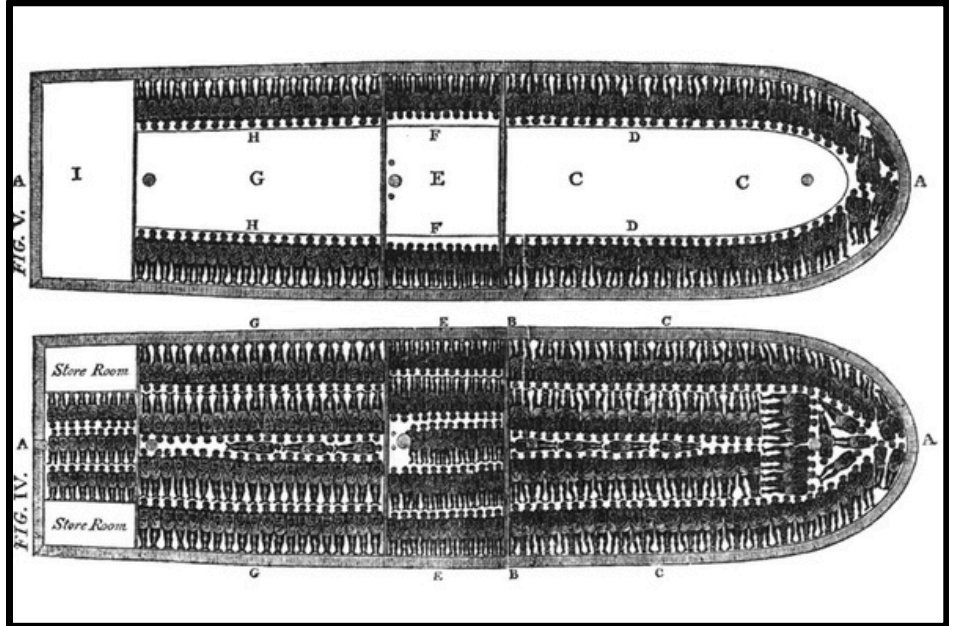


Diagram of slave ship, 1790-1791
Image courtesy of Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History

Africans also had to endure physical and sexual abuse on these voyages. Conditions on these ships were ripe for disease and had mortality rates up to 33%. [lvi] It is estimated that 1.8 million of 12.5 million Africans trafficked during the period of the Transatlantic Slave trade perished during the journey across the Atlantic. [lvi]

The White Lion ship brought 20 enslaved Africans to the shores of the British colony in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. [lviii] This is typically labeled the beginning of chattel slavery in the United States.

Europeans first enslaved American Indians to provide labor on plantations. As the American Indian population was greatly reduced by disease and war, Europeans sought other sources of free labor. "In the 16th and 17th centuries, using land stolen from Indigenous populations in the Americas, Europeans established plantations that relied on enslaved labor to mass produce goods (primarily sugar cane) for trading and sale. The cultivation of sugar for mass consumption became a driving force in the growing trafficking of human beings from Africa." [lvi]

American Indians and Africans were enslaved at the same time in the United States by Europeans. "In the early period of colonization, African and Native Peoples were jointly enslaved, whereby they intermarried and lived through the same struggles." [xxii] American Indian enslavement was frequent in the early colonial period in the Carolinas.

This had largely been phased out on the East Coast by the 19th century as kidnapped Africans replaced American Indians throughout the 18th century. [lix] Enslavement of American Indians continued in the Western part of the United States until the end of the Civil War. [lix] American Indians and enslaved Blacks would continue to have an ongoing relationship due to similar circumstances and proximity, participating in cultural exchanges. [xxii]

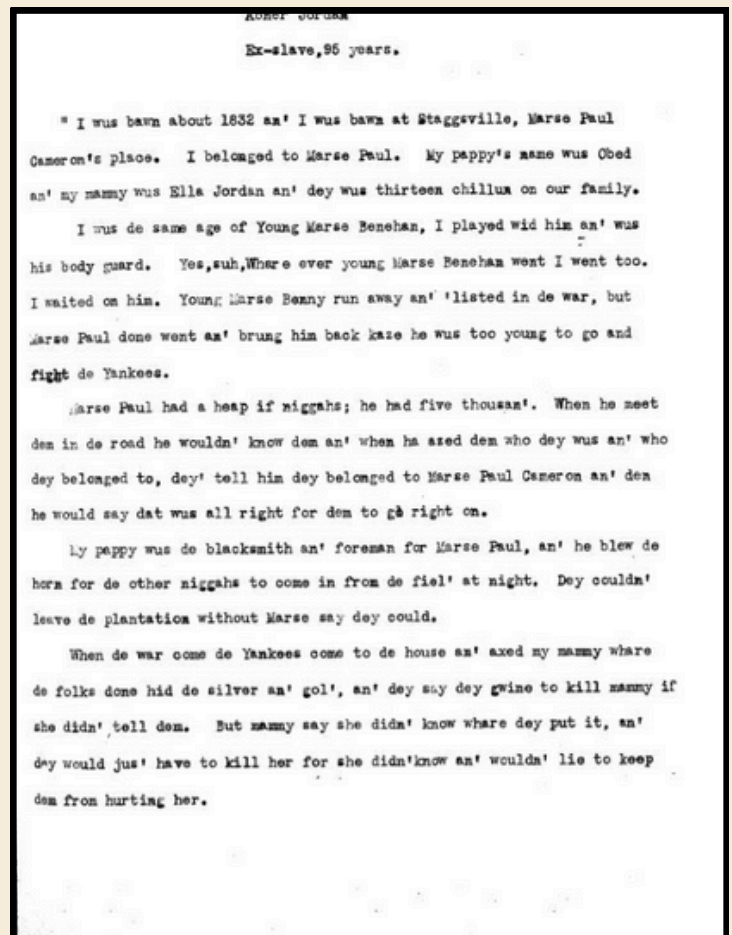
Life for the Enslaved: 1600s to 1865

The Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) captured stories from the formerly enslaved through *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938*. [lx] The full collection has more than 2000 first-person accounts of slavery and hundreds of photos. [lx] This would put the age of most subjects into their 80s and 90s at the time of the interviews. The project includes recounting the enslaved life of several North Carolinians. Though these stories are preserved, historians acknowledge the bias of interview subjects due to the interviewers mainly being white and the possibility that those interviewed changed their accounts because of this. (When the interviewers transcribed the conversations, they often misspelled words and used poor grammar to reflect what was said. Quotes from the WPA used in this report appear as written from the original documents.)

In the Durham County area, enslaved labor predominantly included forced farm work in wheat, corn, rye, and tobacco fields, textile production, housework, child rearing of white children, and industrial work. [lxi]

Between 1771 and 1865, the Bennehan and Cameron families, the enslavers of the Stagville Plantation, profited from the forced labor of enslaved Africans and African Americans at what is now known as Historic Stagville, a state historic site. By the 1860s, the Cameron family heirs controlled over 30,000 acres of land, enslaved over 1,000 people and it was one of the largest sites of mass slavery in North Carolina. [lxi] The Bennehan and Cameron families were like many white farmers in the South who built wealth from stolen land using stolen people. [lxii]

Abner Jordan of Durham, who was 95 years old at the time of his WPA interview, said about his time on the Stagville plantation, "I was bawn about 1832 an' I was bawn at Staggsville, Marse Paul Cameron's place. I belonged to Marse Paul. My pappy's name wus Obed an' my mammy was Ella Jordan an' dey wus thirteen chillum on our family." [lxiii] Jordan goes on to describe his role as being the bodyguard and playing with young Master Bennehan as they were the same age. He recounts that Master Cameron would ask the enslaved he came across on the road who they belonged to and where they were going. At times they answered they belonged to him. They were not allowed to leave the plantation without Cameron's permission. The enslaved were constantly under scrutiny regarding their whereabouts and actions.



Abner Jordan WPA interview transcript
Image courtesy of Library of Congress

Children were not spared and were put to work as well. Cy Hart, 78 years old at the time of his interview, shared that they could work as soon as they were eight years old. He tended to animals such as turkeys and chickens. Hart attended to other livestock as he grew older in addition to whatever else he was told to do.

[lxiv]

The enslaved lived in dreadful conditions, often with few freedoms. Despite this, those enslaved preserved family and African traditions that were passed down from earlier generations. Most slave owners provided only the most extreme basics for their slaves because any extras would cut into profits. [lxv] The average dwelling for those enslaved was usually a basic log, one-room house with dirt floors and fireplaces for heating and cooking. [lxv] There were some exceptions to this, such as the housing provided by Paul Cameron at Horton Grove on Stagville Plantation. [lxvi] However, life for enslaved Black Africans was very difficult. Workdays, especially for those in the field, lasted from sunrise to sunset with Sundays and infrequent holidays off. [lxvi]

Seventy-nine-year-old Durham County resident Fanny Cannady participated in the WPA interviews. She said that Marse Jordan worked those he owned over time and did not give them enough to eat. "Dey didn' have good clothes neither an' dey shoes wuz made out of wood. He had 'bout a dozen ni***** dat didn' do nothin' else but make wooden shoes for de slaves. De chillum didn' have no shoes a tall; de went barefooted in de snow an' ice same as 'twuz summer time. I never had no shoes on my feet 'twell I wuz pas' ten years ole, an' dat wuz after de Yankees done set us free." [lxvii]

To maintain control of their labor force, slave owners often used whipping as a means of punishment and as a way to intimidate others to behave and work hard. [lxv] The enslaved often had to endure other forms of physical abuse such as beatings and sexual assault. "Perhaps the most effective means for controlling the enslaved population was simply the threat of being "sold South." [lxv]



Horton Grove Farm, part of Stagville Plantation
Photo courtesy of North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources

These sales broke up families, separating spouses from one another and children from their parents and siblings. These separations could take place at any time which made this one of the most difficult aspects of being enslaved.

Ben Johnson of Durham County was 85 at the time of his WPA interview. He was born in Orange County and belonged to Mr. Gilbert Gregg near Hillsboro. [lxviii] Johnson shared about the loss of his brother and how it impacted him. "I doan know nothin' 'bout my mammy an' daddy, but I had a brother Jim who wuz sold ter dress young missus fer her weddin'. De tree am still standin' whar I set under an' watch 'em sell Jim. I set dar an' I cry an' cry, 'specially when dey puts de chains on him an' carries him off, an' I ain't neber felt so lonesome in my whole life. I ain't neber hyar from Jim since an' I wonder now sometimes if 'en he's still livin'." [lxviii]

In spite of the difficulties of living in slavery, many found ways to find joy and retain their humanity. "Holidays, religion, family life and music provided an escape from harsh working conditions." [lxix]



Tempie Herndon Durham
Photo courtesy of Library of Congress

In another example, formerly enslaved 103-year-old at the time of her WPA interview Tempie Herndon Durham, recounted her (non-legally binding) wedding to Exeter Durham who belonged to Marse Snipes Durham from an Orange County plantation. They spent the night together but he had to leave the next day to return to his plantation. Tempie and Exeter spent Saturday nights and Sundays together and went on to have 11 children. After the Civil War, they were able to be together all the time and eventually purchased a farm. [lxx]

Not all of those interviewed spoke of their masters negatively. WPA interviewee and Durham County resident Lindsey Faucette (86 years old at the time of interview) said that her Occoneechee Plantation (owned by William Townes in eastern North Carolina and named after the former inhabitants of the land) owners Master John Norwood and Miss Annie were good, “for no better people ever lived in den my Marse John an’ Mis’ Annie.” [lxxi] She went on to say that they never had to work after dark and had nights to play games and sing. In the same interview, Faucette also discusses a white overseer beating a field hand badly. Norwood then went on to make an older enslaved man, Uncle Whitted an overseer instead, which further illustrates the complexities of chattel slavery.

Rebellion and Resistance: 1600s to 1865

Rebellion and resistance were common throughout the entire history of American slavery. Those enslaved fought against their oppressors on the Middle Passage. Africans would attempt mutinies, capturing ships to try and return to their homeland. Other paths to resistance on the ships included refusing to eat, jumping overboard while the ship was in transit or ending one’s life using other methods. [lxxii]

“Although their freedom was denied by the law, enslaved African Americans used a wide variety of strategies to contest the authority of slaveholders and to assert their right to control their own lives. Slaveholders depended on involuntary labor to keep their businesses solvent, and enslaved workers often used work slowdowns and absenteeism to negotiate some of the terms of their labor. Many enslaved African Americans defied the slave system by leaving it.” [lxxiii]

North Carolina’s legislature enacted the use of slave patrols in 1802 to recapture those who had escaped. [lxxiv] Slave patrols in each county were given the authority to search anyone’s property to find enslaved individuals on the run. Plantation owners used another technique to get back runaways, advertising in local newspapers to recoup their financial loss. The North Carolina Runaway Slave Advertisements included the “slave’s name, age, height, and skin color, description of clothing, physical description, and personality traits.” [lxxv]

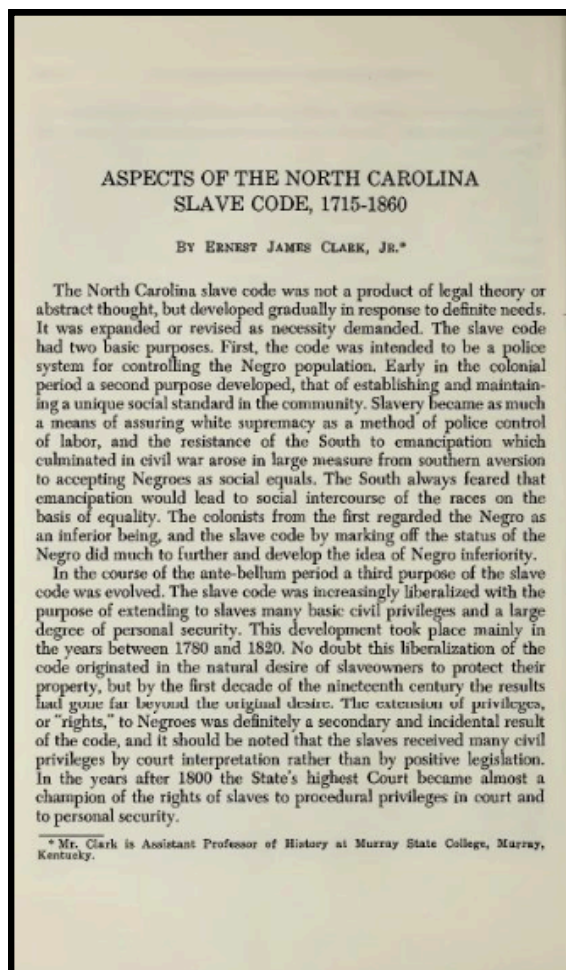
“The system worked well enough for 246 years in America. It worked poorly enough that increasingly restrictive Slave Codes had to be written to keep the human property under control.” [lxxvi] North Carolina did not have any recorded major revolts in the antebellum era, but large-scale revolts took place in the neighboring states of South Carolina and Virginia.

Due to fear of uprisings and the loss of investments for slaveowners due to escapes, the North Carolina General Assembly passed "black codes" in 1829 to constrain the behavior of the enslaved and free African Americans. The North Carolina General Assembly expanded on these restrictions for those enslaved in 1831 after the Nat Turner-led rebellion killed dozens of slaveowners and whites in Southern Virginia.

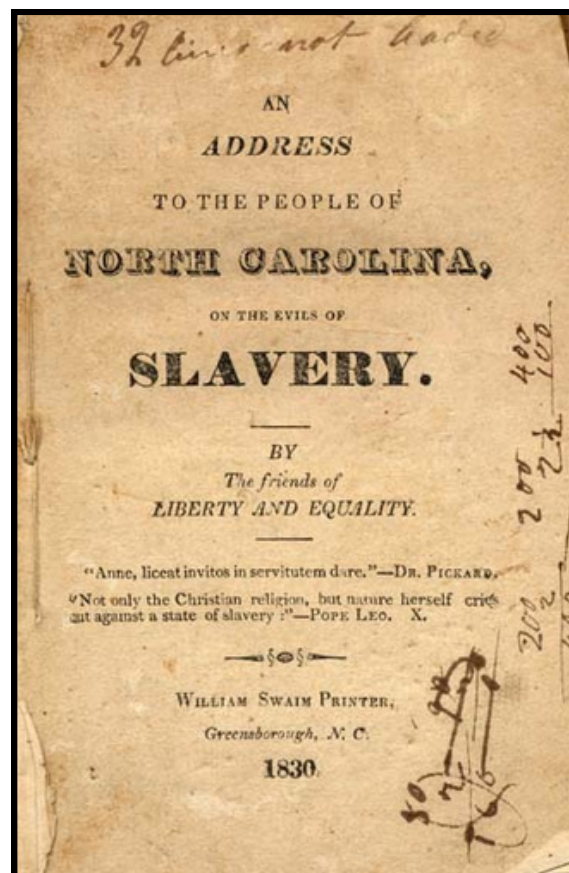
North Carolina's slave codes included clauses such as the enslaved not being allowed to carry a gun or weapons, only being allowed to leave a plantation or seat of land with written permission from their owner or overseer, being beaten for teaching another enslaved person to read or write, and not being allowed to hire out their own time or skills for employment. [lxxv]

Between the 1830s and 1860s, the abolition movement gained strength in the United States. Formerly enslaved people worked with Quakers and whites who believed slavery was evil and needed to be eradicated. The main antislavery organization in the state, the North Carolina Manumission Society, was formed in 1816 in Guilford County with membership from across the state. [lxxvi] Although the organization broke up in 1834 due to legal and other pressures, some members began working with the Underground Railroad to help the enslaved escape to freedom.

Fracturing between the Northern and Southern states of the United States related to views on states' rights, territorial expansion and slavery led to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. [lxxvii] South Carolina was the first state to secede, stating the reason as "an increasing hostility on the part of the non-slaveholding states to the institution of slavery..." [lxxviii] The document went on to declare that the election of Abraham Lincoln would initiate new policies hostile to the South. Ten states would follow South Carolina in seceding from the Union. Due to disagreements and conflicting ideas about leaving, North Carolina was one of the last states to secede from the Union in May 1861. [lxxv]



Text from North Carolina Slave Codes, 1715-1860
Image courtesy of North Carolina Digital Collections



Manumission Society of North Carolina brochure, 1830
Image courtesy of University Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill



Grounds at Bennett Farm
Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress

End of Chattel Slavery: 1865 to 1968

“When the Civil War began, nearly 1 out of every 3 people in Orange and Durham Counties was enslaved.” [lxii] Union and Confederate forces fought many battles in North Carolina between 1861 and 1865. President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, declaring all held as slaves in the 11 seceded states were now and in the future, freed. [lxxix] Lincoln enacted this strategy to motivate freed Black people and those enslaved to support the Union’s efforts. After January 1, 1863, Black men were able to join the Union Army and Navy and fight for their freedom. [lxxix] The Proclamation could not be enforced without a Union victory.

Seventeen days after General Lee surrendered his army at Appomattox, Union General Sherman and Confederate General Johnston negotiated the largest surrender in April 1865 which ended the Civil War at Bennett Farm in Durham. [lxxx] Chattel slavery was outlawed with the passage of the 13th amendment in December of 1865 except for individuals convicted of crimes. Freed men and women received citizenship rights with the passage of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, which granted equal protection and the right to vote. [lv]

After talking with Black ministers in the South about their needs following the end of the Civil War, General William T. Sherman signed Field Order 15 in January 1865. [lxxxi]

This order was intended to transfer 400,000 acres of Confederate-owned land on the Southeast coast of Georgia, South Carolina and Florida to the formerly enslaved. [lxxxii] Once divided evenly among the 1,000 formerly enslaved individuals, each would receive approximately 40 acres. When some of those freed received mules from the army (although not included in the order), this order became known as “40 acres and a mule.” [lxxxii]

U.S. Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Land or the Freedman’s Bureau in 1865 to assist the refugee population of “four million formerly enslaved individuals transition to freedom and citizenship.” [lxxxii] The Freedman’s Bureau “provided food, clothing, medical care, and legal representation; promoted education; helped legalize marriages; and assisted African American soldiers and sailors in securing back pay, enlistment bounties, and pensions.” [lxxxii] In North Carolina, the Freedman’s Bureau helped integrate 350,000 freed persons into daily life, mainly between 1865 and 1868. [lxxxiii]

President Andrew Johnson overturned Field Order 15 in April 1865, returning the 400,000 acres to the plantation owners. [lxxxii] The Freedman’s Bureau was dissolved in 1872 and reconstruction in the South ended in 1877. These efforts to address past harms ceased due to political opposition, funding issues and whites who wanted to maintain the caste system where Blacks remained at the bottom of the social order.

Other than the services provided during the period of Reconstruction, Blacks and African Americans who had been enslaved and their descendants did not receive any payment for their forced labor or the inability to build wealth for 246 years. While some Blacks were able to purchase land after the Civil War, "Most, however, had no land to pass on, which prevented them from accumulating multi-generational wealth..." [lxxxi] Results of this are seen today in the racial wealth gap between Blacks and whites, which greatly impacts health outcomes. Wealth and income are large predictors of one's health status.

Through the implementation of systems of sharecropping, forced labor for those imprisoned and the enforcement of racial apartheid Jim Crow laws in the South, which ignored the 14th and 15th amendments, Blacks and African Americans were not allowed to fully participate in American society. American Indians were also subjected to Jim Crow laws. "...Generally states categorized Indians as colored and had separate provisions for them in Jim Crow statutes insisting intermarriage with African-Americans had tainted their Indian blood. States usually closed white facilities to Native people and refused to record them as Indian on official documents." [lxxxiv]

Native Americans born within the territory of the country were granted U.S. citizenship and the right to vote in 1924 through the Indian Citizenship Act. [lxxxv] As the "first peoples of this country, they are the last to receive citizenship." [lxxxvi]

Although there was a twelve-year period (1865-1877) of reconstruction in the South following the war, the promise of full citizenship for Blacks and African Americans did not occur until the passage of the Civil Rights, Voting and Fair Housings Acts between 1964 and 1968. President Johnson signed the Indian Civil Rights Act in 1968, which prevented tribal governments from developing or enforcing laws that violated rights contained in the United States Bill of Rights. [lxxxvii] This act also gave federal courts the authority to intervene in intratribal disputes, which is power they had not previously held. [lxxxviii]

Blacks and African Americans and American Indians have fought for their rights throughout the history of the United States continuing through today. They continue to make significant contributions to North Carolina's economy, politics and culture, while fighting to hold the United States accountable to the promise written in its Declaration of Independence, "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights..." [lxxxix]

Conclusion

Forced labor, land theft and the displacement of people were used to develop the country's economy and served as the foundation for the systems that were later created. The hierarchy of individuals was built into the structure of American society before it became a country. This race-based hierarchy granted advantages and rights to some populations over others.

Established norms allowed for groups to be displaced from their land, forced to provide free labor and prohibited autonomy over their lives and bodies. Groups such as American Indians and Blacks or African Americans were left out or intentionally harmed in the ways policies, laws and practices have been designed over time. The systems were created with inequities and continue to perpetuate these inequities on the same populations, generations later. The impact of these systems, laws and practices can be seen in health outcomes today. Present day individuals may not be responsible for building these systems but do have a role in dealing with the impacts.

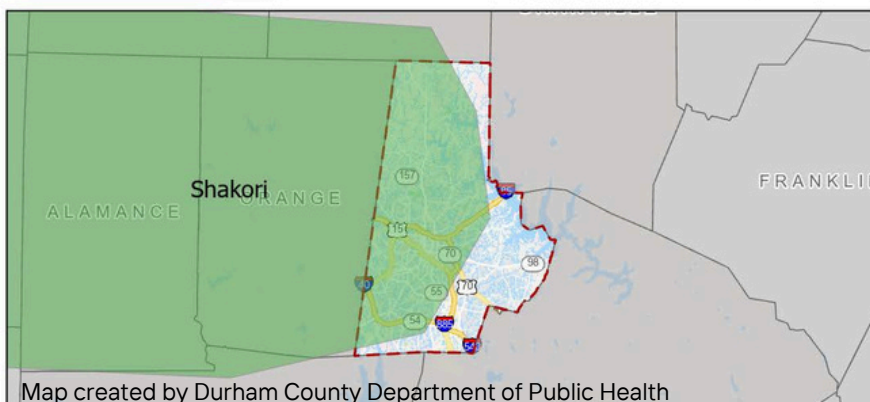
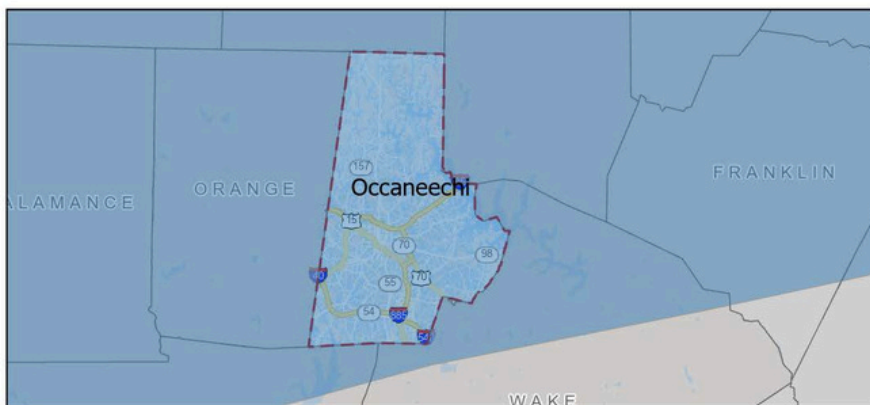
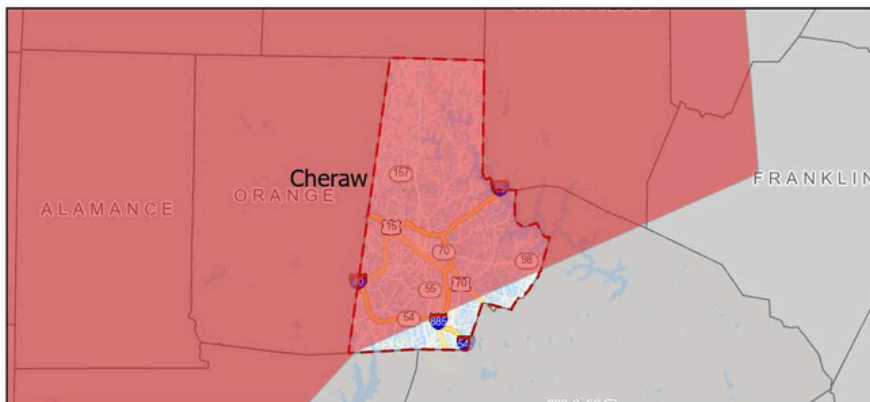
See page 23 for current health data. It is important to keep in mind how the country's and North Carolina's past affect the inequities shown.

Colonization, Displacement and Slavery Data

Capturing data on the Native American population is challenging due to the complexity and lack of clarity in available data from the American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau and other sources. Historically, Durham's population was primarily composed of First Nations people from the 16th century through the mid to late 17th century. With the increase in European colonizers, this population sharply declined. As of 2023, Native Americans make up only 0.7% of Durham County's population. ([U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 1-Year Estimate](#))

"Too often, discourse about American Indians discusses members of these communities as if they are people of history alone. While history is foundationally important to many Native cultures, and we owe much to the history of the tribes and communities of the land on which we live today, Native American people currently make up approximately 2% of the U.S. population. North Carolina is home to more American Indians than any state in the Eastern United States. And people of Native American descent are disparately affected by adverse social determinants of health such as poverty, limited formal education, limited access to care, and disability." ([North Carolina Medical Journal: American Indian Health in North Carolina](#))

Predominant Native Tribes in Durham pre 1700s

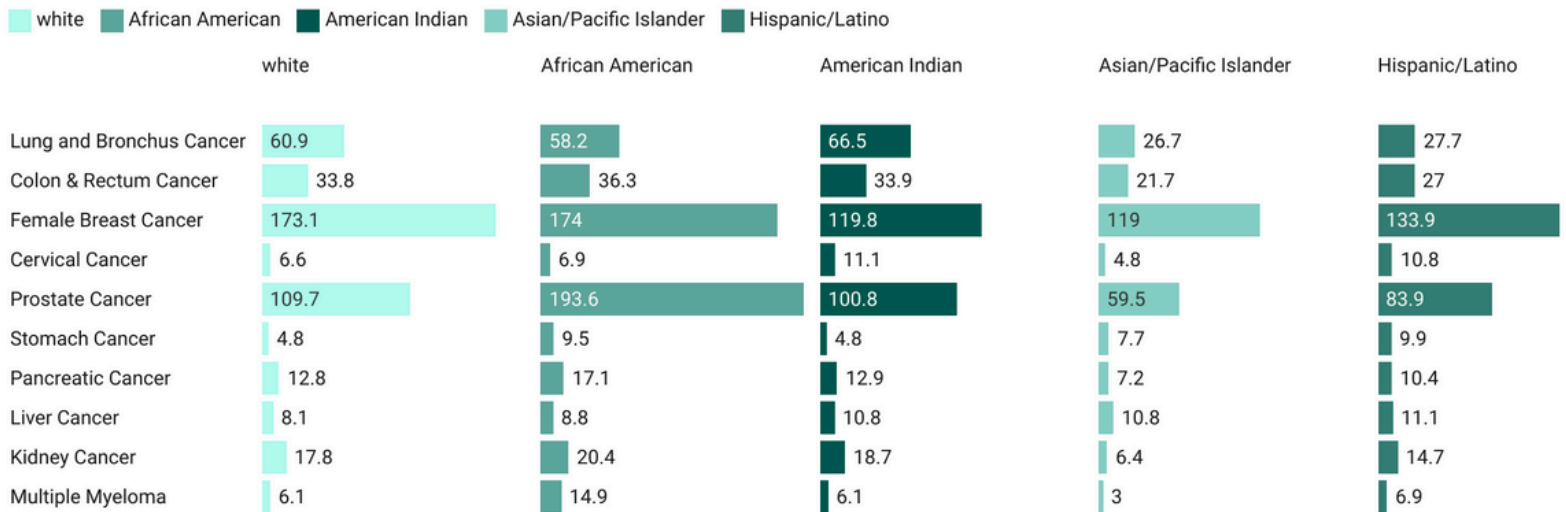


Map created by Durham County Department of Public Health
Source: [Native Land](#)

The Shakori, Occaneechi, and Cheraw tribes once roamed the Durham area, fostering a deep relationship with the land. They relied on its natural resources for sustenance, cultivating crops and hunting in ways that reflected their knowledge of the environment. Through their careful stewardship, they helped maintain the balance of the ecosystems they depended on, shaping the landscape with practices that were in tune with the rhythms of nature. Their presence and influence remain a significant part of Durham's history.

American Indians continue to be resilient, drawing strength from traditions and kin. "Their resilience is built through culture, spirituality, shared values, and a strong sense of identity. Culture serves as a protective factor in the health and well-being of American Indian and Alaska Native people." ([Centers for Disease Control and Prevention](#))

Cancer Incidence Rates, 2018-2022 North Carolina



Cancer incidence rates are per 100,000 resident population. Denominators are estimates for 2018-2022 based on Vintage 2018-2022 (Postcensal) population estimates
 Chart: Durham County Department of Public Health • Source: <https://schs.dph.ncdhhs.gov/data/minority.cfm> • Created with Datawrapper

This graph presents cancer incidence rates per 100,000 people across different racial and ethnic groups in North Carolina from 2018 to 2022. It highlights variations in cancer types, with certain groups showing higher incidence rates for specific cancers. For example, African Americans have notably higher rates of prostate cancer (193.6) compared to other groups, while American Indians have the highest incidence of lung and bronchus cancer (66.5), colon & rectum cancer (33.9) and cervical cancer (11.1). Due to the challenges in collecting data for the American Indian population, this data is only available at the state level.

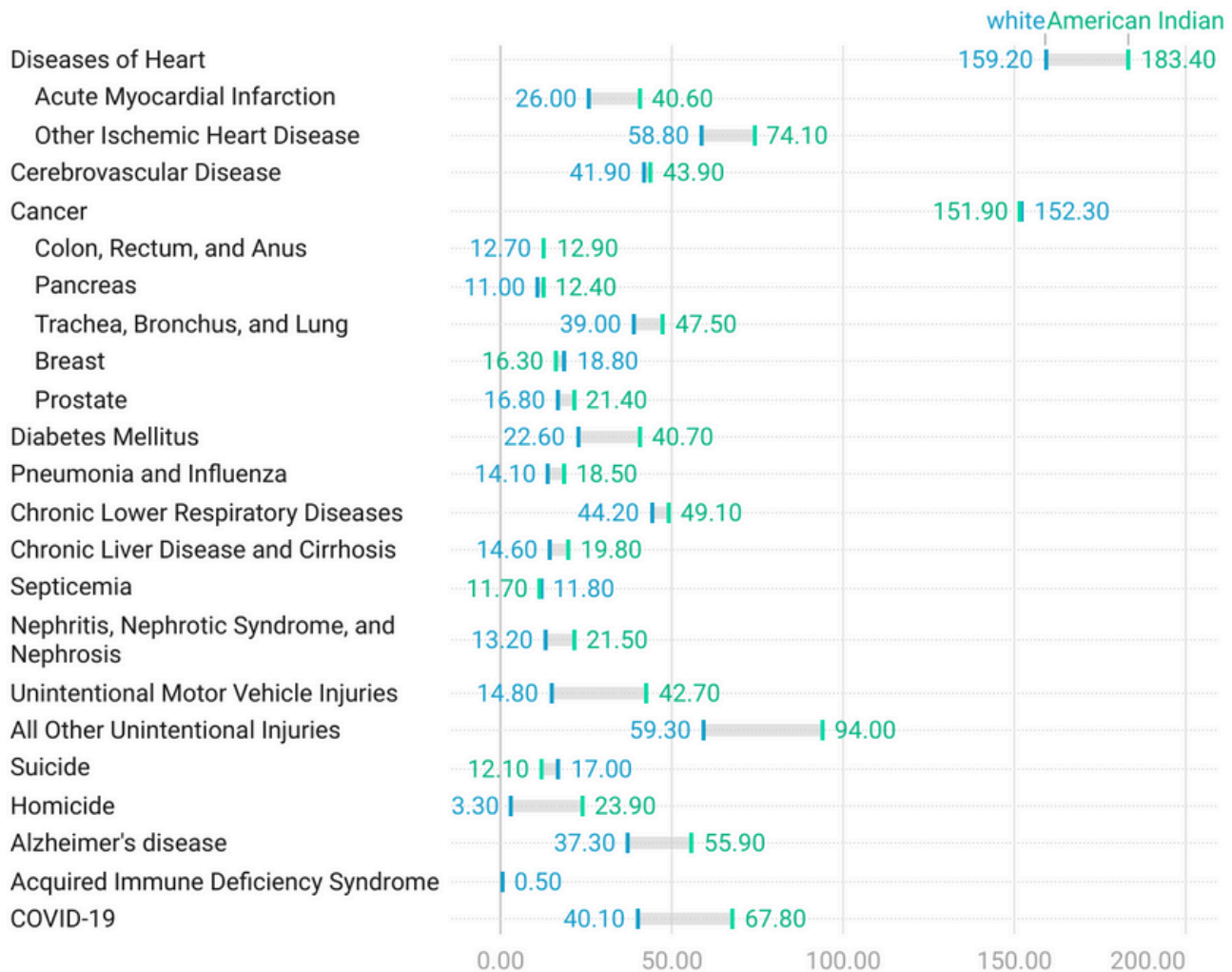
Although whites have the highest overall incidence rates of cancer, Black or African Americans and American Indians have higher death rates. ([National Cancer Institute](#)) Inequities in cancer incidences and deaths can be traced to barriers to accessing quality healthcare, bias from healthcare providers, living in neighborhoods that lack healthy foods or safe places to be active and institutional racism and the chronic stress it causes. ([National Cancer Institute](#))

According to the Kaiser Family Foundation, "Today's health and health care disparities are rooted in a long history of U.S. policies and events and reflect the ongoing impacts of racism at multiple levels, including in systems, structures, policies, and interpersonal interactions." ([Kaiser Family Foundation](#)) Life expectancy for Blacks or African Americans is "nearly five years shorter compared to White people (72.8 years vs. 77.5 years)." ([Kaiser Family Foundation](#))

In spite of this, research has also found that, "African Americans as a population show the sustained ability to survive an evolving array of social, economic and environmental adversities that date back to more than a century before the founding of the United States." ([Ethnicity & Disease](#))

For more information about Durham County health data, health inequities and assets, see the [2023 Durham County Community Health Assessment Executive Summary](#) and full [2023 Durham County Community Health Assessment report](#).

2018-2022 NC Resident Race/Ethnicity-Specific and Sex-Specific Age-Adjusted Death Rates



When looking at all cause death rates the white population had a rate of 840 while the American Indian population had a rate of 1043 which is an increase of 19.47%

Chart: Durham County Department of Public Health • Source: North Carolina State Center for Health Statistics • Created with Datawrapper

This graph compares mortality rates per 100,000 people between the white population and the American Indian population across various causes of death. For all causes combined, the mortality rate for the American Indian population is significantly higher at 1,043.7, compared to 840.0 for the white population.

This trend is consistent across specific causes of death, such as heart disease (183.4 for American Indians vs. 159.2 for whites) and acute myocardial infarction (40.6 for American Indians vs. 26.0 for whites). These differences highlight notable disparities in health outcomes between the two groups. At the national level, American Indians and Alaska Natives have the lowest life expectancy at birth of all race and ethnic groups in the U.S., 67.9 years compared to 77.5 for non-Hispanic whites. ([U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office of Minority Health](#))

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), "Ongoing and historical trauma—due to colonization, genocide, forced migration, and cultural erasure—contribute to health inequities... American Indian and Alaska Native people often experience discrimination or racism. They also often face systemic barriers to care, including higher rates of poverty and longer distances to quality health care services." ([Centers for Disease Control and Prevention](#))

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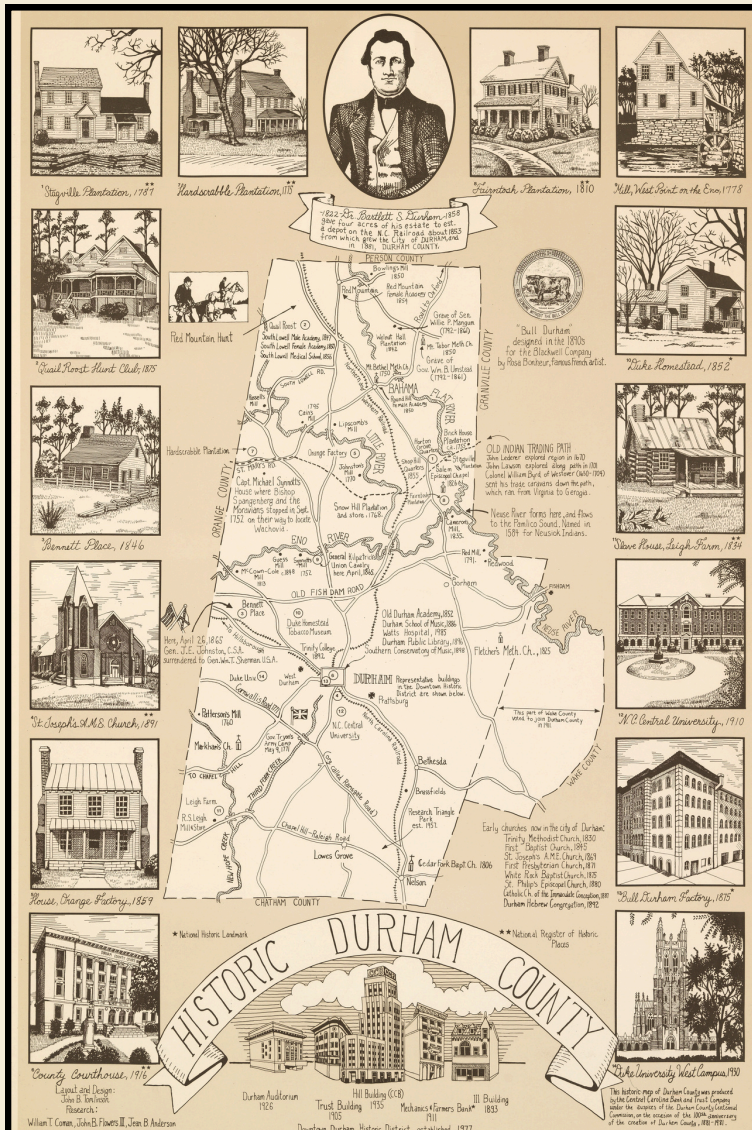
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HOUSING

Introduction

Housing significantly impacts health. “The places where people live, work, learn, play, age, and pray can have significant effects on individual and community health outcomes. This includes, for example, homes, schools, workplaces, places of worship, grocery stores, transportation infrastructure, green spaces, and playgrounds.”[i] Key factors such as quality of housing, housing costs relative to income, walkability, neighborhood safety and environmental exposures such as incinerators or lead exposure play crucial roles in the health of individuals and communities.

It is essential that all Durham County residents have access to quality, safe and affordable housing that supports health and well-being. Historical and contemporary laws, policies, and practices have systematically prevented people of color from the same housing opportunities as the white population. This has resulted in housing inequities across the U.S. and locally. This section of the report will focus on the history of housing in Durham.



Historic Durham County poster

Image courtesy of Durham County Library/North Carolina Collection

Land and Housing: 1700s to 1865

Durham County was home to a number of American Indian tribes and communities such as the Eno, Shakori and Occaneechi.[ii] In the 1700s, European settlers primarily Scots, Irish and English colonists arrived, subjecting Native Americans in the area to violence and forced removal. “White European colonialists used violence, terror, and a foreign legal system to claim Native homelands.”[iii]

“An English man would select vacant land and apply for it through government officials with a description of his selected plot.”[iv] The process involved land surveys to determine the borders and landscape of the desired plot. If all the paperwork was completed correctly and submitted, the applicant received a grant for their land. “With this legal document, all the land and its resources became private property.”[iii] Before Europeans arrived and established the land grant practice, private land ownership in this manner did not exist.

This paved the way for European colonizers to own land and thereby real estate and property. The Bennehan and Cameron families profited from the forced labor of enslaved Africans and African Americans at what is now known as Historic Stagville.[v] In the area now known as northern Durham County, William Johnston purchased land to build the Snow Hill plantation.[vi]



City of Durham map, 1891
Image courtesy of Durham County Library/North Carolina Collection

Development of Durham Neighborhoods: 1865-early 1900s

After the end of the Civil War in 1865, the City of Durham was officially incorporated in 1869 and Durham County in 1881. By the late 1800s, the largest Durham landowners were the Duke, Mangum and Parrish families, and Julian Carr and Robert F. Morris. [iii] These landowners built fortunes investing in tobacco, textiles and real estate.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the working-class white population primarily settled near the textile mills in west and east Durham. [iii] The end of the Civil War and enslavement led to a period of migration by Black freedmen and freedwomen from plantations like Stagville, Massey and Rone toward and into Durham. [vii] Black residents in the City of Durham lived in six main areas: Brookstown, Hickstown, Walltown, West End, East End and Hayti. [viii] More than half of the Black population in Durham lived in the Hayti neighborhood. [iii]

Hayti extended along Fayetteville, Pettigrew and Pine Streets. In the first half of the 20th century, Hayti had about 5,000 residents, including a large Black middle-class, many of whom attended the Historically Black College or University (HBCU) N.C. Central University (then North Carolina College of Negroes). During this time, Black residents in the City of Durham boasted the highest rates of home ownership and per capita income in the nation. [ix]

It is important to note that much of the Black wealth in Durham was shared among a few business elite, rather than distributed throughout the population. Due to economic discrimination, the wealth of whites in Durham far outweighed that of the Black elites.

Even though Black home ownership was high relative to Black populations in other cities, there was a wide disparity in Durham housing conditions between the wealthy and poor Black families of Durham. The Black elite had better housing, and neighborhoods like Hayti had rows of beautiful homes with indoor plumbing and electricity. This was in direct contrast to homes one street over that were dilapidated with outhouses. Income is a major influence on quality of housing one is able to afford.

“Many white workers received subsidized housing and other support from their employers.” [iii] Non-financial support in Durham mill villages included churches, schools, recreation centers and stores. [iii] Employers who provided these benefits to their employees also had the power to fire and evict them if they found their conduct to be improper. Despite low wages, these families had more opportunities for “upward mobility and homeownership than Black workers.” [iii]

White employees in industries such as tobacco made three times the salary as Black workers.[iii] Because they were paid less, many Black families were forced to live in cheaper, lower quality housing. Some of these homes utilized outhouses or were made with materials from demolished buildings.[iii] These conditions could increase risk for disease for occupants due to lack of sanitation infrastructure and environmental exposures from building supplies.

Throughout the Jim Crow era (1877-1968), “Black workers in racially segregated neighborhoods, however, dealt with some of the worst housing conditions in the city.”[iii] Before the advent of public water and sewer systems, the most sought after “urban real estate was located in the high and dry areas.” [viii] Black neighborhoods were vulnerable to flooding due to their location in low lying areas and as a result were called “the bottoms.”[viii] These areas had contaminated creeks and a risk for malaria.[x] “Black neighborhoods contained more garbage incinerators and unpaved roads than white neighborhoods, and they received sewer lines later.”[iii]

Luke Cameron, a formerly enslaved individual and his brother, Abner Banks, purchased land near Morehead Avenue in the late 1860s. This street was named Cameron Street in honor of them (now Carroll Street). [lxx] Not long after, the City of Durham established Maplewood Cemetery which, “subjected Cameron Street to water runoff and constant flooding.” [lxx]

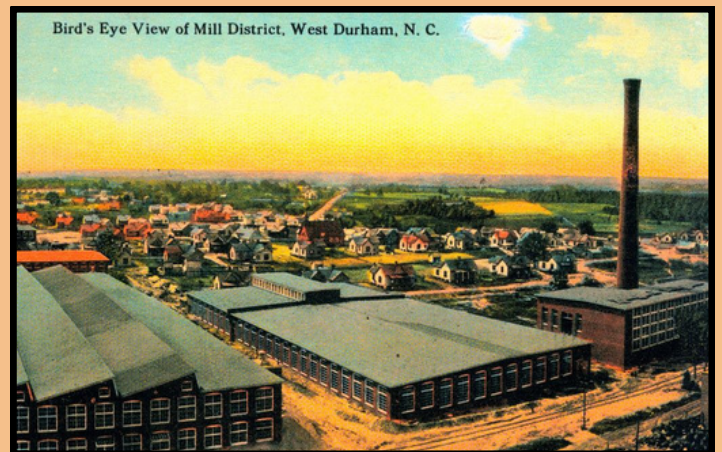
Despite the structural inequities and placement in vulnerable locations for many Black neighborhoods, life was vibrant and active. Noted Durham activist Pauli Murray wrote of observing the neighborhood from her grandparents’ house on a hill, “life flowed gustily through the Bottoms and there was a continual uproar of shouting children, barking dogs, bellowing cows, and people hollering back and forth across the low ground, but we were never a part of it.”[xi]

Founded by Julian Carr, AB Andrews and Richard H. Wright, the Durham Consolidated Land and Improvement Company purchased just under 300 acres in what is now the Trinity Heights and Walltown neighborhoods.[iii] Advertisements in the 1890s listed amenities of the lots such as “fine views, are high and dry, with excellent natural drainage and easy of access to the centre of Durham...[sic]”[vi]

When additional transportation became available in Durham through car ownership and public transportation such as streetcars, “new high status white neighborhoods formed the first ring of suburbs, including Forest Hills, Hope Valley, Watts Hospital-Hillandale, and Duke Forest.”[viii] These neighborhoods are located on the edges of what is now considered downtown Durham.



900-1000 Willard St. 1960s, part of “the bottoms”
Photo courtesy of University of North Carolina/Open Durham



Mill #4 and village in 1910s
Image courtesy of John Schelp/Open Durham

Unequal Housing Policies: Early 1900s to 1940s

With the termination of chattel slavery in the American South, Black people were given citizenship rights through the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution which included the ability to own land. In the ensuing decades, Black land ownership in Durham increased.

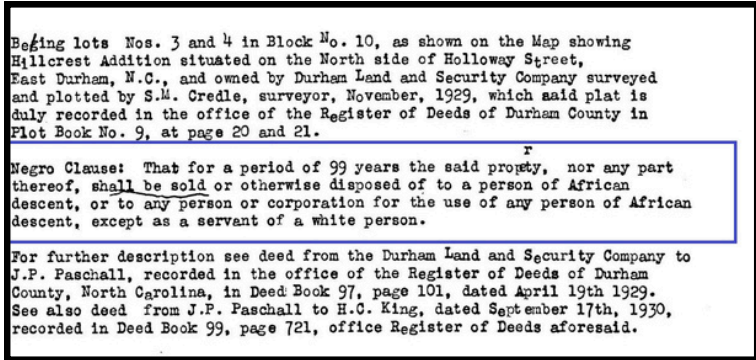
In spite the racism and the systems of oppression of the Jim Crow South, a middle-class African American community in Durham grew and thrived. Several wealthy Black businessmen built and financed housing for Black workers in Durham. John Merrick, Richard Fitzgerald, R.L. McDougald, W.G. Pearson and C.C. Spaulding founded banks, insurance companies, businesses and factories.[iii] They reinvested their profits into real estate to become landlords and property owners in neighborhoods such as Hayti and Stokesdale. As white owned banks refused to do business with Blacks or African Americans, Black owned banks provided loans to these five individuals, whose real estate and property purchases helped establish the Black middle-class in Durham.

The U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1926 that racially restrictive covenants did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment in their *Corrigan v. Buckley* decision.[x] The justices determined that the covenants were legally binding contracts between individuals. Racial deed restrictions (a type of legal document that lists racially restrictive covenants) prevented the use or purchase of homes for people of a given race, ethnic origin and/or religion. Language from one Durham County property deed with a racially restrictive covenant included, "That the premises shall not be owned or occupied by negroes or persons of negro blood, provided that this shall not be construed to prevent the living upon the premises of any negro who is employed for domestic purposes by the occupants of the dwelling on said land." [xi]

These covenants excluded Black Durhamites from buying homes in neighborhoods such as Forest Hills, Duke Forest, Hope Valley, Watts Hospital-Hillandale and Northgate Park among others.

"These deed restrictions allowed for newer housing developments to be guaranteed for white landowners while Black residents and families continued to confront dismal conditions in the limited housing stock available to them." [iv] "From then to today, real estate agents often "steered" clients away from certain housing based on their race." [iv] Over time, the values of homes in white neighborhoods have increased at significantly higher rates than homes in predominately communities of color.

The U.S. Supreme Court determined these covenants violated the Constitution in 1948, but they continued to be included in deeds until the passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968. [xii] Although they are no longer legally enforced, these covenants can still be found on deeds in Durham and around the country, serving as historical records. Neighborhoods where these covenants were legal such as Duke Forest, Watts Hospital-Hillandale, Forest Hills and Hope Valley neighborhoods range from 80-92% white (Zitta, John-Paul, personal communication, March 4, 2024). The current demographic makeup of these neighborhoods is the legacy of racially restrictive covenants.



Beginning lots Nos. 3 and 4 in Block No. 10, as shown on the Map showing Hillcrest Addition situated on the North side of Holloway Street, East Durham, N.C., and owned by Durham Land and Security Company surveyed and plotted by S.M. Credle, surveyor, November, 1929, which said plat is duly recorded in the office of the Register of Deeds of Durham County in Plot Book No. 9, at page 20 and 21.

Negro Clause: That for a period of 99 years the said property, nor any part thereof, shall be sold or otherwise disposed of to a person of African descent, or to any person or corporation for the use of any person of African descent, except as a servant of a white person.

For further description see deed from the Durham Land and Security Company to J.P. Paschall, recorded in the office of the Register of Deeds of Durham County, North Carolina, in Deed Book 97, page 101, dated April 19th 1929. See also deed from J.P. Paschall to H.C. King, dated September 17th, 1930, recorded in Deed Book 99, page 721, office Register of Deeds aforesaid.

Image courtesy of Durham County Register of Deeds

The text in the above racial deed covenant from the Hillcrest Addition neighborhood (located on the north side of Holloway Street) reads as follows:

Negro Clause: That for a period of 99 years the said property, nor any part thereof, shall be sold or otherwise disposed of to a person of African descent, or to any person or corporation for the use of any person of African descent, except as a servant of a white person.

Starting in 1933, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation created redlining maps to color code neighborhoods to indicate their risk levels for insuring mortgages. The U.S. Federal Housing Authority later adopted this framework to make decisions on home loan approvals disadvantaging Black and other communities of color. The ratings were green for "Best", blue for "Still Desirable", yellow for "Definitely Declining", and red for "Hazardous".

"Neighborhoods that were 'characterized by detrimental influences in a pronounced degree,' including the presence of 'a lower grade population' (i.e. African Americans and poor people) were deemed hazardous to [mortgage] lenders and were graded D/red."^[xiii] Middle-class white neighborhoods were most often given an A/green rating. "The government's efforts were primarily designed to provide housing to white, middle-class, lower-middle-class families."^[xiv] "African Americans and other people of color were left out of the new suburban communities — and pushed instead into urban housing projects."^[xvi] Greenlining advantaged white homebuyers.

African American or Black residents in Durham lacked elected representation at the city level until 1953 when Rencher N. Harris became the first African American elected to City Council.^[xv],^[xvi] The lack of Black representation led to discrimination in determining how resources were allocated. White neighborhoods had public parks, water, road and sewer infrastructure available far earlier than Black ones.^[xvii] "This impacted the quality of life, property values, and incentives for investment in Black neighborhoods."^[xvii]

In 1944, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a bill into law to assist veterans arriving home from World War II with education, housing and unemployment income needs. This bill was called the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, better known as the GI Bill. The bill included low interest federal government backed mortgage loans with small or no down payments required. Due to racial discrimination in mortgage lending and in access to the GI benefits, Black veterans had a much harder time securing a loan from a bank or lending agency to take advantage of this benefit.^[i] Nearly 1.2 million Black veterans were locked out of the GI Bill benefits.^[xvii]

"The government's efforts were primarily designed to provide housing to white, middle-class, lower-middle-class families."

Homes available for purchase were most often located in white suburbs, which were mainly inaccessible to African American or Black populations due to discriminatory lending, racial deed covenants and realtor steering practices. As a result of these factors, the GI bill "disproportionately aided wealth building for White veterans."^[i] "By 1955, 4.3 million home loans had been granted, with a total face value of \$33 billion."^[xviii]

Many American Indian people were also left out of federally backed home buying loans and purchases. The authors were unable to find specific data for American Indians and other populations of color. Constraints to home ownership through laws, judicial decisions, practices and Jim Crow segregation prohibited African American, American Indian, Asian and other families of color from this equity building opportunity and ability to build generational wealth.

Public Housing and Urban Renewal: 1949-1960s

U.S. Congress passed the Federal Housing Act of 1949 signed by President Harry S. Truman, which established a national housing policy to reach “the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.”[xix] The Act also included funding for more than 800,000 public housing units and later paved the way for Urban Renewal.[xx]

The stated purpose of Urban Renewal was to address the deterioration of housing and city centers through clearing and redevelopment of housing and businesses. “The Housing Act of 1949 provided loans to cities to acquire and clear slums for redevelopment through private developers.”[xxi] The Durham Housing Authority (DHA) was also created as a result of this legislation. DHA is Durham’s federally funded affordable housing provider.

The federal government mandated segregation in public housing units. The Durham Housing Authority built a “Few Gardens for the white residents and McDougald Terrace east of NCCU for Black residents.”[iii] Reports from the November 13, 1950 edition of the Durham Sun indicate that the 200-unit white housing project which broke ground in 1952 was named after former president of Duke University, Dr. W.P. Few.[iv]

The 200-unit McDougald Terrace for Black residents, named after Durham pioneer and Mutual Building and Loan Association Founder R.L. McDougald, was completed in 1954.[xix] Early residents of public housing units were low-paid workers who had trouble finding affordable housing or housing near their workplaces. “The Garden City-style new public housing was widely praised by new residents - many who had lived in tenement-like conditions in early 20th-century housing badly neglected by landlords.”[xix]



Few Gardens, mid-1950s
Photo courtesy of Open Durham

A byproduct of the Housing Act of 1949 was concentrated poverty in urban areas. The Durham Housing Authority built nine more housing units throughout the 1960s; Damar Court, Cornwallis Road, Club Boulevard, Hoover Road, Morreene Road, Scattered Sites, Liberty Street, Oldham Tours and Fayette Place. Due to several economic factors such as industries leaving cities, job loss and whites migrating to the suburbs, public housing almost exclusively served Black families by the end of the decade.

While public housing was initially conceptualized as providing safe and affordable housing, this was not the outcome. Over the years, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has not provided enough funding to adequately maintain housing quality. “In the 1960s, studies show that of the city’s 32,000 units, 29% of housing was considered substandard. Most of this housing was located in the low-income Black communities.”[iv] “Rather than distributing public housing throughout the city, nearly all public housing projects were clustered in existing Black neighborhoods in southeast Durham. This cut off public housing residents’ access to other parts of the city and reinforced patterns of racial residential segregation.”[xvi] In 2022, it was estimated that HUD would need \$80 billion to address the backlog of national public housing construction projects.[lxvi]

“In 2022, it was estimated that HUD would need \$80 billion to address the backlog of national public housing construction projects.”

In the early 1960s, the City of Durham embarked on Urban Renewal, a program financed by the federal government for cities to raze "blighted" neighborhoods.[xxii] As more white families moved to the suburbs aided by federally backed mortgages, cities dealt with loss of population, factories and jobs. "The program enabled cities to acquire and clear tens of thousands of acres of "blighted" land—an administrative term of art that, in practice, disproportionately targeted minority neighborhoods for redevelopment." [xv] The definition of blight differed among jurisdictions but it was often in reference to slum clearance or substandard housing.

According to the Downtown Development Association report for Durham dated November 19, 1960, the recommended Urban Renewal plan was needed to "provide an efficient means of access to this highway [Federal Interstate System] from the central business district and improve the central business district itself..." [xxiii] The report expressed concerns about competition from nearby cities such as Greensboro, Raleigh and Chapel Hill that had higher employment and retail sales, while business services were underdeveloped in Durham. [xxvi]

The Southern Crosstown Route (which eventually became Highway 147) had four functions: connect major facilities such as Duke University, the Veterans Administration Hospital, Central Business District and Erwin Mills; efficient movement of traffic through the central business district and to the east and west; connect the interstate with US 70 to Raleigh and Eastern North Carolina; and connect to a possible north-south highway through Research Park. [xxiv]

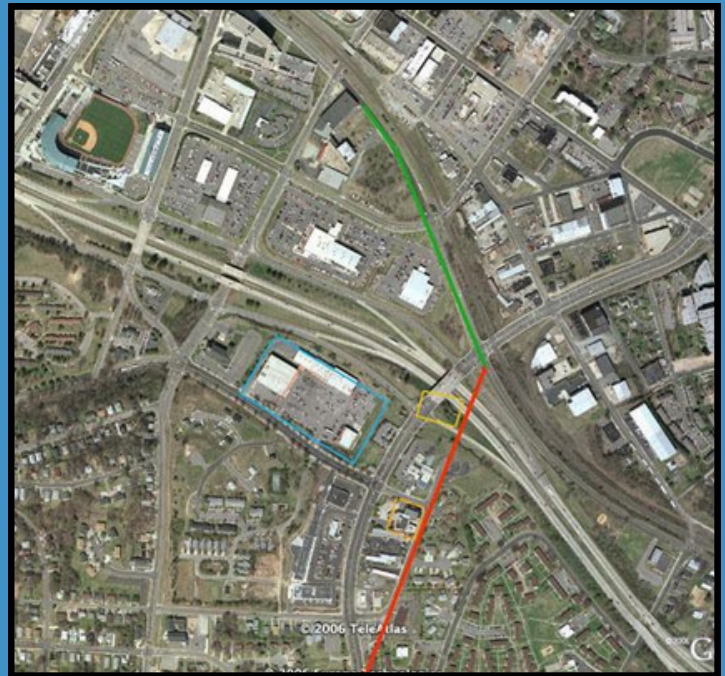
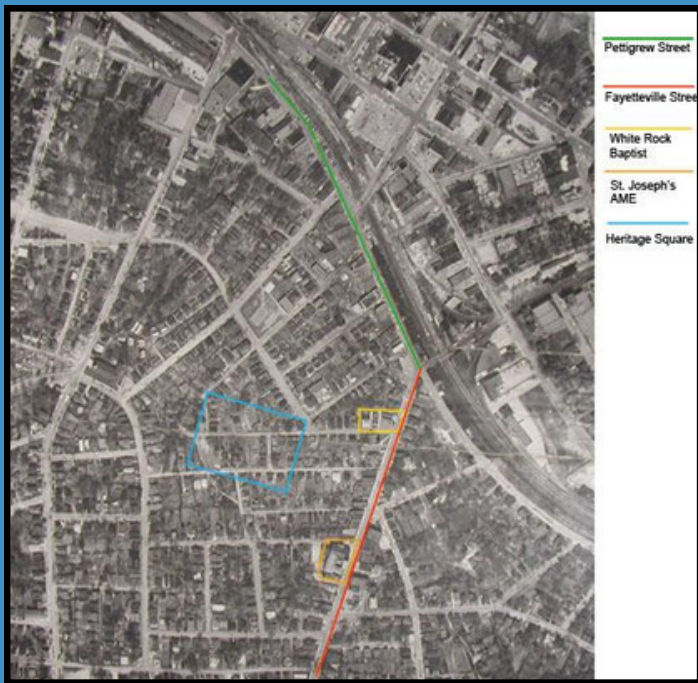
A Land Utilization Marketability Study Hayti-Elizabeth Area Project 1 report from Roy Wenzlick & Co. from June 1961 "proposed the Hayti-Elizabeth Street Renewal area be done through a sequence of Title 1 projects spread out over a ten-year period. There are some 1950 families in the area. Approximately 1810 or 92.8% of these families are Negro." [xxvii]



Roy Wenzlick & Co. Land Use and Marketability Study, 1961
Photo courtesy of NC Collections

Project 1 of 125 acres with borders between Peabody, Roxboro and Duke Streets and Morehead Avenue was slated for clearance. The report goes on to state about the homes in the area, "Most were cheaply constructed initially without central heating, plumbing, electricity and adequate ventilation. They have been rental properties for the most part to low-income families. The owners of these properties, realizing their captive market, experienced high occupancy rates with little to no maintenance, which has hastened the blight and dilapidation of the area." [xxvii] Hayti-Elizabeth was one of six total Urban Renewal projects in the downtown corridor.

City officials were eager to receive funding from the federal government to develop private projects and increase the city's tax base. [iii] White businesses appreciated the new access the highway would bring between downtown and Research Triangle Park.



Left- Hayti in 1959; Right- Hayti in 2006 Images courtesy of Open Durham

The City promised the Black community three things as a result of the project: "1) new housing; 2) new commercial development; 3) and major infrastructure improvements in Black neighborhoods." [iii] Only Durham's Black elite knew of Highway 147, which would eventually destroy the new housing developments, while other residents were not told their new homes would be temporary. [xxv] The Durham Committee on Negro Affairs advocated in favor the 1963 Urban Renewal bond referendum because they believed the project would bring investment to their neighborhoods. [iii] A large majority of the Black population voted to approve the bond. Ultimately, promises made to the Black community about Urban Renewal never came to realization. "Although technically race neutral, communities with high levels of people of color were disproportionately chosen for redevelopment." [lxix]

Highway 147 cut through the middle of the African American Hayti community which extended along Fayetteville, Pettigrew and Pine streets. [xxvi] The City completed the first section of Highway 147 in the late 1960s, separating Hayti's community and business districts. During construction of the expressway and following completion, residency in Hayti fell as residents moved to find jobs and housing due being displaced. Between 1970 and 1980, the population of Hayti was nearly cut in half. [xxvii] "In 1956, I was 2 years old when it was approved," she [Anita Scott Neville] said. "With urban removal, a lot of renters, a lot of generational renters, were challenged." [xxix]

"In the end, over 4,000 families and 500 businesses were displaced. The price tag for the destruction of Hayti was \$300 million in today's dollars, three-quarters of which was paid for by the federal government." [iii]

Angela Lee, Executive/Artistic Director of the Hayti Heritage Center said about Hayti, "'When Hayti was a thriving community, along with Black Wall Street, we were all one," Lee says. "There were houses and shops and commerce all the way from here to Parrish Street." St. Joseph's AME Church is one of the few buildings that remains today from the historic Hayti community. [lxv] The community fought vigorously to retain this piece of their legacy and continue to work to reconnect Hayti to downtown Durham.

"Although technically race neutral, communities with high levels of people of color were disproportionately chosen for redevelopment."

Major Changes in the Housing Landscape: 1960s-1980s

State and local governments, local universities and businesses created what is known as the world's largest university-related research park, Research Triangle Park.[xxviii] The research park is located in the southeastern portion of the County where pinelands once stood. "With its construction, new residents- many of them originally from other cities such as Austin, Boston and New York- have migrated to Durham to work in higher education and tech sectors. This has led to wave after wave of gentrification, driving up the cost of housing and driving poor communities of color to the fringes of the county."[iv] Gentrification will be further explained and defined later in this chapter.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Duke University expanded its campus boundaries. The university owned a large portion of the land near East Campus and "north of Erwin Road between Anderson Street and Oregon Street..."[iv] Duke University leadership was interested in purchasing additional land between East and West campus. "The land the university was attempting to purchase was then used for low-income housing, particularly for mill employees from Burlington Industries."[iv] Duke University bought more than 1.8 million square feet of land in that area and razed housing.

DHA continued to build housing developments throughout the 1970s. These included Birchwood Heights, Liberty Street, Oxford Manor, Forest Hill Heights (which opened in 1981) and J.J. Henderson Towers.[xxix] The logic at the time was that high rise public housing developments were an efficient use of public funds because many housing units could be built while not using a lot of land. This concept shifted in later years as the impacts of concentrated poverty became clear.

Among the many measures included in the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, it created the Section 8 Housing Program. This provided assistance with the affordability of housing rental prices through monthly vouchers to families. Vouchers could be "project-based," used for specific properties or "tenant-based," given to tenants to use anywhere vouchers were accepted. Tenant-based vouchers cover the difference between "a set percentage of a household's income and established fair market rent." [xxv] This provided an alternative to public housing developments and promoted integrated housing units into more diverse neighborhoods.

Edgemont Elms was the only new Durham Housing Authority development built in the 1980s. The building was originally developed as "a mill village by Julian Carr in the first decade of the 20th century to house workers at the Durham Hosiery Mill No. 6." [xxx]

Public housing became difficult to build in the 1980s due to record high interest rates and greatly reduced federal funding for poverty reduction and housing programs declined significantly. In an effort to move away from being in the "housing business", the federal government focused more on the Section 8 program. Revitalization of downtown areas during this time often led to gentrification due to newly renovated properties being purchased by higher income families in larger numbers.



Burroughs Wellcome building in RTP, 1970s
Photo courtesy of Open Durham

Housing in the 1990s and Early 2000s

“The first wave of Latinos in Durham came in the early 1990s, and clustered in houses and apartment buildings in existing low-income neighborhoods.”[xxxix] Duke University and community members started the Duke-Durham Neighborhood partnership in 1994.[xxxix] The purpose was to improve several neighborhoods and schools near the university. One project involved restoring dozens of homes in the Walltown neighborhood in cooperation with residents and Self-Help Credit Union members.[iv]

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, Duke University continued to collaborate with Durham organizations such as the Quality of Life project, Latino Community Credit Union, City of Durham, Durham Community Land Trustees, Habitat for Humanity, East Durham and Southside communities and more to support low cost home loans, build affordable housing and support revitalization projects.[xxxix] These efforts enabled home ownership and affordability among many Durham residents. One such project was the Southside neighborhood revitalization. Once known as the St. Teresa neighborhood, the community is bordered by the Durham Freeway and North Carolina Central University in the Hayti district.

Southside was a disinvested community because of Urban Renewal, with boarded up housing and few businesses. A partnership between Mayor Bill Bell and Durham City Council, Southside Neighborhood Association of Durham, Center for Community Self-Help, Duke University Office of Durham and Regional Affairs, Durham Community Land Trust, Durham Public Schools and more, developed the Southside Revitalization project.[xxxix] The project centered around The Lofts at Southside, a 132-unit apartment and townhouse development by developer McCormack Baron Salazar Inc. Phase I of Southside was completed in 2016. Eighty of the units were set aside for “households earning 60% or below the Area Median Income. At the time, Durham’s Area Median Income (AMI) was just below \$60,000.”[xxxix] This was one of several revitalization projects in the downtown Durham area.

In the early 1990s, the George H.W. Bush administration created the HOPE VI (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) program. This changed the public housing model from separate communities for low-income families towards communities that included mixed incomes, rental and for sale properties.[xxxix] The purpose was to “generate economic development surrounding the new homes, to act as an engine of opportunity for those who live and work in the target neighborhoods.”[xxxix] After years of HUD policy that resulted in concentrated poverty, “Decentralizing low-income communities was the rule, not the exception in HUD-funded development, understanding the injuries of social and economic isolation.”[xxxix]

In 2000, DHA in partnership with The Community Builders, Inc. were awarded a \$35 million HOPE VI Revitalization Grant for Few Gardens, currently known as Franklin Village.[xxxix] The following years led to mismanagement of resources, multiple changes in leadership for DHA and controversy over the sale and repurchase of the Fayette Place property.

Fayette Place was developed in 1967 and many of those who were forced out by Urban Renewal relocated there. DHA emptied Fayette Place, with the complex being torn down in 2009. Development plans did not work out and the land sits empty with concrete foundation slabs from one-time housing on its site. DHA is working with Durham Development Partners to develop the 20-acre Fayette Place site. Plans include the creation of more than 700 affordable, mixed income units in multiple building types, parking and 20,000 square feet of retail on the site.[xxxix] This proposal reflects the new model for federal public housing.

The Great Recession: 2007-2011

In the early 2000s, banks and mortgage lenders began issuing riskier home loans to individuals who did not qualify for conventional home loans. These were typically individuals with low credit scores and higher risk of mortgage default.[xxxvii] The type of mortgage offered to these individuals were called subprime because they had features such as higher interest rates, low or no down payment and monthly payments that increased over the life of the loan.

As banks encouraged these unbacked loans due to their profitability, the homeowners were misled about the mortgage products. This population had the least amount of financial reserves in case of emergencies such as job loss or illness. Easy access to credit created a housing bubble, subsequent high rate of mortgage defaults, collapsing home prices and a nationwide recession.

Overall, home sales in the Chapel Hill-Durham area declined 15% each year between 2008 and 2011 due to the economic slowdown and lending restrictions.[xxxviii] In 2007, five percent of homes sold were real estate owned or short sales where the owner sold the home at a loss. This total increased to 18 percent in 2011.[xl] There were significant impacts to the housing market during the Great Recession, but overall, the rate of seriously delinquent mortgages and real estate owned homes were below the national rate.[xli]

The subprime mortgage crisis did not affect all populations equally. Jack Preiss, a former Duke University sociologist and former City of Durham councilmember stated that, "Foreclosure has hit lower-income people... These people have been hit very hard." [xxxix]

"In fact, our earlier research found that in the wake of the recession some of the highest foreclosure start rates in the county occurred in these redlined tracts." [xv] One study found that, "throughout the subprime market, black borrowers stood a significantly higher chance of receiving higher-cost and higher-risk loans than white borrowers, even when controlling for factors related to creditworthiness." [xi] This led to a higher rate of foreclosures among people of color. In 2010 nationally, "African Americans and Latinos [were], respectively, 47 percent and 45 percent more likely to be facing foreclosure than whites." [xlii]

During the early stages of economic recovery 2009 to 2011, Black and white families recovered at different rates. "...black and white wealth levels, including home equity, each dropped significantly during the 2007–2009 period. During the 2009–2011 period, however, the typical white family's losses slowed to zero, while the typical black family lost an additional 13 percent of its wealth." [xlii] "During the recession, Black and Latino households lost 48 and 44 percent of their wealth, respectively, while white households lost just 26 percent. As of 2019, Black households held less than fifteen percent of the net worth of white households." [xli]

In the following years, lending became tighter which increased demand and competition for affordable housing. "Specifically, published research indicates that a foreclosure on one home lowers the price of other single-family homes nearby." [xlii]

"During the recession, Black and Latino households lost 48 and 44 percent of their wealth, respectively, while white households lost just 26 percent. As of 2019, Black households held less than fifteen percent of the net worth of white households."

While communities largely recovered from the Great Recession, the top ten percent of North Carolina earners did not experience a decrease in wages, while it took the least paid employees in the state a decade to get to their pre-Great Recession earning levels.[xliii] This difference also applies to other economic indicators. According to 2022 U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey median household income estimates, white households have the highest with \$101,584, followed by \$91,206 for Asian, \$67,656 for Black or African American and \$66,645 for Hispanic or Latino households.[xliv]

Durham County Household Income by Race and Ethnicity, 2022

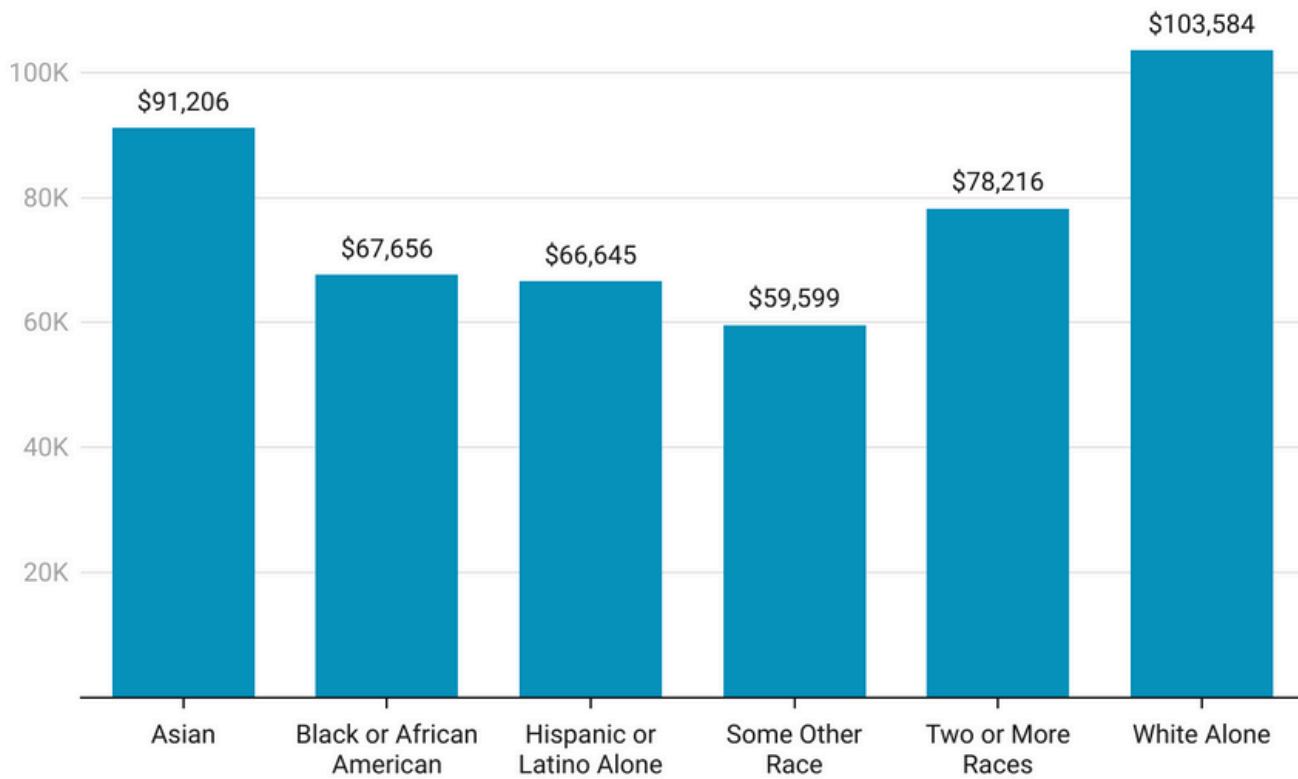


Chart: Durham County Department of Public Health • Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Table S1903 • Created with Datawrapper

Data is unavailable for American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander population groups. Black or African American and Hispanic or Latino households have approximately two-thirds of the household income of white households, which reflects discriminatory practices in areas of employment education, thus impacting housing.

2019 and Beyond



The News and Observer headline, 2020

In 2019, City of Durham residents passed a \$95 million affordable housing bond. The major components of the bond included “\$95 million from the bond referendum to be allocated for “brick and mortar” projects, enabling the City to earmark \$65 million of its local and federal funds to be reallocated to reducing homelessness, neighborhood stabilization, and more.”[xlvi] The two sources of funding came to a total of \$160 million for housing in Durham.

The goals of the five-year plan include 1600 new affordable housing units, 800 preserved affordable rental units, 1700 homeless households transitioning from emergency shelters into permanent housing, 400 first-time homebuyer affordable housing opportunities and the stabilization of 3000 low-income renters and homeowners in their homes.[xlvi] The \$65 million dollars was earmarked for homeless programs, multifamily rental, home ownership, neighborhood stabilization, loan funds pilots, and administrative and finance costs.[xlvi]

“Since Forever Home, Durham and DDNP [DHA Downtown and Neighborhood Planning] launched, the Durham area has seen a massive increase in property values, the outbreak of a pandemic, an eviction crisis, and a staffing shortage in the city’s Community Development Department, that, according to its director, had seen a vacancy rate of 33 percent until recent weeks.”[xlvi]

Provided that this spending was on track, Forever Home, Durham had \$114,923,382 left to spend beginning July 1, the start of the 2024 fiscal year. Forever Home, Durham is expected to spend \$47,565,104 in fiscal year 2024, \$18,188,743 in fiscal year 2025, and \$49,169,535 in fiscal year 2026.”[xlviii]

Moderate to significant progress has been made in several goals as of February 2023: construction of multi-family rentals, preserving affordable rental units, housing stability and home repair, contracts for minority and women-owned business enterprises (MWBE) and support for the unhoused.[xlviii]

“Compared to other programs in the Forever Home, Durham program, efforts to create affordable homeownership opportunities for first time buyers have largely stalled.” [xlviii] There continue to be complexities and challenges in administering these programs. Durham is committed to addressing housing needs, but additional financing is necessary to fully address the affordable housing issue.

COVID-19 sent home prices and rents skyrocketing as families and individuals with the ability to work remotely from anywhere moved to lower cost areas, which led to tighter housing and rental markets. According to Redfin, Durham median home price in February 2020 was \$280,000 steadily rising throughout the pandemic and beyond to \$445,825 in July 2024, for a 46% increase. [xlvii]

“The most remarkable thing about rent price trends shown here is that while rents have been steadily increasing for years, prices increased dramatically since the beginning of COVID in March 2020.”[vii] The median rent listing was approximately \$1000 in January 2017, hitting about \$1500 in May 2020 and settling around \$1600 in June 2022.[vii] Fair market rent for a two-bedroom is \$1631 monthly, which is a 55% increase in the past five years.[xlviii]

The federal COVID-19 eviction moratorium that prevented evictions during the pandemic ended in 2021. Rental and utility assistance programs funded through federal dollars funneled down to the local level through the Durham County Department of Social Services and other organizations and were available in the earlier phases of the pandemic. These programs began winding down in 2021 as they exhausted their funds. According to DataWorks NC, “there is a clear disproportion of impact to BIPOC [Black, Indigenous, People of Color] tenants and particularly Black women in the summary ejection process in Durham.”[xlix] This was the case both before and after the pandemic moved to an endemic phase.

Often in times of distress, communities pull together. This was the case during the COVID-19 pandemic as communities and existing mutual aid networks provided support to one another to meet needs related to housing among other resources.

In 2022, DHA announced development partners for its three downtown redevelopment sites. These include Fayette Place, Forest Hill Heights and the land that contains DHA offices. These are part of DHA’s multi-year plan. “We’re looking forward to working with each of our selected partners to bridge the affordable housing gap while creating new vibrant communities in Durham,” said DHA Board Chair Dan Hudgins.”[i]

Durham County, City of Durham, Durham Housing Authority and Laurel Street Residential have partnered to develop mixed income housing in new buildings at the 300 and 500 blocks of East Main Street. This includes 305 affordable units for households making between 30% (\$31,750 for a family of four) and 80% (\$84,700 for a family of four) of the area AMI and 248 market-rate apartments. [ixvii] Occupancy is expected in fall 2024.[ii]

Although partners across Durham have identified the need for affordable housing and are taking steps to address needs, home ownership and the cost of rental housing is out of reach for many Durham residents. As home and rental prices have increased, eviction and homelessness have as well.

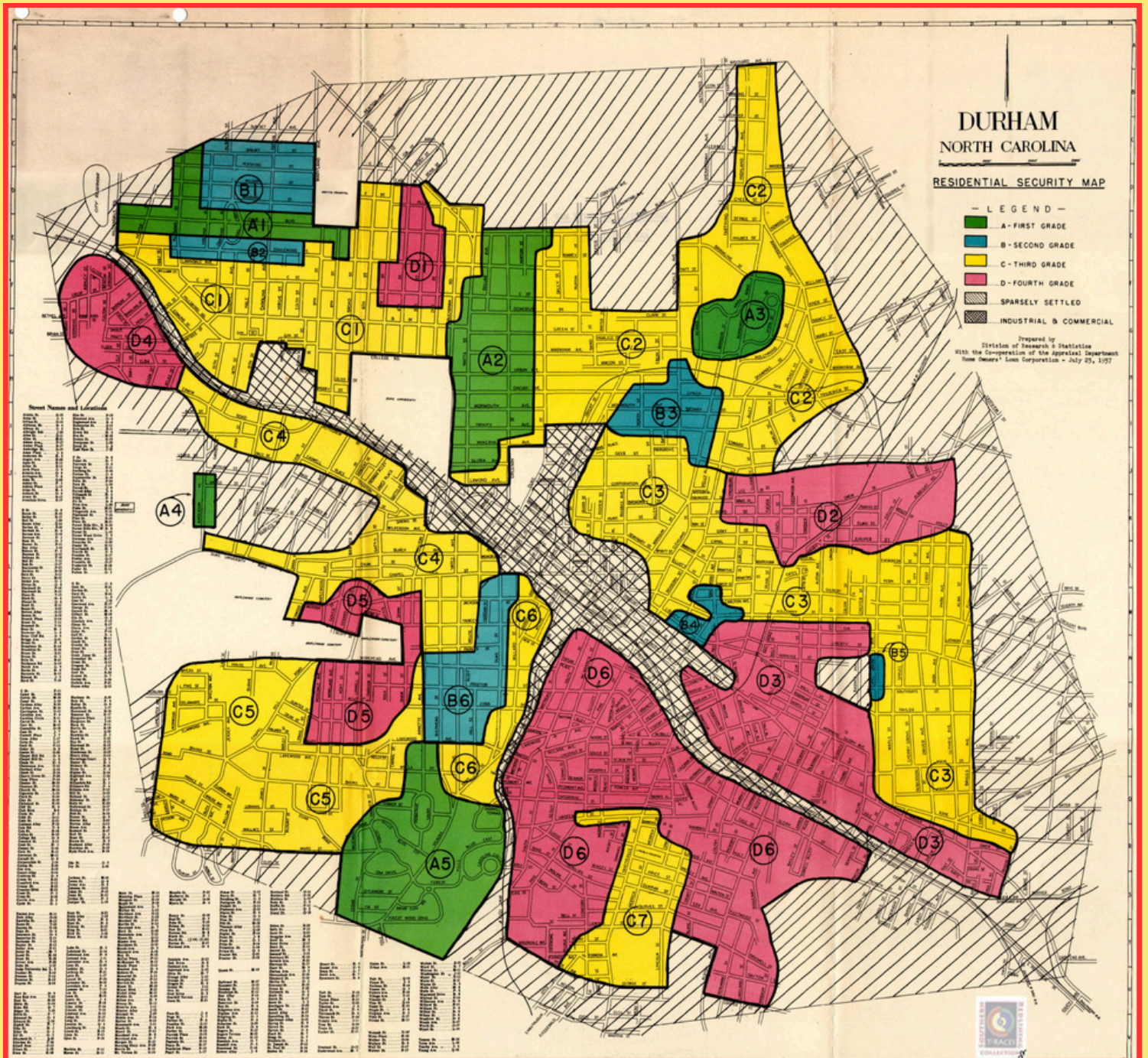


Renderings of 300 and 500 E. Main Street housing
Photos courtesy of Durham County Government

Families of color that had been impacted more severely during the previous decade’s Great Recession, had less financial stability to deal with the recession caused by COVID-19 and faced higher rates of illness and death, job loss, evictions and foreclosures.

Though Durham’s transition from a blue-collar to white collar town brings economic benefits, it is at the loss of populations of color and long-term residents, including “neighborhoods that were settled by freedmen who had labored at the Stagville plantation”. [lii] Although efforts have been made to combat gentrification through the Durham County Tax Administration Office and the Durham County Department of Social Services Low-Income Homeowners Relief (LIHR) program, the trend of displacing low-income populations of color continues. Despite the \$95 million bond for affordable housing in 2019, and the dedication of land and funds to affordable housing efforts, “[as of May 2023], only a few hundred affordable units are being created every year.” [liii]

Gentrification



1933 HOLC Durham redlining map
Image courtesy of National Archives and Record Administrations

"Gentrification [is typically] centered on vibrant downtown business districts," and is often "accompanied by racialized displacement. Displacement disproportionately [impacts] Black and Hispanic residents who [are] pushed away before they [can] benefit from increased property values and opportunities in revitalized neighborhoods. This [intensifies] the affordability crisis in the core of our largest cities." [liv]

Redlining and Urban Renewal gave rise to "white flight" in Durham, with white residents fleeing en masse to suburban areas and contributing greatly to the disinvestment of Black and African American neighborhoods. Those very same neighborhoods that were redlined, disinvested in, and left impoverished are being gentrified at rapid rates.[xv] Gentrification is the process by which wealthier and whiter newcomers and developers displace low-income residents of color in favor of changing the physical, social, and cultural characteristics of a neighborhood.[lv]

Several factors contribute to displacement, including rising rental and housing costs, rising property taxes, forced evictions of renters by homeowners who sell the property, government ability to seize homes through eminent domain, and unsafe housing for renters “when owners stop maintaining buildings while they wait for the right moment to sell them for redevelopment.”[lvii]

Neighborhoods close to the city center that public and private sectors had previously divested from become attractive to investors and opportunists due to affordable pricing, proximity to downtown, and being close to transit and services. “Some describe the current trend as reverse redlining: Communities historically disinvested in are becoming real estate hot zones increasingly inhabited by white, wealthier residents who move out of suburbs to be closer to the central city -- near amenities like that new coffee shop or a new brewery; walkable neighborhoods with interesting historical character.”[lvi]

Where white flight to the suburbs and the destructive urban renewal project in the 1960s and 1970s left historically Black neighborhoods disinvested and impoverished, gentrification is forcing Black and Latino residents out of “neighborhoods neglected by society for decades” to outlying counties and exurbs as white and wealthy buyers and developers flock to downtown with “the very investments that [minority] residents needed all along.”[liv]

Historically Black Durham neighborhoods have been significantly impacted by gentrification, including Southside, East Durham, Cleveland-Holloway, West End, Walltown, Old West Durham, and Braggtown, an area settled by those formerly enslaved at Stagville plantation with descendants still in residence.[lvii],[lviii] “Entire blocks of Black neighborhoods are now white: in East Durham, along Guthrie Street, on the 1100 block of Dunstan Avenue in South Durham, Walltown to the north, and pretty much all of the south side along the edge of downtown.”liv “‘Everybody seems to be coming here and buying our legacy,’ Calvin James Perkins said, a resident of the historic Cleveland-Holloway Street.”[lix]

As more wealthy and white residents move in changing the makeup of neighborhoods, this results in higher property values and taxes, increased policing, and new businesses that cater to white professionals. Walltown neighborhood resident Jackie Manns Hill stated in 2021, “We are now the minority. My taxes have tripled since I've been here with all the new housing that's gone up. We have a million-dollar home going up around the corner that's right across from the home place.”[lviii] White families have had opportunities through policy and laws to build generational wealth over multiple centuries that were not available to populations of color. This grants white families the ability able to pay inflated prices for housing which significantly increases gentrification.

“‘Southside was a mostly Black neighborhood [in 1996]... What was supposed to be an affordable housing community really became an all-white community in many regards,’ Laney said... The founder and pastor of Nehemiah Christian Center on Mangum Street, the Rev. Herbert Reynolds Davis says none of his church’s members live in or near downtown anymore. They mostly commute from other parts of the city and the county.”[xxxvi]

“We are now the minority. My taxes have tripled since I've been here with all the new housing that's gone up. We have a million-dollar home going up around the corner that's right across from the home place.”

Duke professor Robert Korstad identified multiple causes for the decreasing Durham Black population which includes increased housing prices, higher rents and that it’s impossible for some to purchase homes. [lx] Once long-term homeowners can no longer afford to live in their neighborhood due to rising property taxes or rents, they are forced to sell their homes or are evicted. Between 2016-2020, 77% of all eviction processes happened in parts of Durham that were majority Black, Hispanic, Indigenous, and People of Color while only 5.3% of evictions took place in predominantly white census blocks.[li]



Volunteers conducting the 2022 Durham County Community Health Assessment Survey
Photo courtesy of Durham County Department of Public Health

Conclusion

“Living without a house exposes people to violence, repeated forced displacement by police and private security, hunger and malnourishment, untreated medical needs, and emotional and psychological harm. The struggle to pay for housing has repeatedly surfaced as a priority topic for residents in the Durham County Department of Public Health’s Community Health Assessment survey.”[li]

Astronomical rent and real estate prices often mean moving further out from the city center. “Even when Black and Brown members of the city’s working-class garner pre-approved housing loans, they are easily outbid for homes in their neighborhoods by more affluent newcomers. As a result, realtors are increasingly directing them to towns like Graham, Mebane, Butner, and even Henderson, where they can purchase more home for their money.”[liv]

In 2023, newly developed housing prices were 6.3% higher than the previous year, and as of April 2024, Durham saw an additional 4.9% increase in median housing prices, with homes “selling for a median price of \$425K.”[lxi], [xlx] The News & Observer reported that, in January 2014, the median price per square foot for homes sold in the Southside area of Durham was \$18.xxxvi As of April 2024, the median price per square foot in Durham is \$240, an increase of nearly 1,334%.[xlxi]

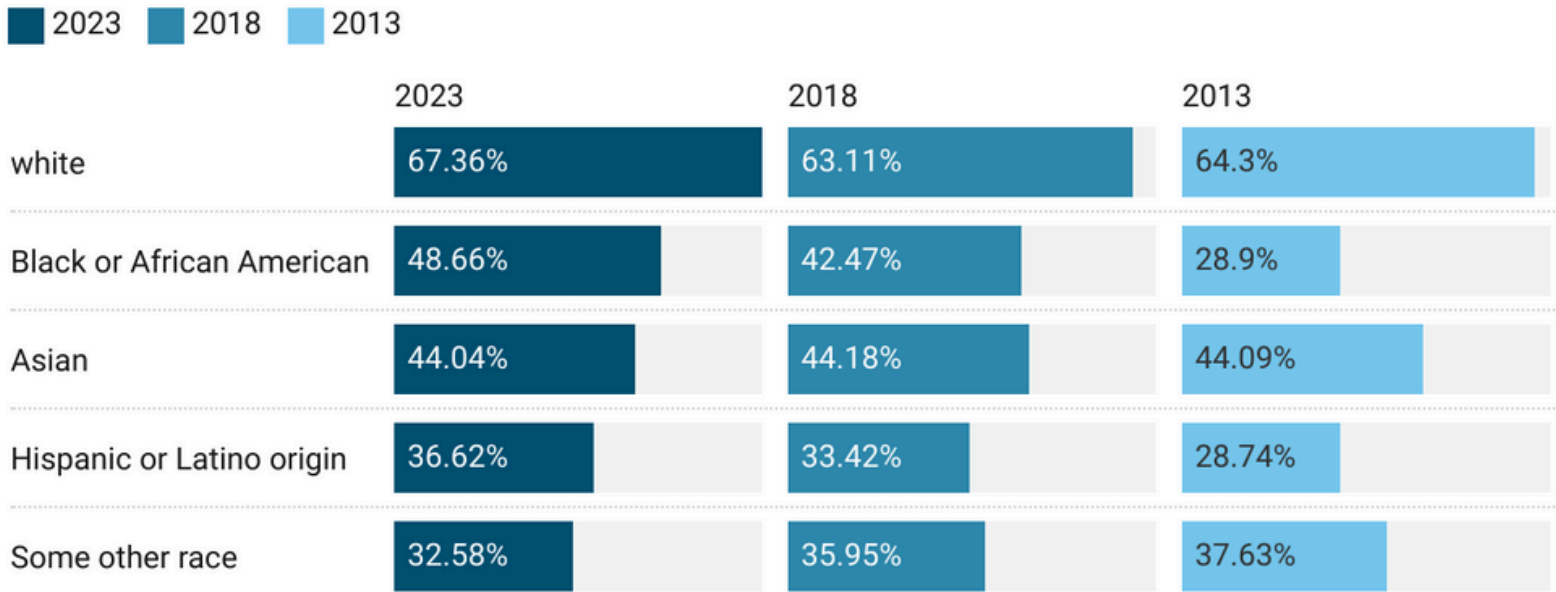
Durham neighborhoods, housing stock, homeownership and housing related health outcomes are a direct impacted by our past. This history began more than 400 years ago, continued through slavery, racial apartheid, industrialization, Urban Renewal, the COVID-19 pandemic to the present. Though all these laws, policies, practices and systems have favored white populations while disadvantaging populations of color, Durham is a community of strengths, assets and resiliency.

When those surveyed in the 2022 Durham County Community Health Assessment Survey were asked what people, places or things make Durham a good place to live, the top responses were neighbors and neighborhoods.[lxii]

See page 47 for current housing and health data. When viewing this data, it is important to keep in mind the way in which Durham’s past affects its present and inequities.

Housing Data

Owner Occupied Housing Units in Durham County



5-year estimates used in the above graph, Native American/ American Indians, two or more races and Alaskan Native data has been suppressed due to low counts.

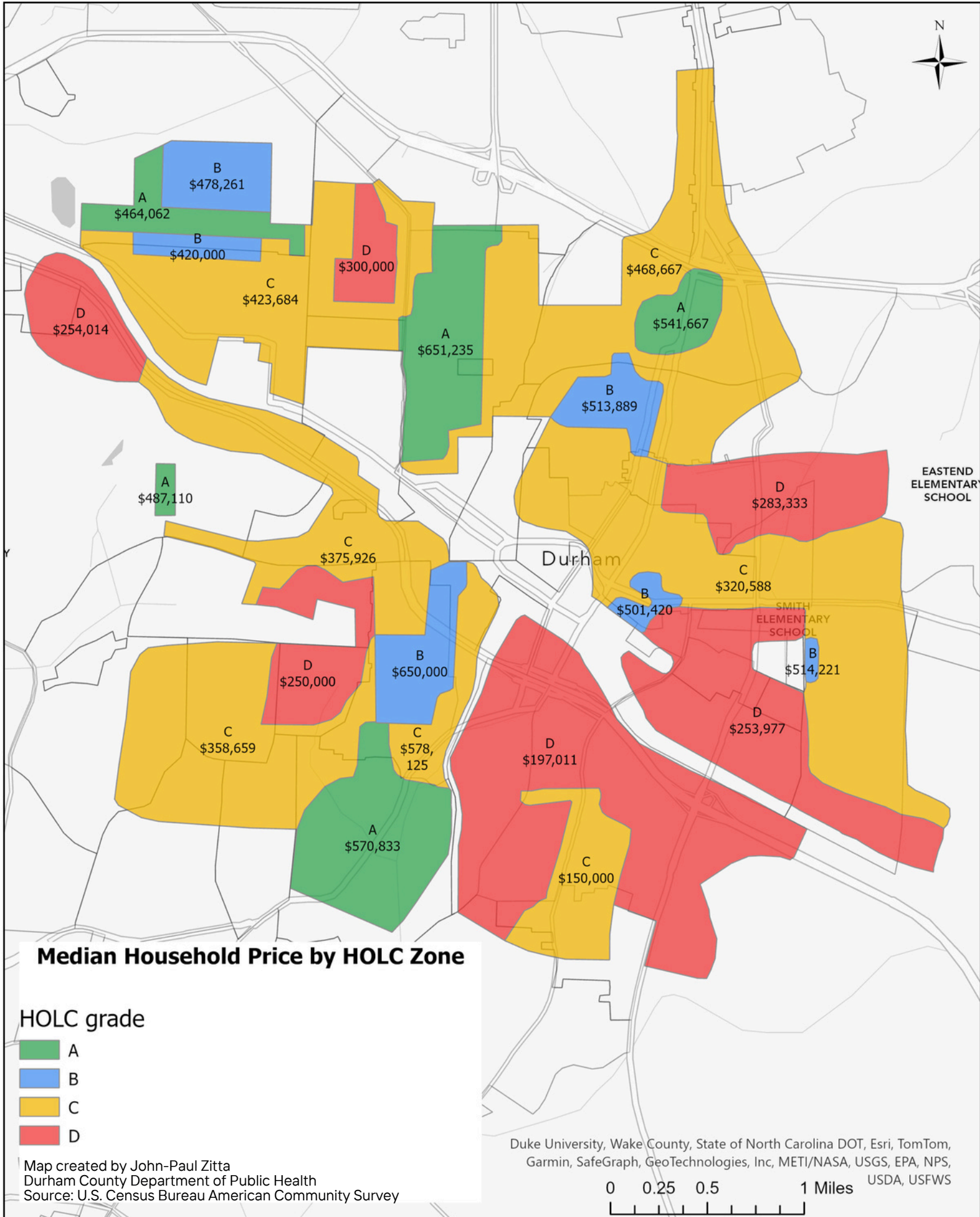
Chart: Durham County Department of Public Health • Source: U.S. Census Bureau • Created with Datawrapper

The chart above shows Durham County home ownership rates across multiple races and ethnicities between 2013 and 2023 at five-year intervals. Data for American Indians, Alaska Natives and those of two or more races has been suppressed due to low numbers. The chart shows that home ownership rates in Durham County has stayed consistent over the 10-year period for Asians and whites. There are significant inequities between white home ownership rates and those between Black or African Americans, Asians, Hispanic and Latinos and those of Some Other Race.

The greatest difference in home ownership in 2013 was between whites and Hispanic or Latinos. Even though home ownership rates for Blacks or African Americans increased to more than 48% in 2023, it still lags white home ownership rates by nearly 19%. The percentage for those who identify as Some Other Race has dropped 5% in the last 10 years. The lowest home ownership rates for Black or African Americans and Hispanic or Latinos was in 2013, which marked two years after the end of the Great Recession.

A 2016 Pew Research Center analysis about the recovery of the post-Great Recession housing market found that nationally, Black-led households had the largest decline in homeownership since its peak in 2004. ([Pew Research Center](#)) According to the U.S Department of the Treasury about national homeownership rates by race and ethnicity, "In the second quarter of 2022, the homeownership rate for white households was 75 percent compared to 45 percent for Black households, 48 percent for Hispanic households, and 57 percent for non-Hispanic households of any other race." The Treasury goes on to state, "In fact, the Black-white gap in homeownership rates was the same in 2020 as it was in 1970, just two years after the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which sought to end racial discrimination in the housing market." ([U.S. Department of the Treasury](#)) "These persistent gaps are the result of governmental policies such as inclusionary zoning, redlining and predatory lending towards communities of color while subsidizing and protecting white homeownership." ([The Urban Institute](#))

Durham HOLC relationship with Median Household Prices 2022



HOLC grade

- A
- B
- C
- D

Map created by John-Paul Zitta
 Durham County Department of Public Health
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey

Duke University, Wake County, State of North Carolina DOT, Esri, TomTom, Garmin, SafeGraph, GeoTechnologies, Inc, METI/NASA, USGS, EPA, NPS, USDA, USFWS

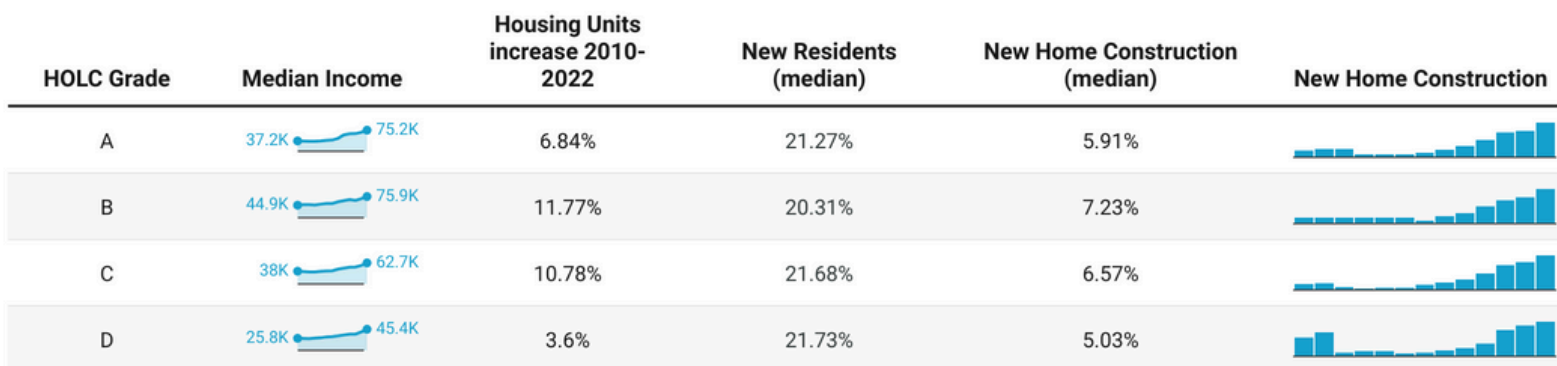


In the map on the previous page, previously redlined Durham County neighborhoods have the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) district traditional color scheme of green, blue, yellow and red based on their "Desirability." The HOLC districts are overlaid with the median housing value from 2022 U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey data. Although there is some variation in median home value in the C and D graded areas, there are significant disparities between HOLC areas that received an A and areas that received a D grade. Homes in the areas that originally received an A grade have much higher home values than homes that are located in areas that received a D letter grade. Although redlining began nearly 100 years ago and was outlawed in 1968, impacts on home values are still seen today.

According to the Kaiser Family Foundation, "Today's housing patterns continue to reflect these past discriminatory policies and leave Black people facing increased health risks. As a result of ongoing residential segregation and disinvestment into areas where Black people are more likely to live, they are more likely to live in areas that have more limited educational and employment opportunities, more limited access to healthy food options, less access to green space, and more limited transportation options, which in turn make it more difficult to access health coverage and care and pursue healthy activities." ([Kaiser Family Foundation](#)) Although Blacks or African Americans were heavily targeted through redlining, immigrants, Hispanics and Latinos and American Indians were also impacted.

In addition to health, home ownership also impacts economic security. "For younger households, homeownership facilitates wealth accumulation early in their working years, which builds on itself and can later be used to pay for unexpected expenses, kids' education, or retirement. However, since younger adults are delaying household formation and home purchases, these benefits are diminishing for younger generations, which are increasingly diverse across races and ethnic groups. For older households, homeownership is a key source of retirement stability—one study shows that homeowners have flat or increasing net wealth in retirement as opposed to renters who have a faster rate of asset decumulation." ([The U.S. Treasury](#))

Durham County HOLC Districts between 2010 - 2022



Gentrification in Durham over the years in HOLC locations

Table: Durham County Public Health • Source: Census Bureau • Created with Datawrapper

The chart above illustrates multiple data points related to gentrification in redlined Durham County neighborhoods. Data for Durham areas is grouped together by the Home Owner’s Loan Corporation (HOLC) letter grade they received beginning in 1933, using U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey (ACS) data between 2010 and 2022. Four key metrics are used to identify patterns of gentrification in Durham in historically racially segregated locations.

The first column labeled Median Income shows the change in median household income for these groupings by letter grade between 2010 and 2022. Neighborhoods with an HOLC A score saw the highest increase at approximately \$38,000 over that time span. This was followed by B graded neighborhoods at \$31,000, C at just under \$25,000 and D at \$19,600. Ninety years after redlining first went into effect, neighborhoods that were scored A and B still have a financial advantage over neighborhoods that received C and D scores.

Durham Neighborhoods that originally received B and C scores had the largest increases in housing units between 2010 and 2022. The median percentage of new residents is fairly consistent across all grades, ranging from 20.31% to 21.73%. The New Home Construction (Median) shows the median percentage of new home construction, with Grade B leading at 7.23%, while Grade D has the lowest at 5.03%. In the New Home Construction column, a series of bar charts illustrates the trend of new home construction across the grades, indicating a general increase in construction activities over time. This is particularly pronounced in areas that received letter grades of A, B and C.

Overall, the data suggests that HOLC grades A and B tend to have higher median incomes, greater increases in housing units and more significant new home construction compared to grades C and D. This reflects patterns of gentrification for areas that originally received C and D grades. Areas that received A and B grades have seen more substantial economic and housing growth between 2010 and 2022.

For additional Durham County data on housing and health impacts, see the [Redlining and Environmental Justice in Durham StoryMap](#) from the Durham County Department of Public Health.

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