

BLACK DURHAM RESIDENT'S FIGHT TO REGAIN THEIR POWER THROUGH
REJECTING THE TRICKERY OF THE BLUE DEVIL

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in the School of Education.

Chapel Hill
2013

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ABSTRACT

CASSANDRA DAVIS: Black Durham Residents' Fight to Regain their Power through
Rejecting the Trickery of the Blue Devil
(Under the direction of George W. Noblit)

This dissertation is a qualitative and historical project that builds on the work of critical race theorists in examining matters of race and socio-economic class. The purpose of this study is to facilitate a conversation with Black Durham working and elite/middle class residents, to understand to what extent they interpret the reasons behind the destruction of the Hayti District as another reemergence of the Blue Devil and identify the present and future standings of Durham's Black youth. The researcher conducted a qualitative experiment where she interviewed two groups of three working and elite/middle class participants. After the researcher interviewed all six participants, she coded, analyzed and paired the data with two conceptual models. The first conceptual model helped explain why the participants' spoke differently based on social class while the second conceptual model addressed what topics participants addressed. Through analysis, the researcher was able to determine that the participants viewed matters of the Hayti District differently based on class. In contrast, participants articulated the downfall of the Hayti District and school desegregation as another reemergence of the mythological creature, the Blue Devil. In addition to, all six participants agreed that Durham's Black youth were the current victims of the Blue Devil. However, when asked how these students could escape the mythological creature, it was only the participants from the elite class who could articulate a process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I began this journey six years ago with a messenger bag, my hp laptop, and a few years of teaching experience. I had no idea the amount of love, support and pearls of wisdom I would collect on my journey. Looking back now, I am utterly amazed, grateful and overwhelmed, so I thought I should use this space to say thanks. First, starting with my best friend, my life partner, my Clyde, my husband, Anthony Davis, how can I express my appreciation in a few words? You were there to pick me up and encourage me when I was down. You used the Word to motivate me. You praised me when my spirit needed it the most. I am so fortunate to have you, and I could not have made it this far without your love. Of course, next, I have to thank my lovely parents, Aleta Richards and Frank Richards III. You know what's funny, I believe you both knew I was going to take this journey long before I even started. It's almost as if you were preparing me, my whole life, for this moment. Mommi, I thank you for showing me what it means to be a mighty woman of God. I grew up knowing that I had some large shoes to fill especially with remarkable women like Sara Williams and Marlene Richards. I knew I had to continue the tradition of what it means to be a Richards-Williams woman and I thank you for being the best role model. Daddi, my school-buddy for life! What's our next conquest, Law School? Ha-ha I can literally feel mommi shaking her head since we both have been in school for the last 30 years! And now for the emotional part, I remember you worked day and night shifts just so I could attend that private school on Morewood Ave. I remember all those days you had to work, when you genuinely wanted to be at

home. I thank you for sacrificing so that I could get to this point. Grandma, I wish you were here, but I know you would be happy that I have your spirit of education within me. Aunt Stephie thank you for your help with getting this paper together. And thank you for encouraging me to study in Germany. I had a fantastic time, and without your advice I probably would have missed an incredible trip. Aunt Tia what a fantastic conversation we had about urban renewal in Pittsburgh. Thank you for broadening my perspective and seeing the Blue Devil in the burg. To grandpa, aunt Theresa, Jared, uncle Mark, aunt Chris, uncle George, aunt April, uncle Tod and aunt Christine, thank you for your support, emails, phone calls, text messages and love you all sent. Mr. and Mrs. Free, thank you for your cards, flowers and kind words encouraging me to keep at my school. To the S.O.S. group (Corliss, Billye, Dani, Shanyce, and Jessie), thank you for your words of wisdom, your laughter, your tears, we made it! Warren and Sarah, thanks for the many laughs and telling me that B.B.D stands for Bill, Bev and Devoe. Blake Family Group, (the McCains, the Hernandez, the Felders, the Stowers and more) thank you for the prayers, love and support. Tia and Steve, my “immediate family” in North Carolina. I feel like there was a long period where you both fed me at least three times a week. Not only did you literally feed me, but also you fed my soul. I also think I probably slept on that amazing comfortable couch at least once a month. Thank you for making sure I made it to this point. If Tia and Steve are my “immediate family”, than Penny and Ed you both are my “aunt and uncle.” Thank you for allowing me to use your home as a second library. Penny, hang in there you are almost done. TWIN!!! You know I still have the “get doctorate” shirt we made back in 2009. I know you are off improving the world with one Nike at a time, but I am so thankful that even during your crazy schedule

you still took the time to check in on me. I love you man and am so glad I have an awesome twin. Desola, my tres, I love you too. Watching you go through medical school and then become a leading surgeon at John Hopkins really kept me motivated. And yes I said leading, it's my acknowledgment, and that is how I see you! Thank you for reminding me what it means to be a phenomenal Alpha Kappa Alpha woman. Detra, my partner in crime thank you for keeping me laughing through this whole process. You, like my dad, are crazy smart and have ten degrees. What a major motivator for me to finish strong. Jason Mendez, Dara Mendez, Amy Anderson, Kellie Belton, Alisa DeMao and Linda Stone, thank you for keeping me focused and on track. To my participants, thank you for allowing me to tell your story. I had a blast and thoroughly enjoyed the many cups of tea, comfortable couches and heartfelt conversations. To my committee, thank you for allowing me to play with this Blue Devil notion. You guided me through this difficult process, but made sure I would make it to the end. George, words cannot express how thankful I am that you stepped in and grabbed me up. Where would I be without your support? You are an extraordinary coach and with your help, and gentle pushing, you helped me get to this point. To my history teachers, all the way back from Winchester Thurston, to Wake Forest to Carolina, thank you for imprinting your love of history on to my heart. Thank you for lighting this passion for analyzing history in order to solve problems of the future. To my students from my first year of teaching, thank you. To my family in Germany, the Peterandes, danke. Judith and Peter you both are fantastic, and I cannot wait to take my theories to Deutschland. To everyone, to the ones who supported me and even to the ones who wished I failed. To the bus driver from who always asked about my school. To the Ms. Brenda, the grandmother of my neighborhood

who constantly praised me for working hard. I am thankful for all of the hard lessons, the obstacles, the hurdles, I had to jump during this journey. Thank you all for making sure that I made it to this point in my life. As I gear up and prepare for the next journey, I will selfishly take your love and memories with me so that I will not fail. Thank you!

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INTRODUCTION

For the last century, Blacks in Durham County have both achieved great success and faced great turmoil. In the late 19th century a group of Black newly freedmen purchased a plot of land in Durham, North Carolina that would be later known as ‘Black Mecca’ for over a fifty-year span (Brown, 2008). By the 20th century, this community sprung up over 300 Black owned businesses and 600 homes. More specifically, Black owned factories produced textile products and distributed these across the country, generating substantial revenue for Durham Blacks. Unfortunately, in the 1950s, the ‘Black Mecca’ experienced a sudden transformation when federal and state governments financed an urban initiative that ironically split and destroyed the Black community. Through these initiatives, the government closed hundreds of Black-owned businesses, destroyed thousands of homes, and constructed new highways in their place. After the destruction of their influential Black community, thousands of Blacks from the elite/middle to the working class were in a state of hopelessness. In essence, Durham Blacks were victims of the mythological creature, the *Blue Devil*; a spirit that was known to possess their ancestors hundreds of years earlier.

From the first slave ship exiting the African coast, to the last, there were many reports of Africans who caught the *Blue Devil* in route to the New World. As characterized by captains, ship crewmembers and missionaries, the infamous *Blue Devil* possessed its inhabitants, forced them into a depressed state, and then persuaded the individuals to commit suicide. From the colonizers’ perspective it was the mythological

spirit that drove hundreds of thousands of Africans to their untimely death (Piersen, 1977). Unfortunately, it took the spoken words from former slaves to uncover that the *Blue Devil* was, in reality, the reaction to being ripped away from their homeland and traveling to an uncertain future.

I am making the argument that over a hundred years later there is a re-emergence of the essence of the *Blue Devil* in Durham's Black community due, in part, to urban renewal and school desegregation. The destruction of their community and the demise of Black schools forced Durham Blacks to deal with the loss of their heart, eerily similar to the reactions African slaves faced when colonizers removed them from their homes. With help from federal, state and local agencies, urban renewal destroyed Durham's most profitable Black community. Due to the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, a majority of Black schools in Durham County closed, thus resulting in the firing and elimination of hundreds of Black educators. Since then Durham Blacks have never fully recovered from the miasmatic *Blue Devil*: we see this through disproportionate and high rates of high school dropouts, unemployment, incarceration, homelessness and poverty.

Statement of the Growing Problem

Nationally data shows that Blacks are falling behind their peers in- and out- of school. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (2012) in 2010, Hispanic students ranked first in having the worst dropout rate in the nation compared to Black students who were ranked third. Although Black students were less likely to drop out of school, compared to their Hispanic peers, they were almost twice as likely to be unemployed. The report also stated that only 50% of Black students graduated from high school within a four-year period. Black students ranked below

Hispanic students. In 2007, 49% of Black students in high school had one or more short-term and/or long-term suspension(s). Respectively, this rate is much higher than that of their Hispanics (26%), White (18%) and Asian/Pacific Islander (13%) peers. Black students also had the highest rate of expulsions at 10% compared to their White peers at 1% (NCES Chapter 2). In school districts across the country, educators are disproportionately labeling Black students as at-risk or identifying them as students within the special populations category. Authors Milner and Howard uncovered in 2003 that Black students accounted for 16% of the student population. However, 30% of students in special needs classes are Black, almost doubling the rate in the overall population (2004). In 2011, the NCES reported that 20.2% of Blacks 25 and over had a Bachelor's degree or higher. This rate is 10.2% lower than the national average of 30.4%. Furthermore, when you specifically disaggregate the data, looking at gender, only 18.4% of Black males 25 years and over have a Bachelor's degree. Overall, the growing problem is that Black students are struggling to excel in their school environment.

According to the Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice (CJCJ), Black youth are 21 more times likely to be murdered and 28 more times likely to suffer an injury from a firearm (CJCJ). The NCES stated that in 2007, Blacks aged 15 to 24 were more likely to be victims of a homicide compared to their peers. Black males account for 88.2 deaths per 100,000 in comparison to the national male average of 22.1 (Table 51a).

The National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) argued that Black males are proportionally overrepresented in national prisons. According to the data, about 2.3 million people are incarcerated and almost 1 million of

them are Black. This means that about 43% of individuals in prisons across this country are Black. The NAACP estimates that 33% of Black males born today can expect to enter incarceration during their lifetime. Similar to the disproportionate number in jails, the CJCJ states that a similar problem is present in juvenile detention centers across the nation (CJCJ). According to the North Carolina Department of Corrections, in 2010, 57% of the prison population was Black; however, only 21% of the state's population was Black (NC Corrections, 2011).

In terms of poverty, the NCES stated that in 2009 Blacks had the second highest rate of poverty after Native Americans. According to the data, 25.6% of Blacks are in poverty compared to the national average of 14.3%. After disaggregating the data by age, Blacks aged 15-24 had the highest rate of poverty of 31.0% compared to the national average of 19.6% (Table 31).

Similar to national statistics, data from Durham County show that Blacks have higher rates of high school dropouts, unemployment, incarceration, homelessness and poverty compared to any other racial group in the county. Blacks are falling behind in and out of schools. In 2009-2010 Black students from Durham County made up about 52% of the districts' student population; however 76% of dropouts were Black (DPI, 2011). In the same year, only 63% of Blacks graduated from high school compared to 87% of their White counterparts. In terms of suspensions, Black students accounted for 81% of short-term suspensions and 83% of all long-term suspensions for the year. Durham schools are pushing out highly disproportionate rates of Black students.

These statistics mirror the community. According to the Durham non-profit Opening Doors Homeless Prevention & Services, in 2010 Blacks comprised about 40%

of the Durham population (ODHPS, 2011). However, this agency calculated that Blacks accounted for 67% of the homeless population. Similar to high rates of homelessness, Blacks in Durham County have high unemployment and poverty rates.

Based on the statistics provided above, I am interested in using the mythical (and in this case metaphorical) *Blue Devil* as a lens to interpret how Durham residents characterize their history, status and future. In doing so, I examine the *Blue Devil's* initial and succeeding moments in history by investigating: 1) Africans enslaved during the Atlantic Slave Trade throughout the New World, 2) the creation and enforcement of Jim Crow in the United States and 3) the immediate aftermath of both urbanization and school desegregation specifically in Durham, North Carolina. These provide a deeper context for the lens used in this study.

With this as context, I conducted interviews with elite/middle (3) and working class (3) Blacks from Durham County to ask them about the present and future standings of Durham's Black community, specifically focusing on youth. We also explored the *Blue Devil* as a metaphor for these standings in the interviews. As this dissertation documents, the past is fully implicated in the present in the history of race in Durham, and metaphors from that past may be productive windows of the present and future. In this study, it is all about the *Blue Devil* metaphor and its history.

Recalling the Blue Devil

The phrase *Blue Devil* has a complex history. It first appeared in Western European poems, short essays and even newspapers around the late 18th century (Unknown, 1825). The actual birth of the mythological creature may have been due to the higher than usual rates of suicides found in European countries. In England, it was a

violation against humanity and God if one were to kill oneself. If a person committed suicide, the family of the deceased had to pierce the body and bury it in isolation. With the *Blue Devil* present, families could argue that an evil spirit tricked their deceased member into committing suicide allowing them to bury their deceased family member within the family plot.

In the late 18th century, slave traffickers used the term *Blue Devil* to refer to the depressed state African slaves experienced once removed from their homeland (Piersen, 1977). Once traffickers captured and chained Africans, they were miserable, lost their appetites, had panic attacks, and even committed suicide. For the Africans their homeland represented a place where their gods resided: a place where their deceased ancestors walked around and communicated with them daily. For them, Africa was their heart. Moreover, heinous removal tactics proved disastrous and caused mental and physical trauma.

Known for his writings on British expansionism and military tactics in colonizing natives, author and poet Rudyard Kipling was most famous for writing *The Jungle Book* in 1894 (Literature Network, 2011). In one of Kipling's poems entitled *The Egg-Shell*, he described how the *Blue Devil* grabbed an individual and threw him from a boat. At the end of the poem, he articulated that the *Blue Devil* survived however, the person did not. This image is uncannily similar to what slave traffickers said occurred with Africans during the Atlantic slave trade. Below is an excerpt from Kipling's poem.

*The wind got up with the morning--
The fog blew off with the rain,
When the Witch of the North saw the Egg-shell
And the little Blue Devil again.
"Did you swim?" she said. "Did you sink:" she said,
And the little Blue Devil replied:*

"For myself I swam, but I think," he said,
"There's somebody sinking outside."

During the 18th century, militarists and missionaries reported to the House of Commons that Africans were killing themselves in high rates (Piersen, 1977). Lieutenant Baker Davidson notified the House of Commons that African slaves would happily declare, while they were dying, that they would shortly be returning to their native land. Captain Thomas Phillips, from the slave ship Hannibal, described the image of Africans jumping off the boat in a desperate attempt to remain near their heart. He stated, "The Negroes are so willful and loth to leave their own country that they have often leap'd out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water 'til they were drowned" (p. 150). A local missionary, Luca de Caltanissetta, described the story of a Portuguese merchant who attempted to purchase an African woman and her child (Thornton, 2003). The African woman was convinced that her being sold would result in her immediate demise and transfer to the New World. Luca de Caltanissetta described that the woman grabbed her infant and threw him against a rock. She then took arrows away from a nearby man and stabbed herself into her chest. He stated, "She desperately died" (p.274).

Slave traffickers ripped millions of enslaved Africans from their home, family, ancestors and gods. This removal process created mental and physical trauma within Africans since they feared their early demise would result (Piersen, 1977). In a desperate attempt to return to their heart, hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans committed suicide; only to be identified as the workings of the *Blue Devil* by ship crewmembers.

Although *Blue Devil* is metaphoric and not literal, this simple fictional character endures as a way to examine the problems for Blacks some 300 years later. The *Blue Devil* was not limited to this period of slavery, but has come to be a part of Black urban

life. In my research, I identified two additional major historical points where we see a re-emergence in the essence of the Blue Devil. During these periods, Blacks viewed their circumstance through the *Blue Devil's* lens, which caused them to see a particular and, maybe to some, distorted reality. Through my studies, I explored the process of how Blacks either put on or removed the *Blue Devil's* lens.

The Blue Devil meets Jim Crow

The Jim Crow laws prevented Blacks and Whites from intermingling in public and private atmospheres. These laws were mainly in existence in southern states between the 1870s and 1960s, and were set in place to prevent Blacks and Whites from intermarrying, eating together in a restaurant, and sitting near each other on public transportation, using the same facilities and living in the same neighborhood (Brown, 2008). Additional restrictions focused on salutations. For example, it was a requirement for Blacks to be introduced to Whites but not for Whites to be introduced to Blacks. It was also required for Blacks to address Whites with a personal title; however, Whites had the privilege to call Blacks by their first name (Brown, 2008).

Foundational structures lay in place from slavery and Jim Crow forced Blacks to believe they were inferior to Whites. This idea of being inferior based on one's race began with slavery, continued with scientific research, and then resulted in the creation of the Jim Crow Laws. This continued cycle of inferiority led Blacks to ignore the fact that they were fully capable beings, but instead viewed themselves through the *Blue Devil's* lens as ignorant and hopeless. This false perception was prevalent amongst Black adults but regrettably trickled down to Black students as well. Once again, a new representation of the *Blue Devil* returned to the Black community but spawned in part by the Jim Crow

Laws. Black southerners who did not follow the Jim Crow laws were killed, lynched, burned and/or even raped (Brown, 2008). In most cases, their outward rebellion cost them their lives and their property. Officials rarely arrested Whites who lynched and raped Black men and women; thus proving to southern Blacks that the federal, state and local governments were in complete support of their demise. During Jim Crow, there were also large migrations of African Americans to the industrial, urban north and more commercial, urban south. Urbanization affected Blacks nationally and permitted *Blue Devil* to continue its rein.

Building Highways and Destroying Communities

After the end of World War II, the federal government largely funded projects that increased employment rates and focused on edifying the nation (Kemp, 2001). Of the many projects, federal highway programs became the leading initiatives that focused on federal goals of unification. In 1956, the legislative signed the Federal-Aid Highway Act into law. By 1974, this act brought about 43,000 miles of multi-lane highways throughout the Unites States; thus creating thousands of jobs and allowing commuters to travel safely from coast to coast.

Politics greatly determined the decision on the placement of highways. Typically, these structures had ghastly effects on land values, so it was important that they were in an area with low tax values. Areas largely made up of Black residents were more likely to have lower land values and consequently they became the ideal place for the government to construct highways (Mandelker, 1968). In Nashville, Tennessee, the local government built a highway directly in the middle of the town's historic Black business district (Brundage, 2005). In Miami, Florida, construction workers destroyed the

influential Black neighborhood known as Overtown in order to build parking lots and an access ramp to the highway. Unfortunately, for Black urban residents, the government recognized their communities, homes and businesses as objects in the way of unifying the country. Due to this perception, the federal government led state and local affiliates to legally destroy hundreds of Black communities across the United States through the perverted framework of urban renewal.

The federal government used urban renewal programs as a tool to eliminate Black communities in inner-city neighborhoods. Through false pretenses, the local, state and federal governments teamed up to create revitalization policies to destroy communities throughout the United States. According to the federal report entitled, *The Impact of Federal Urban Development Programs on Local Government Organization and Planning* written (1964), in 1963 the government funded \$4.3 million toward community renewal programs (CRP). A year later, 100 cities prepared to renew their inner city Black communities. The report also stated that the urban programs were responsible for “clearing and rebuilding slums, rehabilitating deteriorating areas, and conserving basically good neighborhoods” (ACIR, 1964, p.68).

Local governments fought to renew their urban areas in order to bring back White-owned businesses, increase tourism, and create an environment where White families would feel safe (Kemp, 2001). In order to recruit this type of clientele, CRP allowed local governments to remove dilapidated buildings and rundown homes, and replace them with sports arenas and new office buildings. Coincidentally, these renewal programs largely removed Black residents living in urban areas and placed them in areas that were equally appalling on the outskirts of the city. This nationwide enforced exodus

proved that the needs of Black urban residents were less important than their White counterparts.

Across the country, a dichotomy formed between those living outside the city and those living inside. The outsiders, including families living in the suburbs, viewed the construction of federal highways as a necessity and an asset (Kemp, 2001). Those living inside the city, also known as the urban residents, saw this as an exclusionary process that failed to account for their perspective. It was apparent that the government was not concerned with how highways affected inner-city residents. The focus was more on how the newly constructed roads would allow outer-city commuters access to multiple regions and thus increase revenue for the county (Kemp, 2001).

Around the mid-20th century, researchers published several reports on the negative effects of urban renewal projects in the United States. A report from the Library of Congress concluded that the urban renewal programs were negatively affecting communities and its results did not link to its intended purpose (Government Printing Office, 1964). Author of a critical analysis of urban renewal projects, Martin Anderson stated, the CAP “are destroying small businesses and jobs and contributing to our unemployment problem” (Anderson, 1964, p.69). Anderson also argued, “The federal urban renewal program allows those in control of the operation of the program to change one kind of neighborhood into another kind of destroying the old buildings and replacing them with new ones” (p.3). In 1968, Daniel Mandelker created a case study on land planning and development and observed urban renewal projects as splitting and “disrupting neighborhood life.” In the end, he blamed these projects for contributing to the decline of inner-city residences (p.1).

The federal government's attempt to bring the nation together with highways ironically produced more division amongst those living in the inner- and outer-city (Anderson, 1964). Unfortunately, Blacks predominantly lived in inner-city urban areas and were the first groups, and sometimes only groups, of people forced to relocate. Once more, the perception of the *Blue Devil* returned to the Black community but with the help of urban renewal projects. Within ten years of the urban renewal projects, came the federal decision to close down Black schools across the nation. Unfortunately, this decision created the perception that the *Blue Devil* holds sway over Black communities totally; the demise of Black schools attacked the heart of Black communities.

The Blue Devil Dismantles Black Schools and its Teachers

We see a reappearance of the *Blue Devil* after the infamous Brown v. Board of Education case in 1951 where White schools were required to educate Black children. Throughout the country, thousands of Black students had the opportunity to transition into schools that, in some cases, had better resources and were structurally sound (Webb, 2006). Unfortunately, this transition came at the price of dismantling Black schools as well as firing, demoting and transferring thousands of Black teachers and administrators. When school desegregation undercut a valued and significant part of the Black community some interpreted the reality of this decision through the Blue Devil's lens. A brief description of the Brown decision and reactions to it will show how.

In 1951, Oliver L. Brown was one of over 175 plaintiffs who petitioned for racially integrated facilities and the disbarment of the infamous Jim Crow Laws and practice. With hundreds of irate plaintiffs, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and two powerhouse attorneys Charles Houston and

Thurgood Marshall, the United States Supreme Court case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, was born. This case made the argument that segregation based on race was an infringement on the 14th Amendment. In an attempt to prove that segregation mentally disrupted Black students, Attorney Thurgood Marshall incorporated Dr. Clark's Doll experiment to the case. During the *Brown v. Board* court case Dr. Clark stated, "My opinion is that a fundamental effect of segregation is basic confusion in the individuals and their concepts about themselves conflicting in their self image" (45 Am. U.L. Rev.2, p.28). In 1954, the United States Supreme Court concluded that the notion of 'separate but equal' provided by the Jim Crow Laws were unconstitutional and required that all schools and facilities be racially integrated.

Although school desegregation intended to benefit students across the country, it called for the closing of thousands of Black schools. Ironically, racial integration perpetuated the notion that blackness was substandard and that whiteness equated power and privilege. Integration gave birth to the belief that Black students were lacking knowledge that one could only receive by attending a White school. As Milner and Howard (2004) concluded, "Brown was certainly celebrated by those who believed or adhered to the mental construction that White schools were better than Black schools and that there was somehow some secret learning taking place over there that their Black children could now have access to" (p.292).

Regardless of the talent and sheer superiority of certain Black schools, school boards regarded them as inferior and shut them down. An example of this is the response to desegregation in North Carolina. The Caswell County Training School (CCTS) was the only Black school in the entire county. Compared to all schools in the county it was

(Tillman, 2004). Statistics show that between 1954 and 1985 more than 38,000 black administrators and teachers lost their jobs in 17 southern states (Hudson & Holmes, 1994).

Black teachers could not teach in the integrated schools even if they had higher qualifications compared to their white counterparts. Within a week after the Brown ruling, a school board from a small town in Florida fired Black teachers including those with Master of Arts degrees. Similar incidences occurred in Missouri where the school system fired qualified Black educators, even those with doctoral degrees. Regrettably, most cases schools retained White teachers, even those with far less educational preparation and stature (Tillman, 2004). This further proved that race, not education or class, marked a person as inferior, even in a process supposedly to remedy an injustice. In this case, injustice ran rampant.

Firings occurred throughout the south where school boards gave little to no formal explanation. In Mississippi, citizens demanded that the school board fire Black teachers (Tillman, 2004). In 13 southern bordering states, school systems fired 90% of Black principals. In North Carolina between 1967 and 1971, the number of Black principals dropped from 620 to 40. In Florida, during the 1975 to 1976 school year, the Board of Education added 165 public schools through desegregation but fired 166 Black principals.

In Milwaukee there was a “Gentlemen’s Agreement” that agreed to not hire Black teachers based on issues with salary, qualifications, and social principles (Dougherty, 2004, p. 29). First, educators argued that high school teachers held a higher status and deserved a salary to match their standing. If they were to allow Blacks to be high school

teachers it would further reduce the status of their positions. Secondly, the agreement stipulated that Blacks were not capable of educating Whites since they themselves did not possess the academic qualifications. Finally, the agreement stated that Black teachers were sexual predators that would create uncomfortable and inappropriate social interactions with students. It was through this agreement that high school teaching would maintain its high status as a White only profession in which both White students and teachers were safe from the supposed Black sexual predator.

Despite Eurocentric perspectives on segregation, the Black community viewed their educators as a valued asset who worked to support Black students. Their removal from schools was a major blow to not only the community but also its students. These students went from attending a school where their role model resembled them to an environment where few if none of the adults were from their community. Milner and Howard (2004) agreed that the switch in school settings proved disastrous to Black students, “the loss of African American teachers in public school settings has had a lasting negative impact on all students, particularly African American students and the communities in which they reside” (p.285).

The school system did not fire all of the Black administrators and teachers. In very few cases Black principals were shifted to the White schools to be disciplinarians to Black students. One educator remembered the shift in responsibility for several Black administrators, “They took out the best principals and leaders from [the Black] communities and put them into these newly desegregated schools and called them assistant principals. In addition, they were usually in charge of discipline for Black kids, particularly Black boys. So it was a devastating blow” (Milner & Howard, 2004, p.290).

School desegregation was another federal mandate that manipulated Black students, destroyed Black communities and excluded Black educators. Unfortunately, this mandate reminded Blacks to re-think the lies learned from Jim Crow. Regrettably, this way of thinking is still with us today as we witness the depressing and disproportionate statistics on Blacks in the United States. Taking on the *Blue Devil* is a large endeavor, too much for any single study. However, it is possible to discern what this metaphor is about and what it reveals and obscures in understanding of the racial history of a particular place and during a particular time. This study explores the usefulness and impact of the *Blue Devil* in Durham NC, and for the 60 years from school desegregation and urban renewal until the present.

Purpose of the Study

Durham, North Carolina is a fascinating city with a vibrant history. In the early 1900s, influential Black leaders identified Durham as being the center for Black middle class. For decades, the city was comprised of numerous Black owned companies that hired, retained and supported Black residents. However, in the 1960s this city was the victim of an urban renewal project that used federal funds to destroy this successful Black community. By the mid to late 1960s, Durham City Schools initiated school desegregation --leading to the closure of multiple Black schools and the firing of hundreds of Black educators.

Although this story is similar to other cities across the South, I am not interested in a broad generalization. I am, rather, focusing on fostering dialogues towards different futures for Black Americans. Each context is different and thus each dialogue focuses on the terms of the communities in that context. The case of Durham is instructive

nonetheless and the *Blue Devil* plays out in a particular way. This research demonstrates that this approach can be productive in fostering the kinds of dialogues in which I am interested.

The purpose of this study is to facilitate a conversation with Black Durham working class and elite/middle residents, to understand further how they interpret the reasons behind the destruction of the Black community and identify the present and future of their youth. Urban renewal and school desegregation occurred in Durham, NC and are vital to understanding how Durham's Blacks went from being a part of one of the most profitable communities in the country, to being ranked high in incarceration, homelessness, and poverty -- and low in education. Through this research, I am interested in uncovering how working class and elite/middle Blacks from Durham County articulate how Black youth can achieve success and re-gain their power. I am also interested in how these individuals describe how a community rebuilds after its demise, in theory how to rid a community of believing the power and existence of the *Blue Devil*.

My research will focus on the following questions and concepts:

- 1) To what extent do Durham Blacks associate the destruction of Hayti and school desegregation as another reemergence of the *Blue Devil*?
- 2) To what extent is it possible to rid completely oneself from the notion of the *Blue Devil*?
 - a) If it were possible, what would this process look like?
- 3) What does the future look like for Durham Black students?
 - a) To what extent does the past affect their present?

Both enslaved Africans and Durham Blacks faced similar feelings of inner- and outer- turmoil since slave traffickers removed them from their heart. For the enslaved Africans, their heart represented their homeland, their ancestors, gods and family. For

Durham Blacks, their heart equated the famous Hayti District where Blacks owned and operated businesses and schools. Once slave traffickers separated these individuals from their heart, catastrophe ensued. For the Africans, depression and suicide clouded their judgment. In addition, for Durham's Black populations, high rates of incarceration, poverty, unemployment, low graduation and education rates cloud views of alternative futures. In both cases, I argue, the mere notion of the *Blue Devil* contained enough power to prevent its victims from seeing the truth.

In the next chapter, I will address the conceptual framework and methodology for my research. I will use critical race theory as a base for my theoretical framework for my study. I will also explain how Durham's Hayti District, including its Black schools, challenged the existing social order and thus, arguably, guaranteed its demise. In chapters three and four, I will introduce and analyze three historical occurrences that affected the Black community. I will start with slavery, then continue with Jim Crow Laws and finally end with urban renewal and school desegregation. In chapter five, I will present my findings from my interviews. Next in chapter six, I will analyze and interpret the data with the help from my conceptual model. Finally, in chapter seven I will summarize my findings and make predictions for the future of Black students in Durham County, North Carolina. In this, I will examine how problematic realities characterize Black history and the future of educating Black citizens of Durham.

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will present Critical race theory (CRT) as the conceptual framework for my dissertation. Here I will illustrate the tenets of this theory and address how the urban renewal and school desegregation link to theory. I will then introduce the notion of how challenging the existing social order may benefit Black Durham youth. Next, I will present my interpretation of counter narratives. To explain the relation of CRT to my research, I will present two conceptual models: the first describes the interconnections between race, and voice, the second will illustrate the difference between objective and subjective realities in relation to the *Blue Devil* in order to address the intersection between race, social class and voice. Finally, I will conclude with my research procedure where I will address my method in completing my research and my position.

Conceptual Framework

Critical race theory stems from the idea that whiteness oppresses and marginalizes individuals who identified as the other. Theorists define whiteness as the dominant and normative culture within the United States and thus stem from the White, male, Christian principles. They also argue that everything outside of Whiteness is deviant and ridiculed as subservient to the norm. CRT is comprised of four tenets: 1) racism in America is prevalent and constant; 2) racism has attributed to benefits and shortcomings of all racial groups; 3) claims of colorblindness, neutrality, meritocracy and liberalism are part of oppressing those of color; and 4) the dominant discourse largely generates the construction of history (Bell, 2004).

Critical race theorists Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate IV argued that power in the United States has a strong association with property rights (1995). Initially this lust for power through property began with the first European settlers stating that Native Americans had a “natural” right to the land but not a “civil right” (Ladson-Billings, Tate IV, 1995, p.53). This distinction between rights, allowed Europeans to declare themselves the ordained owners of the American territory. Since this point in history, American settlers forcibly removed people from Mexico, Spain, Japan and other countries in order to claim omnipotence over the land.

The urban renewal of Durham County was another method used to remove property rights from Blacks and regain power of the dominant culture. For 100 years, Blacks owned hundreds of acres in Durham County that later became extremely lucrative. By destroying their most profitable community, Whites were able to recover the land, reduce Black power and break the spirit from the Black community.

The Federal Judicial system used the *Brown v. Board of Education* case to create an image of racial equality by allowing Black and White students to integrate into schools. Unfortunately, the decision failed to acknowledge how this process also contained inferior images of Black educators, schools and communities (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006). By not including Black schools or Black educators within the desegregation transition demonstrated that the dominate community believed Black culture to be valueless (Dempsey & Noblit, 1993). The implementation of desegregation benefitted White students because it burdened children of color and inscribed Whites as able students. For the ‘greater good’ of the community, Blacks were required to leave everything, their schools, educators and communities.

According to CRT, desegregation was a tactic used to force Black students to assimilate into White dominant educative norms. Transferring Black students to White schools implied that Blacks needed to shed their past culture, learning institutions, educators, and accept the dominance of Whiteness. This tactic also affirmed that Blacks no longer identified as separate species, as the polygenists¹ had originally argued in the 19th century. Rather Blacks were inferior to Whites in culture, education and social prospects. Thus, it appears that the only way for Blacks to be equal is if they challenge the existing norms set by the dominant society.

Challenging Existing Social Order

Through the CRT lens, the existing social structure is dependent on sustaining White dominant values and interests, which uphold the Eurocentric society. With a Eurocentric perspective guiding the administration of pedagogy, Black students are unable to maneuver effectively in schools and school systems. History has shown that the Eurocentric schooling system does not intend to educate Black students but only plan to perpetuate White ethnocentric principles. According to John Stanfield, he defined ethnocentrism as the “group-centeredness of populations” (Stanfield, 1985, p.393). Race, class, sex, religion and social institutions determine the centeredness of the group. It then becomes the duty of the group to uphold and preserve a communal consciousness and rejects other perceptions as inferior. Stanfield also asserted that, “Ethnocentrism has both initiated and legitimized the unequal distribution of resources and privileges among human populations” (p.394).

¹A polygenist is an individual who believes that humans derive from multiple animals. This way of thinking introduced the idea that Blacks were separate species from Whites. Up until the 19th century, this notion largely confirmed that the evolution of Blacks was separate from their White counterparts.

In Mwalimu J. Shujaa article entitled *Education and Schooling: You can have one without the other*; he argued that the schooling process intends to benefit the elite/middle Eurocentric class through upholding the communal consciousness (1993). He stated, “[the schooling process] is designed to provide an ample supply of people who are loyal to the nation-state and who have learned the skills needed to perform the work that is necessary to maintain the dominance of the...elite in the social order” (p.330). Shujaa referred to ethnocentrism as the existing social order. Here this social structure maintains schooling by marginalizing an inferior group.

Shujaa also argued that schooling and education produced oppositional outcomes for the inferior group. Education (as opposed to schooling) recognizes students as individual but equal contenders. It also allows students to learn their own heritage (i.e. Black heritage). In contrast, schooling continues the ethnocentric ideologies of whiteness and works to impede education. According to Shujaa, the only way to improve Black student achievement in education is to remove them from the existing social order. In this transition, students are able to be educated and not schooled.

Critical race theory addresses the fallacies on the construction of power and racism in the United States. According to CRT, these principles are rooted in the country’s foundational policies that support and maintain the power of the dominant culture (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Although this may seem bleak, still some theorists argue that the only way to remove Blacks from formidable system is to challenge the existing social order (Ladson-Billings& Tate, 1995; Shujaa, 1993).

My hope in this research is that I will discover another pathway to success by hearing it from people in the community. Contrary to critical race theorists, socio-

economic status may need considerations that are more explicit (Weis & Fine, 1996). Their perspective about the past, present and future of Black students will help me gauge if another route to educate Blacks is feasible. Critical race theory addresses the importance of listening to narratives that are deviant from the norm and have a reaction from their voices.

Multi-Dimensional Counter Narratives: The First Conceptual Model

Critical race theory scholars deem the perspective and voice from people of color as a necessary component that enhances the body of knowledge (Dixon & Rousseau, 2006). Scholars argue that the dominant Eurocentric discourse undermines voices from people of color and treats them as inferior (Dixon & Rousseau, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Tate; Shujaa, 1993; Stanfield, 1985). Due to its deviance from the normative White voice, their voice should be included in research to counter dominant perspectives and challenge the story (Dixon & Rousseau, 2005). In addition to, scholar John O. Calmore identified the voice as a valid resource that empowers its listeners (1995). He stated, “Toward a very personal expression that allows our experiences and lessons, learned as people of color, to convey the knowledge we possess in a way that is empowering to us, and it is hoped, ultimately empowering to those on whose behalf we act” (Calmore, 1995, p.321).

Critical race theorist scholars view race and SES as two divergent influences that affect Black education, life and property (Dixon & Rousseau, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995; Milner IV, 2007). While CRT scholars do believe SES helps to explain issues such as racism, oppression, injustice and inequality, SES however does not fully address instances in- and outside of the field of education (Milner IV, 2007). In contrast,

current research suggests that SES may have more of an impact than expected (Milner, 2007; Weis & Fine, 1996). Scholar H. Richard Milner (2007) stated, “Compelling evidence suggests that people’s situations are shaped by more than mere SES” (p.390). Additional, theorists Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate IV (1995) affirmed, “race continues to be significant in explaining inequality in the United States claims that class-based and gender-based explanations are not powerful enough to explain all of the differences (or variances) in school experience and performance” (p.15). Ladson-Billings and Tate IV continue to argue that SES fails to explain the achievement gap amongst students of color and Whites.

To support CRT theorists’ beliefs on SES and its interaction with race, researchers conducted a study in the late 20th century that sought out the impact of race and class (Weis & Fine, 1996). The researchers were interested in discovering to what extent White and Black working class men differed in their perspectives on life. The findings from this research suggested that regardless of similarities from class, race marked the sole difference between the two groups. A main difference was how each group identified their source of shortcomings. Blacks from the working class blamed society and systemic racism, while Whites blamed Blacks. The authors of this research made the following observation,

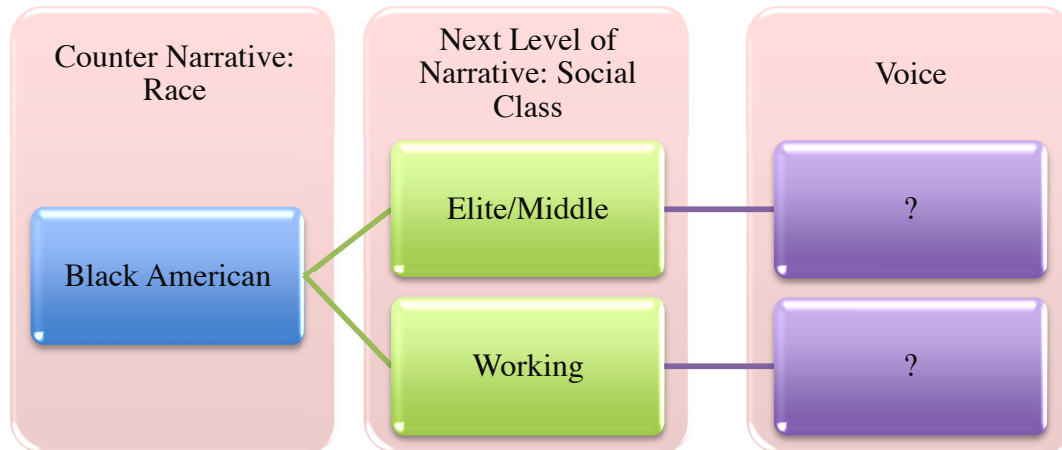
“The groups under consideration, White and African American men, lodge critique different because of their different historic and current subject locations, locations that encourage them to experience the world in particular ways. Although these men are all poor or relatively poor, they are not equally impoverished, nor do the experience and conceptualize their lives similarly. Their biographies of race enable them to live out their class and gender differently” (p.513)

In opposition to CRT, I would like to include one's SES as a significant factor in specific instances. For example, I find it interesting that CRT scholars mention SES only when comparing Whites versus people of color. In this case, it makes sense to override the issue of class and focus on the counter narratives of people of color. However, in instances where researchers are comparing narratives of people of color with other individuals of similar color, race can no longer be the mitigating factor -- class should be its replacement.

There are multi-dimensional counter narratives within Black Americans. This starts with the initial counter narrative from Black individuals but even deeper, there are counter narratives to those narratives that derive from social class differences. In the Weis and Fine study above, the researchers illustrated that both working class Whites' and Blacks' narratives were different, and that this distinction was through race. Just as Whites and Blacks represented as one common social class exuded radically different perspectives, Blacks under the commonality of race will exude different perspectives based on social class.

My first conceptual model, found below in *Image 1*, depicts the multi-dimensional counter narratives. The first cell contains Black Americans where they currently embody the counter narrative perspective. The second cell contains the next level of narratives based on their social class. Lastly, the participant's race and social class affects their voice. The image presents my argument that the voice of Black Americans will be different based on the participant's social class. Author's Dixon and

Image 1: Multi-dimensional Counter Narratives

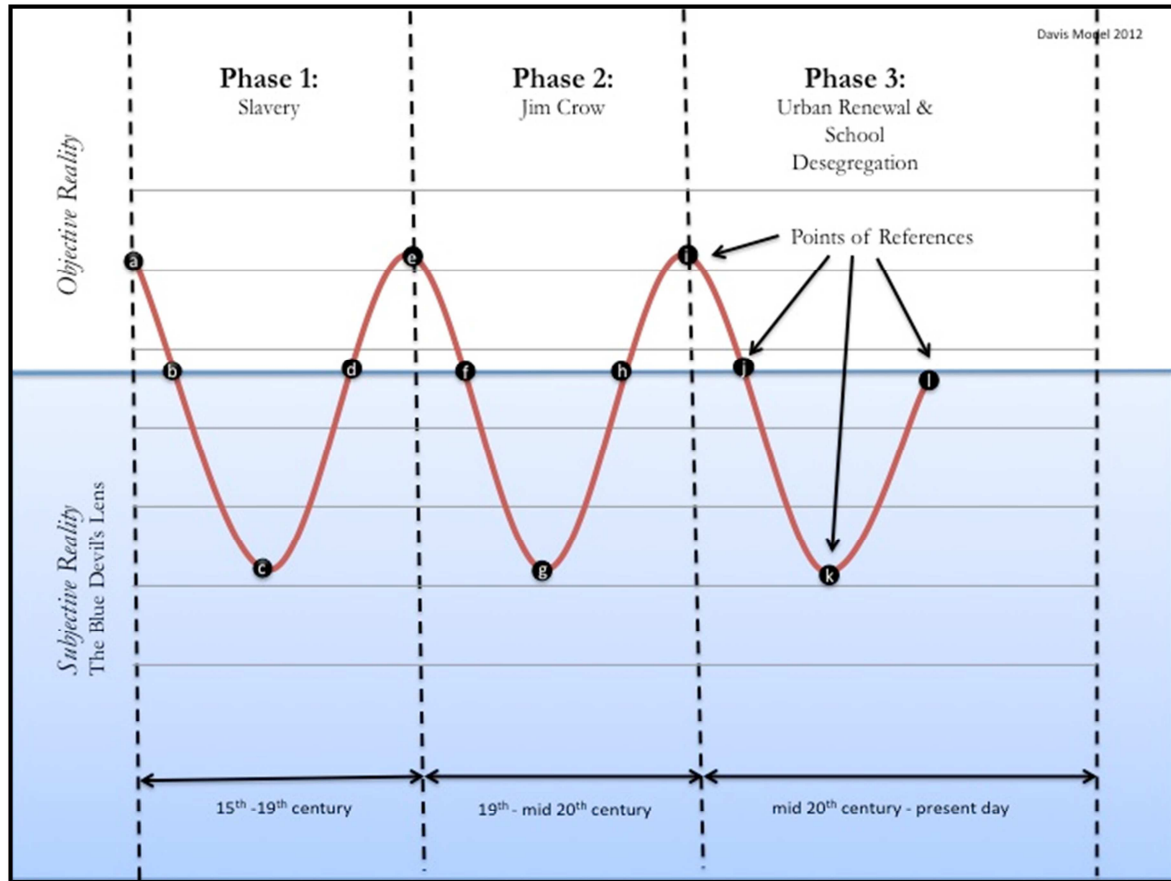


Rousseau (2006) argued that there is not one common voice in people of color; this idea led me to gather different voices based on race and social class. I am making the argument that my Black American participants will have divergent perspectives on the past, present and future due to their different social classes. The first conceptual model illustrates *why* my participants will speak differently on given topics. In the next section, I will present my second conceptual model that determined *what* topics my participants addressed and *how* they presented them.

Deciphering Realities: The Second Conceptual Model

The second conceptual model (Image 2 found below) speaks to *what* moments in history my participants may address during the interview. In order to have a better understanding of the historical context, I created a model that contains 3 phases and 12 distinguishable points of references linked to the past and present. Phase 1 represents the effects of slavery from the 15th to the 19th century and contains the following points of reference, a) kidnapped, b) enslaved, c) mass suicide and d) end of slavery. My findings from this phase are located in chapter three.

Image 2: Conceptual Model



The next period, Phase 2 addressed the distresses of Jim Crow during the late 19th century to the mid-20th century. Similar to the first phase, I identified the following five points of reference to make up Phase 2, e) scientific racism, f) Jim Crow Laws, g) mental enslavement and h) exodus. I presented a summary of each point in chapter four. Lastly, Phase 3 speaks to the effects of urban renewal and school desegregation during the mid-20th century to present day. The points of reference that make up this phase are i) urban renewal, j) economic and social depression, k) closing Black schools and l) integration. I described these points in detail in chapter four.

The second conceptual model also addresses *how* participants will talk about these points of reference by introducing objective and subjective realities. As shown in Image 2, the model displays two spheres, the top defined as *Objective Reality* and the

bottom defined as the *Subjective Reality: Blue Devil's Lens*. For the purpose of this dissertation, I define objective reality as a space where individuals view themselves independently from a historical event. For example, an individual living during slavery would recognize their physical constraints, but would not deem themselves inferior because of their environment. In opposition, subjective reality is a space where individuals perceive themselves based on what their environment dictates. Continuing with the last example, the individual believes that he (or she) is inferior based on their environment of slavery. In both realities, the individual is aware of their environment and either sees themselves as not fully determined by the environment, or they view their atmosphere through a lens that forces them to think of themselves as their environment dictates.

In Image 2, objective reality implies of one having a perspective that accurately reflects their environment. Griffin (2008) described an objective reality as a “concrete, set of facts outside of one person’s perception, that encompasses all data” (p.1). Babbie (2011) described another description of this type of reality, “Objectivity is a conceptual attempt to get beyond our individual views” (p.43). From the example given above, the individual is able to ‘get beyond’ slavery and interpret him or herself separately from their environment. Individuals within this reality looked at what was actually occurring but did not let that affect their understanding of themselves. They viewed the historical circumstances for what they were; encompassing slavery, Jim Crow Laws, urban renewal and school desegregation. Most importantly, they rejected the overt and covert inferior messaging that went along with these historical occurrences.

In contrast, I define subjective reality as a place where individuals view a restricted reality and accept that reality's definition of them. Author of *A Sharper Way of Thinking*, Justin Michell (2009) stated the following about subjective reality, "We are inclined to perceive reality as simply consisting of all the things we see and experience in our immediate environment" (p.55). Michell also argued that those within this reality are unable to image another reality existing separate from the one they are accustomed. He stated, "What is happening in the rest of the world isn't regarded as real; all that is outside the small shell of their life-world might as well not exist" (p.56). Griffin (2008) articulates that an individual's perceptions of their environment may affect their cultural conditioning and thus he (or she) is unable to separate the reality from their interpretations. In relation to my research, Blacks within this space perceived their reality based on their environment. They viewed their historical circumstances through a lens that caused them to feel negative about themselves. In addition, they believed the overt and covert inferior messaging and therefore viewed their surroundings through the *Blue Devil's* lens.

Using a CRT lens, one could argue that the subjective reality preserves the majoritive view and thus legitimizes the *Blue Devil*. The sustainability of White dominance dictates that Blacks view their circumstance through a subjective reality. In addition, the hope is that Blacks continue to believe in overt and covert messaging to remain inferior. In essence, the subjective reality is another tool of oppression. Theorist Garret Duncan (2005) argued that individuals of color are more likely to be victims of the subjective reality. He stated, "[They], too, are vulnerable to limit situations that may impair how they comprehend their experiences" (p.203).

Besides the separation of realities and its relation to CRT, the second conceptual model contains a solid red line that travels across each section. The red line in Image 2 represents Blacks' self-awareness through each phase with the highest point representing a positive value and lowest point representing a negative self-image. As they lived through each historical incident their perception of the context are viewed both through the reality of the situation and through the *Blue Devil's* lens.

To give a more in depth description of the second conceptual model, I will describe each transition from Phase 1 to 3. Phase 1 presents the transition during and after African enslavement. Once slave traffickers removed Africans from their homes, they became depressed due to separation from normalcy. As they traveled on the Atlantic slave trade, newly enslaved Africans became the victims of the fictional *Blue Devil* where they jumped off the slave vessels to their premature death. While time passed, they realized that through the lens of the *Blue Devil* they witnessed a limited or even false perception of the truth. This realization enabled hundreds of thousands of remaining African slaves to overcome enslavement despite their horrendous environments.

Phase Two illustrates the transition from slavery to the enactment of the Jim Crow Laws. Here the social structure labeled Blacks as inferior beings and created an atmosphere where it became legal to physically and mentally abuse them. With this change, Blacks lost focus to the objective reality and again fell into the subjective *Blue Devil's* reality space. Through this perspective, Blacks saw themselves as inferior to Whites. Once the government repealed the Jim Crow Laws, Blacks successfully transitioned out of the subjective reality space and returned to the objective reality sphere.

With a clear vision, they saw themselves as equal and intelligent beings that were capable of creating self-sustaining communities and schools.

Finally, Phase 3 presents the transition from the Jim Crow Laws to Urban Renewal and School Desegregation. During this transition, federal mandates destroyed Blacks communities and schools across the country. Similar to previous examples found in Phase 1 & 2, Blacks' perception of their image self-deteriorated and once again, they returned to the subjective reality and viewed the world through the *Blue Devil's* lens. Compared to previous phases, the red line never re-enters into the objective reality space thus aligning with my theory that present data proves that Blacks have not recovered from urban renewal and school desegregation.

In the next section, I will present my procedure for conducting my research project. I will present my process for selecting participants, interviewing participants and transcribing the data. I will then describe how I validated my research with member checking, triangulation and writing in a reflexive journal. I will then conclude with a summary of my position and limitations of this study.

Research Procedure

In this study, I followed a qualitative exploratory direction for my research because I was interested in uncovering the perspective of my participants on the past, present and future of Durham County's Black community and youth. I initially guided my participants with questions that consisted of numerical data, a picture from the Hayti District and quotes from historical Black leaders.

I established praxis in my research where I assisted in the formation of a relationship between historical concepts, theory, and action (Glesne 2011). In order to

begin this process I allowed for periods of critical reflection. During this time, I used a reflexive journal where I reflected on individual comments, emerging themes amongst and between groups and possible action ideals.

In terms of my sampling, I interviewed two groups of Blacks from Durham County. Members from both groups were either identified as a part of the elite/middle or working class during the period of 1955 to 1975. Participants' age range began at 60 and ended at 80. To ensure that I met the needs of my first conceptual model, it was imperative that I determined how my participants identified in terms of their social class. Besides my participants' stating their class, I listened for cues during the interview. Table 1, found below, illustrates the type of indicators I used to help assist me in determining the social class of my participants.

Table 1. Identifying Participants' Social Class

Categories	Elite/Middle Class	Working Class
Education of Parents	At least a high school diploma	Less than a high school diploma
Occupation of Parents	Teachers/educators, white-collar positions (i.e. managers, lawyers, etc.)	Unemployed or had blue-collar jobs (i.e. domestic worker, factory worker, etc.)
Living Arrangements as a child	Owned home	Rented home
Participated in extra-curricular activities as a child	Involved in activities	Not involved in activities or employed as a child to help with family finances
Relationships	Spoke of connections with influential individuals	Spoke of connections with individuals similar to them

For example, if an individual recalled their parent(s) being college educated, owned a home and were involved in extracurricular activities, I identified them as a member of the elite/middle class group. If during their interview I collected data that conflicted to my original assumption, I continued to probe on the subject until the participant's social class status was clear. During my research, only one participant's social class was not clear.

After many probes, the individual willfully admitted their social class. In the remaining five participants, their social class was explicitly clear and I did not need to probe.

Besides selecting participants based on age and social class, I also selected individuals who attended a racially segregated school and/or lived within Durham County for a period longer than 15 years. I was interested in understanding the perspective of my participants who lived through school desegregation. From this perspective, they were able to speak from experience to tell me how education for Blacks was different pre- and post-desegregation. My participants lived in Durham County for a period longer than 15 years and were present during urban revival and school desegregation. In chapter 5, I inserted two detailed tables that present a description of my participants' demographics and social characteristics. These tables allow the reader to link the characteristic of participants with my research.

I interviewed individuals who were present during the reemergence of the *Blue Devil*. In order to collect these samples, I used the snowball sampling technique. Researchers use snowball sampling when they are unable to tap into the population best needed for their study. Through this method, I asked participants if they could recommend anyone who may be interested in the study. Finally, I used a sample size of six participants. With a small sample size, my intent was not to find a new truth, but to uncover another perspective on the past, present and future of Durham County. In the next section, I will illustrate my process for the individual interviews.

Individual Interviews

With CRT as the theoretical foundation for my study, I sought out the perspectives of Durham Blacks as opposed to searching for a truth. Critical race theorist

counters the positivistic perspective arguing that the majoritarian story is not the ultimate truth, but rather is a vehicle to maintain dominance. Theorists argue that gathering narratives from individuals of color through qualitative means is a method to give voice to someone regarded as trivial by the dominant culture. This method serves to challenge the dominant narrative. In this study, I used interviews and group discussions with Durham residents who were present during urban renewal and/or school desegregation to uncover their perspectives of the history of Durham County. Through this method, I had the opportunity to hear from their voice and not depend on the works of those who presented an interpretation based from the dominant discourse.

I conducted individual interviews with all of my participants. I gave them an initial phone call to set up a date and time that worked best for their schedule. In addition, I asked them to recommend a space where they felt comfortable.

Before I began the interview, I gave the participant my expectations. This included having the interviewee freely speak about their experience and perspective on the historical material I provided. I then presented a modified version of the purpose of my research. I presented my personal history so those who were being interviewed were able to understand that I had a personal connection with the history of education and race in the United States. After I presented my position, I asked my participants about their personal history.

Starting the interview, I asked a series of questions that related to the Hayti district, politics surrounding its demise and how this affected Black schools in Durham County. Following my questions on the past of Durham, I introduced recent statistics on education, poverty and incarceration rates for Blacks in Durham County and asked the

participants to reflect and interpret these data. From there I returned to the discussion on the Hayti District and the future of Black youth. I then concluded by asking the participant for their interpretation of Black progress for Durham County. The formal write-up of these questions is in Appendix A.

I spoke to participants for 1.5 to 2 hours. Each session was audio recorded with two recording devices. At the end of the interview, I told my participants that if in the future I had further questions about their responses, I would contact them for a follow-up meeting. Questions arose for all six participants and I was able to conduct a follow-up meeting with only five. I was unable to reach one participant through email or phone. It was vital that I conducted all interviews in a consistent and similar process in order for me to extract information through transcriptions.

Transcribing Data

I transcribed data from individual interviews, follow-up interviews, my reflexive journal, and observations. The observations included body language, silences, and all non-verbal actions. After I transcribed the data, I coded the transcriptions to uncover patterns, themes and identify passages that illuminate patterns within the text. I also grouped codes together that shared a common meaning and then determine how codes were connected, thus determining the relations among codes. This process helped me sort and locate common themes within the data. I then placed the themes and codes in an order based on relationships between themes. From transcribing, it was necessary that I created a process that ensured my data was valid.

Validity

Catalytic validity is one way to determine if one's research is credible (Kridel, 2010). This form of validity stemmed from Pablo Freire's "conscientization" which he defines as the inner- and outer-transformations that occur when one was critically cognizant (p.921). Catalytic validity occurs when people see new possibilities and act to differently. For the researcher to ensure that their work was catalytically valid they must constantly reflect, ask opened questions to their participants regarding how they and/or their perspective has changed over the course of the study, and challenge inherited power structures during their research process. It further challenges researchers to not create "superficial" change or inflict their perception of desired changed on their participants (p.922). I applied catalytic validity to my individual interviews to ensure my data stems from my participants perspective and not from me.

As stated earlier, within the critical race theory's model it is vital that the researcher gives all participants a voice. In an attempt to ensure that my participants' voices are in the research, I conducted a follow-up meeting with them and presented them the notes from the interview. If I did not accurately present their perspective, I asked that they adjust my notes to present their opinion. I also made notes as to where participants altered my notes to see if a pattern formed. To ensure that I acknowledged my participants, I sent them personal notes of appreciation after the completion of their interview.

I also used triangulation to ensure that my data was valid. This meant that I collected archival data from the county, local universities (North Carolina Central University and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) and Durham Public Schools.

I also reviewed past research on the topic of desegregation and urban renewal specifically in Durham County through transcripts, dissertations, articles, newspapers, and literature. I researched past policy briefs that described the urban renewal of the Hayti District and the process for school desegregation in Durham Black schools. Lastly, I had an external audit where I asked for assistance from peers and my advisor who is knowledgeable in the field of school desegregation, and has conducted several studies in Durham County. In the next section, I will address how I tracked my thoughts and feelings during this whole process.

Reflexive Journal

Throughout the process, I wrote in my reflexive journal after each individual interview and follow-up interview. Through my reflexive journal, I constantly questioned my perspective that I used throughout this process. After each interview, I answered three questions Glesne (2011) proposed that would allow me to track how I am processing information. The first question was, “what surprised me”? This question helped me keep track of norms. The second question was, “what intrigued me”? This question allowed me to keep track of things that I deemed important and will help expose my positionality. Finally the last question was, “what disturbed me”? Similar to the previous question, this one helped me follow tensions and/or possible labels I placed on a person or idea. After I reviewed my responses, I was able to decipher how much of the data I am analyzing is my perspective versus my participants. Through this process, I used my reflexive journal to be aware of myself in and out of the constructed environment of the study. In the next section, I will address my position and speak about my personal connection to this research study.

Position

I have a strong relation to this topic because urban renewal projects, differences in social class and school desegregation have all affected my family. Recently, my aunt disclosed to me that my grandmother and her immediate family were victims of urban renewal. In the 1950s, she lived in a neighborhood close to downtown Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. One day they received a notice that said they were required to evacuate their home before the weekend. Unbeknownst to them, their property was within the boundaries of the city's renewal plan. With little resources, my grandmother, her family and hundreds like them, moved out of the area that is currently known as Pittsburgh's Civic Arena- a sporting arena for a professional ice hockey team. Interestingly enough, my aunt stated that she recently worked for a company that was responsible for removing individuals from their homes and making room for a new development. For her, it was very clear that she was involved in a similar operation that was responsible for removing her mother from her home half a century earlier. She stated, "In the past people with white hoods removed Blacks with fire and violence. Now they no longer need their hoods to cover their face, they just used a pen and paper." Editor of *The Inner City: A Handbook for Renewal*, Roger Kemp, reported about the urban renewal process in Pittsburgh.

Politicians, developers, and planners in Pittsburgh, for example, worked to transform a downtown area that was dominated by unused train yards and 'run-down' housing into a thriving urban environment by creating 'The Igloo,' a major sports arena, public office buildings, and a large park at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers (Kemp, 2001, p.10).

I can relate to both the elite/middle and working class participants in this study. Directly after slavery, my great-great-grandfather on my paternal side purchased over 300

acres of land in the southern plains of Alabama. In a small town outside of Dothan, Alabama, my family created a Black owned brick laying company that served the southern regions of the state. In this town, my family had the reputation of being highly educated and a part of the elite/middle class. On my maternal side, both of her parents were educators who worked in Pittsburgh Public Schools before and after school desegregation. Although racial segregation was equally as prevalent in the northern city, I had two grandparents who remained within the school system during desegregation.

As a product of teenage parents who continued to work and attend school, I grew up in all social classes from working to elite/middle. Although I do not remember attending my mother's high school graduation, I was present for her college and graduate commencement ceremonies. As she attained more education, her roles and responsibilities within her job changed from an administrative assistant to the vice president of marketing in an international pharmaceutical company. I also remember my father joining the United States military and quickly rising in rank. As a child, I can recall that he traveled throughout the country, in an attempt to gain some financial stability for his family. Currently my father is retired, enjoys flying helicopters and has returned to school to attain his Bachelor of Arts- a degree that he was forced to put on hold due to my birth.

Due to my upbringing, I was able to relate with both the elite/middle and working class participants. For the sake of the study, I was careful to relate my transition through all three social classes. However, I watched closely in my reflexive journal to see how I reacted to certain topics on elite/middle versus working class Blacks in Durham County.

Finally, I have a strong connection with students of color who are at-risk of dropping out of school. In my past, I taught high at-risk students who were mainly Black and Hispanic. I currently work with an agency that assists at-risk students in Durham Public Schools. I am constantly meeting with graduation coaches, principals, and members of student services from four of the most at-risk schools in Durham Public Schools. One of those schools happens to be a historically Black school from segregation.

As a descendent of educators, I have positioned myself as believing that education is the source to freedom. Although it is a rare occurrence to travel from lower to upper class, I have witnessed my own family make this leap with the help of education, and self-determination. I hope that through additional reflection I can reconsider both my views and the views of my participants. In this final section, I will illustrate the limitations to my study.

Limitations

There are two immediate limitations that stand out for my study, familiarity and tensions. Since I used the snowball sampling method to interview both elite/middle and working class Blacks of Durham County, there was a strong possibility that my participants may know each other. As a group as well as individuals, they had the power to determine what they would like to keep from me. The second limitation relates to tension. According to historical texts, tensions amongst elite/middle and working class Durham Blacks have still not faded away (Brundage, 2005, p.242). I needed to be sensitive to both groups and play the role as a non-biased researcher and not as someone who has picked a side. I was mindful of tensions that may arise from the interviews and

be aware that the discussions may present themselves outside of my one-on-one meeting times with my participants.

In conclusion, I used CRT as my conceptual framework for my research. This theory addresses foundational racist ideas that currently affect school systems. It also speaks about how the urban renewal projects and the Brown v. Board of Education decision reflected tactics to minimize and reduce the Black community and individual. Although some CRT scholars believed separating students of color as the only method in educating them, my hope is that I will retrieve data that counters this premise. Through my research, I was able to listen to Black individuals who identified with different social classes and listen to their perspective on the past, present and future of Durham's Black community and youth. I am personally tied to the topic of educating Black youth and I am able to connect with both elite/middle and working class participants based on social transitions my family has made over the last 30 years. In the next chapter, I will address the first historical context that described the initial presence of the *Blue Devil*. Here I will introduce the horrifying relationship between the African and the Atlantic slave trade

INTRODUCING THE BLUE DEVIL TO SLAVE TRAFFICKING

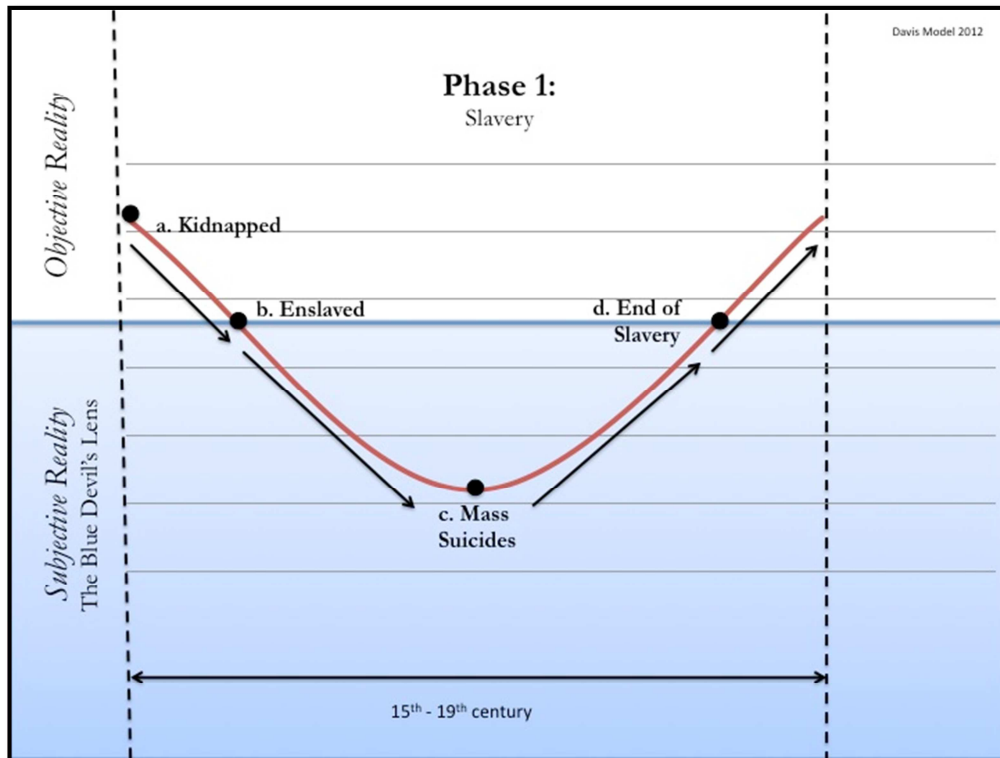
In this chapter, I will utilize Phase 1 from my conceptual model to depict how Blacks navigated through the historical incident of slavery. From there I will identify the points of reference and define these points throughout the remainder of the chapter. In doing so I will attempt to depict the atmosphere before, during and after slaves entered slave vessels. I will also address the many fears of loneliness, cannibalism and fixed melancholy these Africans experienced during the Atlantic Slave Trade. With 12% of Africans not surviving the Atlantic voyage, I will then speak of the fatal results of these fears, mass suicide (Postma, 2003). I will then conclude this chapter with a summary about the future of Blacks in the United States post-slavery. It is important to note that when speaking about overseers I will identify them as colonialist, slave traffickers, merchants, crewmembers, captains or planters. Similar in reference to African slaves, I will identify them as enslaved or captives.

As indicated in chapter two, the second conceptual model depicts Blacks' self-awareness through three different historical markers. Below, Image 3 highlights Phase 1 and presents the emotional transition the enslaved made through this period. The phase begins at captives' feelings of surviving their circumstance and ends at the sensation of hope.

In Image 3, I identified four points of references that are as follows, a) kidnapped, b) enslaved, c) mass suicides and d) end of slavery. These points represent a point in history where I identified a shift in the wave's construction. In addition to, the enslavement of Africans forced captives to look at their perspective through the lens of the *Blue Devil*; hence, why this point of reference is below the sphere of objective reality. It was at this point, where the presence of

White dominance affected newly Africans to believe that they were mentally and physically powerless. Likewise, the end of slavery allowed Blacks to remove the *Blue Devil's* lens and thus brought them out of the subjective reality sphere. I will address these points in more detail throughout the remainder of this chapter.

Image 3: Phase One



The Beginning of African Slavery

Before European colonialists used Africans as slaves to work in the New World, they utilized American Indians as free labor and forced them to work in mines, cultivation, and other labor-intensive activities. Besides bringing their lust for domination to the New World, Europeans transported two invisible killers that decimated their entire enslaved American Indian population, small pox and measles. Around the late 15th century Catholic priest Bartolomé de Las Casas suggested using Africans as slaves to replace the dying natives. In Brazil during the

16th century, the Portuguese King made it illegal to imprison natives as slaves and thus began the mass import of African slaves across the Atlantic Ocean (Postma, 2003).

The Atlantic Slave Trade was the single largest forced human migration in history (Postma, 2003, xiii). Philip Curtain, a professor from Cambridge University, estimated that Europeans transported 9.4 million enslaved Africans to the New World and 175,000 to Europe and the African Atlantic Islands (Curtain, 1969). According to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database *Voyages*, the number of enslaved Africans was closer to 12.5 million (2012). Table 2 found below depicts the top four countries that were most involved in slave trafficking during the periods 1501 to 1866. The *Voyages*' estimation comes from ship records, rosters and contracts from over 35,000 slave voyages from the 14th to the 19th century. Although both portray a slightly different picture, it is clear that the slave trade affected millions of Africans for over five centuries.

Table 2: Number of Slaves Taken from Africa per Country-Measurement in 100,000

	Spain / Uruguay		Portugal / Brazil		Great Britain		France		Totals	
	Depart	Arrive	Depart	Arrive	Depart	Arrive	Depart	Arrive	Depart	Arrive
1501-1600	112.0	84.0	154.2	112.7	1.9	1.3	<1	<1	269.1	199.0
1601-1700	146.3	104.0	1,011.2	852.0	428.2	328.0	38.4	29.2	1,624.1	1,313.2
1701-1800	10.7	9.2	2,213.0	1,991.3	2,545.3	2,150.3	1,139.0	959.2	5,908.0	5,110.0
1801-1866	784.6	687.7	2,469.9	2,143.7	284.0	253.7	203.9	176.5	3,742.4	3,261.6
Totals	1,061.5	884.9	5,848.3	5,099.8	3,259.4	2,733.3	1,381.4	1,165.0	11550.6	9,993.0

According to the table, the Portuguese enslaved the most Africans with a total over 5.8 million slaves. This is at no surprise since the Portuguese were the first to begin trading enslaved Africans around the mid 15th century and the last to end trading in the 19th century (Postma, 2003). Reports show that as early as 1444, Portuguese trading began in Africa, where they kidnapped slaves and shipped them to Lisbon, Portugal. Portugal was also the first country to bring African slaves to the New World. In 1510, their ship docked in the new territory and held

about 250 African slaves. With slavery succinctly tied to economic power, Brazil, a Portuguese territory, struggled to end African slavery and became the last country to do so in 1888.

Reports from across Western Europe illustrate the mass movement from Africa, to Europe, to the New World. In the 16th century, slave traffickers shipped about 50,000 African slaves to Europe (Postma, 2003). Of those 50,000, traffickers later moved a majority to Atlantic islands and American colonies. According to reports from the British Antilles, between 1680 and 1786, traffickers purchased over 2,000,000 slaves from the African coast. Less than twenty years later, these territories contained about 700,000 individuals with African ancestry (Hall, 1971).

Colonies in North America imported fewer African slaves; however, toward the end of slavery their numbers exceeded any other country (Postma, 2003). In 1850s, African slaves amounted to about 20% of the population in the New World and a large percentage of this population came from North America. In 1680, North American Colonies had less than seven thousand slaves. This number steadily increased to 120,000 slaves almost 50 years later. Although slave traffickers transported less than 400,000 slaves to the American colonies (which is less than 4% of the entire traffic), by 1825 American colonies estimated in having 1.8 million slaves of which 80 percent were born in the New World. The apparent desperate need for ‘free’ labor began in massive efforts to kidnap Africans from their homes.

The Beginning March

The first point of reference entitled “kidnapped,” addresses how merchants from Europe and the United States traveled to Africa’s coast and forcibly removed individuals to use as free labor. The catastrophic result of African abductions was that inhabitants abandoned their coastal towns and villages and migrated to the middle of Africa (Fouchard, 1981). With the decimated

and depopulated towns, merchants followed Africans into the interior of the continent. In some instances, slave traffickers captured African captives hundreds of miles into the continent; thus forcing the enslaved to walk chained by their feet for over 600 miles to vessels (Fouchard, 1981).

With long journeys from the middle of the continent to the coast, many Africans died on the way due to hunger, thirst and panicking (Fouchard, 1981). The remaining captives forced themselves into a survival mode where they pushed themselves to keep walking to their unknown future. Once they reached the “end”, slave traffickers pushed the newly enslaved into cramped imprisonment described as “veritable cells of putrefaction” and locked in all day and night until the crewmembers were prepared to leave (p.60). Former captives recalled the stench from the cells to be appalling and horrendous since they contained no running water, toilet facilities or places to bathe (Fouchard, 1981).

There was the belief amongst Africans that slave traffickers and merchants were cannibals. Rumors circulated throughout western and central Africa stated that “these ugly men” (referring to the European slave traffickers) were solely interested in Africans to satisfy their gastronomical proclivities (Piersen, 1977, p.147). The rumor seemed factual since no Africans ever returned. Further corroborating the rumor, slaves witnessed Europeans drinking red wine and eating red meat, which they believed to be the blood and cooked remains of a missing peer. Competing European slave traffickers assisted in spreading the cannibalism rumor about other colonizers. A Nigerian named Joseph Wright recalled a Portuguese trafficker telling him to be thankful that the Portuguese captured him instead of the English. The trafficker stated that the English were in fact the true cannibals and traveling with them would have guaranteed a “fate worse than death” (Piersen, 1977, p.147).

Before the Africans made it aboard the vessels, the merchants reviewed the captives one last time. There were reports of slave merchants who “sucked the chin” of captives before boarding the vessels. Merchants believed the saltiness of the Africans sweat determined if they were in good health (Fouchard, 1981, p.60). If they were unsatisfied or believed the slave would not produce a profit, they killed them instantly and in front of the remaining Africans to show superiority (Fouchard, 1981). Once the merchants poked, prodded and accepted captives, they sent them to board the vessel. In this, the newly enslaved transitioned from survival mode to living in fear, resulting in captives no longer interpreting their perspective in the reality but through the lens of the *Blue Devil*.

Wearing the Blue Devil’s Lens

Captives’ transition from their homes to a slave vessel proved detrimental to their emotional state. Slave traffickers kidnapped Africans from their villages, chained them by their necks and ankles and brought them to the coast where they forced them to sleep in unsanitary quarters. Of the remaining living captives, the traffickers forced them aboard slave vessels where they experienced a new emotional low and figuratively put on the *Blue Devil’s* lenses to shield them from the reality. On the vessel, captives transitioned from the first point of reference “kidnapped” to the next point, “enslaved.” While traveling on the Atlantic, it was at this point that a majority of slaves realized they no longer connected to their home, but most importantly, they were no longer free. Growing fears plagued the newly enslaved which was only heightened by the heinous atmosphere that included overcrowding, starvation and diseases.

The journey from Africa to the New World lasted anywhere from two months to almost one year (Postma, 2003). According to data collected from captains of slave vessels, sail time was positively correlated to slave mortality rates; the longer the voyage, the higher the rate of

deaths from African slaves (Palmer, 1981; Fouchard, 1981; Curtain, 1969; Postma, 2003). Even if death did not ensue, individuals on slave vessels were more likely to starve, contract diseases and face a slew of other health problems.

Overcrowding was a severe problem found within slave vessels (Palmer, 1981; Fouchard, 1981; Postma, 2003). Unfortunately, merchants and captives expected some African captives to die during the journey. This expectation led to captains packing more slaves onboard than trading restrictions allowed. Below deck, crewmembers shackled male slaves two by two, connecting them to their neighbors by their ankles and necks (Postma, 2003). Africans slept in quarters that were smaller than the size of a coffin (Byrd, 2008). Crewmembers generally confined women and children to another deck that had more room (Postma, 2003). Although they had additional space to move, this unfortunate surplus made it easier for male crewmembers to sexually abuse the female slaves (Postma, 2003).

A British naval officer testified to Parliament about the overcrowding that occurred aboard slave trade vessels (Byrd, 2008). The officer stated that the captives did not receive “inhuman treatment” but he did state that the vessels “were so crowded [between decks] that the stench of the Hatchway was intolerable” (p.36).

Pascoe Grenfell Hill, a priest from the Church of England traveled aboard slave trading vessels and wrote accounts of what he witnessed (Hill, 1843). In the following statement, Hill wrote about his experience on the ship called *Progresso and Cleopatra*. He stated, “400 wretched beings thus crammed into a hold 12 yards in length, 7 in breadth, and only 3.5 feet in height...The cries, the heat,- I may say, without exaggeration, ‘the smoke of their torment,’- which ascended can be compared to nothing earthly” (p.23-24). A Spanish crewmember responded to the overcrowding issue aboard the vessel saying “Manana habra muchos muertos,”

which loosely translated into tomorrow there will be many deaths. In this unfortunate common predicament, crewmembers crammed hundreds of African slaves into small quarters knowing that some would perish. Hill later described the fatal result of 54 slaves crushed, killed and thrown overboard into the sea.

Besides African slaves encountering overcrowding, they also faced depleting resources like food and water (Postma, 2003). Long journeys and unexpected delays occurred on the ocean and thus disrupted eating patterns for everyone throughout the vessel. During a successful journey, slaves received one pint of water per day. However this resource was immediately restricted when and if a delay occurred. Pierre de Vaissière recalled how a captain of a slave vessel ran out of food mid-way through his passage, killed weaker slaves and fed them to the remainder of his captives (Fouvhard, 1981). This horrific story depicts the sheer determination captains had to preserve their profit for the remainder of the grueling journey.

Food on the vessel was not always a beneficial substance. In some cases, food and water contained the inflammatory disorder dysentery, a disease that affects the colon and intestines (Palmer, 1981). If left untreated, this disorder can lead to severe diarrhea, bloody discharge and death. It was common for slave vessels to have frequent outbreaks of dysentery thus proving the unhygienic conditions onboard. A witness compared the ship's deck to a "slaughter house" due to the large amounts of blood and mucus (Byrd, 2008, p.39)

Besides dysentery, traffickers categorized slave vessels as being the "perfect disease environment" (Palmer, 1981, p.49). For months, hundreds of individuals lived on one boat and shared everything from a common cold to small pox. The vessel contained diseases like smallpox, measles, scurvy, syphilis, gonorrhea, malaria and a variation of fevers. Gastrointestinal disorders spread to crewmembers and the enslaved by fecal or oral contact.

Once an individual contracted anyone of these highly contagious diseases, they exhibited symptoms of fever, nausea, cramps, diarrhea, organ failure, excessive bleeding, fatigue and finally death (Byrd, 2008). Hill the English priest stated, “The screams of distress from the sick and weak in the hold mingled with the roar of the tempest” (Hill, 1993, p.34). The following passage comes from Danish novelist, Thorkild Hansen, who is most known for his writings on Danish slave expeditions:

The ships did not sail merely passengers and merchandise but also germs and microbes from continent to continent, and the Middle Passage, where a great number of people from three different continents were stowed together in the smallest imaginable space, became a meeting place for nearly all known diseases in the world. From Europe came smallpox, measles, gonorrhoea and syphilis, in the West Indies and Africa one took on board yellow fever, black water fever, malaria and amoeba dysentery. Cases of leprosy and elephantiasis were common; one never got rid of the Guinea worm (Hansen, 2003, p.158-159).

The sounds and aromas of below the deck were horrendous and astonished many European slave traffickers (Walvin, 2000). Seasickness among Africans was common and since they were unable to reach for buckets in time, they often laid in their own filth for prolonged periods of time (Postma, 2003). In an attempt to rid them of the repulsive atmosphere from below deck, crewmembers brought the Africans aboard the deck every few morning to rinse their bodies of sweat, blood, mucus, urine, feces and vomit (Byrd, 2008). Some captives arose eagerly awaiting to be on deck, others were barely conscious and disoriented, and some did not surface at all. Of those who did not survive the night, they were either thrown overboard or saved incase food supplies diminished (Fouchard, 1981).

Slave vessels had at least one medical doctor to take care of hundreds of slaves and crewmembers (Postma, 2003). These individuals held the position as the medical professional and barber. He was responsible for preparing for an outbreak and mitigated diseases and insect

bites (i.e. lice) throughout the vessel. Unfortunately, doctors did not plan for high levels of depression and mass suicide amongst African slaves.

Fixed Melancholy and the Blue Devil

Depression amongst Africans was a popular epidemic found on slave vessels. European slave traffickers kidnapped Africans and threw them into unhygienic environments where they experienced overcrowding, lack of food and water, extreme hot and cold temperatures, diseases and death. It was no wonder why some of them became severely depressed and even suicidal. Since slave traffickers did not view Africans as human, they did not understand why the captives exhibited symptoms of depression (Mannix & Cowley, 1962). Here the third point of reference “mass suicides” addresses how Africans made the fatal decision of death over imprisonment.

As more journeys crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and this epidemic became present on most ships, slave traffickers identified Africans depressed state as “fixed melancholy” (Mannix & Cowley, 1962, p.119). A doctor from a slave vessel stated the following about the cureless disease, “No one who had [fixed melancholy] was ever cured...the symptoms are a lowness of spirits and despondency. Hence, [the Africans] refuse food. This only increases the symptoms” (Mannix & Cowley, 1962, p.121).

Some witnesses described the Africans as having a “will to death” and not desiring to live (Palmer, 1981, p.56). One captain stated that despite his charming efforts African captives still became depressed and killed themselves, “Even slaves who were well fed, treated with kindness, and kept under relatively sanitary conditions would often die one after another for no apparent reason; they simply had no wish to live (Mannix & Cowley, 1962, p.120).” An American medical student, George Howe, addressed the African’s will to die while he made observation on a slave vessel, “Among civilized races it is thought almost impossible to hold one’s breath until

death follows. It is though the African can do so” (Mannix & Cowley, 1962, p.120). The following is an excerpt from a slave addressing the third point of reference, suicide.

I determined with myself that I would not go on...but would make an end of myself, one way or another. In several nights I attempted strangling myself with my band; but had not courage enough to close the noose tight...I determined next, that I would leap out of the canoe into the river, when we should cross it (Piersen, 1977, p.147-148).

Unlike the European’s negative connotation associated with suicide, for the enslaved Africans suicide was the method that allowed them to return back to their heart and homeland. The enslaved preferred death compared to the unknown that awaited them away from home. For Africans, to kill oneself was equated as an “admirable act” and confirmed one’s spiritual connection with deities and ancestors (Piersen, 1977, p.151). It was only through this form of martyrdom that one could be free from pain and suffering. By committing suicide, Africans believed that the action would release them from feelings of helplessness and join them back with their ancestors. The most common tactics that newly slaves used to commit suicide were drowning and hanging (Piersen, 1977). Africans begged the ship crewmembers onboard to let them simply throw themselves overboard and kill themselves. Members on the ship were convinced that this was the working of the *Blue Devil*. Captain Phillips of the *Hannibal* addressed how his captives were convinced that suicide returned them home, “We had about 12 Negroes did willfully drown themselves, and others starv’d themselves to death; for...tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again” (Mannix & Cowley, 1962, pp. 117-118).

The mass slave suicides proved costly for all who were involved in their enslavement and prompted efforts to stop the suicides. This led to impromptu tactics such as forcing slaves to eat and dance on deck of the vessel, or legalized slave mutilation. Either way crewmembers utilized both methods aboard slave ships to reduce and prevent a loss in merchandise (Piersen, 1977).

For those slaves who refused to eat, crewmembers whipped them in order to prevent what they believed to be the *Blue Devil* from emerging. After supper, crewmembers forced the slaves to dance to the sound of beating drums in an attempt to rid them of their depressed state (Fouvhard, 1981; Postma, 2003). Medical student Howe observed his captain attempting to rid the fictional *Blue Devil* from the captives, “One of the duties of the slave-captains was when they found a slave sitting with knees up and head dropping, to start them up, run them about the deck, give them a small rum, and divert them until in a normal condition” (Mannix & Cowley, 1962, p.120). It was the belief amongst slave traffickers that if an African lost a body part than they could not return home to Africa, and thus suicide would be less attractive to the enslaved. Captain of the *Hannibal*, Thomas Phillips, reported that many commanders removed appendages from Africans to ensure that that they would not commit suicide (Piersen, 1977). Unfortunately, amongst traffickers, slave mutilation became a common practice for the duration of the Atlantic slave traffic.

Coincidentally, not all African cultures shared the same belief on slave mutilation. In some African tribes, it was possible for one to die with a mutilated body and return home (Piersen, 1977). Still other Africans believed that the limbs of a man murdered in foreign land must be returned to their homeland and buried. Either way enslaved Africans continued to commit suicide while slave traffickers fought ways to reduce rates of suicide through bodily mutilation.

As the slave vessel approached the New World, traffickers ceased abusing the African slaves and prepared them for the market. Crewmembers were responsible for rubbing oil onto the skins of their captives in order to make them appear healthier and ready for work (Hill, 1993). Food rations were much larger so that the captives would have energy and strength for the days ahead. If a slave had died as the vessel neared the coast, the crew did not throw the

body overboard for fear of the consequences that lay ahead if the deceased member floated to the shore. Of those who survived the journey across the Atlantic Ocean, they were not aware of their future would entail feelings of loneliness and isolation as well as strenuous working hours.

Arriving on Land

Newly enslaved Africans entered ashore the New World literally naked and alone. The Africans did not see themselves as “Africans” but as individuals separated by cultures, languages, religion and nationality (Walvin, 2000). Traffickers who unified all Africans into one group and assumed their unity based on skin tone and hair texture the slave. Authors Daniel Mannix and Malcolm Cowley (1962) described in their novel entitled *Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518-1865*, that the trauma of traffickers taking Africans away from their surroundings and forcing them to live in an aggressive environment amounted to a “greater shock” than any physical abuse (p.121).

At the slave market, traffickers separated slaves by those with or without property markings. Either before or after the voyage, traffickers placed hot irons on the shoulders of slaves to determine which plantation the slave had belonged (Hill, 1993). Of those slaves who did not have a marking, slave merchants auctioned them off to the highest bidder. Merchants separated Mothers from their children and removed husbands from their wives, never to see the other individual again (Fouvhart, 1981). Of the remaining slaves that planters did not purchase, merchants donated them to religious institutions as an informal gift. If any were too sick, they were disposed of and merchants threw their remains away. Of the slaves who made it to a plantation, planters had the newly enslaved cleaned, disinfected, given fresh clothes and even baptized (Fouvhart, 1981).

Masters required their slaves to work on their plantations non-stop for a period of five to seven constant months (Hall, 1971). In Cuba, sugar plantation slaves worked in 20-hour shifts starting at 5am and working until midnight leaving the next shift to begin at midnight and end at 6pm. During the 18th century, research stated that Africans only needed 4 to 5 hours of sleep in order to work 20 hours a day. The biased research also stated that African slaves were capable of sustaining the massive workload for half of the year (Hall, 1971). In the 17th century, planters from the West Indies gave slaves only 3 to 4 hours of sleep per night. This type of working schedule began at the age of 12; however, the planters lightened the burden for women in their 7th and 8th month of pregnancy. One coffee planter purchased 100 slaves and estimated that by the end of three years he would only have 25 left. He accounted the net loss of 75% was due to death and runaways. A coffee planter determined that it was more profitable for him to put his slaves on a grueling pace, which would cause them to die in one year. He calculated that it was more cost effective to work his slaves to their early demise and replace them with new support. It was evident that overseers viewed African slaves as property and not living beings.

Planters overworked African slaves causing high mortality rates (Hall, 1971). Tropical colonies like the Caribbean Islands and Guiana exhibited the highest mortality and lowest reproduction rates. The reputation of these islands was that they produced sugar and killed off its African enslaved workers. Looking to Brazil and the United States, at around the start of the 19th century both countries housed about one million slaves. About 60 years later, this number increased to 1.5 million in Brazil and 4 million in the U.S. Despite the fact that during this period traffickers brought about one million slaves to Brazil and only 250,000 to the United States, thus illustrating the high mortality rates of African slaves in Brazil and the high reproduction rates in the U.S (Hall, 1971).

Unfortunately “mass” suicide” continued as the newly enslaved reached the New World. Enslaved Africans were more likely to kill themselves in the New World as compared to their peers from the slave vessel (Hall, 1971). For slaves, suicide was a quick alternative to their current lifestyle and an easy way to return home. They used such tactics like drowning and hanging themselves in attempt to escape their horrific conditions (Piersen, 1977, & Mannix & Cowley, 1962). A Georgian slave stated that she was going to drown herself in the river so she can make it back to Africa, “[I’m going to] march right down in the river to take back to Africa” (Piersen, 1977, p. 153). Many Africans believed the water connected to their journey back home. Since they arrived to the New World via the Atlantic Ocean, they recognized the water as the vehicle to return them home. Slaves who hanged themselves would gather items in preparation for their after life’s journey home (Piersen, 1977). Planters in the New World commonly found their slaves with food in their pockets, water jugs on the ground, looking as though they were saving a meal for the afterlife.

Suicide amongst slaves was almost seven times more frequent in comparison to Whites and six times more likely compared to freedmen of color (Hall, 1971). In Cuba from April 1839 to November 1846, authorities investigated 1,337 suicides. Their reports revealed that 1,159 (86.7%) were African slaves (Hall, 1971).

Although suicide ended enslavement for Africans, overseers viewed it as a loss of property and income for merchants and planters. Certain clans of Africans had a reputation for being fearless toward death and were more susceptible to commit suicide. Traffickers, merchants and planters tended to stay away from such groups because they had the power to affect others to follow their lead in mass suicides. The African tribe Ibo had a reputation in leading group hangings on plantations (Hall, 1971; Mannix & Cowley, 1962; Fouvhard, 1981).

A planter from Saint Domingue stated the following about these slaves, ‘the greatest dangers, and even death, do not frighten the Negroes. They are more courageous than men subjected to slavery should be. They appear insensible amidst torture, and are inclined to suicide’ (Hall, 1971, p.21). In 1757, Henry Larens a leading merchant from Charleston, South Carolina stated that he was unable to sell individuals from the African tribe Ebos² because they had the reputation of committing suicides (Hall, 1971).

Although female enslaved Africans were less likely to commit suicide, they still used equally violent tactics on themselves or their children to escape slavery (Hall, 1971; Mannix & Cowley, 1962; Piersen, 1977; Fouvhard, 1981). In a dramatic example, an African woman in Salem, Massachusetts announced that she was returning to her home country right before she stabbed herself in the stomach (Piersen, 1977). Women from the African Arada³ tribe had the reputation to practice frequent abortions on themselves to ensure that their child would not enter the world enslaved and abused.

Removing the Blue Devil’s Lens

Since the 15th century, colonialists sought after and kidnapped millions of Africans to enslave them in the New World. Africans traveled on unsanitary vessels where they ate meager and disease contaminated food. They fought sickness, diseases and violence for an extended period and constantly battled with melancholy, also known as the *Blue Devil*. Of those who survived the journey and made it to the New World, they were welcomed with clean clothes, a baptism and iron shackles. On the plantation, the enslaved worked at a grueling pace where in

²Formally an African tribe located in today’s Niger region. This group had the reputation of being the most violent and aggressive tribe in Africa.

³The Arada tribe originated from Dahomey, today known as the northwestern African country Benin.

some places their life expectancy was one to two years. African slaves faced emotional and physical abuse that followed them after they exited the slave vessel (Walvin, 2000).

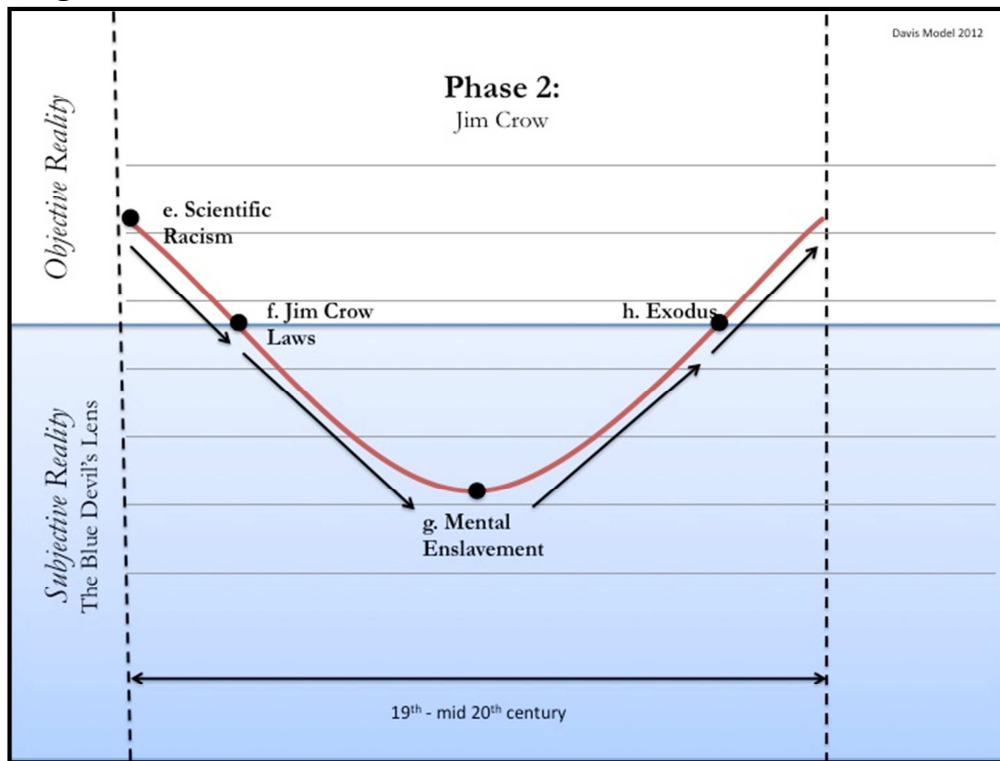
Despite the abuse, dehumanization and death of hundreds of thousands of African slaves, surprisingly millions embodied true resiliency and survived (Palmer, 1981). The courage and sheer determination to stay alive within such horrendous and appalling environments allowed slaves to escape the *Blue Devil's* lens. Of course, this transition seems to be possible through the enactment of the fourth point of reference, an “end of slavery.” From this point, newly freed slaves viewed their future not as bleak, but hopeful. This trajectory away from the false sense of the *Blue Devil*, allowed Blacks to live and see the reality of their potential. Here they were aware of their reality, but no longer depended on White dominance to dictate their presence. In the next chapter I will introduce Phase 2 and 3 and present the second historical context which included the enactment of the Jim Crow Laws, the urban renewal project and school desegregation in Durham County.

REALITIES OF JIM CROW, URBAN RENEWAL AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

In this chapter, I will utilize Phase 2 and 3 from my second conceptual model to depict how Blacks living in Durham, North Carolina navigated through the historical incidents of Jim Crow, urban renewal and school desegregation. From there I will identify the points of reference in each phase and define these points throughout the remainder of the chapter. I will also address how federal and local government mandates encouraged Durham Blacks to view their circumstances through the *Blue Devil's* lens. It is important to note that when speaking about Durham, I am specifically targeting the urban areas referred to as Durham City. For additional information on the specific area, please refer to Appendix C and D for a detailed map.

As indicated in chapter two, the second conceptual model illustrates Blacks' self-awareness through three different historical markers. Below, Image 4 highlights Phase 2 and presents their emotional transition before, during and after the enactment of the Jim Crow laws in Durham, North Carolina. In Image 4, I identified four points of references that are: e) scientific racism, f) Jim Crow laws, g) mental enslavement and h) exodus. These points represent a point in history where I identified a shift in the wave's construction. In addition, Jim Crow laws forced Blacks to look at their perspective through the lens of the *Blue Devil*; hence, why this point of reference is within the subjective reality space. It was at this point, where notions of inferiority clouded newly Black freedmen perspectives and they returned to believing that Whiteness equated dominance. Likewise, the creation of the Hayti District allowed Blacks to remove the *Blue Devil's* lens and thus brought them back to objective reality.

Image 4: Phase Two



Starting with Scientific Racism

Before the Civil War, southern Whites were comforted knowing that slavery upheld their separation from Black slaves. Since Black slaves largely worked in separate locations, the idea of racial integration never entered into conversation (Genovese, 1974). Even ‘house slaves’, a term that referred to the slaves who worked in the master’s house, had restrictions on when they were able to interact with Whites. However, once slavery ended, racial integration became a pressing topic amongst both the southern White and Black communities.

After the end of slavery, southern White communities intently discussed two common fears on racially integrating with newly freedmen. First, they feared that newly freed Blacks would become violent and start a race war (Gilliom, 1962). Secondly, they feared that Blacks’ genetic traits would contaminate White communities. The first fear, fear of violence, sprung up

after the Civil War but has a long history in southern communities. For centuries, White southerners feared slave retribution. The notion of a civilized and non-violent free Black individual was hard for White southerners to conceive, since they blamed Blacks for murders, revolts and violent crimes for decades (Bouge, 1973). With Blacks' new freedom, questions emerged about whether they would remain working, obeying Whites, and respecting the laws. Regrettably, the responses to these questions stemmed from the dominant belief that free Blacks would eventually overthrow the government and spark a race war (Gilliom, 1962).

In addition to fears of physical harm, some White southerners had a growing fear that the integration of Blacks would lead to a contaminated White race. Scientists, zoologists, race specialists and polygenists presented scientific research that proved the ill fate of the Aryan race if Blacks were to intermingle with Whites. It is through this second fear that I will discuss the first point of reference from Phase 2 and address how scientific racism prompted the downfall of Blacks during this period.

The first point of reference in Phase 2 is entitled "scientific racism." This point refers to the plethora of research used to degrade and dehumanize Blacks. It is at this point where Blacks slowly begin to lose focus on their newly freed state and listen to the bigotry of research done in the name of science.

The first to create a classification based on race came from Carolus Linnaeus in 1735. Based off his research he argued that Whites were "innovative and keen of mind" in comparison to Blacks who were "lazy and careless" (Watkins, 2001, p. 27). For many Whites, Linnaeus' research confirmed the belief that the Black race was genetically inferior. From racial distinctions, Arthur de Gobineau, also known as the "racial prophet," argued about upholding the purity of a race through blood lineage. Gobineau supported maintaining racial integrity through

non-mixing of races. His research further 'proved' that inter-racial mixing with Blacks was unethical and destructive for the White race.

Polygenists argued that Blacks were a separate human species based on their physical features and behavioral attributes (Watkins, 2001). In addition, scientific research implied that Blacks derived more animalistic qualities than Whites did. In 1853, physician John H. van Evrie stated that even the animal kingdom was aware of the social status of Blacks. He further stipulated that if a hungry tiger came across a Black and White male, the tiger would be more inclined to attack the Black male because it would sense his inferiority. In 1874, zoologist Ernst Haeckel placed Blacks below gorillas and chimpanzees on the evolutionary tree. A decade later, race theorist D. G. Brinton argued that the Black race has "infantile traits" that render them inferior to other races (p.27).

Researchers such as Gustave Le Bon, G. Stanley Hall, Robert Bennett Bean and George Oscar Ferguson were all monumental in evaluating the developmental stages of Blacks in the U.S. It was through their works that Whites continued to believe the importance of racial separation, and Blacks saw themselves as genetically subservient to Whites. In 1898, Dr. Gustave Le Bon stated that humanity fell into one of four groups due to psychological characteristics. Dr. Le Bon identified these categories as 1) primitive, 2) inferior races, 3) average races and 4) superior races. Within the first group, he designated aboriginal Australians into this category. In the second group, he identified Blacks as an inferior race. Next, he placed individuals of Asian and Jewish descent. Finally, he deemed Indo-Europeans as superior races. In reference to the different groups, Dr. Le Bon stated, "No confusion is possible between the four great divisions we have just enumerated. The mental abyss that separates them is evident" (Ferguson, 1916, p.4).

In an article entitled *The Negro in Africa and America* by G. Stanley Hall (1905), the author argued that sexual development initiated the mental difference between Black and White children. Psychologist Hall believed that it was through this transition where White students excelled in their intellectual development while Black students fell behind. Below is an excerpt from his article in the *Pedagogical Seminary*,

Special studies show that the Negro child up to about twelve is quite as bright as the White child; but when this instinct (sexual development) develops it is earlier, more sudden, and far more likely permanently to retard mental and moral growth than in the White who shoots ahead. Thus the virtues and defects of the negro through life remain largely those of puberty” (p.362).

In 1906, doctor and professor of anatomy and ethnology, Robert Bennett Bean wrote an article entitled *Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain*. In his article, Dr. Bean argued that Black and White individuals were psychologically opposite. He stated, “The Caucasian...is dominant and domineering, and posed primarily with determination, will power, self-control, self-government, and all the attributes of the subjective facilities. The Negro is in direct contrast by reason of a certain lack of these powers, and a great development of the objective qualities” (pp. 378-379).

In his book entitled *The Psychology of the Negro; an Experimental Study*, historian George Oscar Ferguson (1916) conducted an experimental study that focused on the mental capabilities of Blacks. In his study, Ferguson compared Black Americans to both Whites Americans and Caribbean Blacks. He concluded that there were inherent differences between Blacks and Whites as well as amongst Blacks living in southern islands. Within his text, he argued that American Blacks were far superior to those living on islands due to the larger amount of White blood within their veins. He also argued that the mixture of White and Black blood caused American Blacks to be more civilized than their counterparts living in different regions.

With southern Whites fearful of Blacks either removing their power or diluting their blood through racially intermingling, communities of Whites demanded laws that would maintain racial purity. Pressure from community members pushed political leaders to seek support to legally separate Whites from Blacks (Brown, 2008). This pressure led to the creation of the 1877 Jim Crow Laws, a federal mandate that regulated Blacks as second citizens and separated them from Whites.

Jim Crow Laws Fueling Mental Enslavement

Scientific racism takes us to the next point of reference, the enactment of the “Jim Crow laws.” It is at this point where Blacks began to view their circumstance through the *Blue Devil’s* lens and believe the lies that deemed them inferior. Once again, Blacks entered into the subjective reality--a space that preserved the majoritive view and legitimized the *Blue Devil*. The Jim Crow laws excluded Blacks from public transportation and facilities, juries, jobs neighborhoods and political voice (Brown, 2008). In addition, these laws required that Blacks use separate water fountains, door entrances and exits, restrooms, hospitals, hotels, parks, schools, prisons and cemeteries. Under Jim Crow, laws such as the Grandfather Claus⁴, literacy tests and poll taxes prevented Blacks from voting and gaining political power within their communities.

Although federal mandate stated that facilities must be separate and equal, it was apparent that institutions loosely applied this order. Shop owners rarely had their restroom facilities for Blacks cleaned. The reserved sections for Black patrons in movie theatres usually had torn and disfigured seats. The entrances and exits at restaurants for Blacks were located in the back near restrooms and dumpsters.

⁴An individual could vote only if their grandfather shared that right. This law restricted former slaves and poor Whites.

The Jim Crow Laws forced Blacks to see themselves through the Blue Devil's perspective, based on the idea that they believed they were subordinate to Whites. Female activist Pauli Murray argued that the environment perpetuated negative stereotypes on being Black. She stated, "We were bottled up and labeled and set aside-sent to the Jim Crow car, the back of the bus, the side door of the theatre, the side window of a restaurant. We came to know that whatever we had was inferior" (Brown, 2008, p.11). Author Leslie Brown (2008) stated that society treated Blacks as inferior, untrustworthy and dishonest beings that were incapable of matching the standards of Whites.

The reinforcement of Jim Crow laws corresponds to the lowest point of reference within this Phase, "mental enslavement." These racist biased laws brought feelings of isolation, neglect and social depression; similar feelings former slaves displayed before they hit their lowest point of "suicide." It is at this point of "mental enslavement" where Blacks saw themselves through the perspective of the *Blue Devil's* lens. It is here where Blacks were not aware of their enslaved state. They believed the lies and bigotry about their fate and assumed the role as inferior beings. Evidence of the existence of this way of thinking relates to Dr. Kenneth Clark's doll experiment where Black students self-identified as racially inferior individuals.

In the late 1930s, Dr. Clark's experiment involved Black students, ranging in ages from six to nine, who were either from a racially integrated or segregated schooling system. In the experiment Dr. Clark asked the students various questions about two dolls that differed only by race (45 Am. U.L. Rev.2). One doll was Black and the other was White. Dr. Clark asked the participants the following questions,

1. Show me the doll that you like best or that you like to play with.
2. Show me the doll that is the 'nice' doll.
3. Show me the doll that looks 'bad'.
4. Give me the doll that looks like a white child.

5. Give me the doll that looks like a colored child.
6. Give me the doll that looks like a Negro child.
7. Give me the doll that looks like you.

Dr. Clark's findings suggested that students from the segregated school system were more likely to pick the Black doll as bad. These students were also more likely to select the Black doll as looking more like them. Dr. Clark concluded that this was a sign that Black students perceived themselves negatively.

In most cases, southern Blacks became determined to fight the mental enslavement of inferiority through escaping the daily torments of life. In order to regain their freedom, Blacks fled the south. This strength of will led to a large migration in the nation where the demographics shifted to 40% of Blacks coming to live in western and/or northern regions. Of those who stayed in the south, Blacks created their own isolated communities and gained back their sense of power. Like others, Blacks in Durham, North Carolina used Jim Crow's requirement for separation to create a self-sustaining community known as the Hayti District.

Determined to Find Hope

Jim Crow laws attempted to destroy the morale of Blacks. Ironically, it was these laws that empowered them to embrace separation and build a thriving community. This brings me to the final point of reference within Phase Two, "exodus." In Durham, as Blacks transitioned away from seeing their circumstance through the *Blue Devil's* lens, they became more acutely aware of their immeasurable talents flowing from within and created the Hayti District.

From 1869 to 1877, a group of local freedmen purchased a bundle of acres south of the town of Durham in Durham County (Brown, 2008; Anderson, 2011). These Black landowners, Malbourne Angier, Minerva Fowler, Sterling Proctor, Robert F. Morris, William Pratt and Andrew Turner, sold tracts of their land specifically to other Black freedmen in order to expand

the Black owned territory (Anderson, 2011). As years passed by, the number of Blacks owning property increased leading to the Hayti (pronounced Hay-tie) District. It is believed that the meaning behind the Black owned region Hayti was a direct representation of the independent Black state Haiti.

The Hayti District represented the possibility of economic and social equality with southern Whites. It was a place where Blacks from both the working-class and elite/middle formed collaborations to build social capital for all Blacks (Brown, 2008). The success of Hayti was solely dependent on the progress of Blacks and arguably counted every person as responsible for the community's development.

Durham had a national reputation for Blacks fostering capitalism and financial gains throughout the community (Brown, 2008). By the 20th century, Hayti comprised over 600 owned business and homes that gathered around streets today known as Fayetteville and Pettigrew. There were tobacco and cigar factories, textile and lumber mills, a drug and insurance company, a bank, movie theatre, bakery, barbershop, schools, churches, and a variety of retail institutions.

The Hayti District was not the only promising Black community in Durham County. Black neighborhoods such as West End (now called Lyon Park), the East End and Pin Hook (Crest Street Neighborhood) were all environments intent on establishing free and independent Black owned communities (Brown, 2008). With the combination of these prominent communities, it was understandable that Durham County received the nickname as the "capital of the Black middle class" (p.123).

Influential Black leaders frequently visited Durham County to get a glimpse of the well-known Black utopia. In 1912, W.E.B DuBois stated that the Blacks living in Durham surpassed

all racial groups in the country, “[The Blacks’] social and economic development is more striking than that of any similar group in the nation” (Brown, 2008, p.121). In Booker T. Washington’s article entitled *Durham, North Carolina a city of Negro Enterprises*, Washington affirmed the following, “[Blacks were] shining examples of what a colored man may become when he is proficient and industrious” (Washington, 1911, p.643). Washington also praised the Blacks in Durham for their “flourishing” grocery, drug, and dry goods stores (p. 642). He mentioned also that he had never seen so many successful Black owned businesses in one region. He even called Durham the “Mecca of Black Capitalism” (Brundage, 2005, p.232).

Although Black elites founded Hayti, it was the support from White philanthropists and working class Black women who kept the district afloat. It was these and other likely and unlikely relationships that helped maintain the district. Many played and changed the game for the future of Hayti.

Game Players and Changers

The success of the Hayti District was due largely to elite Black leaders’ ability to work strategically within the confines of Jim Crow while gaining support from influential White business leaders (Brown, 2008; Brown & Valk, 2004; Greene, 2005). This district was the cornerstone of Black business and yet the White dollar supported many of its establishments. With Black leaders’ quest for independence from Whites, and Whites seeking for racial separation from Blacks, it is clear why both groups pushed for improving the Hayti District into a self-sustaining community. Black leaders assumed the submissive role in order to collect monetary rewards from Whites. In theory, Blacks played the game, only to ensure that their community would reap the benefits.

Examples of these types of relationships are in the construction of the Hayti District's Black hospital and college. White philanthropist Washington Duke was responsible for financing the construction of Lincoln hospital in 1901. Black businessmen convinced Mr. Duke to not add a wing onto the White hospital for Blacks, but instead build a separate building away from White communities (Brown & Valk, 2004). Influential Whites "rewarded [Black] Durham leaders' loyalty" by funding additional graduate programs at North Carolina College for Negroes (Brown, 2009, p.19). The former confederate General Julian S. Carr, fully funded William G. Pearson's (first principal of the district's Black high school) education at Shaw University (Brown, 2008). A reporter once asked Pearson about his unconventional relationship with the general and he stated, "We prefer to think of General Carr in terms of his benefactions, not his politics" (p.152).

Besides support from White business leaders, the economic growth of the Hayti District depended also on close-knit relationships amongst Blacks through universities, fraternities and churches. Aaron DeDuffie Moore moved to Durham in 1888 and was the city's first Black physician. He founded Lincoln Hospital, Mechanics and Farmers Bank and the Bull City's Drug Store. He also co-founded the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. He had graduated from Leonard Medical School at Shaw University (Vann & Jones, 1999). Dr. Stanford Lee Warren, another graduate of Leonard Medical School at Shaw University, was the president of the Durham Colored Library from 1923-1940. He was also a member of the boards of Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Lincoln hospital, St. Joseph's African Methodist Episcopal Church and member of fraternity, Kappa Alpha Psi. Warren's fraternity brother and classmate, Dr. Charles Haddo Shepard, also received his medical degree at Leonard Medical School at Shaw University. From there he practiced in the Lincoln Hospital, was a member of the National

Advancement Association of Colored People (NAACP) and National Medical Association, and served on the trustee board of White Rock Baptist Church. Dr. Shepard's colleague, James Rufus Evans, was a member of the board of trustees and Board of Deacons at White Rock. He was also a graduate of Shaw University, was Hayti's first barber in addition to being the treasurer at North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, director and vice president at Mechanics and Farmers Bank, as well as president and manager of Community Damp Wash Laundry. These men shared a bond that wove into all facets of their lives. From education and work, to church and to causal relationships they worked together to ensure the community received the best resources.

A large but silenced advocate within the Hayti District's community was the Black working-class woman. They assisted with maintaining the community by working in the textile and tobacco mills as well as advocating for equal rights for teachers, mothers and families (Greene, 2005). According to the city's demographics, there were more women in Durham County than men. Typically, mothers brought their families to the district to find a better life for their children. News of the prosperous community spread throughout the nation and so many single women came to get a piece of that freedom (Brown & Valk, 2004). Ironically, Durham had some of the wealthiest Black men in the country but also some of the poorest Black women (Brown, 2008). The capital of Black middle class largely grew due to the poor Black women who worked in mills. Author Leslie Brown argued that Black female workers in Durham provided the necessary resources to create a self-sufficient community based on their laboring experience as servants, cooks, factory workers, teachers, or house cleaners (2008).

Black working-class women in Hayti also had the reputation of protesting against communal injustices. A local NAACP newspaper stated, "if you want anything done, get the

women and children” (Greene, 2005, p.8). These women organized efforts within churches, neighborhoods, grocery stores, salons, and any place that allowed for social gatherings. Through these gatherings, they created well-known groups such as Operation Breakthrough and United Organizations for Community Improvement. Known throughout the community, these women exclusively led these organizations without the influence from outsiders.

The Jim Crow laws forced Blacks to remain separate and not equal. However, Durham’s elite/middle Blacks viewed segregation as a tool to empower and encourage the community. In a sense, they used their connections with each other and relationships with elite Whites to outmaneuver Jim Crow and therefore rid them of the *Blue Devil’s* lenses (Brown, 2008). It is important to note that Blacks within the Hayti District seemed at peace with federal mandates on segregation because the very thing that confined them also protected them from the dangers of integration. Providing Jim Crow laws persisted, it meant that Blacks in Durham’s Hayti District would be safe. Besides this ironic dependency on the Jim Crow laws, elite Blacks built reciprocal relationships with White businessmen only to further support the Black community. Durham’s Black elites also shared strong bonds amongst other Blacks in an effort to keep companies, schools and banks owned and operated by Blacks. In addition to the workings of elite Black males, working-class Black women also fed into uplifting Durham’s Blacks. It was through their hard work in- and out- of the factories that they were able to feed the district continuously. Although both groups of elite/middle and working class Black individuals assisted in uplifting Durham, one often wondered if Jim Crow mandates truly regulated Black working class or was it the Black elite/middle class used them in order to maintain their social power within walls of segregation?

The Social Class Dilemma

As stated earlier, the Hayti District comprised of the greatest social class gaps with some of the poorest Black women and wealthiest Black men in the nation. Such stark social differences created multiple perspectives on the role of racial segregation. While elite/middle class Blacks defined segregation as an opportunity to remain independent from White businesses, one wondered if racial separation guaranteed that one group would remain inferior.

Before civil rights, sociologist E. Franklin Frazier argued that the topic of integration created a new middle Black class to form (Frazier, 1957). He articulated that this group mainly derived in northern cities like Detroit and Chicago and sought out for racial integration. In contrast, Frazier defined the old middle Black class as individuals who depended on segregation in order to help maintain their wealth. Interestingly enough, he specifically mentioned Durham's Black middle class and argued that certain practiced ideals distinguish them as old middle class. For example, Frazier stated the old middle class pride themselves as having a connection with European ancestry and uses a caste system amongst Blacks for financial stability. In addition, through segregation and maintaining the caste system, this group would remain successful. In theory, racial integration would destroy their magnified level of success and force them to compete with White middle class money.

Frazier's perspective introduces the idea that the reason why certain elite/middle class Black leaders were strongly opposed integration, was due to selfish motives. Although certain Black leaders argued that integration would weaken the Black community, in reality the true reason could have more to do with maintaining social power and control in a concentrated area. Frazier (1957) stated,

Middle class Negroes have been able to enjoy a certain prestige and status behind the wall of segregation, which would be threaten by desegregation. Moreover, middle class Negroes enjoy a certain emotional security by not being forced into competition with Whites in the American community (p.297).

Through the formation of committees, Greek organizations and debutante social events, Frazier continued to argue that Black elite/middle class attempt to “dissociate itself” from the Black masses (Frazier, 1957, p.299). However, even though they strive to detach themselves from the Black masses, they are unable to drop their identity of being Black themselves. It is their race that ultimately binds them across all Black social classes.

As indicated earlier, Hayti had the reputation of using their elite Black men to conduct business with White philanthropist. It was through these interactions where Black leaders implemented policies and laws that assisted the Black community. Unfortunately, there was a lot of give and take, where not everything that the Black masses demanded was advocated (Brown & Valk, 2004). An example of this occurred in the 1930s when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) insisted on equal teaching salaries for Black and White educators. Daisy Lampkin, an NAACP activist visited the local communities for support but came across large opposition from elite Black leaders who were unwilling “to rock the political boat” and easily became flustered about potential backlash from White philanthropists (p.26). Working class Blacks became cautious about the Black elites’ overall intentions. Although this type of support created an unmentionable friction between the two groups, both were aware that the future of their Black community depended on educating their youth.

Building the Hayti District’s Future through Education

It was imperative for Black students to be educated, not just for their wellbeing but also for the security of Hayti. Within Hayti, the Black community understood that in order for a Black student to be successful within society, they must gain some form of education. The need for education led to the creation of multiple Black operated schools in Durham County. At the

turn of the 20th century, the Durham Colored Graded School opened and began with William G. Pearson leading the school (Anderson, 2011). In the 1920s, only three schools served Black students, Whitted School (replaced Durham Colored Grade School), West End school and East End School (Brown, 2008). These learning institutions allowed Blacks to educate their students without hindrance from Whites.

In 1921, the community constructed Hillside High School in the Hayti's district. At this time, this massive building was one of two Black public high schools in the state of North Carolina. Hillside High School employed many Black educators from the community, opened up various vocational and technical opportunities for their students, as well as introduced the prospect for Blacks to attend higher education institutions. What made Hillside so remarkable was that it represented the gateway for Black students to achieve success in- and outside of the community. This school represented the future and was financially and physically supported by the Black owned businesses and community members of Hayti.

In a ten-year period, Black students saw a large growth in attendance and literacy. In Durham County in 1900, about 40% of Black students attended school every day and 46% were illiterate (Brown, 2008). Ten years later the attendance percentage increased to 60% and illiteracy decreased to 21%.

Over 130 Black teachers worked in one of the eight Black public schools in Durham County (Patterson et.al, 2007). The community hired hundreds of Black female teachers enabling "other mothering"; a method where Black female teachers were viewed as the students' additional mother in school (p.85). Although their presence was vital to the emotional growth of Black students, in the 1933-34 school year, the lowest trained paid White teacher was paid equal

to the highest trained Black teacher. According to Durham Public Schools, it was only race that distinguished salary capabilities.

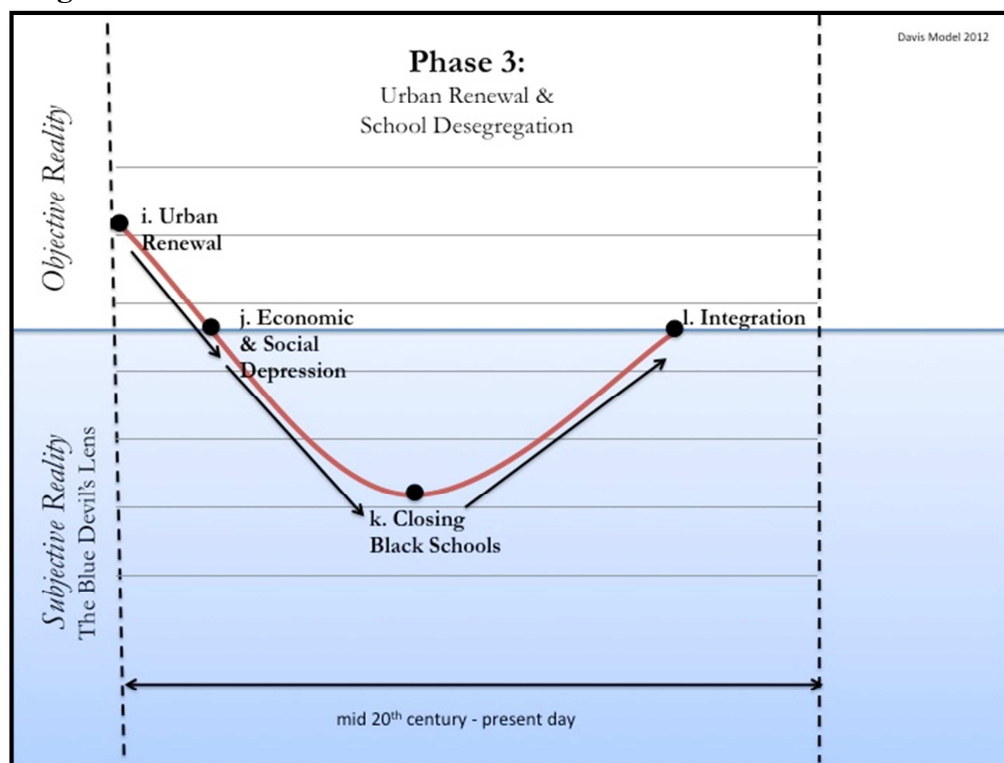
Besides Black elementary and high schools, the Hayti District had the first state-supported liberal arts college for Blacks in the United States known as National Religious Training School (Vann & Jones, 1999). Dr. James E. Shepherd opened up its doors in 1910 as the founder and president of the college as a means to allow Black students to advance their education through high school. For thirteen years, Dr. Shepherd struggled to maintain the institution until the state purchased the school and renamed it North Carolina College for Negroes, now called North Carolina Central University (Brundage, 2005, p.233). The school represented the future of Hayti's students and ensured a steady and strong job market within the small Black Durham community.

During Phase 2, I argued how this period began with scientific racism and ended with an exodus to a successful isolated community. Similar to Phase 1, the majoritarian story of white superiority led Blacks to view their perspective through the *Blue Devil's* lens and thus saw themselves and their environment as inferior. It was not until they reached a place where they had to escape this debilitating way of thinking and build an environment that fostered strength, love and power. The Hayti District was their escape and represented a relative safe haven for all Black social classes to live, work, and be educated without the interference from southern Whites (Brown. 2008). It was at this point, where they had the fortitude to remove the Blue Devil's lens and see themselves as capable beings. Unfortunately, this episode in history also marked the end of the Phase and the success of Hayti sparked its downfall and the beginning of Phase 3.

The Start of a New Phase

Below, Image 5 highlights Phase 3 and presents the paradigm shift of Blacks self-awareness during the destruction of the Hayti District and school desegregation. However, unlike the two previous phases, this phase does not have an official end. In Image 5, I identified four points of references which are as follows, i) urban renewal, j) economic and social depression, k) closing of Black schools and l) integration.

Image 5: Phase Three



These points represent a point in history where I identified a shift in the wave's construction. In addition to the "economic and social depression," the "closing of Black schools" forced Durham Blacks to look at their everyday existence through the lens of the *Blue Devil*. Therefore, these points of reference are within the subjective reality space. Unlike the previous phases, the point

of reference entitled “integration” allows for the possibility of Blacks to continue viewing their circumstances either with or without the *Blue Devil’s* lens. I will address this question in chapters five and six. For the remainder of this chapter, I will explain the remaining four reference points.

Urban Renewal and the Destruction of Hayti

With the success of the Hayti District at its peak, the downfall began with federal and state funded urban renewal projects. The Black Mecca of the United States was marked as a target even with national attention from Black leaders and successful Black-operated schools. Hayti’s existence proved that Blacks could be successful, powerful and educated regardless of overt racist attempts to keep them silent and inferior. This time in history marks the beginning of Phase 3 and connects to the first reference point within this period.

In the 1950s, the federal government introduced a plan to assist several North Carolina counties with reviving their urban communities. In the plan, the government promised to fund 66% of the project leaving the remaining support to come from local and state affiliates (Anderson, 2011). In 1957 Durham’s Planning Director, Paul Brooks, presented the idea to improve Durham County’s appearance and access to the North Carolina General Assembly. The committee agreed to move forward with the plan and use Hayti as a focal point to revitalize. In essence, the federal and local governments funded an urban renewal for Durham County that enabled North Carolina’s White political leaders to destroy legally the Hayti District (Anderson, 2011). Unknowing of the fate of Hayti, elite Blacks spearheaded the operation as a way to uplift Hayti. Those Blacks against outside funding argued that they did not want federal interference with their land, businesses, and community.

The county promised Blacks within the Hayti District that they would lose their businesses and lands for a short period but that new buildings and accommodations would replace the old. John Wheeler, president of Mechanics and Farmers Bank and John Stewart, president of the Mutual Savings and Loan Association, both served on the Redevelopment Committee. With two prominent Black leaders serving on the five-member commission, Blacks in Durham believed that the government would rebuild their homes and businesses. Few Blacks doubted or even predicted the future destruction of Hayti. They believed that the renewed Hayti would continue to be a place for Blacks to live and conduct business. In addition, the Black business owners were excited to watch their companies become improved. Newly renovated buildings meant that Blacks could compete with White-owned businesses (Brundage, 2005).

The removal of Black neighborhoods consistently occurred across the nation (Brundage, 2005). Specifically in Durham, urban renewal meant clearing out the Hayti District, modernizing downtown Durham and building a highway from Research Triangle Park to suburbs throughout the county. The intent was to improve the city's tax base by improving traveling conditions for White middle and upper class clientele. The North Carolina's Department of City and Regional Planning recommended clearing out over 200 acres of the Hayti District in order to transform the area into "attractively clean and modern residential sections" (Brundage, 2005, p.237).

Throughout the Triangle, editorials written by White community leaders stigmatized downtown Durham. They used such images about like "contagious diseases" and "potential to contaminate" to convey the image that the Hayti District needed to be demolished (Brundage, 2005, p.238). In another article, the author argued that Hayti had a "devaluing effect" that would "spread" to other communities in Durham County (p.238). A report from the Durham Herald

stated, “In the long run...there can be no losses in a program that restores the social and economic values of a deteriorating neighborhood” (p.240). Another journalist from the Durham Herald assured its readers that the urban renewal project would ultimately assist Durham Blacks since the plan provided economic assistance and planned to move over 600 families and 100 businesses. From the perspective of the White middle to upper class individuals, the urban renewal project had the potential to benefit commuters, Durham County residents, but also Durham’s Blacks.

Unfortunately, both Black and White leaders promised better homes, businesses, shopping centers and up-to-date community centers for the displaced Hayti residents (Greene, 2005). The government never fulfilled this promise. Instead, Durham’s leaders realized they could clear out additional Black owned areas and still have funds to cover building projects in downtown Durham (Brundage, 2005) but without rebuilding Hayti. The impact of the destruction of Hayti was demoralizing. Author Greene stated the following about the destruction of the once thriving district,

“Hayti, a thriving business district with over one hundred independently owned Black enterprises, was destroyed; homes were bulldozed, leading to a housing crisis that was aggravated by the shortage of low-income housing in Durham; and the promised mall where the businesses were to be relocated never materialized” (Greene, 2005, p.172).

Regrettably, the county never rebuilt the Hayti district. It appeared as though the government, and with the unfortunate help from the elite Blacks, destroyed all Black owned homes, businesses and the once thriving community (Anderson, 2011). Blacks from the community argued that the urban renewal was an attempt to destroy the Black community, destroy unity, and further eliminate the Black capital of the country. Historian Jean Bradley Anderson gave the following as a description of the former Hayti district, “Twenty-five years later the land that had bustled with life was still a wasteland overgrown with weeds” (p.343). In

its place, an expressway emerged to allow drivers to freely travel to- and from- the Research Triangle Park, a place of largely White employment.

The next point of reference within Phase 3 is “economic and social depression.” It was at this point where Hayti’s Blacks revisited the liminal space between objective reality and the subjective reality. It was here where many picked up the figurative *Blue Devil’s* lens and returned to seeing their circumstance from this biased and distorted point of view. Similar to what occurred in the previous phase, the destruction of Hayti reminded Blacks once again that Eurocentric ideologies ensured they stay subservient and inferior.

The economic depression posed a dramatic effect on Black residents of the Hayti. It was not until the end of Hayti’s destruction when Black business owners realized the urban renewal project would not restore their once thriving community and companies. For hundreds of owners, this meant a reduction in clientele, an end to their business, and the beginning of an economic depression. The urban revival project called for the destruction of hundreds of Black owned organizations, leaving thousands of Hayti’s Blacks unemployed and without an income.

The economic depression affected families, homes and businesses, but the social depression led relationships amongst Blacks to make a turn for the worst. Unfortunately, the destruction of the Hayti District formed a growing and detrimental mistrust, not just between Whites and Blacks, but also between Blacks from the elite and working-class (Green, 2005; Brundage, 2005; Brown & Valk, 2004). When it became apparent that the urban renewal project did not include rebuilding Hayti, Durham Blacks blamed the elites for spearheading the ultimate annihilation of their community. There was even an unpleasant suspicion that some elite Blacks financially benefited from the destruction of Hayti. This suspicion and confusion about the

renewal created a split between Durham Blacks' elite and working classes. Once relationships disrupted, the future of the children became the next issue.

Closing of Black Schools

The next point of reference found in Phase 3 is located at the lowest point. Within my research, I identified this point as "closing Black schools." It was at this point, where Blacks from the Hayti community reached their lowest and truly saw their circumstances from the perspective of the *Blue Devil*. They were no longer able to see the potential of their environment since their recently destroyed community and now schools became victims of federal and local government mandates. Moreover, society reinforced a majoritive view.

Hayti's Black schools were the remaining pieces that held the Black community together. When the Supreme Court's ruled from the *Brown v. Board of Education* case (1954) that racial integration occurs in all schools, this ironically further destroyed the community. Although integration in Durham County did not take full effect until 1964, the process for dismantling Black schools had begun long before (McElreath, 2002). Milner and Howard contend that it is impossible to talk about the impact *Brown* decision made on the teachers and schools without first recognizing the cataclysmic reactions found throughout Black communities (2004). Tillman (2004) affirmed that before the *Brown* decision, Black schools symbolized the Black community, "The school reinforced community values and served as the community's ultimate cultural symbol. Although the school was segregated, it was 'valued' by the Black community" (p.282). In most cases, the Black community identified its school as the town's focal point. It was a place where their students gained knowledge and power, something that was not afforded to them in previous years (Anderson, 2011). Black schools also ensured an inclusive curriculum for their students and transmitted ideologies that were consistent with Eurocentric theoretical frameworks

(Tillman, 2004). Once these schools closed Black communities slowly began to deteriorate. Black educators who worked within their communities' schools were jobless. Local mandates forced the Black community to abandon school buildings that represented independence and freedom, eerily symbolizing the projected future of Black students.

In a study done by Noblit and Dempsly (1993), the researchers discovered community members were still displeased in the closing of their school almost 25 years later. After multiple interviews with former teachers and students of the Black school, parents, and community members, the researchers were able to deduce that the Black school was an instrumental piece in the community. Participants of the study mentioned that they wished the Black school returned to the community. Moreover, others suggested that the closing of the Black schools initiated the downfall of the community.

Durham was not alone in this. Black American scholar Mwalimu Shujaa investigated Board of Education minutes from 1951 to 1958 and discovered how the board dismantled a Black school in Parsons, Kansas without the consent or involvement from the Black community (Patterson et al, 2007). In 1951, the board removed grades 9th, 10th, following eighth, and seventh in 1954, 5th and 6th in 1956. A year later, they terminated all operations of the school for the year after that. As the board continued to remove grades from Douglas High and transition students to the White school, they also dismissed Black teachers from their jobs. A follow up study conducted 50 years after Douglas High closed indicated that the Black community members were still affected and irate about the closing of the school.

In Durham, thousands of Black students had the opportunity to transition into schools that, in some cases, had better resources and were structurally sound (Webb, 2006). Unfortunately, this transition came at the price of further dismantling Durham's Hayti District.

The irony is that while school desegregation did allow for Black students across the country to receive, in some instances, better resources than from their previous schools, the process, in the end, emasculated and debilitated Blackness. The closing of all but a couple Black schools led to the firing and/or demotion of hundreds of Black teachers and administrators (Banks, 2008). Through school desegregation, Durham's Black community received the overt and covert message that they were inferior.

For Durham Blacks, school desegregation was the figurative straw that broke the camel's back. As more Black students successfully integrated into White schools, Black schools closed, school districts fired Black teachers and administrators, and the fear of the abandoned Hayti District swept across the community (Anderson, 2011). Without Black educators in schools supporting students, some Blacks believed that the system would be ineffective in assisting Black students. Through school desegregation and the destruction of Hayti, Black community members could easily view their environment through *Blue Devil's* lens.

Milner and Howard (2004) attest that White teachers were not culturally prepared to teach Black students. Since racial segregation has physically kept them separate for decades, White teachers were uninformed of Black students' lives, family dynamics, household norms, and community values. This disconnect made it impossible for White teachers to effectively teach Black students. Thus White teachers were "ill equipped" to receive Black families, students, and communities (Patterson et. al, 2007, p.92).

In the article entitled *The Consequences of School Desegregation in a Kansas Town 50 Years after Brown*, Patterson et al (2007) addressed the notion of "other mothering" which associated Black female teachers as mothers within the classroom. The authors stipulated that this technique allowed Black female teachers to attach kinship to their students as well as to

encourage them in and out of the school. The *Brown v. Board* decision removed this form of teaching from many southern classrooms and replaced it with a non-protective and tense environment. To an extent, the sense of personal connection of Black students to schooling was lost without Black female teachers.

Along with school desegregation came White flight, where thousands of White students fled from city schools. The city population dropped from 15,000 to 9,000 between 1960s and 70s (Greene, 2005). In the 1980s, the Black students accounted for about 85% of the student population in Durham City Public Schools. Besides the noticeable transition in racial demographics, schools like Hillside High and Durham High transitioned into high-minority and high-poverty facilities (Greene, 2005). Even in 2011, Blacks represented about 39% of the county's demographics and yet over half of the student population identified as Black (U.S. Census, 2011; NC Report Card, 2012).

The destruction of the Hayti District and closing of Black schools led Blacks across Durham County to view their circumstances again through the *Blue Devil's* lens. Ironically, the fall of Hayti came with the help from Black elite, thus causing a rift amongst Blacks and further destroying the Durham community. In addition, a federal decision mandated racial integration of all White schools. The Supreme Court order failed to protect hundreds of Black teachers and principals who taught in the county and thus assisted in the closing of a majority of Durham's Black schools and the firing of most Black educators. Post-desegregation, federal and local mandates destroyed, ignored and separated Durham's Black community. In the next section, I will address the final point of reference, "integration."

Is this the End of the Phase?

According to my conceptual model, Phase 3 contains a fourth point; however, the direction of the point is not explicitly clear. I define integration as the point where Jim Crow laws no longer apply and everything from schools, to stores, and restaurants are racially integrated. As positive as that seems, I am uncertain how the line continues. It is only through my findings that I am able to determine the future direction of the wavelength.

Within this chapter, I addressed Phase 2 and 3 and identified eight points of references. Each point explains Blacks' self-awareness and their relation to historical occurrences. From Phase 2 I expressed that the mental enslavement from the Jim Crow laws forced Blacks to emotionally hit a low point and view their circumstance through the confines of the *Blue Devil's* lenses. I also addressed how mass exoduses and resistance to bigotry and racism disrupted a fully functioning and successful Black community in Durham. This transitioned into Phase 3 where urban renewal projects and economic and social depression poured within the Black community. From this point came another low point of the closing of Black schools from the *Brown v. Board of education* mandate. This single decision displaced hundreds of Durham teachers and abandoned thousands of Black students. The final point, "integration" opened up doors for Blacks to be no longer dependent on a nucleus Black community and live, work and pray in integrated sections. But apparently no one else, let alone the White community, took up responsibility for these children.

In the next two chapters, I will present my findings for my research and illustrate to what extent my participants aligned with my conceptual model. Here I will also use their counter narratives, include their interpretations of my many points of references and include their interpretations of viewing one's circumstance through the *Blue Devil's* lens.

FINDINGS

This chapter will present the findings from my research study. Here I will present the personal history of each of my participants. I will also include their perspective of six points of references from my conceptual model. At the end, I will conclude with my participants' views of progress for the Black community and define how they interpret the future of Blacks in Durham County.

Classification of Socio-economic class

For the purpose of the study, I gave all of the participants a pseudonym. Since I am interested in analyzing the counter narratives based on socio-economic class, I use the names of the participants to distinguish these differences. The participants who identified within the elite/middle class category have an alias that begins with the letter E. Those participants are Edward, Ebony and Ezekiel and a snapshot of their demographics are below in Table 3.

Table 3: Demographics of Elite/Middle Class Participants

Categories	Edward	Ebony	Ezekiel
Education of parents	Both parents were college educated	Mother had her PhD	Father had his graduate degree
Occupation of parents	Father: Agriculture County Agent	Mother: Professor Father: Employed by the school system	Father: President of NAACP in South Carolina
Living arrangements as a child	Owned home	Owned home	Owned home
Participated in extra-curricular activities as a child	Traveled with family	Church, sporting clubs	Church, fraternity, NAACP
Education	Graduate Degree	Graduate Degree	Juris Doctor
Current Occupation	Executive Director	Government Official	Government Official
Age Range	70-75	60-65	75-80
Former resident of the Hayti District	Yes	Yes	Yes
Durham City Native	No	Yes	No

Of the participants who identified as working class, their aliases begin with the letter W. Those participants are Whitley, Wanetta and Watson and their demographics are below in Table 4.

Table 4: Demographics of Working Class Participants

Categories	Whitley	Wanetta	Watson
Education of parents	Mother: Less than HS Father: Unknown	-	Mother & Father: Less than HS
Occupation of parents	Mother & Father: Factory workers	Mother: Domestic Father: Salesman	Mother: Cook Father: Unemployed
Living arrangements as a child	Rented home	Rented home	Rented home
Participated in extra-curricular activities as a child	Not involved	Assisted mother with domestic work	Shined shoes
Education	GED	College Educated	2-Year College Degree
Current Occupation	Unemployed	Volunteers with church	Assistant in medical field
Age Range	60-65	70-75	60-65
Former resident of the Hayti District	Yes	Yes	No
Durham City Native	Yes	No	Yes

Voices of the Elite/Middle

During his childhood years, Edward lived across the state of North Carolina in major cities like Greensboro, Durham and Fayetteville. His father was one of two agriculture county agents in the state and his job required that he frequently move between cities. When he lived in cities other than Durham, Edward recalled spending his summer with his relatives in the Hayti District. Edward remembered both of his grandparents to be illiterate; however, this deficiency was the defining factor that pushed his parents, siblings and himself to be educated. His mother attended Hampton Institute and received a degree in home economics. It was there where she met Edward’s father where they married and had five children. He recalled how both of his parents placed each child on the track to excel in school. After graduating high school, Edward continued on his education and was one of the first Black students to integrate into a local

technical college. From there he attended North Carolina College (NCC), which today is North Carolina Central University.

After Edward graduated from college, he left the United States and volunteered for the Peace Corps in Africa where he encountered, first-hand, the effects of the Atlantic slave trade. Edward's experience in Africa was something that he never forgot. He lived in a small town that was heavily impacted by the slave trade. He also mentioned how the Africans passed down stories to younger generations of slave trafficking, mass suicides and tribal devastation.

So I lived in a community where that story was passed on by what they called Griots, and they had different names here so the story of the slavery was very deep in the town and community. The village I was in was about 30 miles from the ocean so it was very heavenly impacted by the slave trade. [The Village was near] a couple of slave forts off the coast where they actually held people prior to the passage.

Edward established a connection and sense of empathy for the town that lay devastated over a hundred years later. From the small village, Edward moved to South Africa right after President Nelson Mandela took office. During his time in Africa Edward met his wife, who was on a similar quest for justice after fleeing atrocities from her native country of Lithuania.

Currently, Edward is the Executive Director of a non-profit in Durham, North Carolina. His agency provides literacy support to adult learners and non-native English speakers. He remains active in the community and prides himself on working on a committee to help refurbish the Hayti Heritage building.

My next participant was Ebony, a proud Durham native born of parents who played a large role in her passion with education. Her father worked as a custodian in the local school system and her mother began her career as a schoolteacher. While teaching, her mother attended NCC and was one of the first to receive her PhD at the university. Ebony remembered her mother making this transition in her life from schoolteacher to academic professor.

That was glorious time for us because now she could teach on the college level and now we could make a little bit more money. I can't remember her first salary was I think it was maybe \$11,000 or something like that, a Ph.D. salary. She was traveling to Fayetteville and we thought that was fantastic.

Ebony also recalled her church and school as an integral part of her family life. As a family, they attended one of the most prominent churches in Hayti, White Rock Baptist Church. Ebony remembered both of her parents serving on church and community committees. Her mother was involved as the Chairwoman of the board of Christian Education. Similar to her mother, Ebony attended Hillside High School and NCC. During the summer, she remembered her parents forcing her to attend enrichment programs where she learned how to dance and play various instruments.

Currently Ebony serves in the local Durham County government and has been active for decades. She still lives in the house she grew up in and loves its architectural design from the hardwood floors to the French doors. Her home sits across from her alma mater where she identified it from being near the "heartbeat" of the Black community and a "stone's throw" from Hayti.

The next participant was Ezekiel who was born and raised in South Carolina and later moved to Durham, North Carolina in the early 1960s. He moved to Durham, where he practiced law for the North Carolina Life Insurance Company for over 30 years. He came here with the intention of returning back to his home state within 10 years, however he fell in love with Hayti and has lived there ever since.

As a boy, Ezekiel remembered both his mother and father being intimately involved with his education. His father was the state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which Ezekiel believed, assisted in his father's quest to improve equity for students of color. He remembered his parents regularly attending Parent

Nights and spontaneously showing up at his school to speak with his teachers. Although at the time it embarrassed him and his siblings, Ezekiel was fortunate and grateful for his parents' involvement.

Ezekiel worked with many influential Black leaders during his life including, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Thurgood Marshall, Robert Carter and other nationally recognized activists. He was especially fond of his fraternity brother, Dr. King Jr. and developed a deep love and respect for him. Ezekiel is thankful still to have hand written letters from Dr. King Jr., inviting him out to civil rights marches. He stated:

I would meet him at the frat house on New Hampshire Avenue in Washington cause he would be coming to Washington for various conferences first at Capitol Hill and then at other groups. And he would always come back [to] 1800 New Hampshire Ave for lunch and so when I found out that was part of his route, I made it my business to be there and have lunch with him. So we got to be real friends.

Ezekiel also mentioned his desire to fight against racial injustices. He participated in many demonstrations, marched with community leaders and even admitted to going to jail for the right cause. He even served on a secret committee post-urban renewal to make sure the destruction of Hayti would not slow down progress for Blacks.

Currently, Ezekiel remains active within the Black Durham community. He is a member of the rotary club and served in Durham's local government for the past 30 years. He takes great pride in the fact that he solely uses Black-owned banks to pay expenses like his daughters' college education, home mortgages and car loans. Additionally he serves on several committees to help reduce the achievement gap of Black students. During his spare time he and his wife tutored children at a local Durham elementary school. He even stated that if he could do it all over again, he would come back as an educator because that is where the real fight can begin.

Edward, Ebony and Ezekiel represent a group of individuals who are continuing to improve Durham County. They are all current residents of the county and equally share a love for education and the county's schools. In the next section, I will introduce Whitley, Wanetta and Watson, all of whom identified themselves as working class during the urban renewal and school desegregation periods.

Voices of the Working Class

The first participant from the working class group is Whitley, a Durham native who was born in Hayti in the early 1940s. Growing up she remembered living on Proctor Street next to the community's grocery store. She vividly recalled every adult from her childhood; everyone from the teachers at her school, to the nosy neighbor who was always aware of her whereabouts.

Whitley did not have a relationship with her father but she stated that her mother worked desperately hard to fill both roles. Growing up she recalled her mother being the protector, disciplinarian, cook and provider. It was through watching her mother that Whitley was able to define what being a woman meant.

Within her mother's home, she viewed racially segregated education as a vital necessity. During her younger years, Whitley attended racially segregated schools such as W.G. Pearson, Whitted School and Hillside High School. When the topic of school integration came up, she remembered hearing a phone call from a relative forcefully advocating that she and her siblings remain in all-Black schools.

Of all the participants, Whitley was the only one displaced by urban renewal. She remembered the devastating effect it had on her family and the community. She also recalled the

move from the Hayti District to McDougal Terrace⁵ where she remained for over 27 years. In the following quote Whitley addressed the move to the local housing development:

I had been all around Hayti and I had never heard of McDougal Terrace. So when I came over here I didn't know what a project was I just thought they were some apartments and I said, 'Wow, there are a whole lot of people in these apartments.' And that was the only concern I had. I didn't know anything about over here.

Currently, Whitley received her General Education Development (GED) certificate and has recently published articles for the Herald Sun and News and Observer about Durham's youth and violence. After the early demise of her 17-year-old son, Whitley initiated a counseling group for parents who recently buried a murdered loved one. Through this group, she finds comfort in supporting other parents who deal with the same emotion of loss.

The next participant is Wanetta who comes from Kings Mountain, North Carolina. Her mother was a domestic worker and was responsible for cleaning, cooking and managing the home of a White family in town. When her mother's employer moved to Durham County in the mid-1950s, her parents thought it would be best to follow them to the unknown area. Her family packed their things, moved to Hayti and rented a small home on South Elm Street where she and her siblings started elementary school at Whitted Jr. High School. While in Durham, Wanetta's father worked on collecting advertisements for the local radio station. She recalled sending Saturdays with her mother and making a little extra money for herself.

My mother was a domestic worker; she worked in White folks' kitchens...So my mother was the caretaker and the maid for his family. They lived over on Mangum Street and she would go there and do maid work for them. And sometimes on Saturdays she would take one of us with her because she worked half a day on Saturdays, to rake leaves. So that's how we made our spending change, raking leaves.

Although she never admitted being the brightest at her schoolwork, Wanetta continued on to Hillside High School and then NCC where she met her husband. From college, she taught at

⁵A local housing development offered to Blacks who were displaced from the urban renewal project

Merrick-Moore Elementary School and decided very early that she would not be a teacher. From there she left the school and became employed by White Rock Baptist Church where she witnessed urban renewal knocking down this pivotal point in the community.

Currently, Wanetta volunteers for White Rock Baptist Church. Unlike the other members within this socio-economic group, she is no longer considered to be within the working class category. Her perspective is unique because she has the ability to recall what happened with urban renewal and school desegregation based off her experience of once living in the working class community. In addition to, she has the ability to see the future from both working and middle class lenses.

The final participant is Watson and he was born in Hayti's Lincoln hospital in the late 1940s. Watson's perspective is distinctive because he was the only interviewee who did not live in Hayti, but in a small nearby town called Walltown. In this community, his parents rented a small house for their family of eight. Below, Watson recalled nights of crowded sleeping in his bedroom. He stated, "It was eight of us in a family. Eight, in a family and we raised up in a small house, a tight house. About three or four of us slept in the same bed. We didn't have any freedom and I was in the middle with all my brothers."

He had a somber experience with education and racial integration within his hometown. He remembered during desegregation, his family pulled him out of the all-Black elementary school and placed into a White school called Carr Jr. High School. Here he faced extreme instances of racism, discrimination and fear, thus leading him to flunk during his first year of integration. He remembered being paranoid of White students and attempted to avoid them at all times. Even outside of the school, his community was more racially integrated compared to inside the walls of Hayti.

When Watson was not in school, he worked at his part-time job of shinning shoes. He made 35 cents per client and averaged about \$7 per week. He was grateful for the job because he knew that part of his income went to paying for rent and food for the family. Watson's father instructed him to give him part of his wages, and said that he would return his money once he grew older. Watson kindly stated that he never received his savings.

Watson recalled his mother having multiple jobs and his father being unemployed. He honestly stated that his father favored alcohol and staying at home opposed to working. However, he also remembered his mother working to keep everyone fed. She started as an elevator operator at the Veterans Affairs Hospital, then as an assistant at Durham's retirement home called the Hillcrest Nursing Home. From there she worked in the school's cafeteria and was able to sneak cookies home after a long day of work.

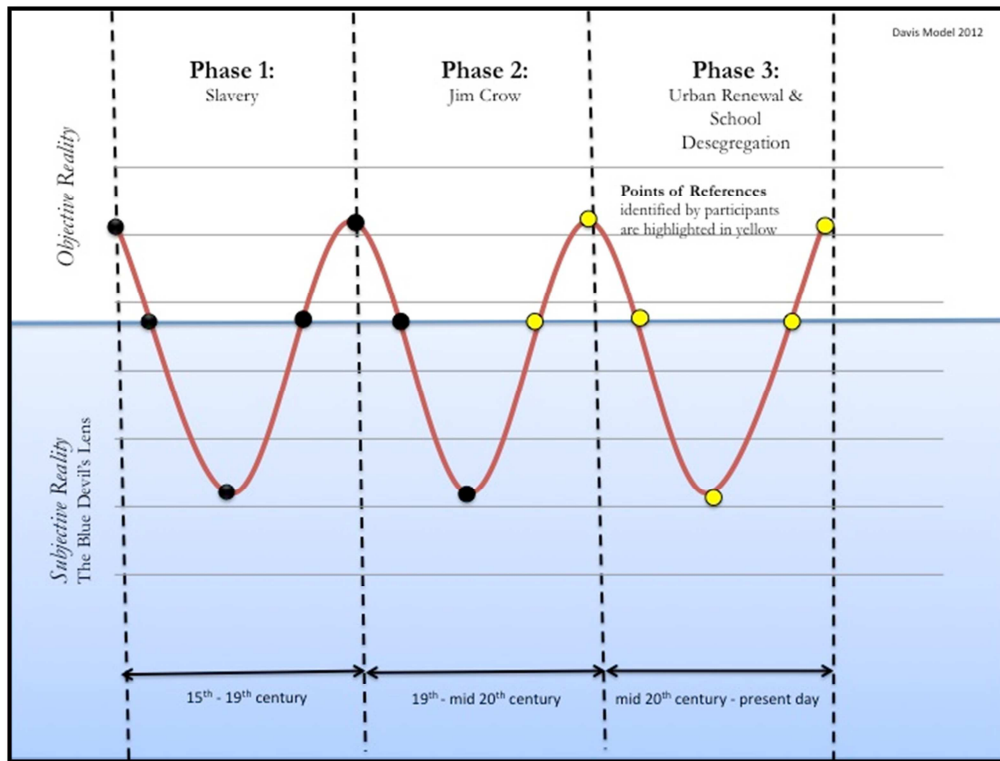
Currently Watson works at Duke University's Medical Center in Durham, North Carolina. He is responsible for talking and comforting patients before they go into surgery. He loves interacting with the public and plans to retire within the next few years. Similar to Ebony, Watson continues to live in the same neighborhood he grew up in nearly 60 years later.

Although Whitley, Wanetta and Watson all connect to the Hayti District in different ways and in different times, they each share a unique attachment to the county. Whitley was born and raised in Hayti, Wanetta moved to Hayti as a girl and Watson was born in Hayti but raised in another community. Regardless of how they came to Hayti, they remained in this region to this day. Now that I presented a brief description of my participants, I will link their voices to historical contexts of Jim Crow, urban renewal and school desegregation.

Historical Perspectives

As stated in Chapter 2, Critical Race theorists argued that the Black Americans' voices should be a vital counter narrative to the dominant Eurocentric discourse; however, one should continue to review the multi-dimensional counter narratives within a set race by analyzing class. In this instance, I reviewed various voices across Black Americans' socio-economic status. Within this study, I interviewed native Durham Blacks who identified as elite/middle class or working class (also known as lower class). I asked each participant about his or her interpretation of the Hayti District, urban renewal, school desegregation, and the future of Black students. During my interviews, each participant addressed self-awareness while specifically identifying the points of references within my conceptual model. The points that my participants referred to are in yellow in Image 6 found below. Through the interviews, I was able to align their interpretations of these different historical occurrences to the model. Additionally, participants identified a new era located after "integration" which I identified as "post-integration." I will present more information on this point of reference in upcoming sections. In the next section, I will introduce how all of my participants gave their interpretation of the Hayti District. I will link their descriptions to the points of references entitled "exodus" in the conceptual model.

Image 6: Participants Identified Points of References



Recalling Hayti

In Chapter 4, I acknowledged the first yellow point as “exodus” and defined it as the place in history when Blacks either fled the south or created successful private communities in an attempt to flee from Jim Crow Laws. At this point, all participants remembered the Hayti District as a flourishing and self-sufficient Black community with role models and a code of protection. Ezekiel’s pride of the bustling community showed when he spelled out the communities’ name to ensure that I accurately reported on the Hayti District. Ebony recalled the cultural experience of being born and raised in an independent Black community:

Everything you needed was right there in Hayti. We were, African American people were self-sufficient. Your doctor’s office, your physicians, your churches, your pharmacists, your hotel, your theatres, your restaurants, your service printing company, your printing needs, your florist, your insurance company, your banks, your cosmetology schools, it was all right there. Your grocery stores, your clubs even, were all right there. You could, your donut shops, I mean amazing Malcolm X University, WAFR the African our first Black owned... we had WSRC, but our first Black owned radio station was located there. It was a cultural experience.

With hundreds of Black-owned businesses, Whitley and Edward recalled how the Black dollar circulated within the community ensuring Hayti would continue to thrive. Whitney talked about the reciprocal relationship between local business and employment; “All kinds of different business that supported and were supported by the neighborhood.” Edward not only agreed that in terms of successful business, Hayti was far superior to neighboring Black communities in Fayetteville and Greensboro.

Black people owned and operated almost every business that you needed to survive in Durham. There were Black Architects, there were Black builders, Black supermarkets, there were Black shoe shops, there were factories where Blacks owned the factories where they worked at. North Carolina Mutual was something that really stood out because it was the largest business and this Spaulding family was outstanding business people...Hayti probably had more resources and facilities than opportunities than any other place I could imagine in the state of North Carolina for Black people. I mean it certainly wasn't comparable to Hayti in Greensboro or Fayetteville. It really was a Mecca.

As stated in her personal history, Wanetta's family relocated from King's Mountain, North Carolina to Durham, North Carolina and experienced Hayti from an outsider's perspective. She remembered being amazed when she first set foot on Hayti's main road, Fayetteville Street. She also recalled that her hometown had only two Black-owned businesses, which in her mind was not even comparable to the bustling center of Hayti.

We could walk up the street, up to the corner of Fayetteville, we were able to walk up to the corner of Fayetteville and turn right and there was a beauty shop, grocery stores, and dentist shop up the street. I would turn left and go up to the ban on the corner. It was just amazing. All of these Black businesses. I was really impressed with that.

Although both elite/middle and working class groups discussed similarities about the self-sustaining nature of Hayti, both expressed differences about the inclusiveness of summer enrichment activities and the presence of role models. Ebony remembered joining several camps during the summer where she learned various cultural experiences from tap dance to ballet. She

also stated that the church provided these opportunities to every person within Hayti regardless of one's socio-economic background. These programs lasted from 8:00am until 5:00pm, and thus gave parents the ability to drop their child off before work and pick them up after. In conflict, Whitley remembered a different history about enrolling into extracurricular activities within her neighborhood. She stated, "I was around [Hayti] all day because we didn't have daycare back then, well at least not for the Black people I knew so it was not full of people who had money too."

In addition to the noted class conflict found above, both groups voiced different opinions of the role models found within Hayti. All three participants from the elite/middle group mentioned the existence of role models within their interview and yet two participants from the working class group denied their presence. Ebony stated that Hayti's role models encouraged her to believe that she could be whatever she wanted, even during the reign of Jim Crow:

Everything I needed and role models that I aspired to emulate were right there. They were touchable, I could see them every day and I knew...But I knew that as a little girl I could be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer, I could own a business because those were all examples that were right in my church, that were right in my neighborhood and I could go to their offices and I could see them, these were people I could see walking down the street. I could see their shingles hanging outside I knew that I could own a business. I knew that I could be, so called rich. I did not have to resign to be a domestic.

Ezekiel was the role model that both Ebony and Edward spoke about when referring to their time in Hayti. As a lawyer for the most profitable Black-owned business in Hayti, Ezekiel remembered walking around the district with his head held high. He knew that he was a part of a system that encouraged Blacks to think independently of White businesses.

Well the fact that North Carolina Life Mutual Insurance Company was my employer was an integral part of this Black Wall-Street proposition...North Carolina Mutual was a leading example of what the power of the Black community could be in terms in terms of economics. It was the largest Black financial institution, the largest insurance company, Black insurance company. It meant something and it infused us with a sense of pride that

yes we could be successful if we [applied] our hearts and minds...I mean I was infused with a sense of pride, there was no question about it.”

Growing up in South Carolina, his father’s professional and political connections guaranteed Ezekiel’s relationship with multiple Black role models. He attributed his success to being adjacent to influential Black leaders during his child and young adult years.

In contrast, both Whitley and Watson agreed in rejecting the existence of role models in Hayti. Whitley stated that when looking at Black-owned businesspersons, she never equated that their success was an attainable goal. As an outsider, Watson identified all who dressed in suits as individuals involved in illegal activities. He stated that he purposely maintained a distance from them:

There was a lot of sharp, clean Black folks there. They were older you know. They had hats on their head, to the side, they were Kingpins, I don’t know back then if there were drugs, I wasn’t into that but you know it was scary walking through there.

Besides participants identifying Hayti as a self-sustaining environment, with- or without the presence of role models, individuals from both groups stated that the district was a source of protection. Although one individual argued that Hayti’s protection was strictly for Hayti-residents, Whitley addressed the “code of the street” that the community enforced. If a problem occurred that endangered the lives of Hayti residents, the locals would join and solve any issues without the burden of police. She gave an example of a White insurance salesperson that the police later charged for sexually assaulting minors. In this instance, she talked about her prying neighbor who warned her to stay away from the man. She recalled:

There was this lady we would call Miss. Beatum, we said Miss Beatum was so nosey. She protected us more than one time, I found out when I got grown...There was an insurance man that was real nice especially to the girls. When he would bring candy, we would take like nickels, and stuff like everything nothing cost over a quarter. If you had a quarter you had a lot of stuff. That’s the truth. And so we could take a nickel and get good stuff. I was just going to say, you know how people come to the neighborhood

pedophiles, while we didn't know that name at that time but Miss Beatum knew something was wrong.

Although it was unclear whom the insurance salesperson attacked, Whitley recalled how clusters of people in her community searched high and low for the predator. Once they found him, they handed him over to the police with new marks on his body that illustrated their anger of an outsider destroying their Black community.

Ebony and Edward recalled community members warning them to stay within the safe borders of Hayti. While he was a student at NCC, Edward worked part-time distributing drinks during Duke University football games. Several of his colleagues admonished him to remain in Hayti. He also addressed how students at Duke University received the same advice about entering into Hayti:

People at Duke were advised to not go over in that community because they would not be safe...The Black students were advised the same thing about the White community where I do not know of any instances of anything happening to the Black students. There were things that happened to White students who came into our community.

In terms of crossing Hayti's boarder, Watson illustrated that the ability to pass was not limited to just White people but other Blacks living outside of the district. Through his perspective, Watson identified an alternative image of Hayti and expressed how crossing into this district generated fear:

Hayti had a group called the Bottom Boys, and they were a mean group and they were Black. And you would never see one; you would see at least 50 or 20 of them together. You weren't supposed to go over there, if you did someone would say, I'm from Walltown and you would say "uh-oh" and there was a fight...We would try to get back home before it got dark.

As an outsider, Watson also mentioned the darker parts of Hayti that seemed to be absent by three of five remaining participants. He remembered the district having two very distinct entrances and referred to them as the front and back doors. The following is his description of

the back door, “Part of Pettigrew Street it was sort of like the slums. Run down houses and people drinking wine on the corner and hanging out. I remember one day a lady was drinking after-shaving lotion.” In this case, individuals from the working class were more likely to mention the darker side of Hayti. This may be true because they were more likely to encounter these areas compared to those in the elite/middle group.

Generally, participants from both elite/middle and working class groups agreed with positive notions of Hayti. They stated that the community was self-sufficient and had a noticeable protection element. Although all members from the elite/middle group were able to identify role models, those that identified as working class were less so. The community warned those to remain within Hayti to avoid violence from Whites. Yet, one participant stated that Hayti residents regarded him as an outsider and forced him to leave the boundaries. Since different classes saw a somewhat different Hayti, it is no surprise that different classes also perceived “urban renewal” differently.

Divergent Perspectives on the “Renewing” of Hayti

Unlike the descriptions made of Hayti, participants from both the working and elite/middle classes made two observations about the destruction of Hayti. Members from the elite/middle group displayed an emotional attachment to Hayti and thus its demise affected them greatly. Individuals from the working class were less likely to be aware of Hayti’s destruction. Ebony talked about how the destruction of Hayti disabled communication amongst Blacks:

Hayti was walk-able you no longer could walk; you had to walk over a highway. It was no longer, so you cut people off, you see when Hayti, in order to go from East Durham to Hayti, all you had to do was cross the bridge. I mean not cross the bridge, cross the railroad tracks. You were right there, you can’t do that now. So you cut off people, there was no longer a connection.

Ezekiel addressed the many Black owned companies that fell to the destruction of Hayti. He stated that the community lost hotels, restaurants, theatres and printing services. To him the destruction of Hayti caused a detrimental downfall for the Black economic power.

In contrast, individuals from the working class were less likely to know about the destruction of Hayti. Although Watson lived less than 5 miles from Hayti he voiced that his family, neighbors, and classmates, did not talk about the urban renewal project. He stated, “Didn’t anybody talk about it, there was a change coming so I guess they just accepted it. Schoolteachers didn’t talk about it.”

Whitley was the only participant from the working class group who recalled the destruction. This was largely because she was one of the thousands of Blacks who the government forced out of their home and move to a housing development. For Whitley, urban renewal caused her to end relationships with community members. She recalled this tragedy,

That day, I knew they were invading the neighborhood because they put the freeway right down the middle it cut us off. Part of us is on one side and part of us was on the other... We had never crossed the bridge like that before so it was a lot of them that didn’t cross that bridge anymore. They didn’t go on the other side anymore.

Wanetta was the only participant who saw urban renewal as a positive attribute to the community. During the destruction of Hayti, she worked within White Rock Baptist Church. It was at this point in history where the government bulldozed the church. Although Ebony viewed the destruction of White Rock as an attack toward the community, Wanetta believed that its annihilation prompted a brighter future. She stated, “I was sort of glad that the church was going to move because we were going to get a new building, a bigger church, but our church had stood there for so long there was probably a lot of nostalgic for it being torn down.” Wanetta admitted that after the government built highway 147, she was not aware that its existence caused for major concern within her community.

Members from both the elite/middle and working class displayed different perspectives on the urban renewal project. Individuals from the elite/middle group saw themselves as uniquely tied to the district and saw its destruction as a personal attack. Those from the working class group were either saddened by the urban renewal project, were not aware of it, or optimistic of its future. In the next section, I will address how both groups referred to my next yellow point of reference, “economic and social depression.”

Communal Depressions

Similar to the responses from the urban renewal project, members from the elite/middle group were more likely to mention the economic and social depressions of Blacks within Hayti. Whitley was the only individual from the working class who mentioned the economic depression within the community. In this quote, she addressed the reactions of closed businesses,

And so many businesses got just demolished. And others were able to move a little farther at first and then that got taken away and so that's what I meant when I said that the businesses and the homeowners did not have an idea that this was going to be like it turned out to be.

Through her perspective, local Hayti residents lost businesses, jobs and complied with hundreds of evictions.

When asked about the social depression of tensions rising amongst Blacks, only the individuals from the elite/middle group responded. Whitley, Wanetta and Watson claimed not to be aware of the tensions and stated that they had never heard of it before. Whitley stated, “No, I didn't see that. I was on both sides. I went to both sides. I don't think if somebody signed off on it, and that was hard to keep something like that contained.” Wanetta actually laughed at the absurdity of the question. She concluded that since she did not own a business and that her “parents worked,” she did not have a connection to the tensions.

Unlike the members from the working class, Edward, Ebony and Ezekiel had a response to the tensions. Ebony agreed that tensions were present after the destruction of Hayti, but she readily defended the Black leaders' decision to align with the renewal project. She argued that the leaders were more interested in gaining access for Black Hayti residents, and they believed highway 147 guaranteed access.

As a leader in Durham's Hayti, Ezekiel had more of an active role in the destruction of Hayti. He argued that there was a division between older and younger leaders. Ezekiel clearly stated that the older leaders aligned with the urban renewal project while the younger ones pushed for a stronger independent Black community. During the interview, he openly presented his position and maintained that during that point he represented the younger leaders. He stated:

Some of us supported the displacement of Black businesses with this highway. But there are others of us among, the younger group, we fought the disillusion of Black businesses in favor of the highway that came through the district and eventually wiped out the Black business ethic. And even though it was said that the leaders of the time, and I won't call their names approved of what was going on, the younger community, including people like me were consulted on our thoughts and aspirations were not given appropriate consideration. And this lead to much resentment.

While Ebony and Ezekiel were both vocal in their interpretation of tensions amongst Blacks, Edward's response was not as verbose but heard just as loud. Edward refused to address the growing conflict within Hayti. I asked him the question three different times and in each attempt, he brought up the peaceful relationships between Whites and Blacks. It was during my third attempt in fishing for a response about conflicts amongst Blacks, when he paused, stared into my eyes and sighed. It was at this point that I realized I would not receive any feedback about his position. His feedback prompted me to identify his silence as a response.

Participants from both the elite/middle and working class groups voiced different opinions about the economic and social depressions of Black residents. Individuals from the

working class were less likely to be aware of communal depressions. In contrast, members from the elite/middle group were more likely to voice issues of social depression. In the next section, I will address my participants' perspectives on their relationship with racially segregated schools.

Back to Black Schools

Participants from working and elite/middle classes both spoke positively about their educational experiences within segregated Black schools. In addition, they both identified different forms of parent engagement toward their schooling. As a former teacher, Edward strongly believed that only the brightest and most passionate teachers flocked to Hayti from all over the nation. He said that the very notion of the district being a Black Mecca encouraged hundreds of Black educators to work in segregated schools. Edward also noted that some of these teachers were highly educated with Master's and Doctoral degrees. He argued that these types of role models embedded within the schools allowed Black students to have high quality instruction and understand the importance of education. Ebony also agreed that the teachers were phenomenal and exhibited the highest quality. She also voiced that the Black teachers consistently encouraged her to work harder than White students did. She remembered the White schools giving her school second-hand supplies; however, these transactions only forced her to have a greater love and admiration for her school-learning environment.

We were constantly told that we had to do better, we had to be better, we had to be smart, we had to rise above, we could not be second best, we had to be not only equal but surpass. We had the torn up books those were discarded from Durham High. They had a swimming pool, but we didn't have those kinds of things. But we loved where we were and we respected where we were.

Before his transition into a White school, Watson remembered the nice activities his teacher brought to the class. He argued that these small gestures showed him that his teacher wanted her students to feel included and loved. Watson also mentioned his all-Black classrooms

were an extension of his family. The teacher praised or punished every student and did not show favoritism. Ironically, he stated that he preferred being educated in an environment where the teacher would discipline him for his poor behavior. Here he knew that their intentions were to mold him into a better individual. An aim that was lost in integrated schools

Wanetta argued that the teachers did not tolerate poor behavior. She remembered that during this period a teacher would phone call your parents if you continued to be disobedient in the classroom. She stated, “They didn’t stand for it. They knew your parents and if you got in trouble at school, your parents would come to school...and work it out with the teacher.”

Besides the atmosphere within the schools, participants also described different forms of parent engagement. Members from the elite/middle group all agreed that their parents took a dominant stance on the importance of education. In comparison, individuals from the working class group equally agreed that their parents consistently made threats on behavior.

Both Ezekiel and Edward stated that their parents were extremely active at their schools. Ezekiel remembered questioning his parents about the whereabouts of their classmates’ parents in an attempt to convince them not to attend future school meetings.

Both my father and my mother were very much involved in the educational process from grades one through twelve. And sometimes we regretted our parents were as close, “Daddy why do you have to go to PTA meeting? George’s daddy doesn’t go.”

Although his overly involved parents embarrassed Ezekiel, he voiced being appreciative for his parents’ willingness to ensure that he and his brothers were successful. He stated, “Of course, as I look back I am grateful. Through their resource, I was able to prosper.”

Edward recalled his parents ensuring that he stay focused within the classroom. Like Ezekiel’s parents, they viewed education as the ticket to becoming successful. His parents did not accept, grades lower than a “B” within Edward’s household. He also believed that the

successful students had parents who attended college. From his perspective, these parents could equip their children with the necessary tools to perform in higher education. Edward stated, “The kids whose father was a medical doctor got all the way through and got his masters and doctors and we knew that there was something inherent in the African American community, because once you had made it you had better pull up your children.”

Unlike the parents from the elite/middle group, parents of the working class participants were more likely to link good behavior with success instead of good grades. Each participant within the working class group identified this sort of parent engagement found within their homes. Watson recalled his father’s use of motivation to encourage him to do well and attend school. He said, “I remember my daddy would always say, ‘Don’t be no dummy.’ He would always say that, so I guess he was trying to tell us... Yeah they encouraged us to go to school, yes oh yes. Couldn’t stay in that house and get a whooping all the time.” Both Whitley and Wanetta stated that their parents did not tolerate poor behavior within the home but especially within the school. They mentioned that at a moment’s notice their mothers would quickly arrive at the schools if they conducted themselves poorly. Within each of their households, it appeared that obedience was the pinnacle to success in comparison to high quality grades and achievement.

Participants within both groups agreed that segregated Black schools contained excellent school environments and their parents were actively engaged in their education. They both stated their teachers were of the highest quality and commanded love and respect in their classrooms. Members from the elite/middle group voiced that their parents were strongly involved in every aspect of their education, from Parent Night meetings to inquiring about grades. Individuals from the working class group stated that their parents were also involved but

focused more on ensuring that they exuded good behavior within the classroom. Unfortunately, for them segregation ended.

The Failings of Brown v. Board of Education

Overall, both groups of participants stated that the Brown v. Board of Education decision failed Blacks. Mainly those from the elite/middle group stressed how the government placed more attention on their inferior facilities instead of the quality of instruction. Out of the six participants, two attended racially integrated schools and experienced periods of loneliness and fear. Similar to the effects of the urban renewal project on Hayti, participants agreed that the Brown decision continued to destroy the once thriving Black community.

Ebony, Ezekiel, Watson, and Whitley all openly agreed that the Brown decision failed Blacks in Durham County. Ebony made a strong connection between the lack of Black teachers in White schools and Black student failure. She argued that the government's lack of acknowledgment of the importance of Black teachers, caused thousands of Black students to fail in the newly desegregated education system. Ezekiel argued that desegregation destroyed the Black business ethic and community. He also stated that the focus to integrate all facets of 'Black life' ironically caused the Black community to dissipate.

We were involved in the thrust to integrate our schools, our community and our economy. One of the resulting downsides of this effort was the Black community was being displaced. Integration had a negative impact on the Black community and was one of the biggest regrets in building integrated society...Eventually [Blacks] went out of business because instead of Black folks supporting each other, we got so involved in wanting to integrate. We integrated ourselves -- the Black community out of existence.

As a student of integration, Watson argued that students felt abandoned within White schools. Thus, indicating that integration failed due to a lack of teachers transferring how to work with Black students. Wanetta made a point that she was not "picked to leave" Hillside and study at Durham High. From her perspective, White schools tolerated poor and rowdy behaviors.

Wanetta stated, “Sometimes I think that maybe integration was not the right thing. It seems that our children got more belligerent.”

Responsible for school integration in North Carolina, Judge Johnson Hayes frequently addressed the ‘inferior facilities’ of Black students. Years before the Brown decision, Judge Hayes worked to remove inequities amongst Black and White students. In 1951, he stated the following,

While the buildings and facilities for the Negroes may be adequate, they are not substantially equal to those afforded the whites...Under laws laid down in this circuit...it is necessary for the defendants to provide substantially equal facilities for the Negro children as compared with those furnished to the white children out of public funds (Discrimination Halt In Durham Schools Ordered, 1951).

Both Edward and Ebony argued that although the facilities may have been inferior, the type of schooling Black students received was superior. Edward stated,

I think people thought the facilities were inferior but we also thought that one of the most important things in going on school was the quality of the teachers and the amount of respect the student had for the administration and the teachers. You did not have students misbehaving and making trouble in the schools. They were proud to be there and they thought they were going to get a good education.

Ebony argued that it was not the facilities that needed to be changed, but the treatment towards Blacks that needed transformation. From her perspective, it was apparent that Blacks received inferior goods. However, for her, the facilities were located in loving and respectful environments. It was only when she left Hayti that Jim Crow forced her into inferior and discourteous settings.

So to say that our things were not adequate, no, they weren’t like the Center theatre. They had plush velvet seats and everything, no, they weren’t like that. But we could go to the movie for 50 cents and you knew the lady at the concession stands and if you didn’t have enough money she would still give you popcorn and she would tell you “pay me next week.” So no it wasn’t like the Carolina [theatre], but we had to go in the back door. It wasn’t like that. No they had plush seat, but we didn’t have them upstairs. You didn’t have plush seating upstairs, you had the same seats that you had down here. So we are first class, we were all, so what I’m saying is that we could go through the front door

maybe they weren't equal but we could go through the front door. We didn't have to go through a back entrance. We weren't subjugated to second-class citizens.

Of the six interviewees, only Edward and Watson participated in school integration.

During the beginning of integration, they both stated that they were isolated from their classmates. Edward was the first Black student to attend a local community college and recalled putting on a shield to protect him from emotional harm. He stated that the students did not speak to him and so he did not speak to them. He recalled walking into the Student Union's cafeteria and everyone stared at him while he read his book. For six months neither he, nor them, said a word. Watson integrated from Walltown Elementary to Carr Jr. High School, a school that the community named after the southern confederate leader General Julian Shakespeare Carr. On his first day of school, the principal asked that he and his brothers meet him in his office. The principal said very clearly that he did not want any trouble out of the group. Watson was discouraged, because he left a loving environment and entered into a school where educators already identified him as a troublemaker. Due to his meeting with the principal, Watson remembered staying to himself and separate from everyone in the school. He recalled being fearful of White students because they had frequently threatened him as he moved to and from his classes. He stated:

And all through that school period, White people would come up to me and say "I heard you wanted to jump on me, you want to beat me up" or something like that, negative, nothing positive. I was kind of paranoid, I think I flunk that year because I was paranoid, scared being around White folks.

For Watson, he was convinced that White teachers and his principal were prejudiced against him because of the color of his skin. He hated being in his new school, and in turn he slowly started to not do his schoolwork. At the end of his first year, he failed and was doomed to repeat his seventh grade year.

Participants from both elite/middle and working class groups agreed that the closing of Black schools and racial integration created turmoil for many Blacks in Durham County. Both agreed that integration marked the end of the Hayti District and Blacks' self-sufficiency. Those who experienced integration recalled feelings of isolation and fear. Yet history moves on to the final yellow point of reference identified as "post-integration."

Addressing Failures and Solutions in the Post-Integration Period

The data from my participants suggest that the last point of reference within Phase 3 was set between the objective and subjective reality spaces and labeled "post-integration." It is at this point where participants addressed the positives of integration along with the current strife of Black students. During my interviews, I presented statistics from Durham Public Schools that encouraged them to speak about the status of Black students.

Participants from both the elite/middle and working class agreed that federal mandates on integration allowed for different opportunities to open up. Although content in only using Black businesses, Ezekiel admitted that integration allowed for him and his wife to live in a racially integrated neighborhood. He voiced that prior to Brown their current community was not open to him moving in. Similar to Ezekiel, Wanetta agreed that it was during the post-integration period where Blacks became used to living and working in racially integrated environments. Blacks no longer needed to live in segregate communities. She stated:

You don't have to stay in the Black community. You can live in the White communities now, you can afford the housing, and you can live where you want to live, almost. You can go to the hospital and be in a semi-private room. You could be a Black person and have a White person in the bed next to you.

Counter to the positive responses of post-integration, both working and elite/middle participants spoke about the negative aspects of this period. During the interviews, I presented current statistics on Black students, asked them to explain the achievement gap between them

and their White counterparts and requested solutions to improve school for Black students. Of those statistics, I mentioned that in 2010 Black students' graduation rate was 24% lower than Whites. I also presented that dropouts were predominantly Black male students and that they exhibited higher rates of short- and long-term suspensions compared to their White peers. Surprisingly, all members from the elite/middle group were able to identify a reason and solution for the achievement gap. Individuals from the working class group were less likely to identify a reason or solution.

Ebony, Edward, Ezekiel and Watson all agreed that the reason for Black students' failure was largely due to the lack of parent involvement and the deterioration of family structure. Ebony argued that the source of Black students' failure was due to the community allowing poor teachers and administrators to work within schools. Ezekiel stated, "...while I don't want to make the Black family criminals --- but a lot of our problems start at home." Of the working class group, Watson was the only one to voice an opinion about the reasons for student failure. Similar to Edward and Ezekiel, Watson believed that parents were the root of the issue. He strongly asserted that parents from this new generation were more likely to focus on their appearance instead of ensuring that their children were successful in school.

Only members from the elite/middle group identified a solution to assist Black students in Durham. They equally agreed that the Black community would have to nominate a group of people to make strategic decisions to assist Black students. Although they identified the lack of parent engagement to be the root of student failure, they were less likely to include parents in the solution. Instead, these individuals agreed that it would have to be a community effort to force change. Ebony stated:

Nothing is going to change unless you do it from the policy and up. We could have all of the committees we want and have all the meetings that we want but it's the people who

are making the policies that determine what happens...and until you have people that are accountable to the people who are suffering, it won't matter.

In contrast, individuals from the working class were more likely to voice that only divine intervention could improve Black students' circumstance. Both Whitley and Watson articulated that change was impossible without involvement from God. Below is an excerpt from my interview with Watson.

Watson- Pray for them, I tell them all the time, 'I'm praying for you. I'm praying for you.'

Davis- Has it gotten to the point that the only response is to pray?

Watson- Yes, 'bout all that you can do. You can take a horse to the water but you can't make them drink.

Interesting enough, participants from the elite/middle class were more likely to articulate the reason for Black students' failure and identify a solution. They described the lack of involvement from parents and the community that has led to the downfall of Black students in Durham County. They also argued that the solution to altering Black students' failure was to have invested leaders create policy so that these students could thrive. Individuals from the working class were less likely to identify the cause of failures or the solutions. Additionally, they were more likely to agree that only God could change their circumstance. In the next section, I will address how participants articulated progress for Durham's Black students and community.

The Different Definitions of Progress

In 1912, W.E.B. DuBois used the business ethic of Hayti to describe progress. He described that in Durham, North Carolina Blacks had the ability to begin and end their day through explicitly supporting Black businesses. Below is a brief excerpt on how he defines growth within the Black community:

“Today there is a singular group in Durham where a black man may get up in the morning from a mattress made by black men, in a house which a black man built out of lumber which black men cut and planed; he may put on a suit which he bought at a colored haberdashery and socks knit at a colored mill; he may cook victuals from a colored grocery on a stove which black men fashioned; he may earn his living working for colored men, be sick in a colored hospital, and buried from a colored church; and the Negro insurance society will pay his widow enough to keep his children in a colored school. This is surely progress” (Dubois, 1912, p.338).

During my interviews, I asked my participants how they described progress for Blacks in the 21st century. Overall, three different responses emerged. They ranged in ideas from everyone supporting Black businesses to only Blacks supporting Black businesses. First, Ebony and Edward both identified progress as Black businesses competing within the global market. This would allow everyone to financially support Blacks in Durham County instead of depending on a select crowd. Ebony explained how she specifically used Black owned companies to cater events at her job. She expressed how she wanted others to see the quality of food that several Black businesses in Durham produced. She admitted that her intention was to increase awareness of these organizations. She stated:

Black owned businesses must be supported by not just Blacks. Black owned businesses must be supported locally, okay. So we’ve got to expand our services, we’ve got to make sure that we support our own, but we want to make sure that others support Black businesses as well.

Similar to Ebony, Edward argued that Black businesses would not be able to compete with other companies unless they change their approach to sales and strive to a more globalized market. He stated that Black businesses in Durham County must be prepared to compete with overseas markets.

Wanetta stated that progress for Blacks in Durham meant that they could support anyone and have the flexibility to conduct business with people of different races. Wanetta argued that

Jim Crow Laws pigeonholed Blacks to live, work and shop in Black only areas. She voiced that today Blacks have the opportunity to purchase goods from anyone and be taken seriously.

Lastly, Whitley and Ezekiel voiced that progress equated to only Blacks supporting Black business. Both did not deviate from Dubois' perspective of his idea of an independently operated society. Whitley and Ezekiel remain committed to their idea of advancement for Black Durhamites because they were actively a part of Dubois' definition of progress back in the 1960s. Whitley made the following comment about how the Black community can regain their economic power:

We can contribute to our community and we can get it growing again in a positive way. And we would have so much we would be so confident and so proud of the accomplishment of each other and ourselves. And there is power in that. You see other people don't have power over you, you will have your own power and that's power.

Similar to Whitley, Ezekiel demanded that Blacks free themselves from the White community. He stated, "But we have so much to depend on for ourselves so we shouldn't have to look to the White community for our salvation. The Black community is in Durham; in my opinion is a powerful community."

I asked participants to describe how they defined progress for Blacks in Durham County. Generally, responses varied amongst interviewees. Two individuals voiced that Black business owners need to compete with international companies. One individual defined progress as the ability for Blacks to purchase goods from anyone regardless of race. Yet two other participants argued that progress equated to Blacks only supporting Black companies. How participants described the future of Durham's Black students is due to their view of the past.

The Future of Durham Blacks

I asked participants to describe their perspective on the future of Black students. Similar to their ideals of progress, there was an array of responses. One individual voiced that the future

of Blacks was positive; three participants argued that it was conditional and two participants stated that it was bleak. To begin, Ebony was the only participant to declare that Black students had a positive future. Her belief in their future is partly due to her political role in the county and because she feels Black students owe her their success. Just as she was raised believing that her success was owed to those who came before her, she believes that these students are in debt to her. She voiced:

And there was a commitment, there was a commitment to be better, you must change your station in life and it's not only for you but it's for those who have paid the debt for you and it's for those who are coming after you. So it goes both ways. You gotta honor those you have sacrificed for you and you gotta pave the way for those who are coming behind you. You had a debt to pay. And that was a constant...because when you make it, the community makes it...Failure is not an option.

To Ebony, students' failures equate to the failure of her community. For her this is unconscionable, so the alternative to failure is success. She, therefore, must maintain the belief that Durham will continue to produce successful Black students in order for her debt to be paid.

Next, Wanetta, Watson and Ezekiel all believe that that the future of Durham Black students is conditional. Each deems the student, parents or Black leaders as responsible parties for ensuring the success of Black students. They argue that without these entities, the future of Black students will be doomed. For Wanetta, she attests that Black students will have a bright future only if they take advantage of opportunities that are set in front of them. She used President Barrack Obama as a primary example, where regardless of his upbringing he worked hard and became the president of the United States. She stated, "They can dream it and achieve it." Separate from Wanetta, Watson believed that Durham Black students would be successful only if their parents raise them to be obedient and respectful. He believes that students who receive positive parental guidance will have a bright future. Unlike Wanetta and Watson who

depended on the family unit, Ezekiel stated that the future of Black students is positive only if Black leaders continue to lead the Black community. He stated:

I mean as long as we have leaders like Bill Bell⁶, Michael Paige⁷, others of that ilk, still working not only to improve the lives of Black folks but of everybody, as long as those people have leadership roles and our lives are functioning, I feel very hopeful about the future of Black kids in our public schools.

Finally, Whitley and Edward both agreed that the future of Black students would be bleak. Both refer to the failing economy and decrease of employment opportunities as a source of Black students' dismal future. Whitley stated, "right now, for a large number it looks bleak. For a very large number -- many of them are dropping out, so education is not important. So many of them are being incarcerated." Edward addressed the growing economic gaps between Blacks and other ethnic groups. He spoke about migrants from other countries entering Durham prepared to work in occupations that Black students are not equipped to do. He averages that currently, 10-15% of Black students graduating from Durham Public Schools are on a track to be successful. He predicts that this number will decrease to 5% and that fewer Black students will be ready for the job market.

I began this chapter by introducing all six participants for my research. From there I presented how their perspectives aligned with my conceptual model. From the data, I was able to surmise that both working and elite/middle class participants thought highly of the Hayti District and racially segregated schools. Individuals from the elite/middle group were more likely to address negative effects of urban renewal and the communal depressions found in Hayti. Both groups spoke negatively about the closing of Black schools and school desegregation.

⁶Mayor of Durham County, North Carolina

⁷County Commissioner of Durham County

Based on my findings I was able to determine that the final point in Phase Three be placed between the objective and subjective reality spaces and be identified as “post-integration.” At this point, participants from both groups spoke about positive and negatives of this period. They also addressed the current standing of Black students in Durham County. Only members from the elite/middle class offered to identify Black students’ failures and solutions.

In addition, participants discussed the progress and future of Blacks in the 21st century. Overall, their responses illustrated that there was no distinction between both groups. In one case, two participants from the elite/middle and working class defined progress as when Blacks only supported Black businesses. Likewise, three participants from both elite/middle and working class groups state that the future of Black students is conditional.

The next chapter will introduce the theme of accountability. Here I will explain how both groups of participants addressed accountability throughout their interview. I will also use an updated conceptual model to explain how certain participants either addressed or wore the *Blue Devil’s* lens.

ANALYSIS

This chapter will present an analysis of my research. Here I will first introduce the major theme of accountability that was present in each interview. I will then present my updated second conceptual model that separates members from both the elite/middle and working class. I will then describe how my findings align with the updated model and conclude with a description of hope.

Spirit of Accountability

Accountability was the major theme that presented itself throughout my interviews with both elite/middle and working class participants. Each referred to a spirit of unity and accountability present within the Black community before the destruction of Hayti. This spirit was present not only in Hayti-- participants remembered its essence throughout neighboring Black communities in Durham County. According to participants, the Black community, abided by one un-written rule, to love and respect your neighbor as yourself. Through this foundational principal, the community charged each resident to pull themselves and each other up by their bootstraps and progress forward. Unfortunately, both elite/middle and working class participants agree that with the demise of Hayti came a challenge to this spirit.

Throughout my interviews, two different types of accountability emerged, accountability of one's brother and accountability of schooling for Black students. Interestingly enough, participants from the working class group were more likely to address accountability of one's brother. In addition, members from the elite/middle were more likely to mention accountability of schools. In the next section, I will address how four participants used examples of renting and

biblical scriptures to describe how the Black communities displayed accountability of one's brother.

I am my Brother's Keeper

Each participant from the working class mentioned that the success of their community was largely due to Blacks being accountable for each other. Wanetta recalled a period when Blacks supported each other through business, education and financial support. She argued that Hayti reflected an environment where Blacks supported their neighbor. She stated, "If one got ahead they help[ed] the other get ahead." Although Watson lived outside of Hayti borders, he also concurred that the spirit of accountability was present within his Black community as well. He recalled a period when he walked around his racially mixed neighborhood with a group of Blacks for protection. He warned that if a young Black individual walked alone they were more than likely to be verbally or physically abused. Each was accountable for each other. Whitley described individuals sharing rooms was a tradition that the entire community followed. During the interview, she recalled many of her friends do not have a permanent residence. For the most part, they traveled between friends' homes, slept on living room furniture and ate meals as a family member. Today we would refer to them as an individual without a home, but she clearly argued that these individuals possessed several homes. Whitley recalled:

There were a lot of people, you may call them homeless now but they weren't homeless back then because we always gave people a place to stay. There was always some place for them to stay. Nobody was out doors like that, that I saw, and I saw all kinds of people that did not have a place, a traditional place for them to live.

According to Whitley, the destruction of Hayti caused these 'traveling' persons to be truly homeless. Urban renewal destroyed hundreds of homes and only supplied living arrangements to individuals with mortgages and/or leases. Those persons, who the government considered

visitors, did not receive support to live outside of Hayti. They truly were alone and left to their own devices.

Ebony was the only elite/middle participant to mention being accountable for one's brother. She too recalled her parents and grandmother renting their homes to young college students. During this time, her family did not refer to as renting but as opening a door to a person in need. She stated:

I don't think my mother and father thought they [rented] rooms, I think they thought that they were sharing our home with people that needed a place to stay. In the meantime, we were helping somebody and making money. That was the community. If you needed somewhere to stay, they stayed in the neighborhood. [College students] rented, [we] shared our homes with them. And I want to call it sharing a home opposed to renting a room. It was more than just that. They became a part of the family.

In addition, Whitley, Wanetta and Watson all mentioned the same biblical scripture to describe accountability for maintaining the community. This scripture is located in the Bible in the book of Matthew 22:39 and reads, "Love your neighbor as yourself." During my interview, Whitley earnestly reminded me that the Lord, Jesus Christ, identified this commandment as the second greatest law behind loving God with all of her heart and soul. Watson argued that people should return to following this scripture and be accountable for each other. He stated, "When you watch out for one another than they would be more concerned, you know a neighbor would be a neighbor like the way they are supposed to be a neighbor."

Ebony suggested that one should have an attentive eye on your neighbor. This could partly be because she was aware of a group of Black leaders assisting in the destruction of Hayti. Ebony's knowledge has prompted her to both assist and observe her brethren. She stated, "So we know that, we gotta be watchful, you gotta be your brother's keeper, but you also gotta keep your eye on your brother, to make sure your brother is held accountable."

Overall participants from the working class group were more likely to address accountability in terms of supporting their brother. Each referred to the same scripture that calls humans to treat their neighbor better than themselves. Yet, the participants from the elite/middle class addressed responsibility in terms of schooling. Participants from both groups argued that parents were accountable for student success.

Business Aspect of Accountability

Overall, participants from the /middle group were more likely to address the business perspective of accountability through schools. They expressed the need for leaders, teachers, parents and students to be accountable and ensure that the future of the Black community will be bright. With Ebony and Ezekiel working as local Durham County government officials, it is no wonder why they argued the business aspect of accountability.

Edward, Ebony and Ezekiel suggested the community should hold their leaders accountable in order to improve the future of Black students. Ebony affirmed that current policies are set in place where the superintendent's salary is dependent on the success of the county's students. From her opinion, Durham County can no longer afford to pay leaders without holding them accountable to their students. She stated, "So it starts with your leadership and that's where the bus stops. That's where the bus stops and the people who elect these people have to make them accountable."

Ezekiel voiced that as a former leader of Hayti, he wished he had focused on the Black family unit. He stated, "While we fought so hard to improve the Black vote, improve the Black economic structure, there were two elements that we didn't give appropriate attention to: Black family and Black education." Since Ezekiel believed he failed to support Black families, he plans to encourage current leaders to focus on this task.

In addition to keeping leaders accountable, all members from the elite/middle class argued that teachers should be accountable as well. They equally voiced that teachers are responsible for the success or failure of students within their classrooms. In addition, it is necessary for leaders to remove ineffective teachers and retain higher quality ones for the betterment of Black students.

Ebony voiced that leaders should treat teaching as a business, where they hold teachers accountable based on their performance. Given that she taught for over 15 years, Ebony agreed that she is harder on teachers because she understands the importance of their role. Through accountability measures, Ebony believes that leaders should remove unsuccessful teachers from the classroom. She stated:

See we have discredited the art of teaching and so we are allowing anybody to come into the classroom and without any accountability. So one thing I am very happy about is there are accountability measures that are being put in place. You cannot stand in front of children for nine months and they not know how to read. If you can't teach them to read then you need to get out of the classroom.

For teachers who are not prepared to work with their students, Ebony voiced that the leaders need to move the individual into another occupation. She also compared the treatment of teachers with surgeons. She argued that in an operating room a surgeon only has one time to get a procedure right. If they fail, their patient dies. In the same instance, teachers have one attempt to implant knowledge within their students. If they fail, then the student will not be equipped for their next class, grade and even career.

Edward was not aware of the magnitude of unqualified teachers within schools until he attended a student-led conference that addressed this issue. One of the students from the panel stated that teachers did not care about the well being of their students. Edward remembered an audience member asking the student why he made that statement. He recalled that almost

instantly students responded to the question and gave countless examples of instances where they believed their teacher did not care about their education. One student recollected a teacher saying that she did not care what the student did because she would receive a paycheck regardless of the student's action. For Edward, this example forced him to see the harsh reality that teachers no longer represent nurturing and supporting leaders within the school. Edward remarked,

If a teacher says that, that makes me think the teacher doesn't care about whether or not [the student] succeeds. And the [students] just kept giving examples of teachers having favorites and all of that -- so it made me think there really is a problem within the school system.

Participants from both the working and elite/middle groups argued the importance of having a level of accountability on parents. While members of the elite/middle group argued that parents should be visible within the schools, individuals from the working class group pushed parents to discipline their children. Although both groups stated this was important, no one identified who should hold parents accountable. Ezekiel recalled his parents attending parent night conferences and stated that all parents should be actively engaged in their child's education. He was also disappointed that schools have to beg parents to attend school meetings. Both Ebony and Ezekiel argued that it is the parent's responsibility to uplift their students. Watson, Wanetta and Whitley equally agree that parents need to discipline their children. Watson argued that parents should be accountable for inadequate student behaviors. Wanetta believed that parents who were not successful in school themselves perpetuate the cycle of poorly behaved and uneducated Black individuals. She stated:

They just some little heathens and they need some discipline...A lot of [parents] are dropouts themselves and a lot of them do not have respect for, or ambition for, their children to finish school. So they don't insist that the [student] come home and do homework. The children go home and do the game.

Lastly, only one individual stated that students should hold themselves accountable. As stated earlier, Ebony strongly believed that Black students have a debt to pay to their elders. She holds them accountable and demands that they leave their present low status and work towards being better. During her interview, she took a moment to speak to students who owed her:

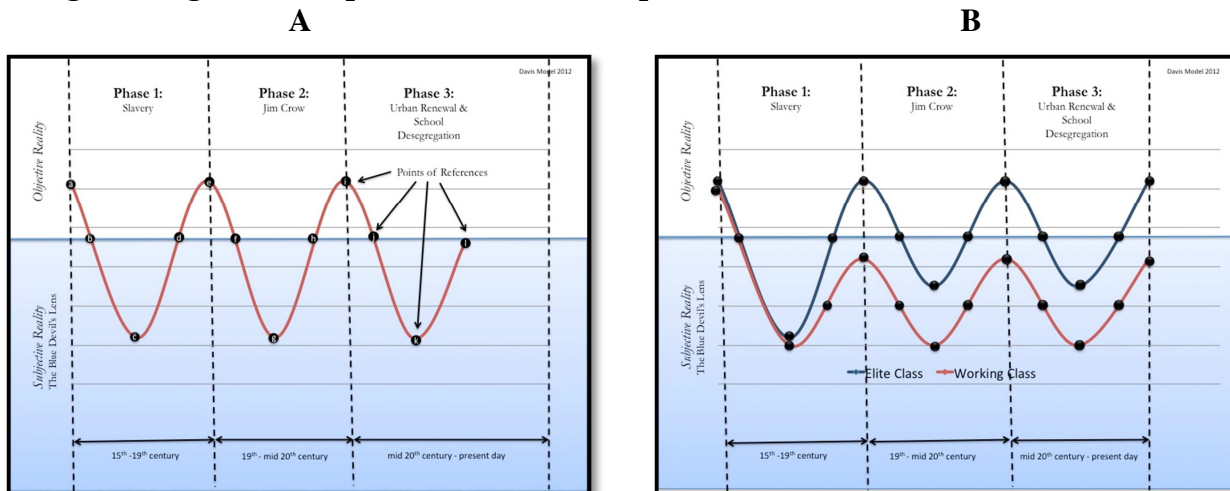
You had to make it better, people sacrificed for you, they were doing the best they could so that you could do better. Not for you to stay in the projects, if you lived in the projects, your job was to get out of the projects and to own your own home. That was your job, not for you to stay in there with your momma in the projects. That was ridiculous.

Generally, participants from the elite/middle class described accountability in relation to schools. They agreed that it was the role of leaders, teachers, parents and students to ensure that the future of Durham's Black community would be bright. Participants from the working class agreed with members of the elite/middle that parents need to be accountable for student success. In the next section, I will present how socio-economic status affected the second conceptual model.

An Updated Second Conceptual Model

It was not until after I analyzed my data that I concluded that the original second conceptual model needed modifications. Image 7 displays the original (A) and updated (B) second conceptual models for my research. As indicated in chapter two, the original second conceptual model (A) represents my perceptions of Black Americans' inner battle between the objective and subjective reality. The updated model (B) illustrates that Blacks' ideas of their self do fluctuate, however participants from the elite/middle class oscillated between objective and subjective realities, while individuals from the working class groups maintained within the subjective reality sphere.

Image 7: Original and Updated Second Conceptual Models



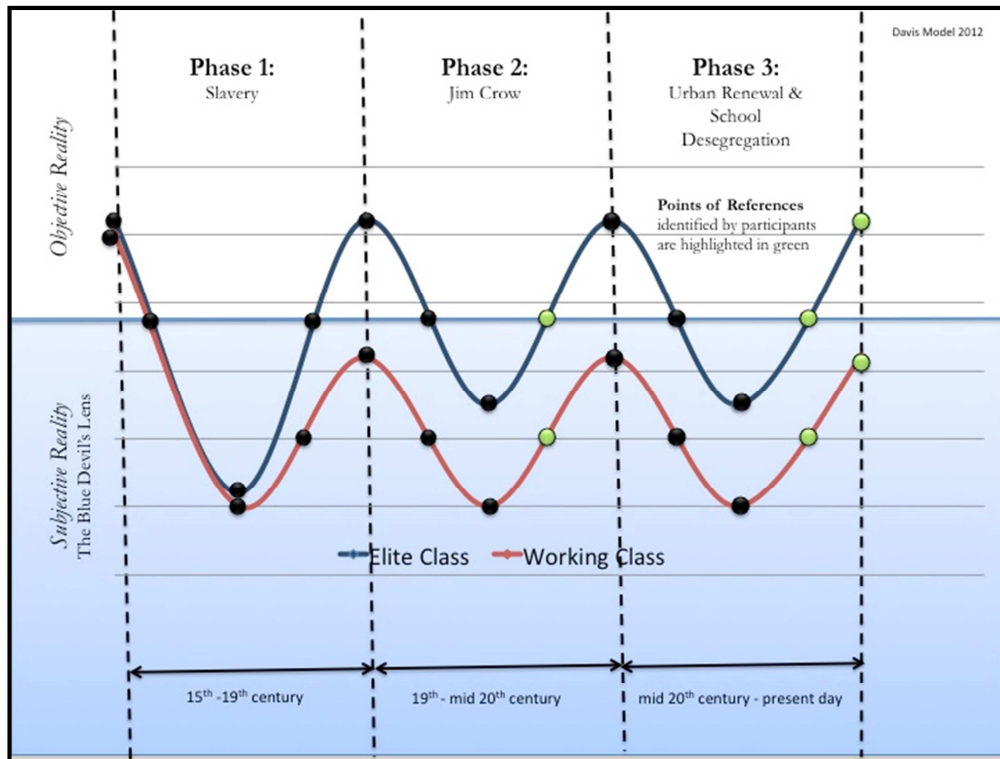
The updated conceptual model (B) contains two wavelengths; the blue line represents the elite/middle class and the red line symbolizes the working class. My findings suggest that individuals within the red line never fully recovered from their experiences and thus remain within the subjective reality space where the *Blue Devil* continues to have influence. In the next section, I will present how my findings align to the updated conceptual model (B) and I will address how my participants unknowingly described how they themselves rejected, reacted or wore the *Blue Devil's* lenses.

Locating the Blue Devil's Glasses

Once I analyzed my data, I was able to decipher how certain historical occurrences affected my participants. It became apparent that individuals from the elite/middle and working classes viewed their circumstances differently. Although both groups were somehow involved in the mass exodus of Blacks due to the Jim Crow Laws, individuals from the elite/middle group were more likely to reject the *Blue Devil's* lens and enter into a space of objective reality. Similarly, both groups were highly involved in school integration. Yet participants from the

working class were more likely to use the *Blue Devil's* lenses and remain in the space of subjectivity. Besides these differences, the only topic that brought both groups together focused on the current fate of Black students. In this section, I will use Image 8 (found below) to address these divergent perspectives. Within this image, I highlighted in green the points of references that I will dissect.

Image 8: Updated Second Conceptual Model Linked to the Blue Devil



Participants from the elite/middle class were more likely to reject the subjective reality during the point of reference period “mass exodus.” It was at this point, where Blacks began to recover from the previous point entitled “mental enslavement.” What distinguishes these participants from the working class group was that they portrayed a rejection of Whites treating them as inferior. Members from the elite/middle were aware of the federal laws that deemed their inferiority; however, they rejected the majoritarian narrative and maintained their inner-power.

Ezekiel recalled registering to vote in Durham County after he moved from South Carolina in 1961. He stated that for a period of three months the local government refused to allow him to register. During that time, Ezekiel was a practicing lawyer who worked for the world's leading Black-owned insurance company. From his perspective, he was more than qualified to be eligible to vote. During his visit to the county hall, he could remember telling the local agents "You all want to have a big lawsuit just go ahead and deny me the opportunity to not vote." He was aware of his power did not allow racist tactics to cause him to feel inferior.

Similar to Ezekiel, Ebony remembered visiting the segregated movie theatres in the predominantly White areas and reminding herself that she was not inferior. It was at these places where the law required her to sit in the unkempt areas with other Blacks. She did not allow the segregated seating to dictate how she felt about herself. During her interview, Ebony kept repeating the phrase "We were first class" in attempt to inform me that her circumstance very rarely affected her outlook on life.

Edward recalled encountering a former classmate that remained in the subjective 'Blue Devil' reality space. He remembered entering a diner with a White-male college classmate and feeling apprehensive about eating in the (White) segregated restaurant. Edward could remember how the diner turned deathly silent upon him entering the building but then slowly relaxed as the crowd picked up their conversations again. What happened next has haunted Edward for decades.

I remember to step out and there was the chain gang. People who used to work with the raffle and they all knew me. I was embarrassed it was my whole community, kids I grown up with and had gone to school they called my name and talking about, "All you think your something now."

Edward stumbled upon a group of his former Black classmates who viewed their life through the *Blue Devil's* perspective. From his colleagues' perception, they caught Edward with a White

individual leaving a White-owned restaurant. They made the connection that Whiteness equated superiority. It was the false belief that if a Black person intermingled with White companies then they believed them to be better than Blacks. It was not only the fact that his former colleagues were in the chain gang, but that they identified him as a sell-out to his own community based on his apparent relation with a White individual.

The next set of green points of reference identified as “integration” posed another difference amongst participants from the elite/middle and working class. Individuals from the elite/middle class were more likely to be aware that integration negatively affected Black students. In contrast, participants from the working class group argued that Whiteness equated to better education.

Ezekiel and Ebony clearly voiced the harmful effect of school integration to the Black students living in Durham County. Ezekiel argued that school integration had a negative impact on the Black community and was “one of the biggest regrets in building an integrated society.” Ebony spoke about the covert racist tactics White teachers used once schools were racially integrated. She stated:

They would say, “Now I’m going to do things to you that will destroy your children, so as your teacher I’m not going to call on you as much, I’m going to relegate you to the back of the room or I’m going to taunt you”. So there were things that children went through that integrated period that subjected them to perhaps not knowing their worth.”

From her opinion, the Black students began to see themselves and believe they were inferior.

A distinguishable difference from the elite/middle’s perspectives was that the individuals from the working class group were more likely to view Whiteness in a hierarchical method.

Whitley stated that integration was necessary because it opened up quality teaching and resources for the Black students. She stated, “[Whites] had better education than our children.”

Whitley’s statement proves that she viewed integration through her subjective *Blue Devil* reality.

She equated Whiteness to being superior. Watson, a student involved in school integration, recalled being afraid to walk into his school because it meant being treated as an inferior being. The result of this cruel treatment, led him to fail his first school year in the integrated setting. He recalled, “You weren’t treated like a White person. You were not.”

The final set of green points of references identified as “post-integration” addresses participants’ feelings about the status of Black students. Although both groups expressed different ideal when addressing the points of references known as “mass exodus,” “integration” and “post-integration,” they were in agreement with the current stance on Black students. Both groups believe that Black students today live within a subjective reality where they view their environment through the lens of the *Blue Devil*. Ebony expressed a concern that Black students believe they are designed to be inferior. She stated, “Somehow we bought this bill of goods that we are destined to be poor, that’s our lot in life, that we aren’t smart, that’s ridiculous.” She continued on to say that Black students perpetuate this cycle of hopelessness when they plan on leaving school before graduation. She remarked:

There was no such thing as “I’m dropping out of school,” I never heard of such. I never heard of people who couldn’t read, I mean what are you talking about. I mean maybe you don’t read as well as everyone else but everybody can read. I mean it was a disgrace to get retained. Nobody wanted to get retained. This whole idea, “well I don’t care” that’s amazing to me.

For Ebony, this mentality of not caring about one’s education is counter to the direction she and her classmates fought against decades earlier.

Whitley also voiced that Black students today are more likely to be victims of violence. She remembered that when she grew up, children only died through an accident. Today accidents are less common and children are dying at the hands of other children. From her

perspective, Black students remain within a subjective reality and are unable to see anything beyond that space.

Ebony stated that she was disappointed with the lack of a reaction about the current state of Black students in Durham. She believed that the silence from the community and families, allows for the injustice toward Black students to continue. For Ebony, she is acutely aware of where Black students fall in the conceptual model, however, she is not aware that only a select population views this issue from the objective reality. In this next quote, she questions why there is a lack of support from the Black Durham community.

We should have been rioting and burning down the city but we have been silent. We have not stood by and continued to watch a third of our children be resigned to those very last statistics that you gave, homelessness and poverty. And as a community we have been really quit silent.

All participants identified current Black students to be within the subjective reality space. Given that these individuals are unable to see the power within them, participants from both the elite/middle and working class group agree that Black students use the *Blue Devil's* lens. Yet hope is the mechanism to push Black students from subjective Blue Devil to objective reality.

Searching for an Unseen Hope

Interestingly enough, the conflicts between social classes are also present in discussions of the failures and solutions for educating Black students, where each group addressed the topic through different realities. As stated in the previous chapter there was large differences in describing the cause of Black students' failures and solutions amongst working and elite/middle class participants. For the elite/middle participants, their solutions for improving Black students aligned with the idea of instilling hope. Working class participants were less likely to identify a reason for student failure and a solution to the problem.

Since working class participants viewed their perspective through a subjective reality, they faced great difficulty in naming and solving the issues. For Whitley, Wanetta and Watson, they could only define their reality based on how they perceived their environment. Because their perception of their environment is through a subjective *Blue Devil* reality, identifying obstacles and solutions becomes almost impossible. For example, if you look at an object through a convex lens, the object appears distorted and upside-down. Now if someone asked you to describe the object, identify why the object is not functioning correctly and make a suggestion on how to fix it, you probably would not be able to answer those questions accurately. Your perspective would determine your response; hence, participants from the working class were unable to present reasons of Black students' failure and its solutions.

Participants from the elite/middle group were more likely to identify a reason for their failure as linked to the deterioration of the family structure. Edward argued that Black students have lost their hope. He stated, "I think a lot of people now have lost hope. And if you don't have hope you aren't going to work as hard...A lot of young people don't see themselves overcoming. They see that all the obstacles in their way are being too great over or around."

Edward also believed hope to be so important that he prevented a family from intermingling with those he deemed not to have hope, in attempt to protect them. He recalled a family from Africa that attended his organization to learn and read English. The father was a former government official and the mother recently received her master's degree in nursing. Although his staff voiced their frustration about keeping this family separate from the rest of the students, he argued that it was necessary for the well being of the family. In his opinion, this family did not represent the clientele of his organization who were mostly high school dropouts. In his opinion, their family wanted to learn how to read in English to excel in the United States.

Edward believed that by intermingling the foreign family with locals it would cause their hope to deteriorate. Within five months the son learned enough English to enter school. Within four years, he graduated from high school. Edward proudly stated that the family was doing well and excelling in the southern region of the country. He strongly believed that their success was due to hope.

Now the kid in Durham who grew up here all his life, he is not even going to see that as a possibility. This entire family, to this day, I get letters from them every two months. Thanking us for teaching them English and helping, the father learned English and he's teaching English at a university. [The mother] went back to nursing school and she is working as a nurse in Louisiana. And the son got a scholarship to Guilford College and he went there for one year and transferred to a university in Louisiana. I mean is that going to happen for the kid from east Durham, hun? So that's hope. I didn't want them to lose that hope if they came.

In addition, Edward, Ebony and Ezekiel identified the solution to Black students' failure is to instill hope within them and the community. All three of them agreed that this is possible by employing educated leaders to affect policy, make a difference and create change. For them hope was the defining factor that separated those students from the subjective reality. Ebony recalled Black leaders from Hayti instilling hope and inspiration into her. She stated:

It was hope that you know that wherever you were, you could rise beyond that. Whatever your situation was you could rise beyond it and the example was in my house...But hope that you can do whatever you want, you can be whomever you want, because you got examples and you got a way up.

Similar to Ebony, Edward voiced that hope would enable Black students reach success. He stated, "Once you re-establish that hope anything is possible. With a person who doesn't believe he's going to succeed and get out of there he is not going to get out. People need to see role models." Through their perspective, it is hope that allows students to reach the objective reality space.

In summary, this chapter addressed the major theme of accountability and introduced the updated conceptual model that separated respondents based on socio-economic class. The theme of accountability was present within each interview. Participants from the working class were more likely to define accountability as being responsible for one's brother, where individuals from the elite/middle group addressed a holistic approach to improve the Black community. Besides addressing accountability, I updated the conceptual model to reflect responses from both elite/middle and working class participants. My findings showed that participants from the working class remained within the subjective reality. These individuals had great difficulty in identifying the problems and solutions for Black students in Durham. In contrast, members from the elite/middle class traveled between subjective and objective realities. Here participants either rejected the Blue Devil's lens or acknowledged others who wore them. They were also able to identify the reasons for Black students' failures and presented a solution. These individuals also identified hope as a means for students to transition into the objective reality.

In the next chapter, I will present the conclusion of my research. Here I will address Phase 4 based off of the oscillating wavelength from my conceptual model. I will also address how this model can assist practitioners assist students who wear the *Blue Devil's* lens.

THE BLUE DEVIL IN DURHAM

The aim of my research was to determine why Black students in Durham County were falling behind their White counterparts. Through my research, I analyzed slavery, Jim Crow Laws, urban renewal and school desegregation in an attempt to identify patterns across the periods. From there I deemed the essence of the mythological creature that was responsible for the current failings of Black students. I then interviewed six seasoned residents of Durham County and was able to discern similarities and differences within my findings. To ensure that I reached my objective, in this chapter I will address to what extent I answered my research questions and present findings across all of my interviews. Based on my findings, I will conclude with recommendations of change and suggest new areas of research.

Results from my Research Questions

I started in this investigation with looking at many dimensions of counter narratives amongst Durham's Black elite/middle and working class. Through this exploration, I was able to answer my three research questions:

1. To what extent do Durham Blacks associate the destruction of Hayti and school desegregation as another reemergence of the *Blue Devil*?
2. To what extent is it possible to rid completely oneself from the notion of *Blue Devil*? If it were possible, what would this process look like?
3. What does the future look like for Durham Black students? To what extent does the past effect their present?

I am able to answer my first research question based on my participants' perspectives on the Hayti District, urban renewal projects, communal depressions, Black schools, desegregation and community-wide integration. It was evident that both elite/middle and working class participants shared similar assessments on the Hayti District and Black schools. Both voiced that

Hayti was a self-sustaining community where the community's livelihood depended on the Black dollar. Similar to Hayti, all participants identified the Black school as a source of support for the community's students. Although they both agreed that schools depended on parents, both groups defined parent engagement and success in different ways. Participants from the working class group defined parent engagement as individuals who ensured that their child conducted themselves properly within school. They also linked good behavior with success and therefore were able to rationalize parents' need for modifying poor student behavior. Individuals from the elite/middle group defined parent engagement as when parents actively visited schools, spoke with teachers and attended parent meetings. These participants linked good grades and access to success and thus supported the idea that parents needed to be present to ensure student success.

They agreed that Hayti and Black schools were at one-point phenomenal institutions that represented Black prosperity. However, it was largely the elite/middle that recognized both urban renewal and school desegregation as another reemergence of the *Blue Devil*. Through my research, I found that participants from the elite/middle group recalled the destruction of Hayti as a merciless attack on the Black community. In comparison, individuals from the working class were less likely to view Durham's urban renewal projects as negative. One participant was glad for the inner-city transition and another was not aware of its existence. The members of the elite/middle group were also the only ones to be aware of social depressions within the Black community. Within their interviews, they either overtly or covertly mentioned tensions amongst Blacks during the urban renewal. Although both groups attested to the closing of Black schools, it was only the elite/middle who emphatically agreed that these closings led to the demise of the Black community. Two individuals, one from the elite/middle and the other from the working

class, participated in school desegregation. Both voiced that integration had a negative impact on them and caused them to feel isolated and fearful.

My second research question intended to seek out the possibility of removing the *Blue Devil's* lens. Through my analysis, I discovered that each participant identified current Black Durham students as individuals who are wearing the *Blue Devil's* lens. Each of them used graduation rates and incarceration rates to determine that Black students were failing in- and out-of school. Within my study, I asked participants to surmise why, on average, Black students were not successful. Participants from the working class were unable to neither describe the reasons for Black students' failures nor be able to provide a solution. It was only participants from the elite/middle class that identified why students were failing, the solution and introduced a method to rid oneself from the *Blue Devil's* lens. These participants equally agreed that failure was due to weak parenting but that the solution included knowledgeable leaders enacting change. Members from the elite/middle also identified instilling hope as the mechanism for students to remove their *Blue Devil's* lens and transition into an objective reality sphere.

My final research question intended on determining how my participants viewed the future for Durham County's Black students. All participants viewed accountability as the vehicle to improve Durham's Black community and its students. Individuals from the working class defined accountability in terms of being relational-based, and voiced that each person should be responsible for each other brother. Surprisingly each quoted the same scripture to explain their definition, "love your neighbor as yourself" (Bible, Mark 12:31). Participants from the elite/middle group defined accountability in terms of an instrumental view. They depended on leaders, teachers, parents and students as individuals who were accountable for the success of the Black community.

Besides addressing accountability, members of both the elite/middle and working class group voiced their ideas on the future of Black students. Overall participants amongst both groups stated similar futures. One participant from the elite/middle stated that their future was good. Another two participants, one from the elite/middle and the other from the working class, argued that Black students' future was bright. The remaining participants voiced that their future was conditional and would only be good if something they identified would occur.

I spoke with six individuals in an attempt to answer my three research questions. Although there were clear differences in responses based on socio-economic status, limited similarities between genders emerged across socio economic status. These participants discussed a variety of topics from the Hayti District, Black schools in Durham County, to accountability and the future of Black students. During this research, I was able to present and analyze their positions as well as identify commonalities amongst and between socio-economic groups. Now, at the end of my research it is imperative to address my recommendations for the future, discuss change and additional research.

Recommendations for Change

After analyzing the first three historical phases known as Slavery, Jim Crow Laws and Urban Renewal & Desegregation, my first recommendation is to recognize and prepare for the inevitability of Phase 4. Through this preparation, one can determine that history in fact repeats itself. A present day example of Black students who remain to be within the subjective *Blue Devil* reality and who repeated history is in a recent Doll Experiments that aimed to replicate Dr. Kenneth Clark's research from 80 years prior. In 2010, the news station CNN Piloted a study where they interviewed 36 Black students and 29 White students who attended pre-k and kindergarten (CNN, 2010). Instead of using dolls, the administrator used an illustration of six

children who differed only by race, where the first child had a dark skin tone that gradually lightened to the sixth child. Although some of the responses indicated that students did not completely deem the darkest skin tones as inferior, many of them illustrated that today's students still wore the *Blue Devil's* lenses. One of the questions asked for their participants to select the student who was unintelligent. From his question, over half of the Black students selected the doll with the darkest skin tones. Another question asked that the participants select the child who most children do not like. Over 60% of Black students selected the illustrations with the darkest skin tone.

This modern day Doll Experiment proved that Black students still identify themselves as inferior beings. Even 140 years after the end of slavery, 80 years after Dr. Clark's experiment and 60 years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, we see that Black students continue to be victims of hundreds of years of imbedded institutionalized racist practices. These students believe their subjective realities and remain to look through the *Blue Devil's* lens. Regrettably, this mentality perpetuates the majoritarian story of White superiority.

Since we are aware that history has repeated itself, my second recommendation is to implement practical measures to increase students' abilities to transition out of their subjective realities into the objective reality sphere. This transition can occur with help from teachers implementing a critical reality pedagogy, which is a combination of critical relevant teaching and reality pedagogy. It is in the classroom where students are more likely to encounter individuals who are cultural and socially different. In addition, they may work with teachers and/or students who perceive either an objective or subjective reality. With these many differences, spark growth. If a student begins to speak from their subjective reality, the teacher will address the perspective and gently nudge the individual into an objective space. Before I give an example of

how this is possible, I will first explain the basic components of critical relevant teaching and reality pedagogy.

The purpose of critical relevant teaching is to ensure that all teachers develop a caring, culturally conscious, classroom for their students (Brown, 2007; Gay, 2002). This pedagogy acknowledges that the constructs of U.S. schools represent White, Christian, middle-class principles, and thus anyone who does not fall within these categories could have difficulty adapting. The intention of critical relevant teaching is to assist all students' needs, regardless of their socio-economic background, ethnicity, race, religion or culture. It is the assumption that students from multi-cultural backgrounds would improve in schools if their teachers included traditions from their home (Brown, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Gay, 2002). Through this technique, teachers are able to maintain valuable relations to otherwise underrepresented groups (Brown, 2007; Wlodkowski & Ginsberg, 1995).

Authors Carol Wienstein, Mary Curran and Sandra Tomlinson-Clarke (2003) articulated three vital steps for teachers in creating a culturally responsive classroom for students. First, teachers must recognize that each individual within their classroom is a cultural being that encompasses their own beliefs, traditions, predispositions and ideals of behavior. Secondly, to be colorblind is not an option. It is imperative that teachers recognize and acknowledge the race, ethnicity, cultural and socio-economic differences amongst themselves and their students. Finally, teachers should reflect on the foundational Eurocentric practices that occur within their school and system. The authors argued that by applying these three principals, teachers would be able to generate a healthy and prosperous discourse amongst their students and colleagues about culturally responsive classrooms.

Christopher Emdin is an Assistant Professor at Teachers College Columbia University, and is an advocate for reality pedagogy (Emdin, 2011). He argued that this form of educating informs teaching and learning, but more importantly, it is dependent on students' experiences. According to Emdin, the cultural of students is "ever-evolving" and may cause teachers to strive for creating an unrealistic-omniscient classroom setting (Emdin, 2011, p.286).

Emdin (2012) stated that reality pedagogy encompasses five tenets that are as follows, 1) cogens, 2) content, 3) cosmopolitanism, 4) context and 5) co-teaching. According to Emdin, cogens occur when teachers and students collectively make decisions on the roles and rules within the classroom. He defined content as the teacher being flexible in understanding their limitations on content knowledge. The third tenet, cosmopolitanism, calls each individual within the classroom responsible for each other. The teacher is not only accountable for their students but the students are accountable for the teacher as well as their peers. Emdin identified the fourth tenet as context and defined it as students bringing significant artifacts into the classroom and sharing with their teacher and peers. His last tenet, co-teaching, explores the notion of having the students represent the teacher, while the teacher represents the co-teacher.

Besides their distinctions, both critical relevant teaching and reality pedagogy share very similar principles. Authors from both pedagogies articulated that teachers should use relevant pedagogy that will engage their students (Gay, 2002; Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Wlodkowski & Ginsberg, 1995; Emdin, 2011). Each suggested that teachers are responsible for developing sociopolitical awareness amongst students (Ladson-Billings, 2001, Emdin, 2011). In addition, they stated that teachers should use their students as resources, and teach from students' perspectives in order to increase engagement (Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Wlodkowski & Ginsberg,

1995, Emdin, 2011; Gay, 2002). Lastly, they suggested that teachers use their pedagogy to help foster change within the school (Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Emdin, 2011).

With a combination of both critical relevant teaching and reality pedagogy, teachers will be able to support students as they transition from subjective to objective realities. Both pedagogies charge teachers to acknowledge the different realities amongst students (Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Emdin, 2011). It is impossible to assist a student without first acknowledging that their reality maybe separate from their own. Educators that work within high-poverty and low-achieving schools tend to be within the objective reality and could assist students who remain in the subjective *Blue Devil* reality. Through these pedagogies, educators will be able to meet the needs of their students.

Although both pedagogies address the importance of acknowledging students' realities and focus on cultural, racial and socio-economic differences, both fail to include teachers of color within the discussion. It appears as though teachers of color do not need multicultural education training or are in need to review cultural relevant pedagogy. Professor Carmen Montecinos argued that teachers of color are normally out of the discussion. She stated, "The vast majority of the research in multicultural teacher education that has problematized a teacher's ethnicity has focused on examining how White pre-service and in-service teachers understand issues of diversity and multiculturalism" (Montecinos, 1994, p.34). There is a false sense that teachers of color are equipped with this knowledge, however through my studies I illustrated that individuals of the same race, think and perceive differently. Based on this finding, I recommend that all teachers, even Black teachers, be equipped with an understanding of critical reality pedagogy. I argue that the use of critical reality pedagogy be implemented by all teachers even those who reflect a similar skin tone as their students.

Teachers should be able to identify when or if a student is speaking through a *Blue Devil* perspective. Here is a practical example of this: I remember one of my students told me that he planned on dropping out of high school since all of the men in his life had disappeared, died, or been incarcerated. Through critical reality pedagogy, I had to recognize first his cultural difference; this was a young Latino male, born in a single-family home and raised around a prominent gang called the Latin Kings. That was this student's reality. I, a woman of color, was unable to relate to the student's needs. Through using critical reality pedagogy, I had to acknowledge my biases, my perspectives before engaging in a conversation with the student. For months, we discussed the deeper meaning behind leaving school, perpetuating cycles and fighting against systemic racist traditions. Besides these conversations, I implemented more relevant curriculum into instruction, and used him and his perspective as a vital resource during classroom discussions. I positioned him as my co-teacher, which brought more students who shared his reality into our frequent discussions about systems. As the year progressed, his focus changed from viewing his future from a subjective *Blue Devil* viewpoint to an objective perspective. His reality did not change, for he continued to live in the same neighborhood and under the same roof. However, his mindset changed from thinking that he had only one option of dropping out, to realizing he had many including graduation.

Critical relevant pedagogy, acknowledges the different realities of educators and students. This pedagogy strives to empower students and push them out of subjective *Blue Devil* realities and into an objective reality sphere. Although critical reality pedagogy is a relatively new phenomenon, my next recommendation is to conduct additional research on this topic and explore new ways that educators can implement such teaching methods.

Further research should investigate how students and adults are able to transition between the two realities. In addition to, this research should address what happens when an individual travels back from objective to subjective realities? What does that process look like and can one avoid this mental trap?

In addition to research on applicable methods for critical reality pedagogy, additional research should look into who maintains the barrier between objective and subjective realities. One could argue that White oppression maintains this line; another could argue that Black elite/middle has a role, or even that working class individuals who remain disenfranchised play a role. Yet another could state that it is a combination of them all. If one could determine who or what maintains the barrier between realities, then strategies could be in place to remove such a barrier. In the next section, I will present my findings from my Reflexive Journal.

Findings from My Reflexive Journal

Earlier I stated I used a reflexive journal to track my emotional journey throughout this process. After every interview, I asked myself three questions. The first question was what surprised me? The second was what intrigued me? Lastly, the third was what disturbed me? Within this section, I will present a summary of my findings of this process.

In my reflexive journal, I spoke about what surprised me. I spoke about the protocol but mostly the responses from my participants. First, I made several remarks about how the picture I used during my protocol was not helpful. I stated, "I can't believe this picture didn't work. I mean I thought it was a good idea but clearly, I'm not getting anything good from this. On the one hand it's a good thing to open the discussion up with, but on the other I feel like I'm wasting time." Regardless of the lack of responses from my participants, I continued to use the protocol in all of my interviews. I figured that a pattern would develop so I kept showing my participants

the picture. Unfortunately, nothing came of it and I did not use any data for my research.

Mainly, I was surprised at how engaged each participant was during the interviews. For the most part, each individual connected with the Blue Devil and gave me some beneficial data.

From the second question, what intrigued me? - I became fascinated with presenting the *Blue Devil* to my participants and viewing their reactions. At the beginning of each interview, I asked my participants about their knowledge of the Blue Devil. In each case, they did not know about the historical connection with the mythological figure. From interview to interview, I would get prepared to ask this question, hear their response and present my historical background. I wrote the follow excerpt after my final interview and it focused on my love for the beginning question.

I love when I mention the *Blue Devil* and see the fire in their eyes. My favorite part in the interview is the very beginning. I know that might seem a little selfish, but one of my favorite parts is asking them, "Have you heard of the Blue Devil?" - And seeing them either shake their head or make some reference to Duke. I literally jump in my spirit because I know what I have to say will captivate them. I know that what I have here is something interesting. I feel like a pusher-horrible term- I feel like I have magic beans or something, because I know once I get started talking about the *Blue Devil*, they will want more. They will want to share how they've been impacted by the *Blue Devil*. It's almost a mean trick; I'm tricking people with good history.

I was intrigued with seeing the "fire" of my participants' eyes but also their initial and delayed reaction to the *Blue Devil*. After an interview, I wrote about how one participant was not eager to get our meeting started. The individual told me about his busy schedule and reassured me that he spoke about Hayti before. It was not until I mentioned and presented the baggage of the *Blue Devil* when he paused, leaned back into his chair and took in a long breath. In relation to this encounter I wrote,

I could almost see his brain making the connections between all of the beautiful lies he had listened to in his past. Instead of interjecting more goodies, I just sat there. I looked around his office, noticed the plaques, pictures, files, papers, any and everything. I didn't want him to know, that I knew, I got him. So, I just waited.

From the last question, what disturbed me, I mainly wrote about individuals stuck within their subjective reality. I was not prepared for hearing my participants say there was no hope for the future. I became frustrated because I could not physically solve the problem and I struggled with my own position. Here is an excerpt from my journal, “Wait, what! No hope? What does that mean? It’s almost as if people know they are failing but refuse to stop. Okay, hold up Cassandra. Let’s take off your elite/middle class hat and look at this through another perspective.”

Overall, my reflexive journal allowed me to voice things that surprised, intrigued, and disturbed me throughout this entire process. It also reminded me how much I enjoyed presenting interesting facts about history as well as listening to versions of history. In addition, I am thankful to have been a part of tracing and connecting different perspectives of history and next I conclude with my final message.

Final Message

In conclusion, I ask the question, “What is the future of the *Blue Devil*?” One perspective could be that the *Blue Devil*’s existence through subjective realities will be constant as long as race and class are present within this country. On the other hand, the Blue Devil is fictitious. Its existence only occurs when Blacks begin to believe the majoritive narrative of Eurocentric ideology. Who then really holds the power? Is it the system? I think not, for the system must depend on Blacks to believe the majoritive view is superior. It is apparent that the Blue Devil is a consistent evil; however, the past illustrates hope for the future. It is through resiliency that Blacks overcame each phase. A quote from one of my participant’s best describes this resiliency. Here the individual spoke to me as if they were addressing a room of blacks across a 200-year period.

In the middle passage, when [you] jumped off the ships because you had been taken away from everything that you knew. And placed in this foreign land and [slave traffickers] said “I’m going to beat you and mistreat you and destroy everything and I am going to take your name and take everything from you, I’m going to take your women,” and do all of these horrific things. [They] made you a slave. And from that you still survived. You still survive, and not just survived but you thrived and you mastered, you conquered.

This quote portrayed an optimistic image of the future of Durham’s Black community and reminded me that urban renewal and school desegregation are the equivalent of fire molding iron. It is through this fire, that Black students in Durham will be able to achieve hope and finally escape viewing their circumstances through the mythological creature, the *Blue Devil*.

APPENDIX A – RESEARCH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Hello my name is Cassandra Davis and I would like to first thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for my dissertation. I am interested in knowing how you view the present, past and articulate the future of Durham’s Black students. This interview should take 1 hour and 30 minutes to 2 hours. I will take notes and voice record this discussion. The information that we discuss will be kept confidential. Do you have any questions before we begin? Okay let us begin.

1. Tell me about your relationship to Durham County.

Beginning with a Picture

Open with a picture from the Hayti District (please view attachment).

2. What are some of your first thoughts when looking at this picture?
3. How would you describe the Hayti District?

Continue with influential Black leaders

Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, and other influential Black leaders spoke a lot about Durham during the early to mid 1900s. Durham was even sighted for being the Black Mecca of the country.

4. How, if at all, were you aware of this?
 - a. How did that influence you in school, in life, in general?

Continue with urban renewal

Project introduced in 1957 where they the county could receive funding from the government to revitalize Durham. This project was funded 2/3s by the federal government and 1/3 from local funding. After meeting with city planners, they determined the project would cost \$600,000 to fully revitalize Hayti. Construction companies came in and began the first process of knocking down Hayti, however the second process was not initiated.

5. Do you remember the reconstruction and/or destruction of the Hayti District?
6. Tell me about the atmosphere in the Black community during the destruction of the Hayti District.
 - a. To what extent were their tensions between elite/middle and working class Blacks?

Continue with School desegregation

A quote from Judge Johnson Hayes⁸ in 1951, “While the buildings and facilities for the Negroes may be adequate, they are not substantially equal to those afforded the whites...Under laws laid down in this circuit...it is necessary for the defendants to provide substantially equal facilities for

⁸Responsible for school desegregation in North Carolina

the Negro children as compared with those furnished to the white children out of public funds” (NY Times,1951 p. 24)

7. To what extent did the closing of the Hayti District affect Black schools?
 - a. In addition, how did the Brown v. Board of Education decision affect Black schools?

Continue with Data

- The DPS graduation rate for Blacks is 63% and 87% for Whites
 - According to DPS in 2010, 76% of student dropouts are Blacks and 10% are White
 - In DPS Blacks account for 52% of the student population
 - Black students make up 81% of short suspensions and 83% of long-term suspensions in DPS
 - 67% of the homeless population are Black
 - Over half of those incarcerated in NC are Black
 - Higher rates of unemployment and poverty for Blacks
8. What are some of your first thoughts when listening to these statistics?
 9. According to these statistics, they suggest that Black students are failing in Durham County.
 - a. What do you think are the reasons?
 - b. What do you think are the solutions?

Continue with a Quote

“To-day there is a singular group in Durham where a black man may get up in the morning from a mattress made by black men, in a house which a black man built out of lumber which black men cut and planed; he may put on a suit which he bought at a colored haberdashery and socks knit at a colored mill; he may cook victuals from a colored grocery on a stove which black men fashioned; he may earn his living working for colored men, be sick in a colored hospital, and buried from a colored church; and the Negro insurance society will pay his widow enough to keep his children in a colored school. This is surely progress” (Dubois, 1912, p.338)

10. In 1911, Dubois described progress as Blacks supporting Blacks and utilizing products created by Blacks and for Blacks. How do you describe progress for the Black Durham community nearly 100 years later?
11. Is there something from the history of Hayti that can be used to benefit Durham’s Black population today (i.e. schools, businesses, beliefs or traditions)? Please explain your response.

End with Questions on the Future of Durham

12. How would you describe the future of Durham’s Black students?
 - a. What hope is there for improving their future?
 - b. How can this be achieved?

13. Since we talked about the past, present and future of Durham, do you have a final message you would like to give to the Black population in Durham County?

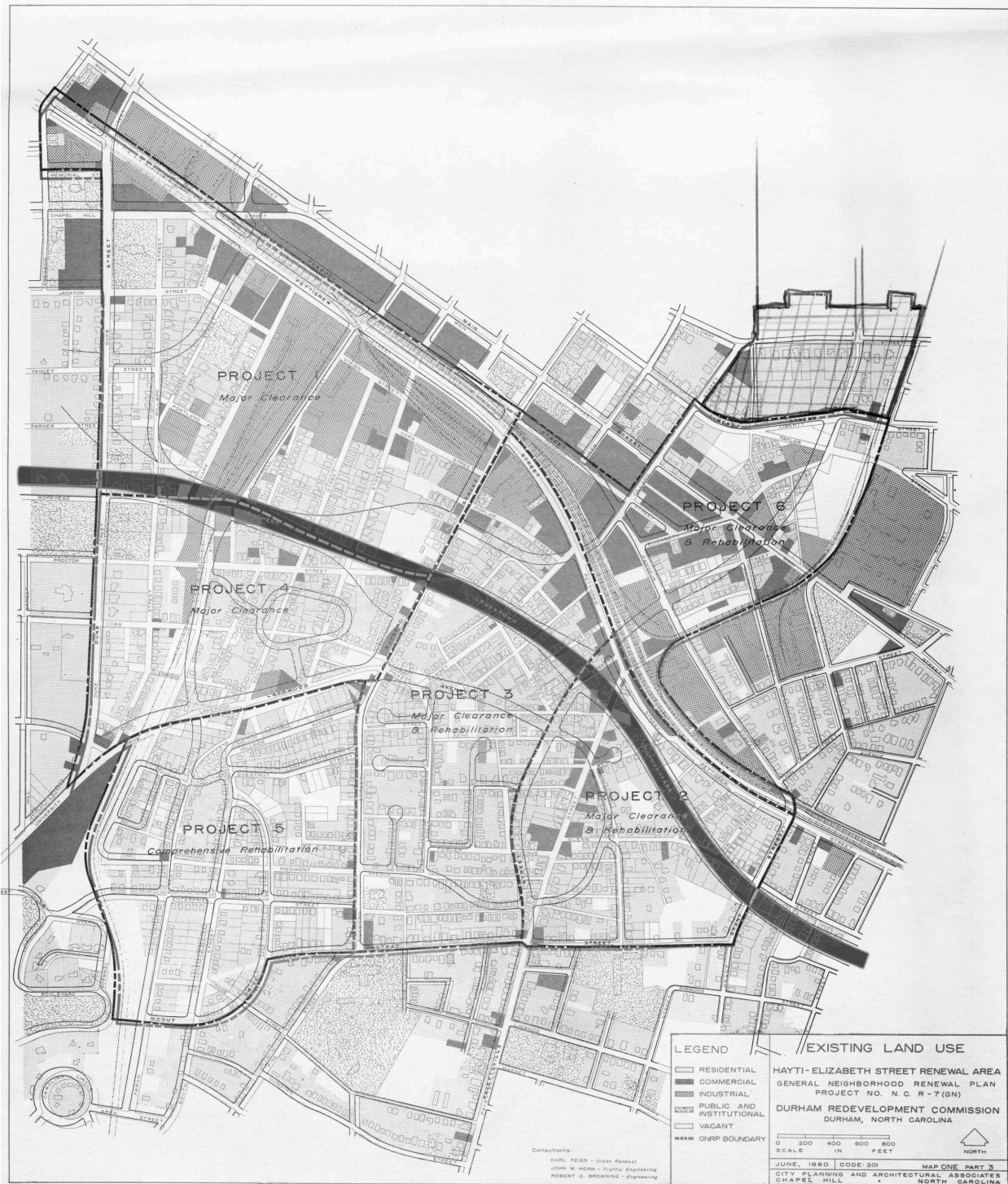
Final Thoughts

Thank you for allowing me to meet with you and hear your accounts of Durham. I will be sending you the transcription of this interview for your review. If you think of anything additional, please feel free to call, mail, or email me. I will be getting in contact with you in a week for a follow-up interview that will only take 30 minutes. Again thank you for your time and I hope this was as beneficial for you as it was for me.

APPENDIX B – WORKING WOMEN OF HAYTI



APPENDIX E – HAYTI – ELIZABETH STREET RENEWAL PLAN



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