

The downfall of Durham's historic Hayti:

Propagated or preempted by urban renewal?

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1. Introduction

Look at almost any prominent history of Durham's celebrated Hayti neighborhood and they will all tell the same basic tale [1][2][14]. Hayti is consistently glorified for its tightly-knit and educated black community, which was supported by some of the premier black-owned businesses in the country. When the urban renewal wave hit Durham in the 1960s, Hayti was its primary victim. According to most accounts, the construction of the Durham Freeway through Hayti put a stranglehold on the neighborhood's successful local businesses, taking the neighborhood as a whole down with them. However, there is little narrative history which goes beyond this simple ending to the legendary Hayti neighborhood, leaving questions as to the actual state of the neighborhood during this time period. This paper will present a brief history of Hayti and then use census data to provide an in-depth look at what the neighborhood was really like prior to redevelopment. Then, in an attempt to determine whether Hayti was a thriving community which was imprudently destroyed or a neighborhood already due to fall based on its community characteristics, it will be evaluated against a pool of three similar black communities. These communities were selected because of their similar demographics, including their proximity to other historically black universities in North Carolina cities, as Hayti is right next to North Carolina Central University in Durham. Based on this statistical analysis, it is possible to both obtain a picture of Hayti grounded in data rather than potentially sensationalized history and get a better idea of Hayti's potential future had it not been a target of urban renewal.

2. Background

The early part of the 20th century shined brightly on Durham. The city made an important transition from a strong sole reliance on tobacco through the addition of textile mills and manufacturing. Some of the most well-known black businesses in the country were run out of Durham, including Mechanics & Farmers' Bank and the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company

on Parrish Street, better known as “Black Wall Street.” As a result, Durham was able to support a thriving black business and family community in the city, especially in the Hayti district. However, as manufacturing fell off in the 1930s followed by tobacco in the 1960s, Durham’s economic activity took a turn for the worse. The result was a push for “urban renewal,” a plan to redesign parts of the core of Durham to support economic growth. One major aspect of this plan was the addition of the Durham Freeway (North Carolina Highway 147). While the stated goal of the freeway was to improve accessibility to Durham, the project proved extremely difficult to finish in an orderly and timely manner, disrupting business and life in Hayti.

3. Urban Renewal

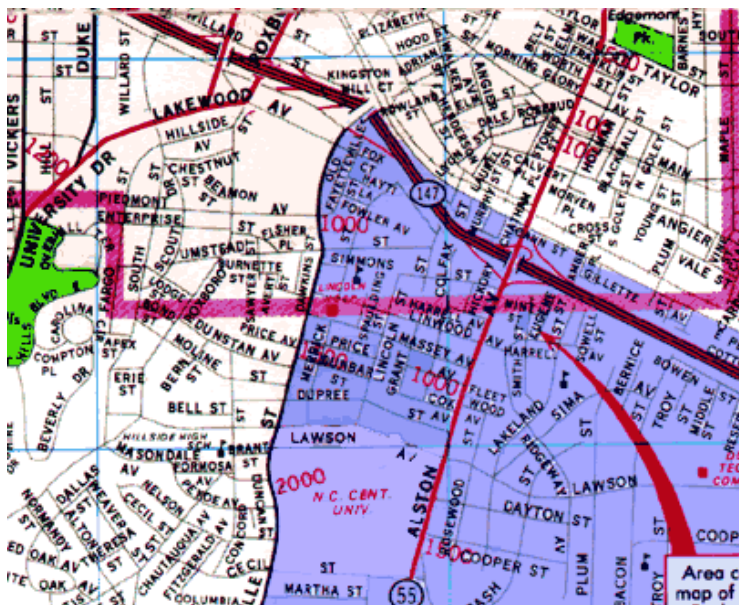
Urban renewal is a phenomenon that swept across a number of cities in the United States and beyond starting in the 1950s and extending into the 1970s. The basic concept was to demolish and rebuild major city areas that were seen as obstacles to new age economic development. In the case of Durham, support for urban renewal was largely tied to the popularization of the personal automobile. As the automobile gained popularity and the core businesses of Durham declined, there was significant suburbanization, primarily by whites at the outset. These effects were reinforced in Durham as it began to serve as a sort of satellite community for the booming Research Triangle Park, which opened in 1958 on the fringes of the city.

Durham native Reginald Mitchiner saw urban renewal as “a chance to bloom again,” [1] along with many other citizens and officials. This nationwide craze was extremely attractive for cities from a cost perspective, as the federal government would cover two thirds of most urban renewal projects. The suburbanization wave pushed consumers away, causing central city businesses to struggle. This lead Durham officials to look to the new suburban areas which were booming for ideas. It was clear that the automobile allowed for suburbanization because it reduced commuting and transport costs significantly. This posed a problem for financially stressed cities, as living near

the center of the city was no longer necessary. Furthermore, the auto wave placed high importance on parking accommodations, which new retail areas outside of the city provided and the city could not. Thus, the conclusion was to eliminate vast plots of city land for development geared in this direction, with the addition of a major freeway.

4. Hayti District

Historic Hayti, the blue area of the map pictured [5], is billed as a thriving black community with strength in both business and culture. Hayti was seen as a hindrance to the economic growth



of Durham as it was a tight neighborhood in the senses of strongly connected, inwardly focused, and constrictive to the city handling more economic flows due to its narrow streets and densely populated communities. Note that the freeway runs parallel to Pettigrew Street, which once served as the primary business street of Hayti [5]. The principle of urban growth that drove urban renewal suggest that Hayti

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TENTATIVE

SUMMARY OF COSTS - PROJECT N.C. R-17

Survey and Planning	\$86,800
Execution (all)	296,800
Improvements	270,000
Public Housing Credit	340,000
Interest	200,000
Land Acquisition	<u>2,301,100</u>
Gross Project Cost	\$3,494,700
Land Disposition (private)	505,000
Land Disposition Expressway	<u>540,000</u>
Net Project Cost	\$2,449,700
CITY'S SHARE (1/3)	\$818,600
Less Credit for Public Housing	<u>-340,000</u>
	\$478,600

COST OF IMPROVEMENTS:

Total	\$513,975
Cost to City	286,140
Eligible Cost	269,955
Non-Eligible Costs	16,185

Approximate cost of Project and EXPRESSWAY to CITY
assuming Project is pooled with Project N.C. R-16 and
N.C. R-16 assumes \$250,000 of eligible project improvement costs:

Project Improvements as Non-Cash	
Grants in Aid	\$269,955
Expressway Right-of-Way	540,000
Non-Project Improvements	16,185
City-Cash	<u>19,400</u>
	\$845,400

did not have the sort of lots and roads to support the expansive city model which many believed Durham needed to follow to move into the future. Thus, it became a primary target by city officials for redevelopment.

The first draft of the proposal of the largest urban renewal project for Hayti, which was a joint effort between members of the Redevelopment Commission of the City of Durham and the consultants of the City Planning and Architectural Associates of Chapel Hill, was reviewed for this paper. Their characterization of Hayti as a hindrance to Durham's urban growth is very strongly stated in the introduction to the proposal:

As the project photographs submitted with this application reveal, the project area is characterized by poorly aligned and unimproved streets, over-crowded land and deteriorated structures. The strip commercial development along Fayetteville Street impairs the effectiveness of the street as a traffic collector, and is hazardous to motorists and pedestrians alike. The inhabitants of this area live under conditions which are unsanitary and unsafe. This application for a loan and grant is being made in order to improve these conditions, and to restore the area to useful productivity.
[3]

This plan is the result of the North Carolina General Assembly's approval of renewal in late 1957. The proposal would have created vast lots for both businesses and parking, as well as wider streets (see Appendix Figure 1 and 2 for a map of Hayti in 1960 and the proposed changes). After reviewing the cost structure of the project, it is clear that a great deal of the \$845,000 in costs to the city (roughly one third of the real total costs after federal support) stems from acquiring the land of the densely populated Hayti district rather than actual construction costs (see picture above). The proposal includes extensive conditions on how families would be relocated to reasonable housing as well as quality control rules on investors who wish to redevelop the area.

The first parts of the Durham Freeway, originally known as the East-West Expressway, opened in 1962, and the project moved at a cripplingly slow pace [12] into the late 1960s. Many roads which serviced Hayti's businesses were torn up for extended periods of time, isolating them.

This pushed consumers even further in the direction of the automobile era suburban shopping centers. Furthermore, some believe the small shops of Hayti were “successful because of segregation,” as “segregation was holding them up” [2]. As segregation declined and Hayti began to lose its cohesiveness due to construction, black businesses reeled.

The expressway and six other projects grounded in Hayti cost a cumulative \$41.6 million, including 4,057 household and 502 businesses across Durham which were condemned and forced to relocate [1]. The project ended up taking roughly 14 years, with very few investors coming in to build on the expansive lots created. Low-cost apartments replaced historic neighborhoods, and a feeling began to develop in Durham that landmarks were being destroyed at an alarming rate in the name of urban revitalization. Mayor James Hawkins’ push of the detonator at the Washington Duke Hotel in 1975 was the last straw for many, setting the stage for resistance to an extension of the highway through the Crest Street neighborhood.

Twenty five years after the original redevelopment plan for Hayti was proposed, the Hayti Redevelopment Corporation released *The Hayti Redevelopment Plan* in 1985. A current map of the neighborhood revealed only single-digit amounts of notable businesses and landmarks, with an ABC (North Carolina state-run Alcoholic Beverage Control) store making the list of highlights. The vast majority of land had remained to be developed. Many points of the new development mandate reveal how the original “renewal” of the area was viewed:

- (1) Hayti will be developed in the best interests of the citizens of Durham in general, with special emphasis on the needs of Southeast Durham
- (2) Hayti must be developed as a unique district with its own distinct character, land use mixture, and image. A significant and highly visible landmark will aid in the identification of the new and unique Hayti District...
- (5) The surviving Hayti businesses will be extended the opportunity to participate in the development process. In addition, ample opportunity must also be extended to small and minority businesses for significant participation in the development process. Maximum community participation at all levels is essential. [8]

Reading between the lines of the mandate, it's clear that the original renewal effort was not in the best interests of Hayti, that its construction had eliminated an iconic neighborhood, and that the community self-patronage which supported the area's businesses previously had faded. A new, 71,335 square foot shopping center was being developed at the time by Heritage Square Associates. Major tenants of the center, which still exists today, included Winn Dixie, Revco Drugs, True Value Home Center, Family Dollar, and Pic 'N' Pay Shoes. The state of the community lead the authors of the plan to proclaim that "twenty years later, vacant lots and unfulfilled promises are still evident in Hayti."

5. Methods

It's clear from all historical accounts that the installation of the Durham Freeway caused great transformations in Hayti. Tensions around the construction of the freeway were high. Hayti was a point of pride for residents. On the other side of the coin, Hayti was seen as an economic chokepoint for downtown businessmen. Thus, there was a strong interest on both sides to depict Hayti in extremes in both directions.

In order to obtain an objective picture of the transformations of the neighborhood and break them down on a more granular level, United States census data were gathered. This data were gathered for Hayti, Durham County, three other neighborhoods similar to Hayti, and the three counties which contain these similar counties using the Social Explorer database as shown in the table below [13].

Durham County North Carolina Central University - Durham			Wake County Shaw University - Raleigh			Guilford County North Carolina A&T University - Greensboro			Mecklenburg County Johnson C Smith University - Charlotte		
1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
12B	12.02	12.02	9	9	509	11	111.01	111.01	46	46	46
						12	112	111.02	48	48	48
						28B	128.02	112	50	50	50

Both the names and borders of census tracts can shift over time. All areas selected had negligible shifts in borders during 1960-1980 (in some cases, the area lost by one tract would be gained by another included in the analysis. Since percentages or data calculated per square mile rather than absolute numbers are the ultimate form of comparison, extremely small changes in borders shouldn't introduce much error. Tract 12B in Durham represents Hayti, and matches the actual borders of Hayti extremely well.

The remaining areas were selected to act, in aggregate, as a control to Hayti. They are next to Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina A&T University in Greensboro, and Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte. These areas were selected because of their proximity to a historically black university in a North Carolina city, as Hayti is next to North Carolina Central University in Durham. The areas are also almost 100% black, as Hayti reported only 2 non-black residents over the two decade period in question. One of the major problems presented in past research on the effects of building highways on local economic development is that there is often no control area to compare to an area where a highway is built. Even if a control is found, there are so many different variables that go into the economic and demographic changes of an area that it is impossible to control for all of them. By using a pool of three areas which are in the same state and have similar demographics (ex: racial makeup, education levels, income levels) as Hayti, it is hoped that as many of these variables which are not directly identified are controlled for to a reasonable extent. Also, since census data are being used, there is a plethora of detailed statistics available on which to base a more detailed analysis.

Even with the controls selected as they were, they are by no means perfect. In some respect the controls are used to initially evaluate Hayti, an extremely unique neighborhood, against other neighborhoods which are similar in some but not all ways. This helps identify what makes Hayti one of a kind from the outset.

The three control areas are summed together to create the “Control Neighborhoods” category in the tables below. In addition, data from Durham County as well as the sum of the counties of the control areas, Wake County, Guilford County, and Mecklenburg County, were collected in order to be able to observe the more macroeconomic trends of the areas surrounding the small being studied. This is important, as it allows it allows for a separation between these macroeconomic trends (ex: suburbanization, general growth of household incomes in North Carolina) and trends specific to the neighborhoods being examined.

6. Data Analysis

6.1 Hayti in 1960

Taking an initial glance at Hayti using 1960 census data, the neighborhood does not appear to be as prestigious as one might expect based on historical accounts:

Table 1: 1960 Snapshot	Hayti		Durham County		Control Neighborhoods	
SE:T3. Population Density						
Population Density per sq. mile	15,002.94		456.41		5,554.10	
SE:T13. Race						
Total Population:	3,102		101,968		34,979	
White	0	0.0%	68,940	67.6%	505	1.4%
Black	3,101	100.0%	32,870	32.2%	34,462	98.5%
Other Race	1	0.0%	158	0.2%	12	0.0%
SE:T38. Marital Status						
Single	642	29.1%	20,074	27.2%	5,975	26.5%
Married, not separated	867	39.3%	43,304	58.7%	12,795	56.7%
Separated	284	12.9%	2,750	3.7%	1,466	6.5%
Widowed	339	15.4%	6,095	8.3%	1,958	8.7%
Divorced	77	3.5%	1,563	2.1%	390	1.7%
SE:T44. Education						
No school years completed	120	6.7%	1,511	2.8%	496	3.0%
Elementary:	1,065	59.5%	23,219	43.0%	7,536	45.9%
High school:	486	27.2%	19,534	36.2%	5,190	31.6%
High school, 1 to 3 years	324	18.1%	9,409	17.4%	2,840	17.3%
High school, 4 years	162	9.1%	10,125	18.7%	2,350	14.3%
College:	119	6.7%	9,756	18.1%	3,192	19.5%
1 to 3 years	64	3.6%	4,071	7.5%	1,335	8.1%

4 or more years	55	3.1%	5,685	10.5%	1,857	11.3%
SE:T50. Employment Status						
In Labor Force:	1,519	68.8%	42,716	57.9%	14,371	63.6%
In Civilian Labor Force:	1,519	68.8%	42,639	57.8%	14,355	63.6%
Employed	1,243	56.3%	40,771	55.3%	13,856	61.4%
Unemployed	276	12.5%	1,868	2.5%	499	2.2%
In Armed Forces	0	0.0%	77	0.1%	16	0.1%
Not In Labor Force	690	31.2%	31,070	42.1%	8,213	36.4%
SE:T72. Occupation						
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	61	4.9%	5,104	12.5%	1,491	10.8%
Managers, officials, and proprietors	3	0.2%	2,894	7.1%	240	1.7%
Operatives and kindred workers, including mine	171	13.8%	8,666	21.3%	2,380	17.2%
Private household workers	180	14.5%	2,279	5.6%	2,386	17.2%
Service workers, except household	284	22.9%	3,868	9.5%	2,659	19.2%
Laborers except farm and mine	242	19.5%	2,230	5.5%	1,513	10.9%
SE:T88. Means Of Transportation To Work						
Bus or streetcar	377	31.0%	4,521	11.5%	4,151	30.7%
Other public means	34	2.8%	980	2.5%	366	2.7%
Private auto or carpool	404	33.3%	26,447	67.1%	6,402	47.3%
Walked	289	23.8%	4,562	11.6%	1,450	10.7%
Worked at home (includes resident domestics)	8	0.7%	1,085	2.8%	71	0.5%
SE:T89. Household Income						
Household Average (in 1999 dollars)	13,531		25,469		17,986	

Hayti's household average income, \$13,531 in 1999 dollars, is almost half the Durham County average and significantly lower than the control neighborhoods. Piecing this together with the extremely low number of managers, officials, and proprietors residing in Hayti, it appears as though those who owned the businesses along Pettigrew Street lived outside the neighborhood. The comparatively high percentage of those who walked to work (23.8%) reflects how intertwined the local businesses and residents were, as many were employed within the neighborhood. The precipitous drop-off of education levels completed from elementary school to college sharply contrasts the control counties, as 59.5% of Hayti residents entered elementary school compared to 45.9% in the control neighborhoods while only 6.7% of Hayti residents entered college compared to 19.5% in the control neighborhoods.

This collection of initial observations suggests that Hayti was not quite the center of business and educated thought leadership that some historical accounts would suggest. It appears as though Hayti was more of a business neighborhood and a residential area for the lower income portion of the black community which revolved around it rather than an area where all members of the community lived, namely the more wealthy and educated. Hayti's higher unemployment levels and hefty amounts of basic laborers and service workers indicate a large amount of low-skilled workers in higher turnover jobs. Only 0.5% of the population of Hayti earned more than \$10,000 in 1960 dollars, compared with more than 2.1% in the control counties, further supporting this thesis.

6.2 Hayti moving into 1970 and 1980

The effects of the Durham Freeway's construction and urban renewal of the mid-late 1960s are glaringly apparent from Hayti's 1970s census data. In just 10 years (probably less, considering most construction was in the latter half of the decade) the population of Hayti was almost cut in half. During this same period, average household income dropped 3.2% as compared to an increase of 24.9% for Durham County as a whole.

Table 2: Population and Income	Hayti		Durham County		Control Neighborhoods		Control Neighborhoods' Counties	
	% change from last period	% change from first period	% change from last period	% change from first period	% change from last period	% change from first period	% change from last period	% change from first period
SE:T3. Population Density								
1960 - Population Density per sq. mi.	15,002.94		456.41		5,554.10		341.88	
1970	8,546.90	-43.0%	457	0.1%	6,711.50	20.8%	434.2	27.0%
1980	4,195.40	-50.9%	526.3	15.2%	4,741.60	-29.4%	509.4	17.3%
SE:T89. Household Income								
1960 - Household Avg (in 1999 dollars)	13,531		25,469		17,986		31724.72	
1970	13,098	-3.2%	33,906	24.9%	23,941	33.1%	41,776	31.7%
1980	15,661	16.4%	42,398	25.0%	28,120	17.5%	48,527	16.2%

It is clear from the population density data that Hayti was depopulated quite rapidly. To get a better feel for exactly what happened over this period, unemployment data prove extremely valuable to look at:

**Table 3:
Employment
Status**

	Hayti			Durham County			Control Neighborhoods			Control Neighborhoods' Counties						
	%	% change from last period	% change from first period	%	% change from last period	% change from first period	%	% change from last period	% change from first period	%	% change from last period	% change from first period				
Employment 1960																
Total Population Age 14+:	2,209			73,786			22584			466779						
In Labor Force:	1,519	68.8%		42,716	57.9%		14371	63.6%		282888	60.6%					
In Civilian Labor Force:	1,519	68.8%		42,639	57.8%		14355	63.6%		282247	60.5%					
Employed	1,243	56.3%		40,771	55.3%		13856	61.4%		273742	58.6%					
Unemployed	276	12.5%		1,868	2.5%		499	2.2%		8505	1.8%					
In Armed Forces	0	0.0%		77	0.1%		16	0.1%		641	0.1%					
Not In Labor Force	690	31.2%		31,070	42.1%		8213	36.4%		183891	39.4%					
Employment 1970																
Population Age 16+	1161			95513			24953			603287						
In Armed Forces	0	0.0%	0.0%	236	0.2%	0.1%	36	0.1%	1.0%	1166	0.2%	1.0%				
In Labor Force	616	53.1%	-15.7%	56959	59.6%	1.7%	15699	62.9%	-0.7%	386317	64.0%	3.4%				
Employed	591	50.9%	-5.4%	55372	58.0%	2.7%	15088	60.5%	-0.9%	376649	62.4%	3.8%				
Unemployed	25	2.2%	-10.3%	1587	1.7%	-0.8%	611	2.4%	0.2%	9668	16.0%	-0.2%				
Not In Labor Force	545	46.9%	15.7%	38318	40.1%	-2.0%	9218	36.9%	0.5%	215804	35.8%	-3.6%				
Employment 1980																
Population Age 16+	644			118941			22761			783392						
In Labor Force	263	40.8%	-12.3%	-28.0%	77553	65.2%	5.6%	7.3%	14322	62.9%	0.0%	-0.7%	539992	68.9%	4.9%	8.3%
Armed Forces	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	225	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%	14	0.1%	0.0%	0.9%	771	1.0%	-0.1%	0.0%
Civilian	263	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	77328	99.7%	-0.1%	-0.2%	14308	99.9%	0.0%	-0.9%	539221	99.9%	0.1%	0.0%
Employed	194	73.8%	-20.8%	-26.2%	74503	96.3%	38.3%	41.0%	12740	89.0%	-4.5%	-5.4%	516922	95.9%	3.7%	7.5%
Unemployed	69	26.2%	8.5%	-1.8%	2825	3.7%	2.0%	1.2%	1568	11.0%	4.5%	4.7%	22299	4.1%	1.2%	1.0%
Not In Labor Force	381	59.2%	12.3%	28.0%	41388	34.8%	-5.3%	-7.3%	8439	37.1%	0.2%	0.7%	243400	31.1%	-4.7%	-8.3%

At first glance, one might look at the 10.3% drop in Hayti’s unemployment between 1960 and 1970 and be stunned (note that it was high to begin with). However, a closer look at additional data suggest that, while the unemployment statistic dropped, the deterioration of the community can be seen elsewhere. First, the percentage of residents not in the labor force jumped 15.7% over the same period to a remarkable 46.9%. In addition, the percentage of the population outside of the rough employment range of 16-65 years old rose modestly. This suggests that a portion of the rise in the population not in the labor force is due to a higher percentage of people outside of the normal labor force age range. Additionally, the percentages of the population in 1970 with Social Security, railroad retirement, public assistance, and welfare as main sources of income are extremely high as compared to both Durham County and the control neighborhoods (see Table 4).

Table 4: 1970 Income Sources

Type of Income for households	Hayti		Durham County		Control Neighborhoods		Control Neighborhoods' Counties	
		%		%		%		%
Households With Income	675		51,193		13,101		301,322	
Wage and salary	462	68.4%	42,468	83.0%	10,677	81.50%	258,186	85.70%
Nonfarm self-employment	17	2.5%	3,639	7.1%	587	4.50%	25,820	8.60%
Farm self-employment	0	0%	821	1.6%	47	0.40%	7,413	2.50%
Social Security or Railroad Retirement	166	24.6%	10,057	19.6%	2,511	19.20%	50,773	16.90%
Public assistance or welfare payments	120	17.8%	3,297	6.4%	1,447	11.00%	11,102	3.70%
All other income	52	7.7%	15,239	29.8%	1,324	10.10%	85,577	28.40%

Based on this group of information, Hayti looks to have experienced a flight of its working-aged residents combined with some of its residents choosing to no longer look for employment. While there was a general trend towards the suburbs with the popularization of the personal automobile at the time, this level of suburban flight is unique to Hayti. The 43% drop in Hayti’s population was comprised disproportionately people of working age. Looking at the high percentage of residents receiving public support and welfare, it looks as if some of those who did not leave Hayti due to the destruction of local businesses simply stopped searching for jobs, making them a part of the “Not in Labor Force” category instead of “Unemployed.” The means of

transportation statistics support this as well, as Hayti residents who walked to work (and likely were employed by local businesses) dropped from 23.8% in 1960 to 15% in 1970, indicating that those who remained in Hayti were increasingly going outside of the community to work. Looking back at Table 3, both unemployment and those not in the labor force rose, as expected, between 1970 and 1980 in Hayti.

6.3 Hayti – positioned to fall anyway?

As previously discussed, Hayti, still near its peak in 1960, does not quite stack up statistically against Durham County or the control neighborhoods. One of the major questions left on the table by many historical accounts of Hayti is what the future would have held for the community had it not been the victim of urban renewal. While the black businesses of Hayti were thriving in 1960, segregation was also ending. This would bring down the divide between black and white businesses, exposing the black businesses to a whole new realm of competition which some locals believed the black businesses could not have handled [2].

Moving forward into the 70s and 80s, the control neighborhoods performed surprisingly well given the potential de-segregation “problem”. The average household income in these areas increased faster than their counties as a whole for the twenty year period at 56.3% and 53% respectively, although they were still lower in absolute terms. Unemployment did climb in the control neighborhoods over this time period from 2.2% to 6.9%, although climbed in the control neighborhoods’ counties as well, just to a lesser extent. This is to be expected, as unemployment hikes generally hit lower income neighborhoods harder and the trend of suburbanization hurt the central parts of cities. Looking further at other indicators such as education levels and employment sectors, the control neighborhoods moved roughly in tandem with their counties. Thus, the data

suggest that these sorts of neighborhoods had no problem, at a minimum, maintaining their relative economic positions given their larger exposure to downturns in the economy.

One facet in which there is some differentiation between the control neighborhoods and Hayti is population density, as some of the control neighborhoods were not as densely packed as Hayti was in 1960. If one observes Census Tract 50 in Mecklenburg County (in Charlotte next to Johnson C. Smith University) and Census Tract 9 in Wake County (in Raleigh next to Shaw University) in which the population density was over 10,000 people per square mile, there is a similar but less pronounced effect in terms of outward migration. These tracts saw a drop in population density of roughly 45% over the 20 year period, compared to a 72% plunge in Hayti. Such a drop fits with the strong suburbanization movement occurring over the period under analysis [9]. Like Hayti, boosts in household income lagged behind the surrounding areas. Based on this more detailed analysis of tracts which more closely mirror Hayti on a population density basis, the argument that segregation's end hurt black businesses rooted in all black communities cannot be dismissed. Based on Hayti's dependency on their businesses, this could have strong negative implications had Hayti remained intact.

7. Conclusion

After performing a detailed analysis of Durham's historic Hayti, there is no question that it was an extremely unique neighborhood. Hayti's prestige in terms of education levels and implied wealth, nevertheless, seems to have been a bit overstated in some historical accounts. In reality, Hayti was a dense and thriving black business center and residential neighborhood. The interconnections between Hayti's residents and such businesses were plentiful. However, it appears as though the most wealthy and educated, specifically those who ran these businesses, chose to live elsewhere. When Hayti was hit with revitalization and the construction of the Durham Freeway, businesses and residential areas were destroyed. Locations that remained became increasingly less

desirable as construction dragged on for more than a decade. Residents were forced to either move because their housing or local place of work was destroyed. Thus, there was extreme outward migration from the neighborhood made up largely of those in the labor force. By 1980 Hayti was a husk, with 72% less residents and large lots left vacant from the new-age investments which never came. The sorts of drops in population and lower than average gains in income that Hayti experienced, however, were not unique. Based on comparisons with similar black, educated, and urban neighborhoods, it appears as though Hayti would have seen some drop in population as well as income gains lower than Durham County as a whole. It is difficult to estimate to what extent these trends would have played out and what role the end of segregation had in such trends. Hayti fell very hard, although from a lower initial height than some histories indicate, and probably would have fallen to some extent had it not been destroyed by urban renewal. Beyond what these findings tell us about the actual state of Hayti, they also serve as a general caution against historical accounts without backing data, as authors may have a tendency to over-characterize subjects to create a more enthralling story.

Appendix

Figure 1: Map of Hayti in 1960 [6]

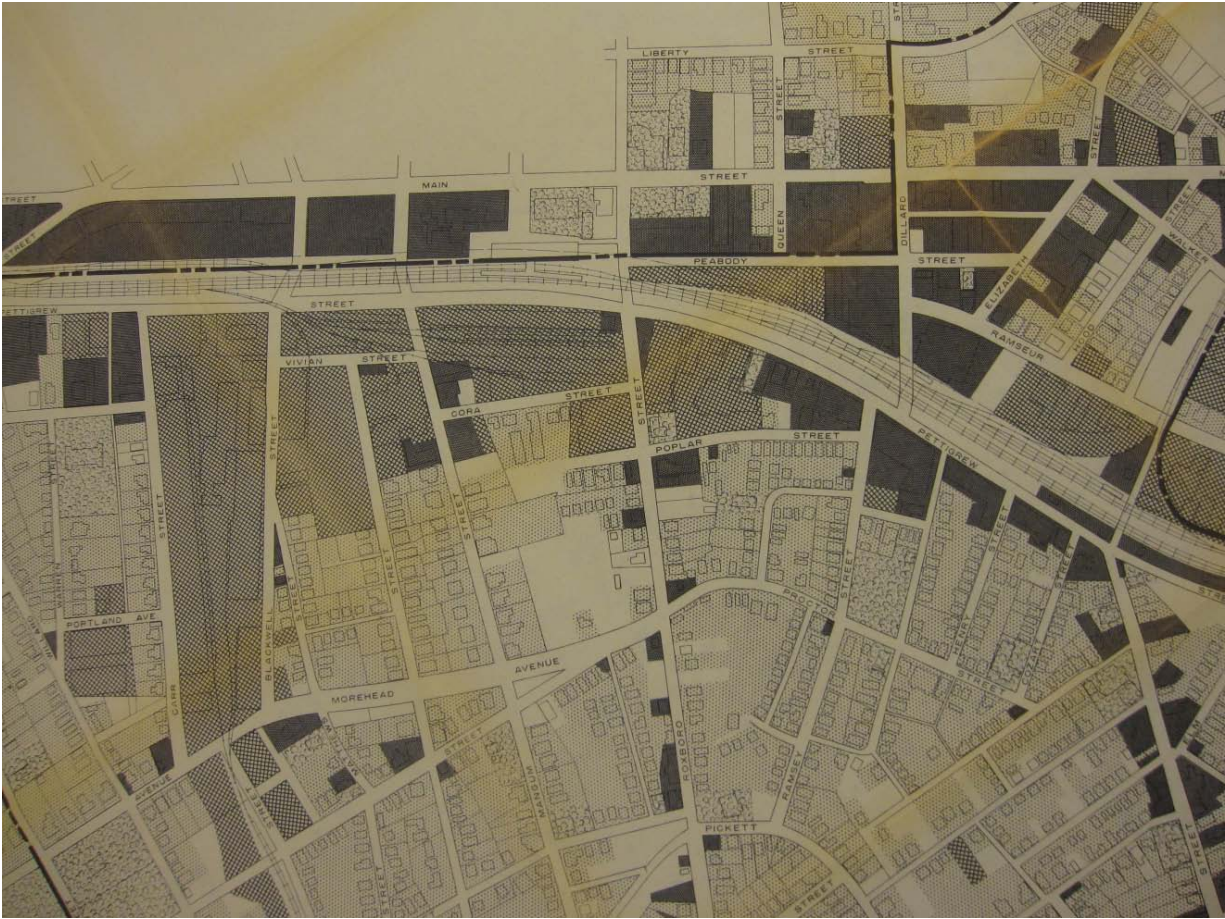


Figure 2: Proposed plan for the redevelopment of Hayti, 1960 [6]



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