REPORT

of

The Real Property Survey

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

1939-1940

IDENTIFICATION MAP

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

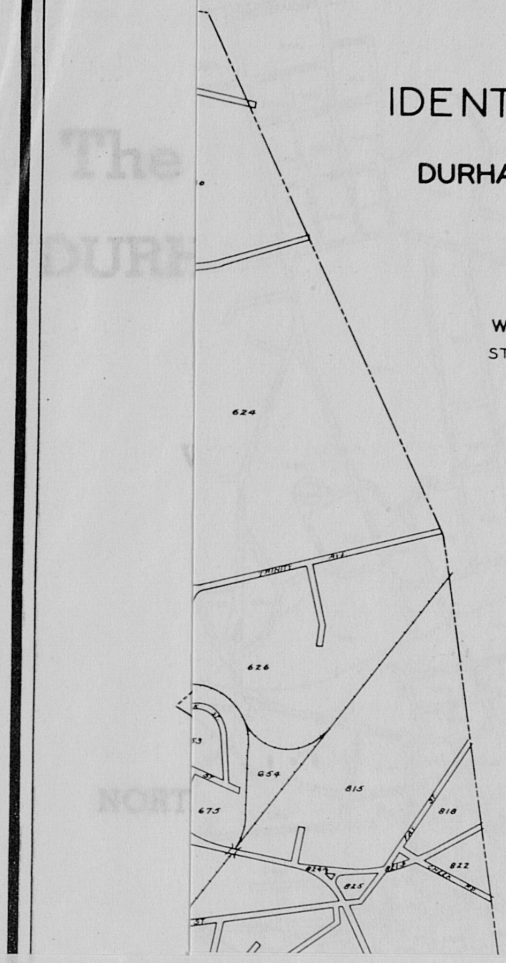
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY

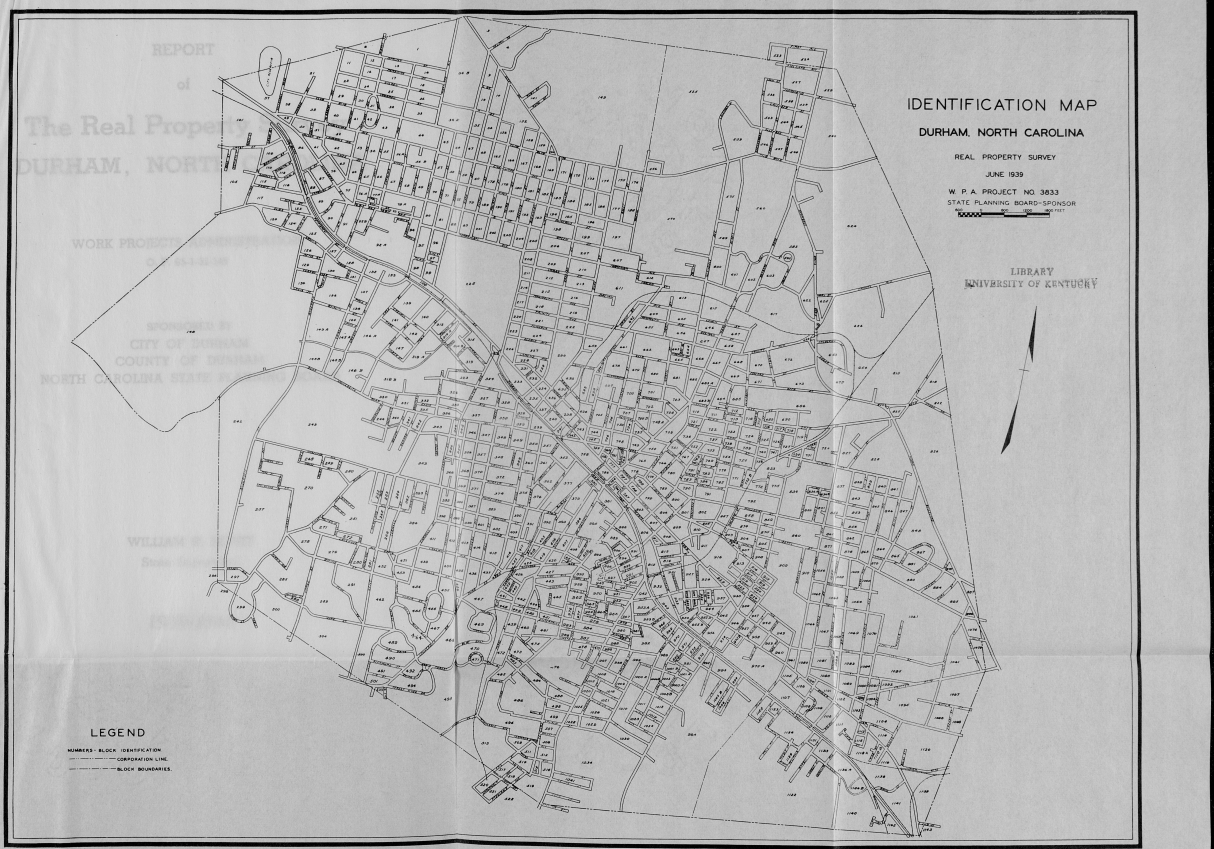
JUNE 1939

W. P. A. PROJECT NO. 3833

STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR

600 0 600 1200 1800 FEET





REPORT

of

The Real Property Survey
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION

O. P. 65-1-32-148

SPONSORED BY

CITY OF DURHAM

COUNTY OF DURHAM

NORTH CAROLINA STATE PLANNING BOARD

WILLIAM H. LEVITT

State Supervisor

1939-1940

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JACOB LEVIN, Assistant State Project Supervisor

MINNA K. ABERNETHY, District Project Supervisor

HUDSON C. STANSBURY, District Project Supervisor

H. I. F. NANTON, Supervisor, Negro Work

M. ESTHER KING, Chief Clerk

JANE COBB, City Project Director

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INTRODUCTION

The seriousness of the housing problem, which at present has greater social significance than almost any other phase of our community life, has been aggravated throughout the nation by years of depression and neglect. It has long been recognized by those who are concerned with the acuteness of the problem and are interested in its solution, that basic data must first be made available about structural conditions, population, income, rents, and facilities. Such information can best be obtained by making a survey of real property. The lack of private funds for research of the nature and scope of a real property survey has been a great factor in retarding the attack on the housing problem. The availability of relief workers of the white collar class who could serve as enumerators and tabulators of the desired data has provided us with a unique opportunity to obtain this vital information, while providing these workers with an occupation suitable to their standards and training.

A standard set of instructions for carrying out real property surveys, entitled Technique for a Real Property Survey, was developed in 1935 by the co-operative effort of the then Works Progress Administration, the Central Statistical Board, and the Federal Housing Administration. This uniform technique, which provides for the proper training of personnel, checking of enumeration, reviewing of schedules, and careful organization of the tabulations and map work, has made it possible to collect similar data in all parts of the United States for dealing with a problem which has definite national scope.

Because of the growing demand for these factual data on the part of awakening civic groups, and recognition of the need for improved housing, the North Carolina State Planning Board, in 1938, submitted for approval to the Work Projects Administration a project proposing to make a complete study of land use, real property, and low income families in several North Carolina cities and towns, of which Durham was one.

Following the standard procedure for real property inventories, the entire city was enumerated by blocks. A sheet was prepared for each block on which the area measurements and descriptions of the use of every plot of land and every structure were listed. This information furnished on the block lists, when mapped, constitutes the land use survey, and is of great value to a community as a guide to the formulation of policies in regard to zoning, communication facilities, and parks and playgrounds, as well as the location of future enterprise.

Every dwelling unit on each block was canvassed and a real property schedule filled in covering the detailed date which, later tabulated by blocks and then for the city as a whole, served as the basis for the analysis attempted in this report. These data show, among other things, the type and construction of all dwellings in the city, their condition and age, and the presence or absence of modern conveniences, such as plumbing, central heating, and electric lighting. They also indicate the number and age of all persons who occupy the city's dwellings, the length of time they have lived there, the number of roomers and extra families in each dwelling, and the race of all occupants. The tabulation of the information on the real property schedules is assembled in 98 tables. This constitutes the dwelling survey. In addition to the information thus made available for every block in the city, as well as for the city as a whole, a series of maps was prepared in connection with the dwelling survey, which graphically presents this information. For each of the significant factors of the survey-age and condition of structures, the number of dwellings occupied by owners or tenants and the duration of their respective occupancies, the percent mortgaged, the percent overcrowded, and several others--a separate map has been prepared. By means of differently shaded cross-hatchings each of these factors is portrayed for every block in the city. Thus, at a glance, contiguous blocks or areas of the city can be compared or analyzed for any one or all of the significant housing factors covered by the survey.

The real property schedules were checked as soon as they were enumerated and examined for factors which would determine the adequacy or inadequacy of a dwelling. Those dwellings designated as inadequate or substandard by this check were re-enumerated for data on the families they housed. This study is called the "Low Income Housing Area Survey." It furnishes data on the income, age, relationship, marital sta-

tus, sex, and occupation of each individual who is inadequately housed, as well as the place and type of work, transportation facilities, and length of time required of each employed member of these families to reach his place of work. It also makes available information on the annual expenditures of the family for facilities in addition to rent. Following a separate technique entitled the Low Income Housing Area Survey, which was set up as a standard procedure by the same federal agencies responsible for the real property technique with the addition of the United States Housing Authority, these data on low income families were treated as a separate survey. The original schedules, after their enumeration has been checked, were coded and transcribed to data cards from which 147 tables were derived.

The Real Property Survey set up an office in Durham for the duration of the land use survey and the enumeration of the dwelling and low income family schedules, as well as the preliminary checking of these activities. The schedules were then sent to Raleigh, the state headquarters of the survey for coding, tabulation, mapping, and analysis.

Actual work on the state project was begun in October 1938, and the Durham unit of the Survey was opened in February 1939. Some 40 field enumerators were employed in Durham, 25 white and 15 Negro, and an office staff of 20 people performed clerical functions and checking duties. Of this total, all but one, Mrs. J. S. Cobb, local supervisor, were taken from the certified rolls of the Work Projects Administration. The city and county of Durham provided the office space, equipment, supplies, forms, and other materials necessary for the completion of the survey. By the first of August 1939, the field enumeration was completed and the schedules sent to Raleigh. Block tabulations and the tabulation of low income family data were completed in November. General tabulations were completed by the middle of March 1940 and the analysis of the data in June. Presentation maps and charts were completed by the end of July.

Accuracy in enumerating and tabulating the data for this survey was stressed as of paramount importance throughout its duration. Although complete accuracy is impossible to achieve in surveys of this type, every precaution was taken to keep the percentage of error down to a minimum. In spite of those elements of normal human fallibility which are always present, and the necessity for speed as a possible factor operating against the quality of the work of the enumerators, a spot check, in which five percent of the total enumeration was reworked, showed an average error of less than four percent for the entire survey. It is believed, therefore, that the accuracy of the basic data gathered in this study will compare favorably with that of similar survey work, and furthermore that the small percentage of error which does occur is largely offset by the mathematical law of averages as applied to compensatory errors.

The tables prepared by the survey are designed to present in as lucid a manner as possible the exact results of the enumeration. However, a sound understanding of each table is necessary to make reliable any interpretation of the figures presented. A practical attempt has been made below to analyze the statistical information to the point where it should readily be susceptible to a pertinent workable interpretation.

The Real Property Survey could not have been completed successfully had it not been for the excellent spirit of co-operation displayed by the local government and the citizenry of Durham, along with the fine reception accorded it by the press. Evidence of keen interest in the whole problem of housing was found everywhere, and the work of the survey was followed closely by many civic groups and individuals.

The materials and results of the project will be distributed as follows: Basic schedules both for real property and low income families will be filed with the city manager of Durham. Block tabulations, general tabulations, and a set of correlation tables derived from the general tabulations will also be given to the city of Durham for the use of the city engineer and the zoning commission. Copies of the final report will be filed with the universities, libraries, and proper city and county departments. In addition, Federal agencies such as the Federal Housing Administration, the United States Housing Authority, and the Home Owners Loan Corporation will be furnished copies of the report.

It is hoped that the results of the survey will assist in the future planning and development of the city of Durham, as well as help lay the groundwork for the amelioration of those social ills commonly acknowledged as the concomitants of a housing problem.

CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The region in which Durham is today located was previously occupied by various Indian tribes, who had already emigrated before 1750, when the first white settlers, of English and Scotch extraction, began making their home in this area. The section was then part of Orange County and by 1777 contained only a few hundred inhabitants. Settlement of Durham itself dates back only to the 1850's, when a community known as Prattsburg serviced the farmers in the surrounding area with its wheat and corn mills. The construction of the North Carolina Railroad, 1852-1856, gave impetus to the growth of the town. When William Pratt, a large land owner, refused to give the railroad a right-of-way or land for a station, Dr. Bartlett Durham offered four acres about two miles west of Prattsburgh and the station was named for him. The railroad detoured around Prattsburg and the Pratt property.

There were fewer than 100 people in Durham in 1865, two years before the town was incorporated. By 1880, however, the population had increased to 2,041, and in 1881 the town was made seat of the new county created from parts of Orange and Wake.

Durham's Industrial growth stems directly from the development of the manufacture of tobacco. As early as 1858 Robert F. Morris was already engaged in the industry. In the historic interval when Sherman's army was located near Durham, the soldiers are said to have sampled and liked the product of the factory which was then operated by John R. Green, originator of the Bull Durham blend, thus spreading its fame.

To the Duke family, however, goes the credit for developing the industry to its present gigantic proportions. When Washington Duke left the Confederate Army in 1865 he had to walk 137 miles to his farm near Durham to return to his impoverished family. Duke began grinding the tobacco his sons had hidden from the Northern soldiers. The blend which he labeled Pro Bono Publico he peddled to soldiers and others along with flour and home-made lard. His enterprise proved prosperous enough to engage his three sons as well as himself. By 1874 all four Dukes were established tobacco manufacturers in Durham. In 1880 James Buchanan Duke, one of the sons, in order to escape the sharp competition in the tobacco manufacturing field, decided to make cigarettes, by then an important though almost exclusively European product. Within a few years the installation of improved machinery increased daily production from 2,500 to 100,000 cigarettes a day and made possible large-scale exports of the product to Europe. In 1890 James B. Duke, after absorbing practically all other manufacturers, created the American Tobacco Company, a virtual monopoly of the entire industry. The Monopoly was dissolved into smaller units in 1911 by a Supreme Court decree, but in the interval Durham had become

the world's tobacco capital, and the Duke fortune was firmly founded. Today the city manufactures about one-fourth of all cigarettes produced in this country. Nine warehouses conduct sales of leaf tobacco and several million pounds of foreign-grown tobacco are imported annually.

In the latter years of his life Mr. Duke engaged in the development of water power in the Piedmont and Mountain sections of North Carolina, which resulted in the establishment of an electric power system now operated by the Duke Power Company and its subsidiaries. An endowment fund of approximately $80,000,000 created by the will of James B. Duke in 1925, of which Duke University in Durham is the principal beneficiary, receives most of its funds from the securities of this power system. This endowment is the largest emanating from the South and the largest yet made for the exclusive benefit of the region. The Duke endowment also includes aid for churches and hospitals. Duke Hospital, opened in 1930 as part of the University, has a four million dollar plant and contains 406 beds. It maintains a public dispensary and 14 clinics.

The development of the tobacco industry in Durham brought the development of other commercial and industrial enterprise. The manufacture of textile mill products is now second in industrial importance to tobacco manufacture. While the latter, with four large establishments, employed 5,314 people in 1938, textiles, with 17, employed 4,719. Hosiery is the principal textile product, with cotton fabrics next in importance and cotton yarn third. The Industrial Directory of the North Carolina State Department of Conservation and Development, published in 1938 with the assistance of the WPA, shows that Durham had 59 wholesale establishments, with net sales of $16,678,000; 695 retail establishments with net sales of $17,758,000; and 160 service establishments with receipts of $775,000. Other industries besides tobacco and textiles are: food and kindred products, enploying 408 workers; lumber and timber basic products employing 239; printing, publishing and allied industries, employing 194; chemical and allied products with 112 employees; metal, metal working, and metal products with 68 employees; and miscellaneous occupations such as furniture finishing, laundries, etc., employing about 350 workers. In all some 13,000 persons in Durham are engaged in industry.

As a transportation center Durham is serviced by the Southern, Seaboard, Norfolk Southern, Norfolk and Western, and the Durham and Southern Railroads. The Atlantic Greyhound, Carolina Coach, and Virginia Stage bus lines also operate through Durham.

The status of the Negro in Durham is notable. Property holdings by Negroes in Durham amounted to more than four million dollars in 1935. Besides this, business assets aggregating seven million dollars are owned and controlled by Negroes. The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company has grown from a small beginning in Durham in 1898 to the largest Negro insurance company in the world, operating in eight states and employing 1,067 persons. Development of the insurance business

inspired the organization of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank in 1907, now one of the largest in Durham with total resources of $1,489,000.

The city's growth is show in the table below. While the increase in population during the decade from 1930 to 1940 has not been nearly so phenomenal as that for the period 1920-1930, there has been an unmistakeable growth, as the preliminary 1940 figure of almost 60,000 reveals.

Year	Population
1890	5,485
1900	6,679
1910	18,241
1920	21,719
1930	52,037

LAND USE MAP

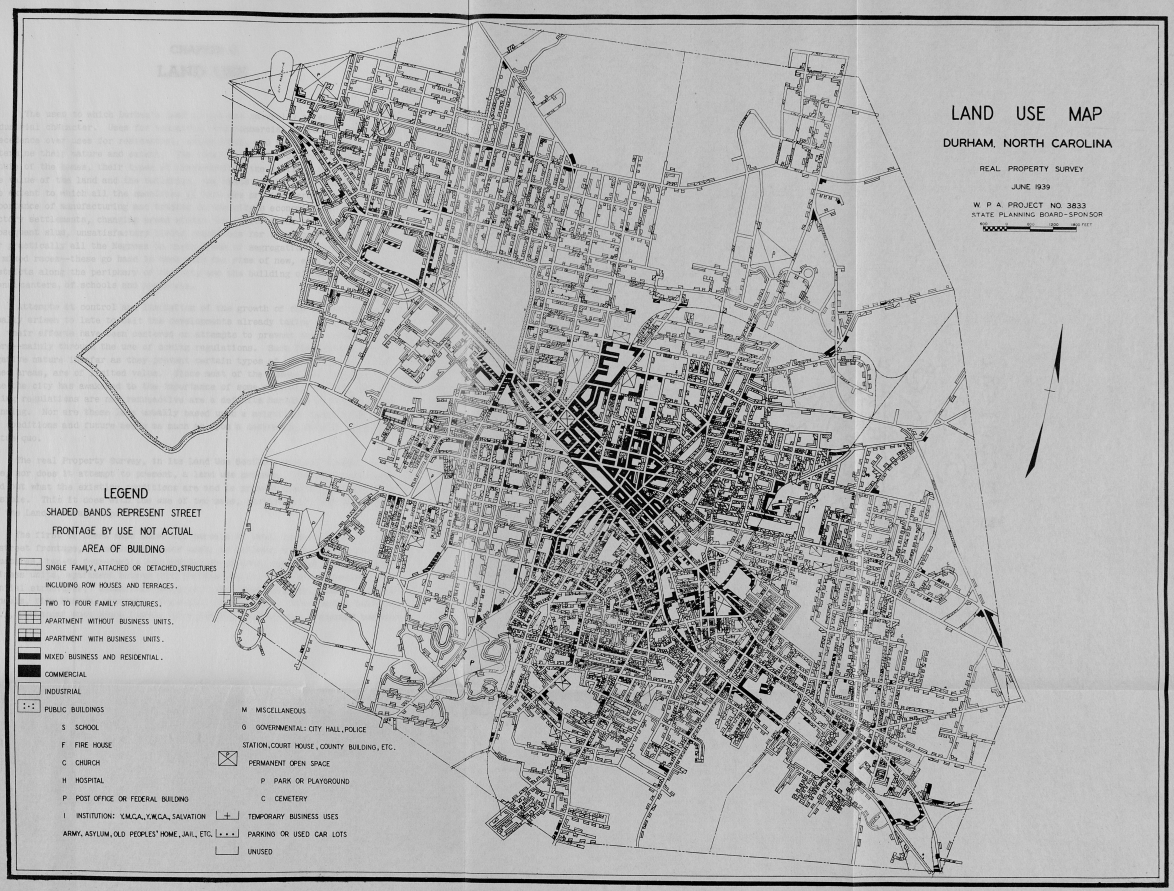
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

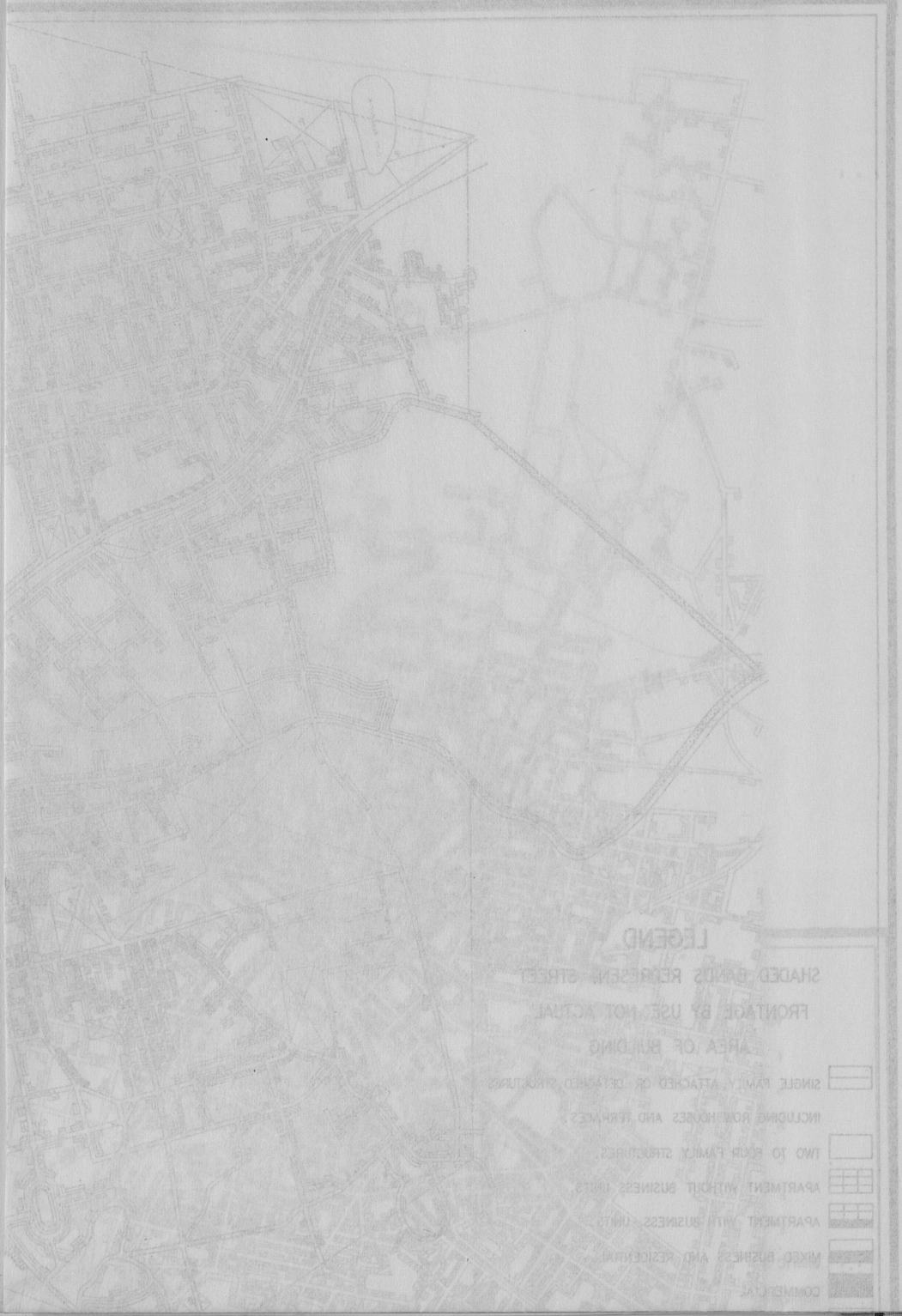
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY

JUNE 1939

W. P. A. PROJECT NO. 3833
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR

600 0 600 1200 1800 FEET


LAND USE MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT NO. 3833
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
LEGEND
SHADED BANDS REPRESENT STREET FRONTAGE BY USE NOT ACTUAL AREA OF BUILDING
SINGLE FAMILY, ATTACHED OR DETACHED, STRUCTURES INCLUDING ROW HOUSES AND TERRACES.
TWO TO FOUR FAMILY STRUCTURES.
APARTMENT WITHOUT BUSINESS UNITS.
APARTMENT WITH BUSINESS UNITS.
MIXED BUSINESS AND RESIDENTIAL.
COMMERCIAL
INDUSTRIAL
PUBLIC BUILDINGS
S SCHOOL
F FIRE HOUSE
C CHURCH
H HOSPITAL
P POST OFFICE OR FEDERAL BUILDING
I INSTITUTION: Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., SALVATION ARMY, ASYLUM, OLD PEOPLES' HOME, JAIL, ETC.
M MISCELLANEOUS
G GOVERNMENTAL: CITY HALL, POLICE STATION, COURT HOUSE, COUNTY BUILDING, ETC.
PERMANENT OPEN SPACE
P PARK OR PLAYGROUND
C CEMETERY
TEMPORARY BUSINESS USES
PARKING OR USED CAR LOTS
UNUSED



CHAPTER II

LAND USE

The uses to which Durham's land is put are naturally affected by the city's industrial character. Uses for industrial and commercial purposes usually take precedence over uses for residential, educational, and recreational purposes and determine their nature and extent. The location of much of the living space, the tenure of the homes, their types of construction, the mobility of the population, the value of the land and the buildings, the rents which they command, as well as the extent to which all the amenities of life are provided are all affected by the importance of manufacturing and trading in the city's economic make-up. Mill and factory settlements, changing areas within the heart of the city--blight and the subsequent slum, unsatisfactory living conditions for the poor whites as well as for practically all the Negroes in their areas of segregation and the border areas of mixed races--these go hand in hand with the rise of new, exclusive residential districts along the periphery of the city and the building of parks and recreational centers, of schools and hospitals.

Attempts at control and limitation of the growth of the industrial city have usually arisen to late to halt the developments already taking place. Consequently, their efforts have been centered on attempts to prevent their occurence elsewhere--mainly through the use of zoning regulations. Such limitations, being of a negative nature insofar as they prevent certain types of uses in certain predetermined areas, are of limited value. Since most of the damage has been done by the time the city has awakened to the importance of some control, the fact that the zoning regulations are not retroactive are a definite hardship to constructive planning. Nor are these laws usually based upon a scientific examination of existing conditions and future needs as much as upon a desire at least to maintain the status quo.

The real Property Survey, in its Land Use Section, did not attempt to determine, nor does it attempt to present, a land use program. Its only purpose was to find out what the existing conditions are and to present them as graphically as possible. This it does with the use of two maps, particularly: the Land Use Map and the Land Coverage Map.

The first of these maps shows all parcels of land, in each block, in terms of street frontage, according to their uses, as follows: single-family residential structures, two-to four-family residential structures, apartment houses without business units, apartment houses with business units, other mixed business and residential structures, commercial property, industrial property, public buildings (schools, fire houses, churches, hospitals, institutions, governmental buildings, etc.), permanent open space (parks, playgrounds, cemeteries,) temporary business

Table I

AREA OF LAND BY USE

Type of Use	Area (in square feet) or percent
Total area of land	356,843,520
Area of land in permanent use	185,747,410
Land in permanent use as percent of all land	52.1
Land coverage of major structures	26,779,442
Land covered by major structures as percent of land in permanent use.	14.4

uses, parking or used car lots, and unused land. The second map shows, by proportions of each block, these three factors of land coverage therein: the land not in permanent use, the land in permanent use, and that part of the latter covered by major structures of all kinds.

Two other maps, the Identification Map and the Block Data Map, present aids in the determination of the land's uses as well as information secured in the Real Property Survey proper. The first of these shows the number assigned to each block included in the area covered, thus aiding in the identification of each in connection with data presented elsewhere by blocks. The Block Data Map presents for each block eight pertinent items dealing with structural and dwelling unit facts as well as with non-residential structures.

The importance of industry in the composition of Durham is indicated by the fact that virtually one-seventh of all the land covered by major structures is devoted to industrial uses, among which the manufacture of textiles and tobacco in its various forms predominates. Practically all industrial establishments are situated near or along side the railroads, which were either there first or were ex-

Table II

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BY TYPE OF USE

Type of Use	Area of land (square feet)	Percent distribution of area
Total	356,843,520	100.0
Land in permanent use	185,747,410	52.1
Temporary business uses	32,720	*
Parking and uses car lots	97,480	*
Unused and vacant land	170,965,910	47.9

* Less than 0.1%

LAND COVERAGE MAP

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

REAL PROPERTY SURVEY

JUNE 1939

W. P. A. PROJECT NO. 3833

STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR

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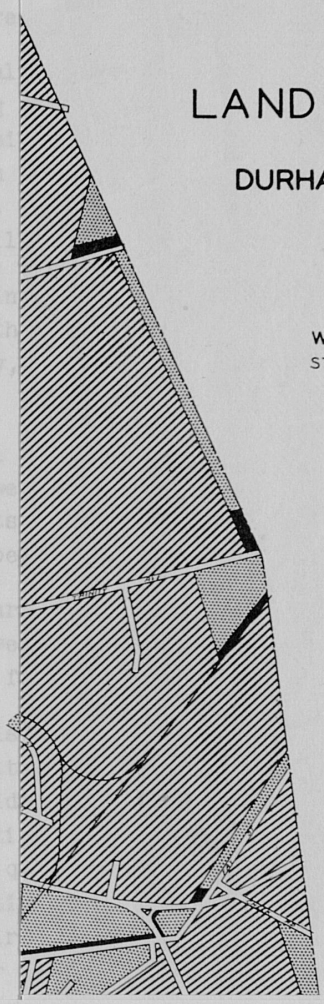


BY USE

	Area (in square feet) or percent
	366,848,820
	185,747,410
	52.1
	28,779,442
of land	
	14.4

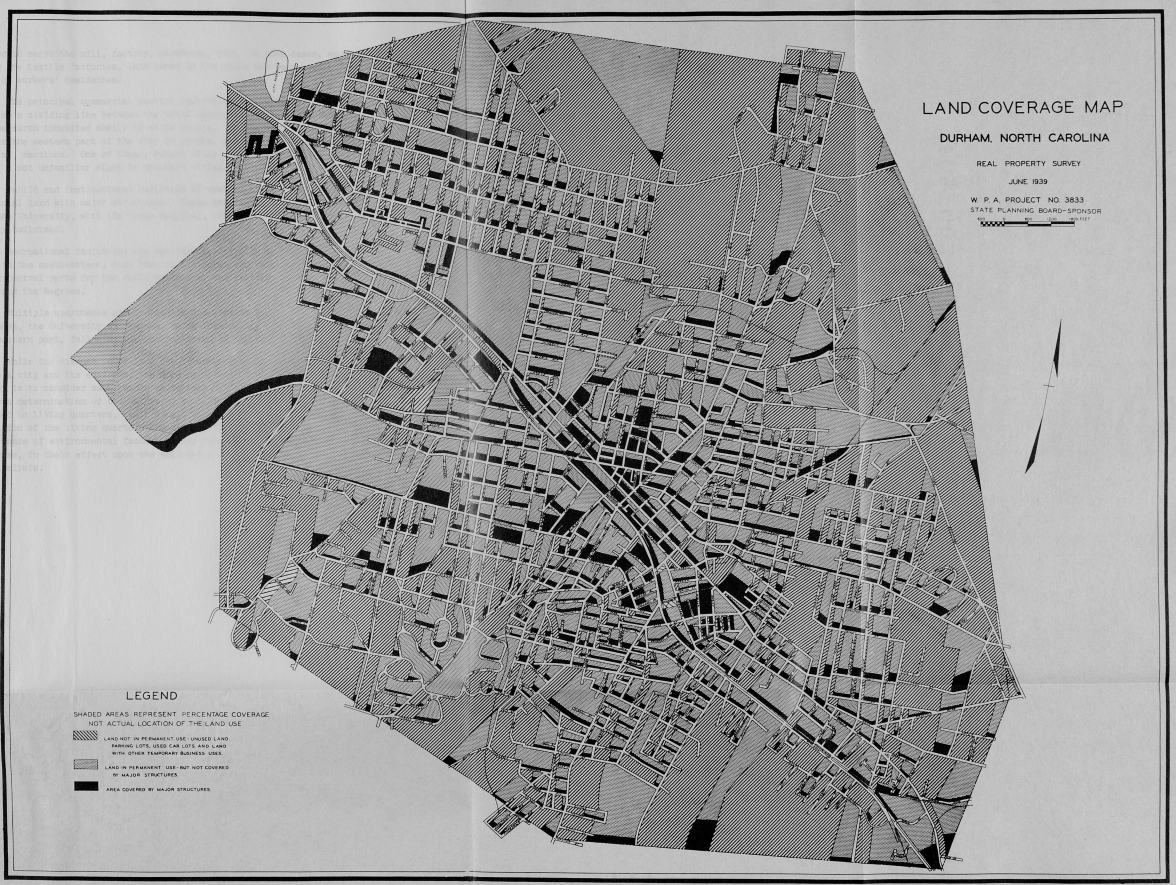
d. The second map shows, by proportion coverage therein: the land not in that part of the latter covered by

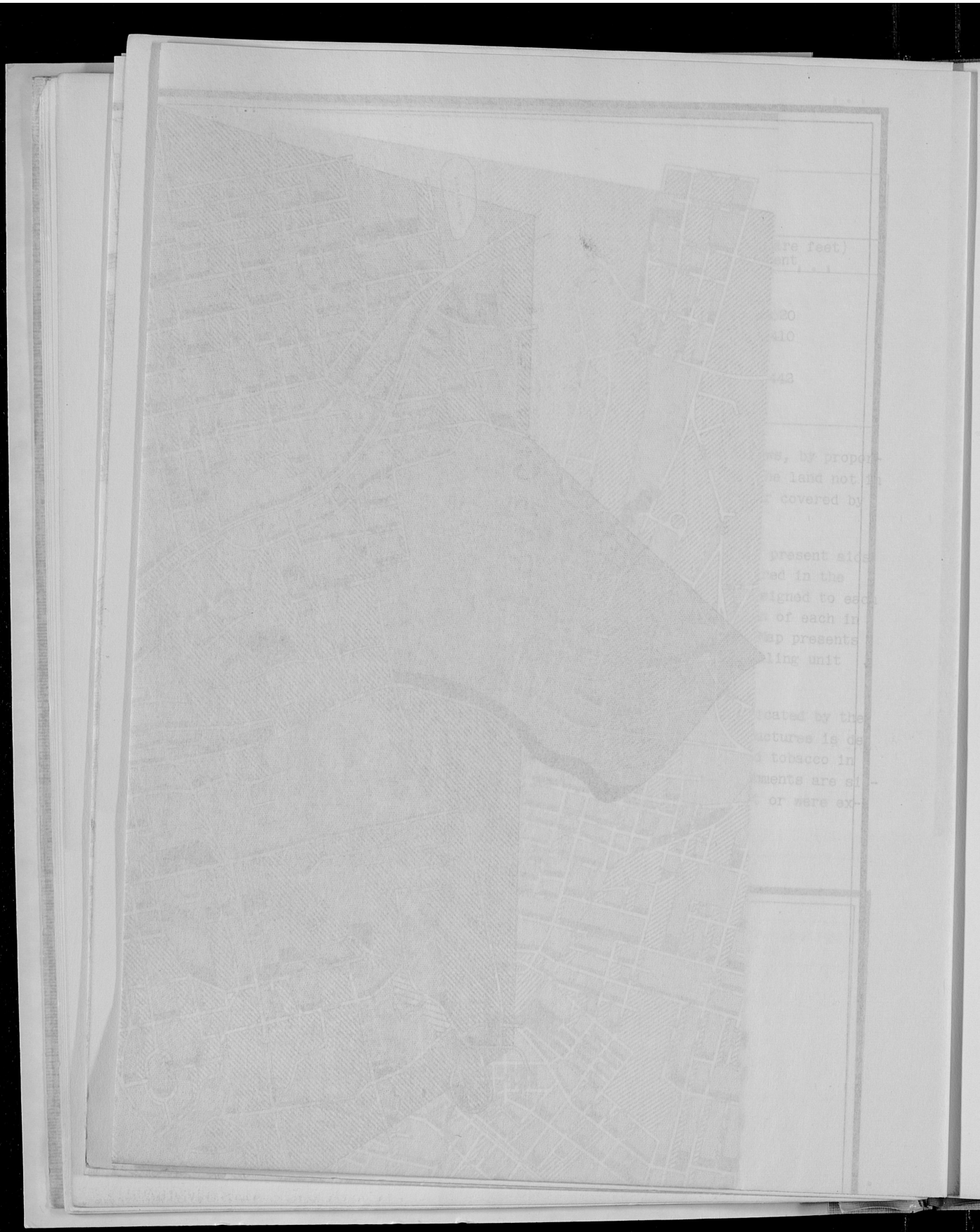
d the Block Data Map, present aids l as information secured in the e shows the number assigned to each in the identification of each in cks. The Block Data Map presents th structural and dwelling unit s.

tion of Durham is indicated by the covered by major structures is dacture of textiles and tobacco in industrial establishments are sitre either there first or were ex-

TYPE OF USE

	Percent distribution of area
	100.0
	52.1
	"
	"
	47.9





tended to serve the mill, factory, warehouse, etc. In some cases, especially among the textile factories, land owned by the mills has been used for the erection of workers' residences.

The principal commercial section is located in the center of town, serving also as a dividing line between the chief Negro section to the south and that part to the north inhabited mostly by white people. To the west of this Negro district and in the western part of the city in general are located the most exclusive residential sections. One of these, Forest Hills, begins where the Negro development ends, a not unfamiliar sight in southern cities.

Public and institutional buildings of various kinds cover about one-tenth of the total land with major structures. These especially include the two sites of of Duke University, with its large hospital, other schools, and various city and county buildings.

Recreational facilities are provided principally by these parks: Forest Hills Park in the southwestern, Duke Park in the north central, Long Meadow Park in the south central parts for the white residents, and Hillside Park in the southern part for the Negroes.

Multiple apartments are located in the various sections of town, the largest of these, the University Apartments, being located, as are many of the others, in the western part, following the general trend of the city's growth.

While the discussion of land use is concerned with all phases of real property in a city and its environs, the more particular purpose of the Real Property Survey is to consider such phases as concern use for residential purposes. This means a determination of the nature of such use, as regards the kinds of buildings devoted to living quarters, their condition, age, etc., as well as a detailed examination of the living quarters themselves, their adaptability and adequacy. The importance of environmental factors within the home along with those surrounding the home, in their effect upon the well-being of the citizenry, requires a careful analysis.

Table III
NUMBER AND AREA OF STRUCTURES BY TYPE

Type of Structure	Number of Structures		Area of Structure		Average area of structures (square feet)
	Number	Percent distribution	Total area (square feet)	Percent distribution	
Total	12188	100.0	26,779,442	100.0	2,197
Single-family structures	7887	64.7	12,153,867	45.4	1,541
2-4 family structures	3041	25.0	5,303,703	19.8	1,744
Apartments without business units	42	0.3	245,955	0.9	5,856
Apartments with business units	4	*	12,300	*	3,075
Mixed business and residential	145	1.2	294,495	1.1	2,031
Commercial	707	5.8	2,105,348	7.9	2,978
Industrial	191	1.6	3,755,777	14.0	19,664
Public buildings	171	1.4	2,907,997	10.9	17,006

* Less than 0.1%

CHAPTER III

REAL PROPERTY

In bringing together the information collected by field enumerators, the Real Property Survey attempts to present the most comprehensive data available on a considerable number of the physical and occupancy characteristics of Durham's dwellings. The brief analysis which follows represents an attempt to interpret the findings as revealed in the extensive tabulations made of the assembled data on dwellings structures and units.

At the time of the survey there were 11,082 dwelling structures in Durham, containing 15,334 dwelling units. Thirty-seven structures were under construction, 21 of which were single-family dwellings, 15 two-family side-by-side structures, and one a business structure combined with a dwelling unit. The greatest number of existing structures, 7,661 are of the single-family detached type. The next largest group, 2,617 structures, are two-family structures among which the two-family side-by-side type predominates. The 477 structures containing 1,194 dwelling units, which are listed as "other non-converted" types, include garage apartments, single-family homes which, with no structural changes involved, are now used as multiple dwellings, and other miscellaneous structures not readily classifiable as to type. A note-worthy characteristic of Durham's dwelling structures today is the trend toward the construction of duplex rather than multiple-apartment structures to meet rising land costs within the city limits.

Converted Structures

The conversion of structures to new uses generally occurs when a city experiences a precipitous, rather than gradual growth, and very frequently when economic depression prevents investment in the necessary new construction implicit in such growth. Converted properties almost always have a deleterious effect on the neighborhoods in which they occur and on surrounding property values. Any trend toward such changes in use should therefore be considered an undesirable condition. The survey of Durham lists the existence of only 77, or less than 1 percent of its total residential structures, converted from their original use. Over 88 percent of these conversions, involving 68 structures, were made from structures intended for the housing needs of one family group. Of these, 33 now contain two dwellings, 31 contain three or more dwellings, and four were converted into structures combining business with residential uses. The remaining nine conversions were originally other types of residential structures, store buildings, or garages now adapted to residential or combined business and residential uses.

Though the presence of converted structures is not a very striking factor in Durham's housing situation, it is significant that the tendency toward such changes in use seems to be increasing. Almost half the existing conversions were made

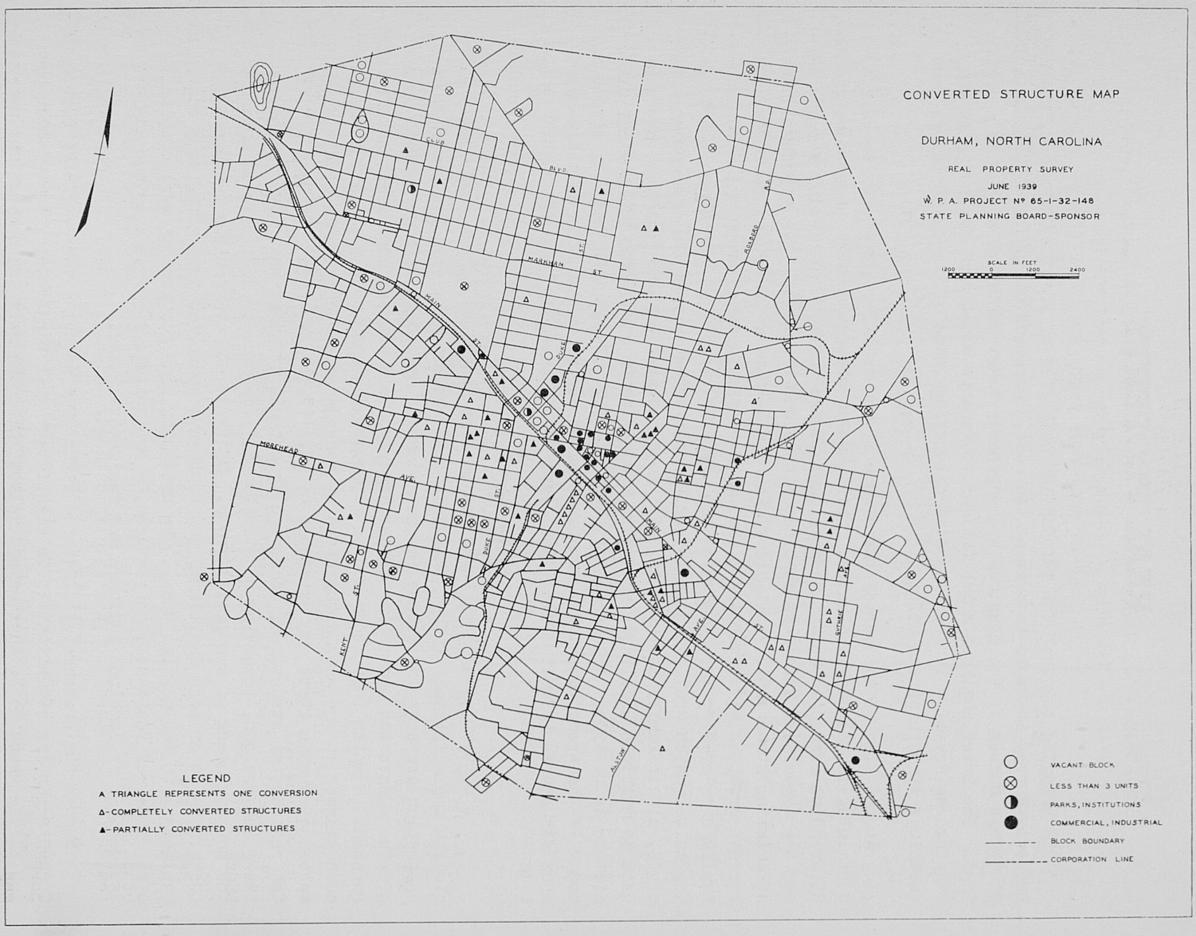

CONVERTED STRUCTURE MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
A TRIANGLE REPRESENTS ONE CONVERSION
Δ-COMPLETELY CONVERTED STRUCTURES
▲-PARTIALLY CONVERTED STRUCTURES
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE
CLUB
BLVD
MARKHAM
ST
MAIN
MOREHEAD
AVE
ALSTON

Table IV

PERCENT OF ALL DWELLING UNITS IN EACH RENT GROUP IN POOR CONDITION
(IN NEED OF MAJOR REPAIRS OR UNFIT FOR USE)
BY OCCUPANCY STATUS

Monthly rental or rental value	All Dwelling Units	Owners	Tenants	Vacant
Total reports on rental	19.7	6.2	23.2	33.9
$ 4.99 or less	59.0	57.1	56.9	81.8
5.00 - $ 9.99	44.8	20.0	44.2	66.1
10.00 - 14.99	33.6	29.9	33.2	42.6
15.00 - 19.99	19.3	20.3	18.5	34.7
20.00 - 24.99	15.5	10.7	16.8	23.3
25.00 - 29.99	7.8	6.7	8.1	13.7
30.00 - 39.99	5.3	3.1	6.9	13.3
40.00 - 49.99	2.6	2.5	2.7	3.4
50.00 - 74.99	0.8	0.2	1.2	8.3
75.00 - 99.99	0.4	0.0	1.9	0.0
100.00 - 149.99	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
150.00 or more	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

during the last five years, about two-thirds in the past ten years, and nearly all, or 93.5 percent, in the years since 1920.

Of the 77 conversions, 32 are partial conversions, requiring but a slight expenditure of time and money to re-convert them to their original uses, while the rest have been completely altered, at considerable expense, from the uses originally intended for them.

Condition

Little more than one-third of the dwellings in Durham are in good condition, almost one-half are in need of minor repairs, evidence of depression years and the consequent postponement of necessary improvements, and almost one-fifth are classified as in need of major repairs or "unfit for use." The 2,065 structures, comprising 3,022 dwelling units, which fall into these last two poor condition categories present the greatest problem to the city. In terms of community welfare the greatest proportion of undesirable characteristics occurs among these structures.. As the maps which will be found elsewhere in this analysis reveal, structures in poor condition are rarely isolated, but rather tend to blight whole areas, thus influencing community relationships, health, delinquency, and crime. Almost one-fourth of Durham's children live in these structures. They represent the greatest proportion of low rentals, poor facilities, and old and overcrowded

dwellings in the city. Of all dwellings in these condition categories, almost two-thirds rent for less than $15 a month, and over four-fifths rent for less than $20 a month. The low rentals which these properties command in turn reduce real property valuation and tax returns to the city. The cycle extends to force other structures in the same area to fall into disrepair because of the depressing effect of their rental value on neighborhood conditions.

Tenant-occupied units show a considerably greater proportion in poor repair than those occupied by owners. While little more than 6 percent of the units occupied by the latter are in poor condition, almost one-fourth of Durham's tenants are housed in dwellings which require either major repairs or are unfit for use. Negro families constitute two-thirds of all groups inhabiting such structures. The proportion of overcrowded units is more than twice as great among dwellings in poor repair as among those in the better condition groups. Almost 90 percent of the dwellings in poor repair lack adequate sanitary facilities, making them doubly undesirable.

It is obvious that a comparatively reasonable outlay would effect the degree of improvement necessary for the maintenance of housing standards and investment values for the considerable group of dwellings which is now designated as in need of minor repairs. The need for new construction, however, is apparent from the large number of structures whose poor condition is aggravated by their low value, bad location, and lack of facilities. The extent to which private investment can profitably undertake this new construction will be discussed in the analysis of low-income families.

Age of Structure

Of Durham's residential structures, 6.5 percent, or 719 structures containing 982 dwelling units, antedate the year 1895. Immediately thereafter the rapid growth of the city, as a result of the large-scale development of the tobacco industry, is reflected in the increase in dwellings. Structures which date from 1895 through 1914 represent well over one-third of all existing residential structures in the city. The rate of construction in Durham rose steadily from 1915 through 1929. Over 12 percent of the city's houses were built during the five year interval 1915-1919, at an average rate of 267 houses annually. The first five years of the 1920's witnessed the rise of this average to more than 319 structures annually. A peak was reached during the second half of that decade, when the annual average rate of construction was 321 houses. In all, that prosperous decade accounts for 28.9 percent or 3,202 of the city's residential structures, comprising 4,304 dwelling units. The effects of the economic depression are reflected in the drop in construction during the last decade. Only 659 structures containing 855 dwelling units (an average of about 132 structures and 171 units a year) were built during the years 1930-1934, representing a reduction of almost 60 percent in the construction rate from the previous five-year interval. During the last five years, from 1935 through August 1939, when the field survey was completed, 986 structures containing


AGE OF STRUCTURE MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
MEDIAN YEAR BUILT
1930 — 1939
1925 — 1929
1920 — 1924
1905 — 1919
1885 — 1904
1860 — 1884
1859 OR BEFORE
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

1,513 dwelling units, were completed. This represents a considerable increase over the rate for the first five years of the depression, but is still almost 40 percent under the construction rate for the years 1925-1929.

A definite correlation exists between the age of structures and their condition. As structures age in years the percentage requiring repairs increases. Thus while 8.4 percent of all houses built since 1920 are in poor condition, 26.6 percent of those built prior to that year are either in need of major repairs or unfit for use. The obsolescence of structures, therefore, can definitely be considered a factor contributing to Durham's housing problems. Other factors, however, such as the quality of structures, particularly those built during the boom years, and the extent to which modern standards in housing have been maintained, regardless of the age of structures, are equally significant.

Other Structural Factors

Other physical characteristics of structures considered in the survey are their exterior material, the number of stories, and the presence or absence of basements and garages. Wooden dwelling structures prevail in Durham, accounting for 93.8 percent of all dwellings. Brick, as the type of exterior material used, is reported in only 4.9 percent of the cases, while only 1.3 percent of all dwelling structures are built of stone, stucco, or other exterior materials. Multiple-dwelling structures indicate a greater use of materials other than wood than do single-family, duplex, or converted structures. Although wooden structures show the greatest proportions in poor repair, it would be an over-simplification of the problem to draw any conclusions about the utility of wood as a construction material, since so few cases report the use of other materials.

It is questionable whether the small number of structures with basements, about one-seventh of the total, can be dismissed on the grounds that the climate of Durham makes the provision of space for the installation of furnace heating equipment an unneccessary luxury. Furthermore, the lack of adequate basements frequently indicates improper underpinning and constitutes a structural problem. In contrast with the small proportion of structures with basements, 43.3 percent of the structures enumerated report the presence of a garage.

As is consistent with the non-metropolitan development of the city, three-fourths of all dwelling structures are one story in height. Nearly all of the remaining one-fourth are either one and one-half or two stories high, less than 1 percent exceeding two stories.

Owner Occupancy

In terms of housing and its related community factors, the extent of home ownership is significant because of the higher proportionate occurrence, with owner tenure, of those elements considered desirable. Such important standards of measurement as the condition and adequacy of structures, land values and the result-

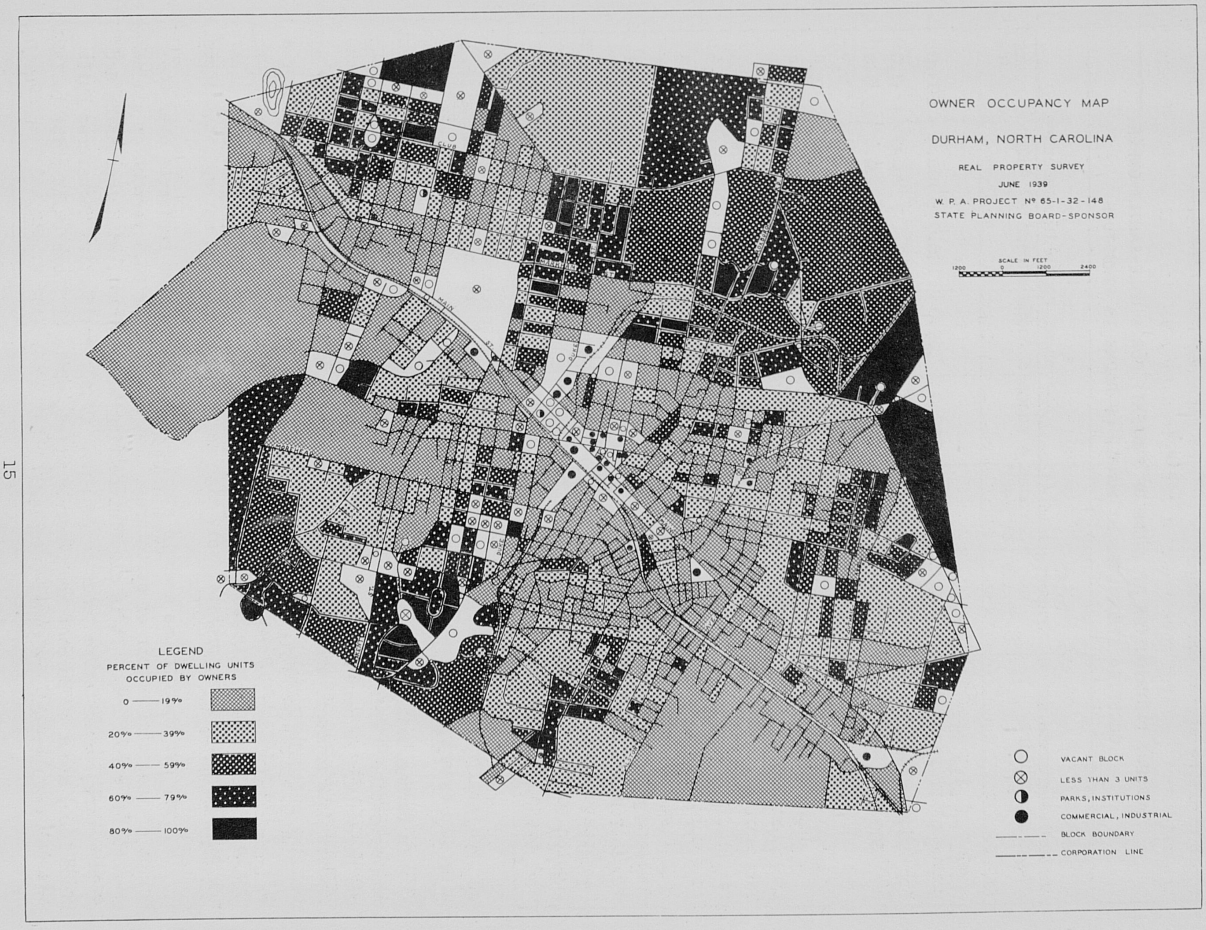

OWNER OCCUPANCY MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
PERCENT OF DWELLING UNITS OCCUPIED BY OWNERS
0 —— 19%
20% —— 39%
40% —— 59%
60% —— 79%
80% —— 100%
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

Table V

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY VALUE OF PROPERTY FOR SINGLE-FAMILY OWNER-OCCUPIED STRUCTURES BY NUMBER OF ROOMS IN STRUCTURE

Owner's estimate of value of property	Total reports on rooms	Number of rooms in structure					
		3 rooms or less	4 rooms	5 rooms	6 rooms	7 rooms	8 rooms or more
Total reports on value of property	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
$ 499 or less	0.2	5.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
500 - $ 999	1.2	12.5	6.5	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0
1,000 - 1,499	4.8	40.0	18.0	3.4	2.2	1.6	0.7
1,500 - 1,999	8.2	22.5	25.2	10.8	5.6	3.4	1.2
2,000 - 2,499	9.8	10.0	20.2	14.6	8.9	5.5	2.8
2,500 - 2,999	9.9	3.75	13.4	16.2	10.5	6.5	3.2
3,000 - 3,999	19.8	3.75	10.3	30.6	25.9	15.9	9.4
4,000 - 4,999	12.0	0.0	4.0	13.2	16.8	17.2	7.7
5,000 - 5,999	8.6	2.5	0.9	6.0	11.9	12.2	10.3
6,000 - 7,999	10.4	0.0	1.2	3.1	11.3	19.8	17.6
8,000 - 9,999	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.9	4.5	8.3	16.3
10,000 - 14,999	5.5	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.8	7.0	17.4
15,000 - 19,999	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	1.8	8.7
20,000 - 29,999	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	3.0
30,000 or more	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.7

ant desirability of neighborhoods, and the stability of population are all affected by the extent of owner-occupancy.

In Durham, only 3,519 or 31.8 percent of the 11,082 dwelling structures are owner-occupied. When considered in terms of dwelling units rather than structures the percentage is naturally smaller, owners occupying 22.9 percent of all units, tenants 73.2 percent, and vacancies accounting for the remaining 3.9 percent of all dwelling units in Durham. The low proportion of owner-occupancy is peculiar for a city of the nature and size of Durham where the population is not particularly unstable, industry is sufficiently diversified, and the size of the city still does not make land values as prohibitively high as in large and more metropolitan areas.

Whereas for the city as a whole single-family structures represent over two-thirds of the total number of structures, they account for 85.5 percent of all owner-occupied structures. It is also interesting to note that, with increasing age of structure, owner-tenure tends to decline. Of all residential structures built since 1920, about 40 percent are owner-occupied, while of those built prior to 1920 only about 25 percent are owner-occupied.


MORTGAGE STATUS MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
PERCENT OF SINGLE FAMILY OWNER OCCUPIED STRUCTURES SUBJECT TO MORTGAGE
0 — 19%
20% — 39%
40% — 59%
60% — 79%
80% — 100%
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

Value of Property

The median value for all owner-occupied structures containing from one to four dwelling units (types which constitute almost 95 percent of all owner-occupied structures), lies between $3,000 and $3,999. About one-third of all owner-occupied structures of these types are valued under $3,000. An almost equal number of these structures are valued between $3,000 and $4,999 and at $5,000 or more, respectively. As is to be expected, a high proportion of those structures in need of major repairs or unfit for use falls in the low value groups. Four-fifths of the owner-occupied structures with from one to four dwelling units which are in need of major repairs or unfit for use are valued at less than $3,000.

More than half of the single-family owner-occupied dwellings in Durham consist of five or six rooms. The five-room unit is the median size for dwellings of this type valued under $3,000; the six-room unit for those valued between $3,000 and $5,999. About three-fifths of the single-family owner-occupied dwellings which are valued between $6,000 and $7,999 consist of seven or more rooms, and the eight-or-more-room size predominates among those dwellings valued at $8,000 or more.

Mortgage Status

Of the 3,320 owner-occupied structures containing from one to four dwelling units, 1,252 or 37.7 percent report the existence of mortgages on their properties. The highest proportion of mortgaged structures, 41.6 percent, occurs among those structures which are valued between $2,500 and $4,999. The lowest proportionate incidence of mortgaged property occurs among the 510 structures of these types which are valued at $8,000 or more. These report only 147 or 28.8 percent of their number with encumbrances. Houses of more recent construction show a higher mortgage incidence than older structures. Almost three-fourths of all owner-occupied structures built during the last five years report the existence of mortgages. Of all owner-occupied structures built since 1920 almost half are mortgaged, while for those built prior to that year the proportion with mortgages is little more than one-fourth. The condition of structures does not seem to affect their mortgage status in Durham. Both mortgaged properties and unencumbered properties report equal proportions in poor repair.

Duration of Occupancy

The tendency of owners to occupy their homes for longer periods than tenants is important as a factor which influences the stability of population and contributes to the desirability of home-ownership. The comparative differences between the duration of owner- and tenant-occupancy are striking. While nearly three-fourths of all owners have occupied the same dwelling for five years or more, the same is true for only about one-fourth of all tenants.

DURATION OF OWNER OCCUPANCY MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
MEDIAN DURATION OF OCCUPANCY OF OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS
LESS THAN ONE YEAR
1 YEAR — 1 YEAR, 11 MONTHS
2 YEARS — 2 YEARS, 11 MONTHS
3 YEARS — 4 YEARS, 11 MONTHS
5 YEARS — 9 YEARS, 11 MONTHS
10 YEARS — 19 YEARS, 11 MONTHS
20 YEARS OR MORE
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

DURATION OF TENANT OCCUPANCY MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
MEDIAN DURATION OF OCCUPANCY OF TENANT OCCUPIED UNITS
LESS THAN ONE YEAR
1 YEAR - 1 YEAR, 11 MONTHS
2 YEARS — 2 YEARS, 11 MONTHS
3 YEARS — 4 YEARS, 11 MONTHS
5 YEARS — 9 YEARS, 11 MONTHS
10 YEARS — 19 YEARS, 11 MONTHS
20 YEARS OR MORE
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

Noteworthy too is the fact that almost one-third of the tenants in Durham have occupied their present dwellings for less than one year, with more than one-sixth reporting an occupancy duration of less than six months. On the other hand, about three-fifths of all owners have occupied their dwellings for ten years or more. The median duration of occupancy for the entire city is from three to five years, for owners it is from ten to twenty years, but that for tenants falls to from two to three years. Variations in the duration of occupancy among the different types of structure and the different rent groups are too slight to warrant the drawing of any conclusions, with the possible exception of that small group of 66 tenants with rentals of $75 a month or more, who report a median duration in excess of the two to three year period averaged by all tenants.

Rental and Rental Value

Although rent prices are determined by a number of factors, including demand, minimum costs for the construction of adequate houses, and the rents which they should profitably command, can more or less be established. Since minimum rents can be determined, an analysis is attempted, in the section on low-income housing, of such minima and the market for them in Durham; that is, the number of families now inadequately housed whose incomes would permit them to pay the rental price of adequacy. First, however, it is essential to examine existing rentals in the city and the housing conditions which prevail among the different rent groups.

The largest number of dwellings contained in one rent group are those with a rental value of from $10 to $15 a month, which represent about one-fourth of all dwelling units in the city. However, only little more than 3 percent of all owner-occupied units, as compared with almost one-third of all tenant-occupied units, fall into this rent group. More than half of all dwelling units in Durham report a rental value of less than $20 a month. Fully 64 percent of all tenant- and only 11 percent of all owner-occupied units indicate these low rental values. About one-fifth of all units report a rental value of $20 to $30 a month. Not only is there a greater proportionate incidence of rental values of $30 a month or more among owner-occupied units (61.2 percent) than among those occupied by tenants (16.4 percent), but the former also exceed the latter in the actual number reporting these higher rentals (2,153 owner and 1,840 tenant) in spite of the fact that tenant-occupied units are more than three times as numerous as owner-occupied ones in Durham.

The median rental for all dwellings and for all tenant-occupied and vacant dwellings in Durham is from $15 to $20 a month. The median rental value for owner-occupied dwellings, however, is from $30 to $40 a month. Rents are little affected by the inclusion of furniture or facilities in rent price, since only 229 or 1.9 percent of the tenant-occupied and vacant units report furniture included in rent.


AVERAGE RENTAL MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
AVERAGE MONTHLY RENTAL VALUE
$9.99 OR LESS
$10.00 — $14.99
$15.00 — $19.99
$20.00 — $29.99
$30.00 — $39.99
$40.00 — $49.99
$50.00 OR MORE
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

Table VI

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF ALL DWELLING UNITS WHICH ARE INADEQUATE BY MONTHLY RENTAL OR RENTAL VALUE

Monthly rental or rental value	All dwelling units	Inadequate dwelling units	
		Number	Percent of all dwelling units
Total reports on rental	15,334	9,368	61.1
$ 4.99 or less	134	133	99.3
5.00 - $ 9.99	1,370	1,327	96.9
10.00 - 14.99	3,873	3,762	97.1
15.00 - 19.99	2,575	2,196	85.3
20.00 - 24.99	1,952	1,105	56.6
25.00 - 29.99	1,330	443	32.6
30.00 - 39.99	1,682	306	18.2
40.00 - 49.99	1,066	78	7.3
50.00 - 74.99	983	26	2.6
75.00 - 99.99	274	2	0.7
100.00 - 149.99	80	0	0.0
150.00 or more	15	0	0.0

Dwelling structures built during the last 15 years show a higher median rental, $25 to $30, than older structures. The median rental value of the 52 dwelling units under construction at the time of the survey also lies between $25 and $30 a month.

The relationship which the condition of structures bears to the rents they command has been discussed above. Stated in terms of rent returns, the survey reveals that although slightly less than one-fifth of all dwelling units in the city are in poor structural condition, about 37 percent of those units which rent for less than $15 a month, a rent group which includes more than one-third of all dwelling units in Durham, are in need of major repairs or unfit for use.

Other salient adequacy factors which are discussed throughout this report emphasize even more strikingly than does the physical condition of structures the correlation between inadequacy and low rental values. With 61.1 percent of all dwelling units in Durham inadequate in some vital respect, 97.1 percent of those units with a rental value of less than $15 a month, 85.3 percent of those renting between $15 and $20 a month, and 56.6 percent of those renting between $20 and $25 a month report some degree of inadequacy. Almost one-third of those units with a rental value of from $25 to $30 a month are inadequate. These rental groups include about three-fourths of all dwelling units in Durham. Owner-occupied units in each rent group indicate a

proportionate incidence of inadequacy almost as high as that for tenant-occupied. However, the frequency of owner-occupancy in the low-rent brackets, as well as in the city as a whole, is much smaller than that of tennnt-occupancy. It is therefore manifest that Durham's greatest housing problem is to be found among that largest part of its tenant population which lives in low-renting units. From the large proportionate occurrence of undesirable characteristics among dwellings with low rental values two conclusions can be drawn: first, that those relatively low rentals which exist in Durham are maintained by the perpetuation of inadequate conditions; and second, that adequate houses, if any large return is to be realized, must apparently command a rental price in Durham which the majority of the city's residents cannot pay in proper proportion to their income.

Size of Dwellings

The three-room dwelling predominates over all dwelling sizes in Durham, accounting for more than one-fourth of all units. The four-room units are next in order of frequency and represent more than one-sixth of the total. The two- and five-room units, respectively, occur in about one-sixth of all cases.

The proportionate occurrence of the different size groups varies with owner- and tenant-occupancy Only 6.6 percent of all owners occupy units with one, two, or three rooms, as compared with over half of all tenants; and while more than half of all owners occupy dwellings with six or more rooms, only 11.6 percent of all tenants live in dwellings of these sizes. The median size for all dwellings in the city is four rooms, that for owner-occupied units is six, while for tenant-occupied and vacant units it is three.

The size of dwelling units varies considerably with the type of structure. The largest proportions of single-family dwellings, about two-thirds, consist of four, five, and six rooms, whereas among the dwellings in two-family side-by-side structures, 86.2 percent of all units consist of two or three rooms. Less than one-fourth of all units in apartment houses consist of more than four rooms. Units with two rooms are slightly predominant. About 13 percent of all dwelling units in converted structures consist of one room, and over half of their number are two or three rooms in size. More than 65 percent of all Negro families, as contrasted with about 30 percent of all white families, occupy dwellings with less than four rooms.

Physical Equipment

Household equipment may be classed as either "necessary" or "desirable." Proper cooking and refrigeration equipment is desirable in every household, but proper lighting, plumbing, and heating facilities are essential to any dwelling if it is to be considered adequate in terms of health, safety, morals, and general welfare.

In Durham 89.5 percent of all dwelling units are wired for electric light-

ing. Thirteen dwellings or about 0.1 percent use gas for lighting purposes and the remaining 10.4 percent still utilize oil lamps or other lighting devices. Of the owner-occupied units 110 or 3.1 percent are without installed lighting, as are 1,358 or almost one-eighth of all tenant-occupied units. Those dwelling units which rent for less than $15 a month, comprising more than one-third of all dwellings in the city, report 23.5 percent of their number not wired for electric lighting, in contrast with 3.5 percent of those units which rent for $15 a month or more.

Table VII

DWELLING UNITS IN NEED OF MAJOR REPAIRS OR UNFIT FOR USE AS PERCENT OF ALL DWELLING UNITS BY OCCUPANCY STATUS BY PLUMBING EQUIPMENT

Plumbing equipment	All dwelling units	Occupancy status		
		Owner occupied	Tenant occupied	Vacant
Total reports on plumbing equipment	19.7	6.2	23.2	33.9
At least 2 toilets and at least 2 bathing units	1.3	0.0	4.3	11.1
At least 2 toilets and 1 bathing unit	2.8	2.8	1.9	50.0
1 toilet and at least 1 bathing unit	5.4	3.5	6.4	9.6
At least 1 toilet, less than 1 bathing unit	27.2	17.6	28.2	36.4
Shared toilet, with running water	31.2	9.5	31.8	46.5
Shared toilet, no running water	52.6	0.0	55.6	0.0
No toilet, with running water	46.7	29.7	47.8	65.0
No toilet, no running water	51.2	31.0	51.9	78.4

Ninety dwelling units in Durham lack installed heating facilities of any type, only 15 percent report installed furnace heating equipment, and the greatest number of units, 12,938, or 84.4 percent of the city's total, rely on "other installed" heating facilities, such as fireplaces, oil burners, coal and wood stoves, etc. Dwelling units with a rental value of less than $20 a month, which include a majority of the houses in Durham, report the presence of installed furnace heating equipment in only about 1 percent of their number, and only about 3 percent of all dwellings which rent for between $20 and $30 a month indicate the

Table VIII

PERCENT OF ALL DWELLING UNITS WITH MODERN FACILITIES BY MONTHLY RENTAL OR RENTAL VALUE

Monthly rental or rental value	Dwelling units with facilities				
	At least 1 toilet and 1 bath	Electric Lighting	Central Heating	Electric or Gas Cooking	Mechanical Refrigeration
Total reports on rent	42.5	89.5	15.0	26.8	40.0
$ 4.99 or less	0.7	65.7	0.0	0.7	6.7
5.00 - $ 9.99	4.2	65.1	0.0	0.4	7.1
10.00 - 14.99	3.8	80.9	1.2	2.1	11.2
15.00 - 19.99	17.6	90.4	1.6	7.4	26.5
20.00 - 24.99	51.3	96.9	2.3	15.4	41.5
25.00 - 29.99	75.5	98.4	4.9	35.2	55.9
30.00 - 39.99	89.1	99.2	21.8	58.9	69.6
40.00 - 49.99	95.0	99.9	55.7	77.6	85.7
50.00 - 74.99	98.4	99.8	82.3	91.6	93.5
75.00 - 99.99	99.6	100.0	91.6	94.5	95.6
100.00 - 149.99	100.0	100.0	93.8	92.5	97.5
150.00 or more	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.3	100.0

presence of such heating facilities. On the other hand, of those units with a rental value of $30 or more per month, more than half are equipped with furnace heating facilities. It is likely, on the basis of evidence of other housing inadequacies among these same low-rent groups, that the mildness of the southern climate is not the only factor responsible for the absence of modern heating equipment.

The presence of plumbing facilities is one of the most incontrovertible standards of adequacy in housing. The fact that more than half (57.5 percent) of the dwelling units in Durham lack adequate sanitary facilities represents a serious problem in terms of the general welfare of the city. Included in the 8,824 units which do not have a minimum of one private indoor flush toilet and bath are 4,088 dwellings, or 26.7 percent of all units in the city, which have a toilet but no bath, and a slightly larger number of units which share toilet facilities. In addition, 304 units, or 2 percent of all dwellings in the city, have running water but do not extend that utility for toilet and bathing purposes, and an equal number of units have neither running water nor access to indoor toilets and baths.

The distribution of sanitary facilities by occupancy reveals that about one-fourth of all owner-occupied units and more than two-thirds of all tenant-

occupied units report the existence of less than the minimum standards. That other factors have to be dealt with when considering the high incidence of inadequate facilities is attested to by the high proportions of plumbing inadequacies which occur in dwellings which are in need of major repairs or unfit for use.

As with other undesirable aspects of housing, the lack of adequate sanitary facilities is preponderant among dwelling units with low rental values. Of the one-third of all dwellings in the city renting for less than $15 a month, more than 95 percent are ill-equipped. More than two-thirds of all units which rent for from $15 to $25 a month, and about one-fourth of those with a rental value of from $25 to $30 a month are similarly lacking in sanitary facilities. These rent groups represent almost three-fourths of all dwelling units in Durham. For the remaining fourth, the proportionate occurrence of inadequate sanitary facilities decreases sharply as rental values rise.

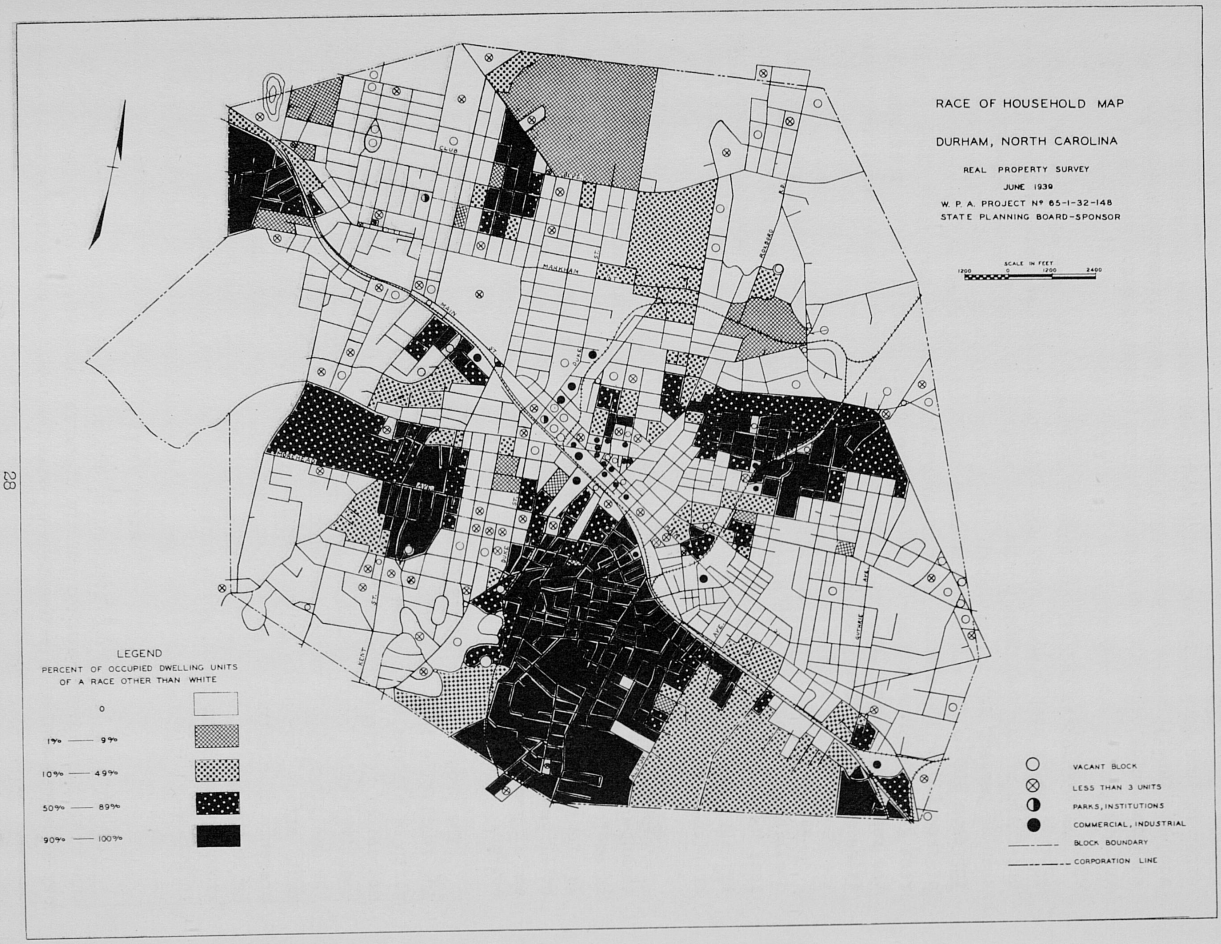
As far as "desirable" facilities are concerned, about one-fourth of all dwellings are equipped with electric or gas stoves, and 40 percent with mechanical refrigeration. The use of gas for cooking is about as extensive as electricity, but the latter utility is used almost exclusively for mechanical refrigeration.

The use of modern equipment is far more prevalent among owner-occupied than tenant-occupied units. However, almost half of all owner-occupied and more than three-fourths of all tenant-occupied units still utilize wood, coal, or oil ranges for cooking. More than one-fourth of all owners and over half of all tenants still use ice for refrigeration purposes, while about 2 percent of the owners and 12 percent of the tenants manage without any refrigeration equipment whatsoever.

The proportion of dwellings with mechanical refrigeration and modern cooking facilities increases with the rising rental value of dwellings. Only one-fifth of all dwellings which rent for less than $25 a month are equipped with mechanical refrigeration equipment, as compared with three-fourths of the dwellings which rent for $25 or more per month. While only about 6 percent of the dwellings with a rental value of less than $25 use modern cooking equipment, almost two-thirds of those with a rental value of $25 or more report the presence of electric or gas cooking equipment. Obviously, the greatest lack, as in the case of other perhaps more vital equipment, exists among those rent groups below $25 a month, which include the greatest number of dwelling units in Durham.

Vacant Units

Of Durham's 15,334 dwelling units, 596 or 3.9 percent of the total were vacant at the time of the survey. All of these can scarcely be considered a supply of houses available either for an expanding city or as replacements for in-


RACE OF HOUSEHOLD MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
PERCENT OF OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS OF A RACE OTHER THAN WHITE
0
1% — 9%
10% — 49%
50% — 89%
90% — 100%
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

adequate structures, since over 70 percent of all vacancies are themselves inadequate in some respect. The proportion of inadequacy among vacant units is far greater than among occupied units. More than one-third are either in need of major repairs or unfit for use, about two-thirds lack adequate plumbing facilities, 21.6 percent are not wired for electric lighting, and 6.9 percent of all vacancies have no installed heating facilities.

Vacancies in Durham are of short duration, only 54 or less than 10 percent of the total, having been vacant for one year or more at the time of the survey, while almost 85 percent of the total had been vacant for less than six months.

Vacant units occur in the different rent groups in about the same proportions as do all units in the city--almost half in the groups valued at less than $15 a month, and more than three-fifths in the groups valued at less than $20 a month. Of that half of all vacancies which have a rental value of less than $15 a month, 97.5 percent are inadequate to some degree; one-half are in poor condition, and about one-third are not wired for electric lighting. Only 7 of these 277 vacant units which rent for less than $15 a month have adequate plumbing facilities and only one has central heating equipment.

About one-fourth of all vacant units were adequate in every respect when surveyed. The majority of these report a rental value of $30 a month or more.

Race Distribution

While the Real Property Survey in no way attempts a census of the total number of people in the city, it does obtain an adequate idea of population proportions by race. The distribution of the races by occupancy is shown in the table below.

Table IX

NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY RACE OF HOUSEHOLD, BY OCCUPANCY STATUS

	All-occupied dwelling units		Owner-occupied dwelling units		Tenant-occupied dwelling units	
Race of household	No.	Percent distrib.	No.	Percent distrib.	No.	Percent distrib.
Total reports on color or race	14,738	100.0	3,519	23.9	11,219	76.1
White *	9,022	100.0	2,657	29.5	6,365	70.5
Negro	5,716	100.0	862	15.1	4,854	84.9

* Includes "other" races of which there were 4 reports

Table X

NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY OCCUPANCY STATUS, BY RACE OF HOUSEHOLD, BY CONDITION

Occupancy status	Total reports on condition		Condition of occupied dwelling units							
			Good condition		In need of minor repairs		In need of major repairs		Unfit for use	
	No.	% dist.	No.	% dist.	No.	% dist.	No.	% dist.	No.	% dist.
All occupied units	14,738	100.0	5,143	34.9	6,775	46.0	2,719	18.4	101	0.7
White*	9,022	100.0	4,048	44.9	4,069	45.1	872	9.6	33	0.4
Negro	5,716	100.0	1,095	19.2	2,706	47.3	1,847	32.3	68	1.2
Owner-occupied units	3,519	100.0	2,081	59.1	1,220	34.7	215	6.1	3	0.1
White	2,657	100.0	1,688	63.5	868	32.7	101	3.8	0	0.0
Negro	862	100.0	393	45.7	353	40.8	114	13.2	3	0.3
Tenant-occupied units	11,219	100.0	3,062	27.3	5,555	49.5	2,504	22.3	98	0.9
White	6,365	100.0	2,360	37.1	3,201	50.3	771	12.1	33	0.5
Negro	4,854	100.0	702	14.5	2,354	48.5	1,733	35.7	65	1.3

* Includes "other" race, of which there were 4 reports

The proportion of home-ownership among white families in Durham is almost twice that among Negroes. Differences between the housing of the races in the degree of structural inadequacies as well as of other undesirable housing characteristics are even more marked, both for owners and tenants. Fully one-third of all dwelling units occupied by Negroes are in the poor structural condition categories, as compared with one-tenth of the units occupied by white groups. Although dwelling units occupied by white and "other" families exceed those occupied by Negroes by 3,306 units, Negro-occupied dwellings not only show greater proportions in poor repair, but they actually are more than twice as numerous as dwellings in the poor structural condition categories occupied by white groups. These differences between the housing of the races are as consistent among owner-occupied as among tenant-occupied units. Although Negroes comprise less than one-fourth of all owners in the city, Negro owners inhabit over half the owner-occupied units in poor repair. Negro tenants constitute about two-fifths of all tenant-occupants, but they inhabit almost 70 percent of all tenant-occupied units in need of major repairs or unfit for use.

Negroes in Durham also occupy the greatest proportions (almost two-thirds) of all dwellings with a rental value of less than $15 a month. While less than one-fifth of all white residents occupy dwellings with these low rental values, almost three-fifths of all Negro families occupy units of similar low rental value. More than half of all white families in Durham pay rentals of $25 or more per month; the same is true of only one-tenth of the Negroes.

As in practically all cities throughout the country, almost every significant aspect of the housing problem is present in more acute form among Negro families. Not only are Negroes preponderant in the dwellings with low rental value and among those in poor repair, but Negro groups, on the whole, while averaging a slightly larger number of persons per family than do white groups, occupy most of the units of smaller size. The consequent overcrowding, therefore, becomes a greater problem among Negro than among white groups. However, the fact that almost 45 percent of all white families, along with more than four-fifths of all Negro families live in dwellings which are inadequate in some respect, is proof that the housing problem in Durham is not confined to the one race.

Density

The average number of persons per occupied dwelling unit in Durham is 3.9 persons for white groups and 4.0 persons for Negroes. Tenant- and owner-occupied units, respectively, report these same averages in the order named. The largest number of units in the city contain two or three people and comprise slightly more than 45 percent of all occupied units. About 30 percent of all dwellings are occupied by groups of four or five persons, and about 15 percent by groups of six or seven persons. The remaining 10 percent of all occupied

dwellings consist of groups with either one or eight or more persons. There is little difference between owner- and tenant-occupied units in the proportionate incidence of the various size groups, although the former indicate a slightly greater prevalence of groups containing from four to seven people than do the latter. Nor is there much variation in size of family between white and Negro occupants, although the latter show a somewhat higher incidence of groups with one or two people, and of groups with six or more people, than do white families. The largest average group size (4.7 persons) is found in the single-family detached dwelling. Dwellings in apartment houses and converted structures average less than three persons per unit.

The standard used by the Real Property Survey for determining the adequacy of dwelling unit space is one and one-half persons per room. The presence of more than this standard number of persons per room is reported by 2,069 dwellings or about one-seventh of all occupied units. The greatest proportion of such overcrowding exists among tenant-occupied units, which report over one-sixth of their total inadequate for the size of their groups, as compared with only 2.7 percent of the owner-occupied dwellings. For both types of tenure overcrowding is proportionately greater among Negro than among white groups, as Table XI illustrates.

Table XI

DWELLING UNITS WITH MORE THAN ONE AND ONE-HALF PERSONS PER ROOM AS PERCENT OF ALL OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS IN EACH GROUP, BY RACE, BY OCCUPANCY STATUS

Race of household	All-occupied dwelling units	Owner-occupied dwelling units	Tenant-occupied dwelling units
Total reports on color or race	14.0	2.7	17.6
White*	7.9	1.4	10.6
Negro	23.7	6.6	26.7

* Includes "other" races

These 2,069 dwellings house, in inadequate space, 22.7 percent of all the individuals reached by the survey. Nearly two-thirds of these are Negroes. In fact, almost two-fifths of all Negro persons in Durham live in overcrowded homes, as do one-eighth of all white persons. Here again tenant-occupied units show the greatest proportion of overcrowding, with well over one-fourth of all persons in these dwellings, as compared with only 5 percent of those in owner-occupied dwellings, living in units which house more than one and one-half persons per room.

Smaller dwellings report a greater degree of overcrowding than larger units. Almost one-fourth of that considerable number of occupied dwelling units which contain three rooms or less are overcrowded, while only about 6 percent of those with four rooms or more house more than one and one-half persons per room. On the other hand, the proportion of overcrowding mounts strikingly as the size of group increases. Less than 4 percent of the units which house four people or less are overcrowded, but over one-fourth of the units housing five or six persons, and more than two-fifths of those with seven persons are overcrowded. About three-fifths of the units with eight or nine persons and an even larger proportion of the units with more than nine persons report inadequate space.

That the different factors which constitute housing problems tend to occur in the same places or in the same structures is further evidenced by the fact that dwellings in need of major repairs or unfit for use are more common among overcrowded families than among those in units of adequate size.

As in the case of dwellings in poor repair, dwellings with low rental values report the largest proportions of overcrowding. Almost one-fourth of those units with a rental value of less than $20 a month, which includes more than half of all occupied dwelling units in Durham, are overcrowded. In contrast, only 4.1 percent of those units with a rental value of $20 or more a month are inadequate in size.

About one-half of all occupied dwellings in Durham report the presence of children under 15 years of age. One-fourth of the dwellings with children are overcrowded, while less than 3 percent of those without children are overcrowded.

Table XII

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN UNITS WITH MORE THAN 1½ PERSONS PER ROOM AS PERCENT OF ALL PERSONS IN EACH GROUP BY OCCUPANCY STATUS BY AGE OF PERSONS

Age of persons	All-occupied dwelling units	Owner-occupied dwelling units	Tenant-occupied dwelling units
Total reports on age	22.7	5.2	28.4
Under 1 year	41.4	12.5	46.6
1-4 years	41.2	11.9	46.5
5-9 years	40.1	9.8	46.5
10-14 years	35.6	10.6	42.2
15-19 years	28.2	7.9	35.0
20-64 years	16.1	3.5	20.6
65 years or over	13.3	2.0	21.3

Of all persons enumerated in the survey, almost one-fourth were children under 15 years old, and over one-third were under 20 years of age. Youth in Durham bears the brunt of overcrowded conditions, the proportion of such inadequacy among them being more than twice that among people who are 20 years old or more. Although persons under 20 years of age represent one-third of the enumerated population, they constitute more than half of all individuals living in dwellings with inadequate space. Children under 15 years of age, while comprising about 25 percent of the enumerated population, represent more than 40 percent of the individuals living in overcrowded dwellings.

Overcrowding in itself, that is, the presence of more than one and one-half persons per room, is not the only factor to be considered in examining the adequacy of a dwelling for its particular occupants. Frequently rental payments can only be met by "doubling up" and taking in roomers, with the subsequent undesirable effects of such action on the familial organization within the home.

For the purposes of the dwelling survey, only those families who reported "doubling up" for economic reasons were considered extra families, others were merely included as roomers. Within the limits of this definition, 317 units, or 2.2 percent of all occupied units, report the presence of extra families, with 19 units reporting two or more extra families. Owner-occupied units show a slightly higher proportion of their number shared with extra families than do tenants. About two-thirds of all extra families consist of two persons, and almost 30 percent of three persons or more.

In about one-third of the dwellings reporting the presence of extra families the latter are probably the cause of the overcrowding which exists. In any event, dwellings with no extra families show a much smaller proportion of overcrowding (13.6 percent) than those with extra families (32.8 percent).

More than 12 percent of all occupied units, or 1,859 dwellings, report the presence of roomers. The greatest number of these units report one or two roomers. Three or more roomers are reported in 376 dwellings. About the same proportion of dwelling units in good condition as those in poor repair take in roomers, but in the case of overcrowded dwellings, a slightly higher proportion report the presence of roomers than do dwellings of adequate size for the groups they house.

Units with a larger number of people in them tend more to attain their group size by virtue of the presence of roomers than do units with a small number of people. Thus, while 5.7 percent of all units with two or three persons, and about 16 percent of those with four or five persons living in them report the presence of roomers, about one-fourth of all units with from six to nine persons, and more than two-fifths of those with 10 persons or more living in them are of these group sizes because of the presence of roomers. However, an

encouraging aspect of the rooming situation in terms of family life is the fact that the greatest proportion of dwellings renting to roomers are occupied by a primary group of one person.

Although occupancy factors of inadequacy are not nearly so prevalent in Durham as are factors of physical or structural inadequacy, their extent is fairly sizeable and must be considered a definite element contributing to the housing problems of the city. Where overcrowding and other occupancy factors exist, the above analysis has attempted to show that they consistently occur along with other undesirable characteristics, and that for the most part they can all be localized into a particular segment of the dwelling structures in Durham. The analysis of low-income families below deals further with this segment of the city's structures.

SUBSTANDARD DWELLING UNITS MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
PERCENT OF DWELLING UNITS WHICH ARE SUBSTANDARD
0
1% — 14%
15% — 29%
30% — 49%
50% — 69%
70% — 84%
85% — 100%
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

CHAPTER IV

LOW INCOME HOUSING

While the problem of housing cannot be confined within a city to any one group, distinct aspects of the problem exist for different income levels. Problems of planning, construction, and encumbrance apply to all groups, but the pile-up of "lacks" in adequacy naturally falls almost entirely among groups with low incomes.

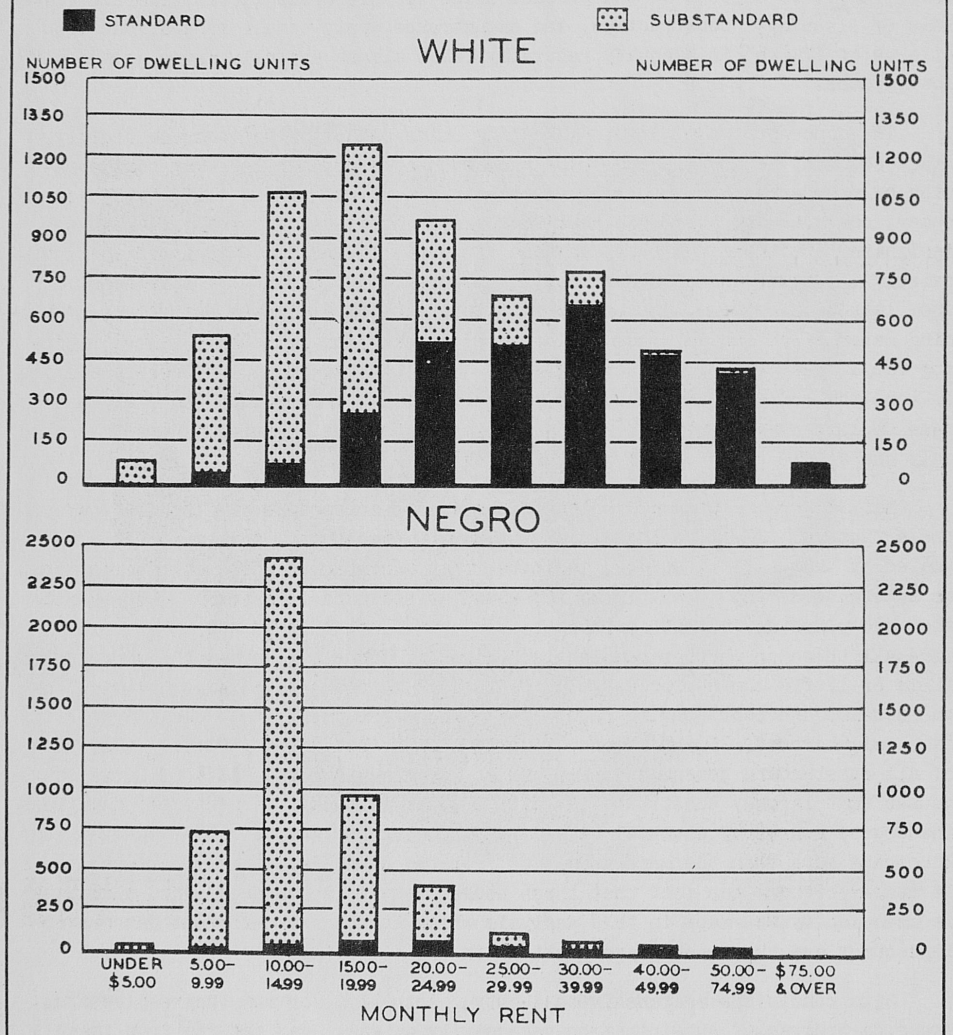
The concept of adequacy for dwelling units cannot be defined too rigidly, since too many factors, a number of them subjective, enter into any consideration of the term. However, minimum standards were set up for determining adequacy, covering the most objective factors involved. As a result, a house was designated as "substandard" if any one of the following conditions was found to exist: (1) among the physical factors--need of major repairs or unfitness for use, lack of a private, indoor flush toilet, lack of a private bath, lack of running water piped inside, lack of installed heating, or lack of installed lighting facilities (gas or electricity); (2) among the occupancy factors--an average of more than one and one-half persons per room, and two or more families in the same dwelling unit; provided that monthly rent is less than $40 per month should only one of the above occupancy factors exist.

Many of the substandard units in Durham are so because of a single one of these factors. The high incidence of plumbing inadequacy, for example, as revealed by the dwelling survey, indicates that a number of units now designated as substandard could probably be reclaimed as standard if water were piped into them and plumbing facilities installed. However, this would not necessarily make all these properties completely desirable, since, in terms of community life, it is of little moment for a family to live in a standard home in the midst of the squalor and poor housing conditions which exist among other dwellings in the same neighborhood. In this connection it must be noted that at least one-third of all substandard homes in Durham are so for more than one factor. It is these houses that largely constitute the city's slums and make the reclamation of less inadequate houses of doubtful value. Any housing program, to be effective, must encompass more than the mere repair of isolated unsafe and insanitary structures. It must recognize the fact that these houses convert whole areas into slums, as is revealed by the maps in this analysis which locate the different factors of inadequacy and the substandard sections in the city.

Slum conditions are costly to a city. Actually, for many degressive slum areas, a program of subsidization necessarily exists. Tax returns from these areas are at a minimum, tax delinquency is common, and the per capita tax return is far below that of other sections of the city. On the other hand, all

DWELLING UNITS OCCUPIED BY WHITE AND NEGRO TENANTS

DURHAM, N.C.



WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
O.P. Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD SPONSOR


CONDITION OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
MARKHAM ST.
LEGEND
PERCENT OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES IN NEED OF MAJOR REPAIRS OR UNFIT FOR USE
0
1% — 9%
10% — 19%
20% — 29%
30% — 39%
40% — 59%
60% — 79%
80% — 100%
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

city services and facilities must be accentuated within these areas. Police costs are often in excess of thrice those for other areas. Costs for fire protection are naturally higher. Public health nurses find practically all their work within the boundaries of slum sections. Many studies have shown irrefutable evidence of the high incidence of crime and delinquency in slum areas. The removal of slums will not, of course, eliminate the conditions of poverty which contribute so heavily to their rise. It will, however, help eliminate those decidedly undesirable social conditions attendant upon this poverty which are directly traceable to inadequate housing and slum districts.

It was the task of those conducting the Low-Income Housing Area Survey to gather data regarding the size, income, rental, employment status, and employability, of the families living in substandard homes in Durham. The second enumeration of those residential structures designated as substandard by the dwelling survey revealed that of the 15,334 units in Durham, 8,542 occupied dwellings, or well over half of all units in the city, were still substandard on the basis of at least one of the factors listed above. An additional 628 substandard units, excluded from this analysis either because they were vacant at the time

Table XIII

NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLING UNITS IN EACH SUBSTANDARD CATEGORY, BY OCCUPANCY STATUS, BY RACE OF HOUSEHOLD

Occupancy status	Substandard occupied units							
	Total		Physically		Occupancy		Physically and occupancy	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All occupied substandard units	8,542	100.0	6,318	74.0	112	1.3	2,112	24.7
White	3,611	100.0	2,802	77.6	85	2.4	724	20.0
Negro	4,931	100.0	3,516	71.3	27	0.5	1,388	28.2
Owner-occupied substandard units	952	100.0	770	80.9	26	2.7	156	16.4
White	466	100.0	398	85.9	19	4.1	49	10.5
Negro	486	100.0	372	76.5	7	1.4	107	22.1
Tenant-occupied substandard units	7,590	100.0	5,548	73.1	86	1.1	1,956	25.8
White	3,145	100.0	2,404	76.4	66	2.1	675	21.5
Negro	4,445	100.0	3,144	70.7	20	0.4	1,281	28.9


SANITARY FACILITIES MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOF
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 200 2400
LEGEND
PERCENT OF DWELLING UNITS WITH NO PRIVATE TOILET OR BATH
0
1% — 19%
20% — 39%
40% — 59%
60% — 79%
80% — 100%
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

of re-enumeration, or because the families living in them refused to furnish the necessary information, brings the total proportion of substandard units up to almost three-fifths of all dwelling units in the city.

Of the occupied dwellings which are substandard, merely 112, or slightly more than one percent, are substandard solely because of occupancy factors as defined above; i. e., overcrowding or the presence of extra families. The greatest proportion, about three-fourths of the total, are physically substandard, and almost one-fourth are both physically and occupancy substandard.

Although the average size of families living in substandard homes is little different from that of more desirably situated groups, the incidence of occupancy factors of inadequacy is much higher among substandard homes than for the city as a whole. Since there is no preponderance of large families in substandard homes, the relatively greater degree of overcrowding and doubling up found there is probably due to the inability of families with low incomes to finance the cost of adequate space and dwelling privacy. Table XIII below indicates the number of dwelling units in each substandard category and the proportions they represent of each race and occupancy group:

While overcrowding as the only factor of inadequacy is infrequent, there is a relatively high incidence of overcrowding in connection with physical factors of inadequacy. The substandard category which is of least urgency, that of occupancy inadequacy alone, occurs in greater proportions among owners, and more

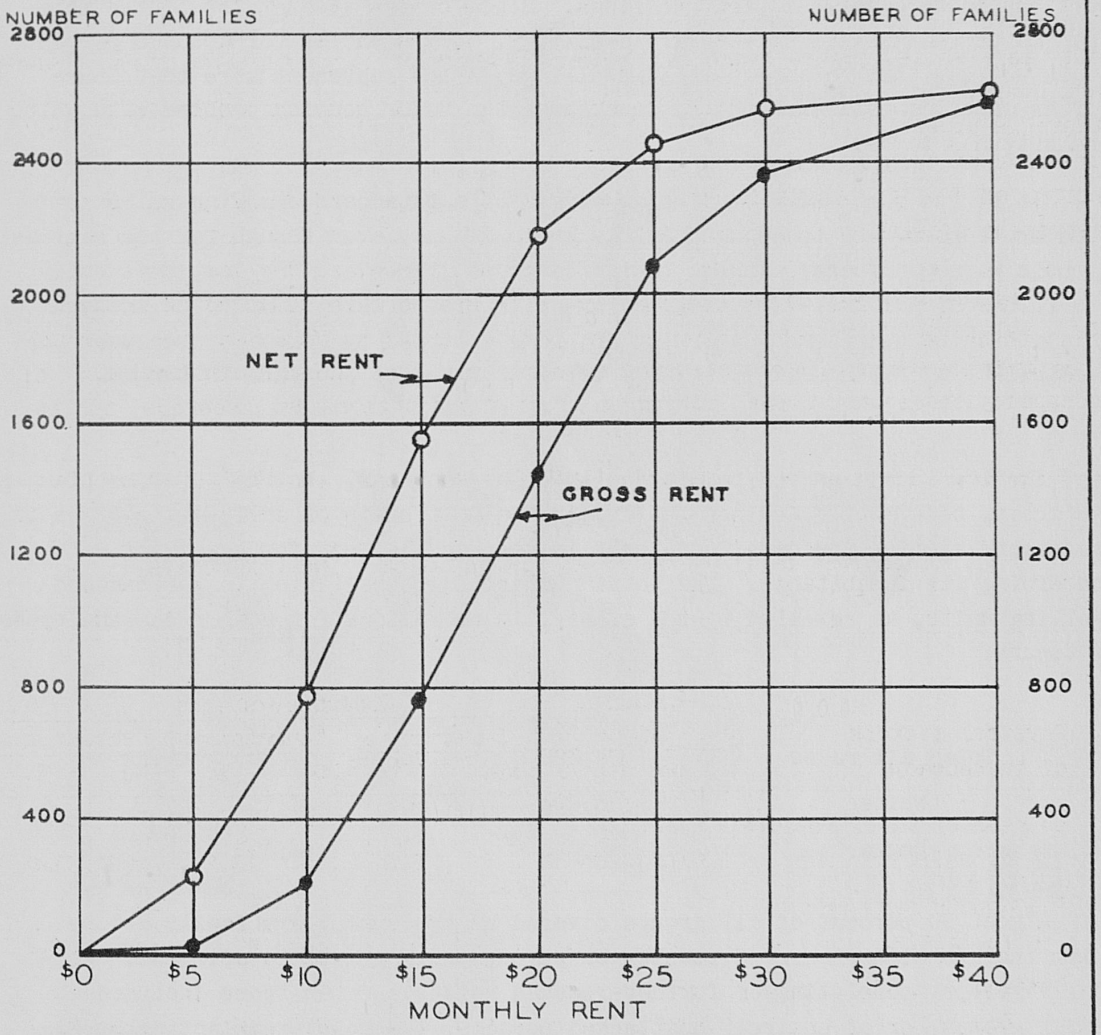
Table XIV

INADEQUATE DWELLING UNITS AS PERCENT OF ALL DWELLING UNITS, BY OCCUPANCY STATUS, BY PHYSICAL FACTORS OF INADEQUACY

Physical factors of inadequacy	All dwelling units		Occupancy status					
			Owners		Tenants		Vacant	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%-
In need of major repairs or unfit for use	3,022	19.7	218	6.2	2,602	23.2	202	33.9
Inadequate sanitary facilities	8,824	57.5	857	24.4	7,568	67.5	399	66.9
Inadequate lighting facilities	1,597	10.4	110	3.1	1,358	12.1	129	21.6
Inadequate heating facilities	90	0.6	6	0.2	43	0.4	41	6.9

NUMBER OF WHITE TENANT SINGLE* FAMILIES OF 2 TO 7 PERSONS LIVING IN SUBSTANDARD DWELLINGS BY MONTHLY NET AND GROSS RENT

DURHAM, N.C.



* EXCLUDES DWELLING UNITS WITH 2 OR MORE GROUPS

WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
O.P. Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD SPONSOR

frequently among white families than among Negroes. Tenants and Negro families, on the other hand, indicate much larger proportions in the substandard category which represents the greatest degree of inadequacy, that in which both physical and occupancy factors exist.

Physically substandard dwellings constitute the major part of all substandard units. Table XIV demonstrates the frequency, among the different tenure groups, of those physical factors used as a basis for determining the physical inadequacy of dwellings.

The figures reveal that these physical inadequacies occur in smallest proportions among owner-occupied dwellings. Since owners account for little more than 10 percent of all substandard dwellings, and vacancies for about 5 percent, it is obvious that tenant-occupied dwellings, which represent more that four-fifths of all substandard units, constitute the major housing problem with which the city has to deal.

It is not surprising to find an excess of substandard dwelling units occupied by Negroes over those occupied by white groups, even though for the city as a whole white occupancy exceeds that of Negroes. However, the fact that fully two-fifths of all dwellings occupied by white groups were found to be inadequate in addition to the large proportion of those occupied by Negroes, precludes the possibility of the housing problem's being confined to one race in Durham.

Group Data

The low income survey is divided into two sections. In the first section the group, both family and non-family, is the unit basis of analysis, whereas in the second section the dwelling itself is used as the unit for analyzing data concerning its inhabitants. The total number of groups living in substandard dwelling units, as revealed by the survey, is as follows for both races and types of tenure:

	Total*	Owner*	Tenant*
Total all races	9,395	1,089	8,306
White	3,922	508	3,414
Negro	5,473	581	4,892

Almost 90 percent of all groups covered by the survey are family groups which include either married couples or parents with unmarried children. Non-family groups, consisting of further-removed relatives than those included in family groups, or of entirely unattached persons, are more prevalent among Negroes, accounting for about 16.8 percent of all Negro groups. However, it can

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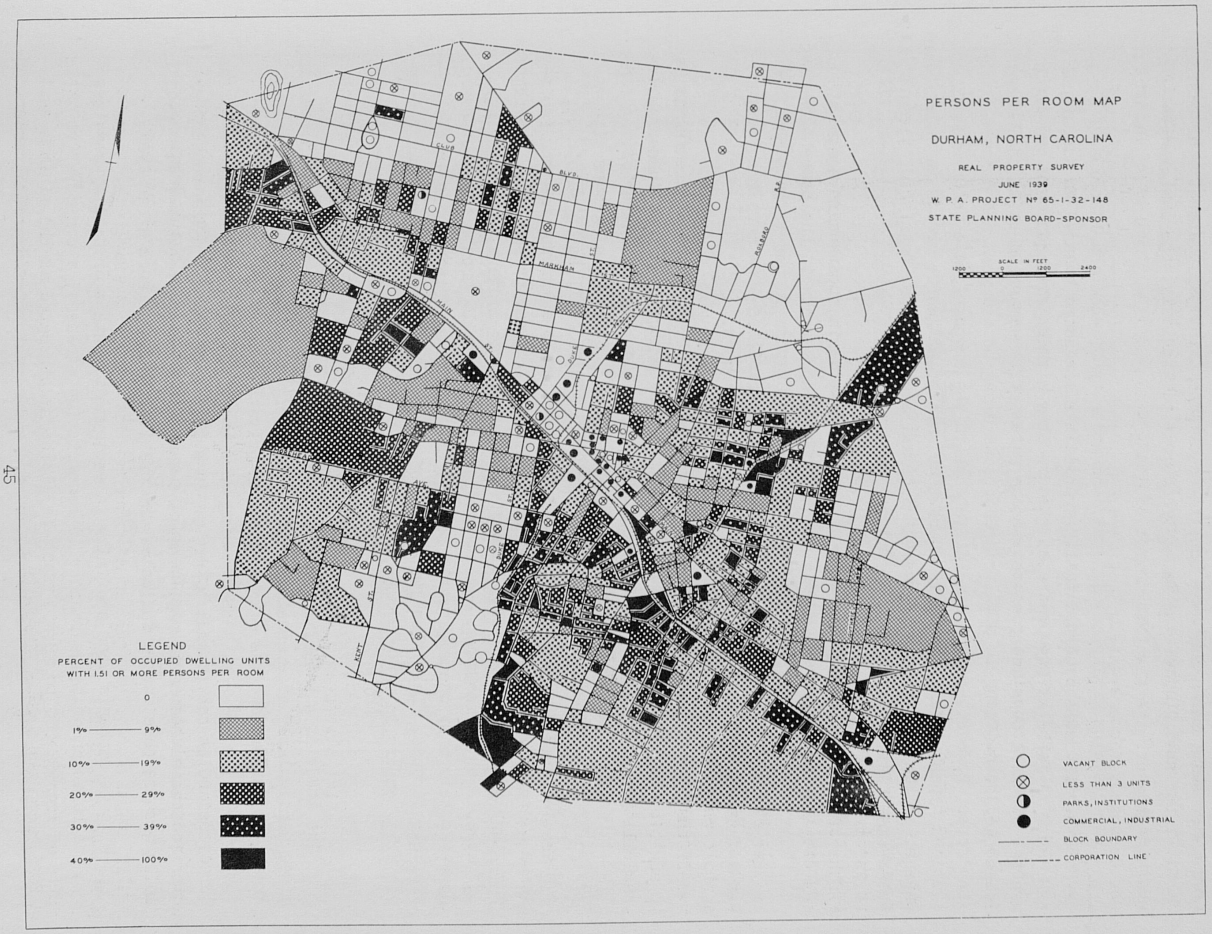
* Family and non-family groups


PERSONS PER ROOM MAP
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY
JUNE 1939
W. P. A. PROJECT Nº 65-1-32-148
STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR
SCALE IN FEET
1200 0 1200 2400
LEGEND
PERCENT OF OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS WITH 1.51 OR MORE PERSONS PER ROOM
0
1% — 9%
10% — 19%
20% — 29%
30% — 39%
40% — 100%
VACANT BLOCK
LESS THAN 3 UNITS
PARKS, INSTITUTIONS
COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL
BLOCK BOUNDARY
CORPORATION LINE

safely be said that inadequate housing conditions principally affect that basic unit of our social life--the family, and more particularly, the family with tenant-tenure.

Parents with unmarried children, the majority of whom are 16 years of age, constitute two-fifths of all family groups in substandard homes. An additional fourth of all family groups are married couples without children, and one-fifth of all family groups are composed of one parent with unmarried children. These types of groups occur in similar proportions among both owners and tenants. The two races, however, report some difference in the proportionate occurrence of the various types of family groups. More than half of all white groups in substandard homes, as compared with only one-third of all Negro groups, consist of parents with unmarried childred.

About three-fourths of all family groups living in substandard homes in Durham indicate the presence of less than three dependents in the household--that is, unmarried persons under 21 years of age whose gross income is less than $300 a year or who have no income whatsoever. Negro families show more minor dependents than white families, and tenants more than owners.

Three hundred and thirty-seven families or about 4 percent of all family groups in substandard homes contain no employable member. Besides these families an additional 486 groups report no gainful employment for any member of the family at the time of the survey, bringing the total proportion of groups without any gainfully employed member up to 10 percent of all families in substandard homes. Slightly more than one-fourth of these unemployed groups are the recipients of some form of local relief, either in cash, kind, or service. The remaining unemployed families either subsist on incomes from lodgers, past earnings, or untraceable outlaw sources. About one-half of all family groups in substandard homes contain only one employable person, and nearly two-fifths contain two employable persons. Less than 10 percent of all families report more than two employable members in their groups.

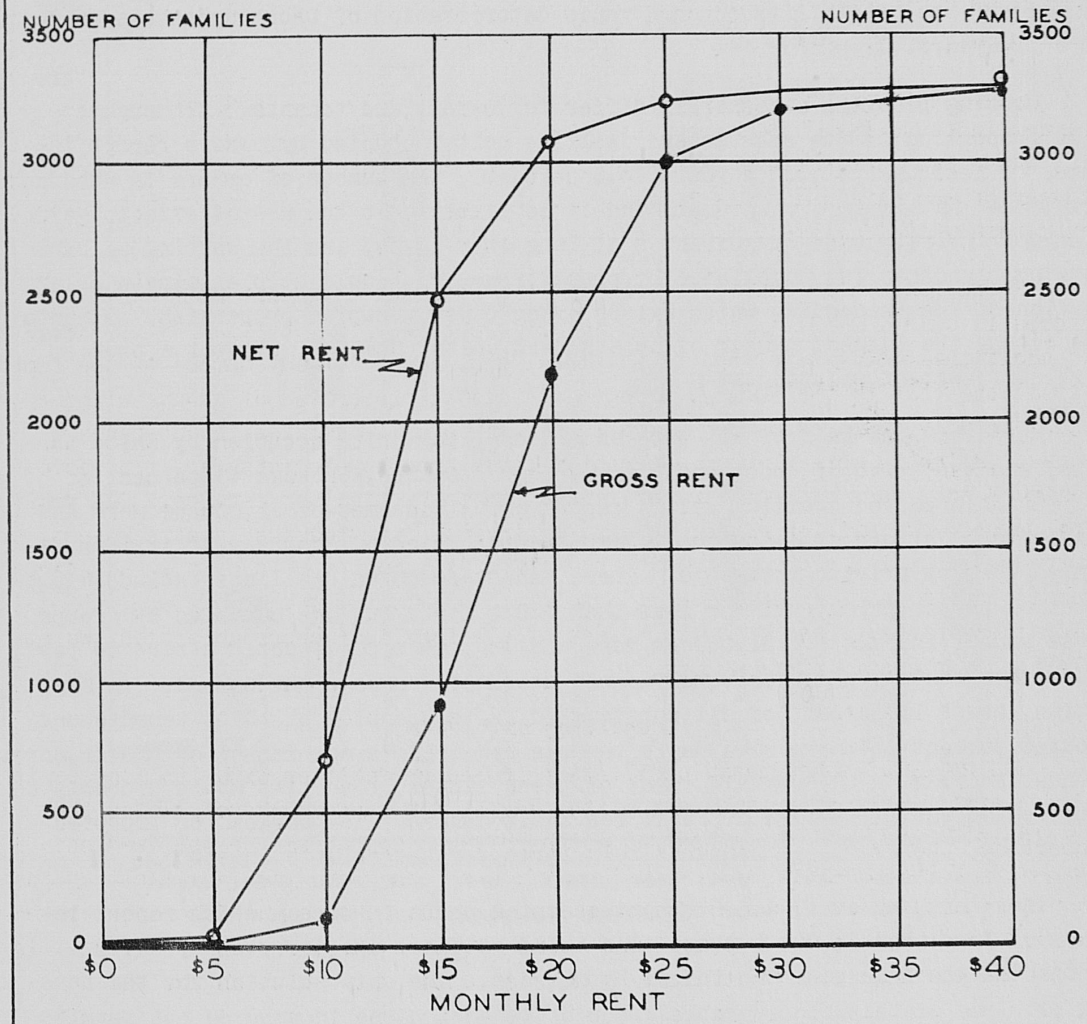
Dwelling Unit Data

The study of substandard dwellings which house families with low incomes is aimed particularly at an analysis of the market for standard houses which they create in Durham, and the extent to which private capital can be utilized economically to provide such houses, using as a basis the data made available by the survey regarding the incomes of groups in substandard homes and the rents they can and are accustomed to pay. The fact that almost three-fifths of all dwellings in Durham are substandard indicates the critical need for such an analysis.

Without emphasis upon proximity to employment centers or to city services and the relation of these factors to construction expenses, a conservative estimate of from $2,000 to $2,400 might safely be hypothecated as the minimum cost, including land, for the construction of a standard unit of four rooms, under con-

NUMBER OF NEGRO TENANT SINGLE* FAMILIES OF 2 TO 7 PERSONS LIVING IN SUBSTANDARD DWELLINGS BY MONTHLY NET AND GROSS RENT

DURHAM, N.C.



* EXCLUDES DWELLING UNITS WITH 2 OR MORE GROUPS

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ditions that currently prevail in Durham. To insure the minimal 10 percent return, such an investment would have to command a net rental of from $200 to $240 a year, or about $17 to $20 a month. Gross rentals on such properties, which include utilities and, as is customary in Durham, the cost of heating and cooking, would necessarily be in excess of $20 a month for such dwellings. Since the accepted criterion for net rental expenditure is a maximum of one-fifth of the total income (one-sixth in the case of three or more dependents), and for gross rental, one-fourth of the income, only families whose total income is in excess of $1,000 a year can possibly be housed adequately by private capital with any assurance of an economic return to the investor. It must be borne in mind, however, that cheaply constructed units will have a short "life span" and consequently present the possibility through rapid deterioration of becoming substandard in a few years.

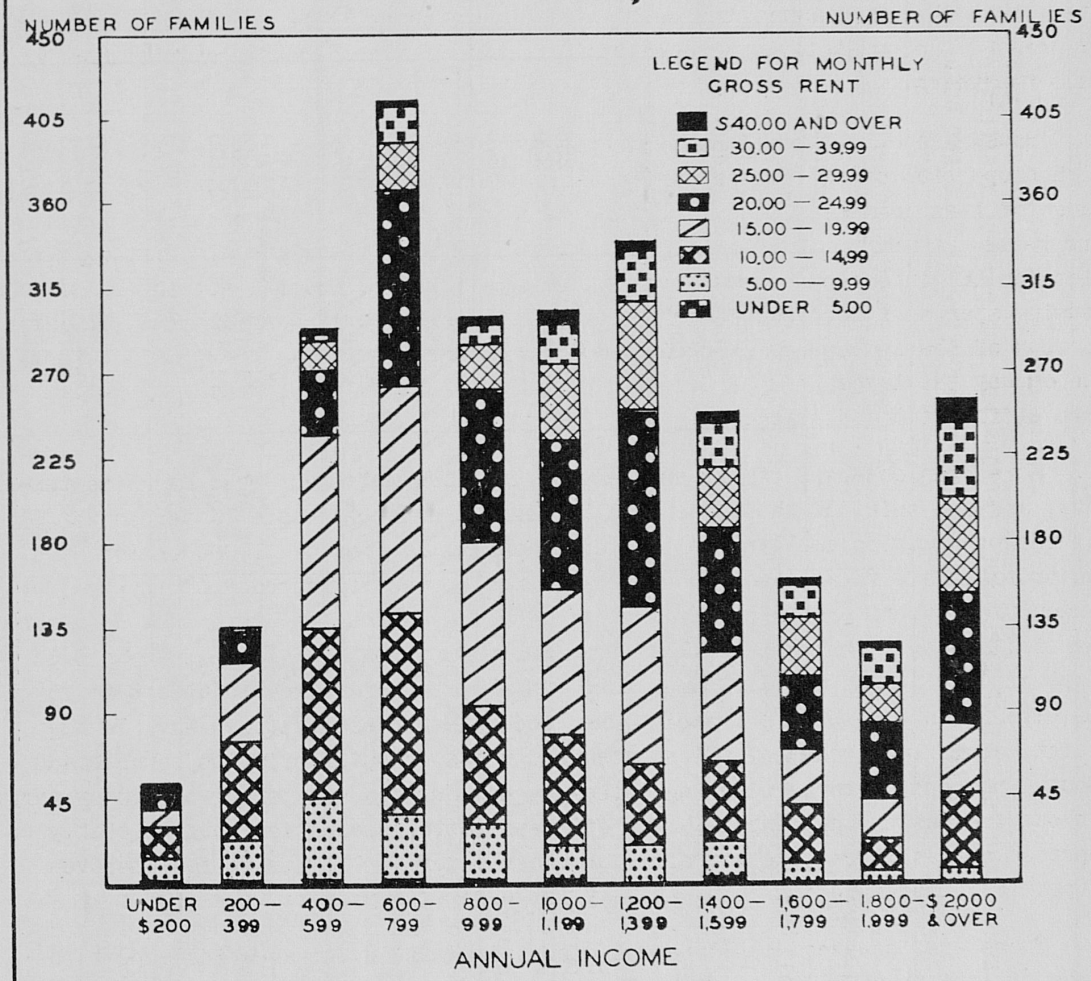
Housing problems necessarily differ for owners and tenants. Although a high proportion of the substandard dwelling units occupied by owners report incomes of less than $1,000 a year (44.6 percent), the number of owners in substandard homes is comparatively small and it is likely that the use of existing agencies for the extension or guarantee of long term loans, and the setting up of housing standards for compliance by property owners, would help eliminate a large portion of the inadequacy which exists among owner-occupied properties. Tenants, who occupy the largest number of substandard units, however, present a problem more difficult of solution.

More than one-half of all substandard dwelling units occupied by white tenants, and one-third of those occupied by Negro tenants, or some 40 percent of all tenant-occupied dwelling units, report annual incomes of $1,000 or more and can probably afford at least the minimum rental price of adequacy if it were furnished them by private investors. These tenant-occupied dwellings include a substantial number which rent for less than $20 a month but are occupied by groups whose annual incomes are $1,000 or more and who, therefore, could afford to pay the higher rentals which privately owned adequate houses might demand. In addition, about 18 percent of all substandard units occupied by white tenants and about 6 percent of those with Negro tenants now bring a net rental of $20 or more. Without increasing the rentals, many of these latter properties could probably be improved and still realize a profit for their owners. The market for improved properties, therefore, is comparatively large for the private investor.

There are, however, 4,368 tenant-occupied units in Durham which report incomes of less than $1,000 a year. One-third of these are occupied by white groups and the remaining two-thirds by Negroes. The only solution for the housing problems of this considerable group of tenants whose incomes do not permit them to pay the price of adequacy, seems to lie in some form of subsidized housing program. The cost of such subsidization might equitably be balanced against the social cost of permitting such a large segment of the city's population to

NUMBER OF WHITE TENANT SINGLE* FAMILIES OF 2 TO 7 PERSONS LIVING IN SUBSTANDARD DWELLINGS BY ANNUAL INCOME AND MONTHLY GROSS RENT

DURHAM, N.C.



* EXCLUDES DWELLING UNITS WITH 2 OR MORE GROUPS

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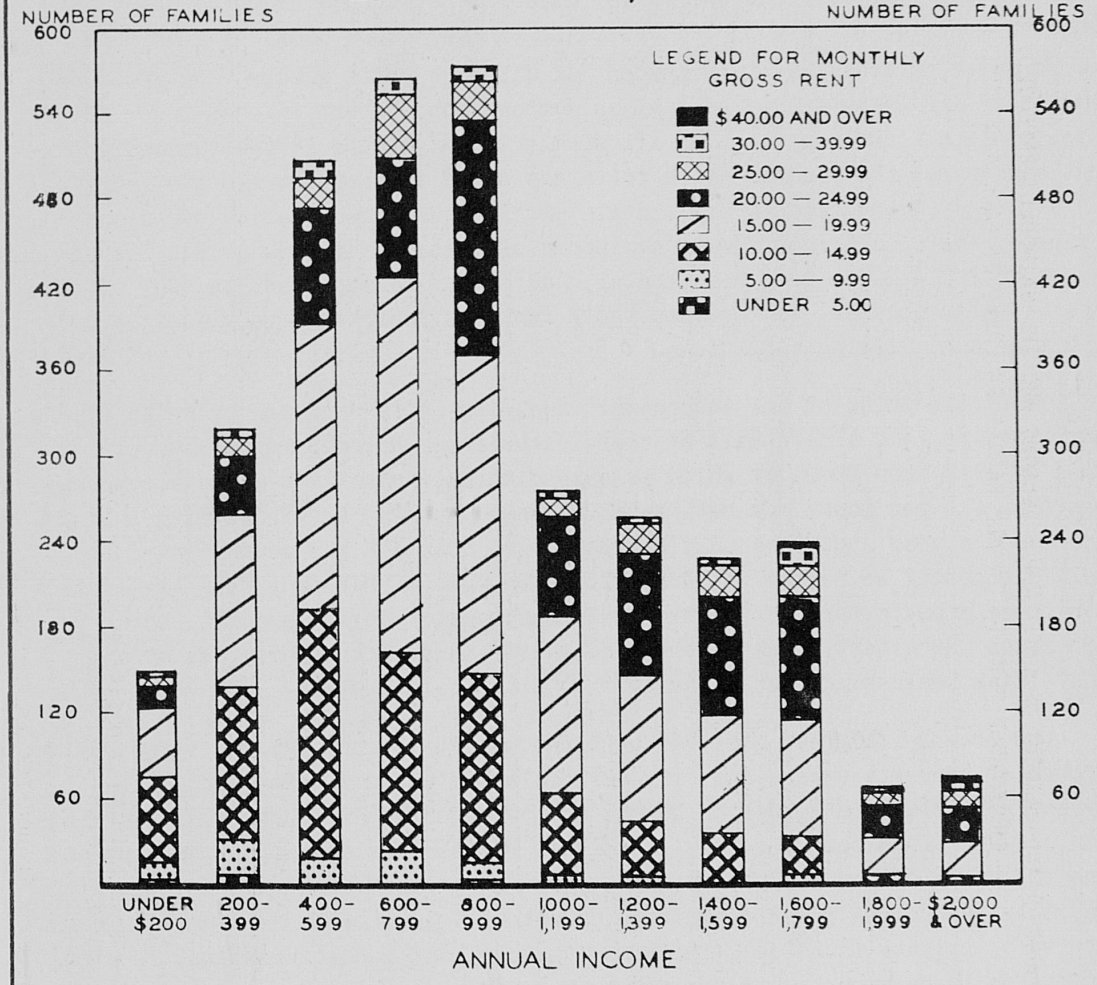
Table XV

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF EMPLOYABLE PERSONS WHO ARE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, BY NUMBER OF EMPLOYABLE PERSONS IN ALL FAMILY GROUPS*, BY RACE AND OCCUPANCY

Gainfully employed of employable persons	Number of employable persons in all family groups				
	Total	1 Person	2 Persons	3 Persons	4 Persons or more
Persons in all family groups					
Number of persons employable	12,646	3,888	6,478	1,680	600
Number of persons gainfully employed	10,802	3,524	5,466	1,320	492
Percent of employable persons gainfully employed	85.4	90.6	84.4	78.6	82.0
Owner Groups					
Persons in white owner family groups					
Number of persons employable	643	218	258	123	44
Number of persons gainfully employed	570	208	220	109	33
Percent of employable persons gainfully employed	88.6	95.4	85.3	88.6	75.0
Persons in Negro owner family groups					
Number of persons employable	782	218	398	126	40
Number of persons gainfully employed	695	203	357	108	27
Percent of employable persons gainfully employed	87.9	93.1	89.7	85.7	67.5
Tenant Groups					
Persons in white tenant family groups					
Number of persons employable	4,917	1,616	2,402	639	260
Number of persons gainfully employed	4,371	1,533	2,105	509	224
Percent of employable persons gainfully employed	88.9	94.9	87.6	79.7	86.2
Persons in Negro tenant family groups					
Number of persons employable	6,304	1,836	3,420	792	256
Number of persons gainfully employed	5,166	1,580	2,784	594	208
Percent of employable persons gainfully employed	81.9	86.1	81.4	75.0	81.3
* Excludes persons in non-family groups					

NUMBER OF NEGRO TENANT SINGLE* FAMILIES OF 2 TO 7 PERSONS LIVING IN SUBSTANDARD DWELLINGS, BY ANNUAL INCOME AND MONTHLY GROSS RENT

DURHAM, N.C.



* EXCLUDES DWELLING UNITS WITH 2 OR MORE GROUPS

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live under slum conditions.

A more accurate gauge of the market for a subsidized housing program is achieved by analyzing the incomes and rentals of only those substandard units which are occupied by single tenant groups, since the single group, as a unit, is the only desirable basis for social planning, and since groups with tenant-tenure are numerically and economically in more pressing need of a practical and immediately ameliorative program. Eliminating, therefore, those dwelling units occupied by two or more groups, as well as those occupied by only one person or by eight persons or more, as the exceptional extremes for whom it would be difficult to plan, the survey reveals that Durham contains 5,897 substandard dwelling units occupied by single tenant groups consisting of from two to seven persons. Over 45 percent of all such white groups, and about 65 percent of all Negro groups of similar composition, report incomes under $1,000 a year. In all, 56.1 percent of all single tenant groups in substandard dwellings cannot pay the rentals which privately owned adequate houses must command. While some of these tenants pay rentals which should insure adequacy, almost three-fourths of all groups with an income of less than $1,000 a year now spend less than $20 a month for gross rental, and cannot be expected, in view of the size of their incomes, to increase their rental expenditures very much in order to better their living conditions.

About one-third of all substandard dwelling units occupied by white single tenant groups, and almost half of those occupied by Negroes report annual incomes of less than $800, of which an expenditure of one-fifth would allow them less than $15 per month for net rental. Gross rentals for groups with incomes under $800 a year should be only a little more than $15 per month. Adequate dwellings cannot be rented in Durham for such sums. That many tenants pay more than these amounts for substandard dwellings, particularly in gross rentals, emphasizes the extent to which they are forced to deprive themselves of other necessities besides adequate housing.

Undoubtedly, a great deal can be done, privately, through the co-operative efforts of property owners and city officials, to bring a large part of the currently substandard houses in Durham up to standards of adequacy. An evaluation of what slums cost the city, merely in social services, might help determine the value of a subsidized housing program for those families who are financially beyond the reach of private investors. In general, through the planned efforts of private investors, individual owners, and public agencies, lengthy strides could be made toward the eventual elimination of slums and the establishment of standards of comfort, sanitation, and safety for the major part of today's inhabitants of substandard homes in Durham.

BLOCK DATA MAP

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

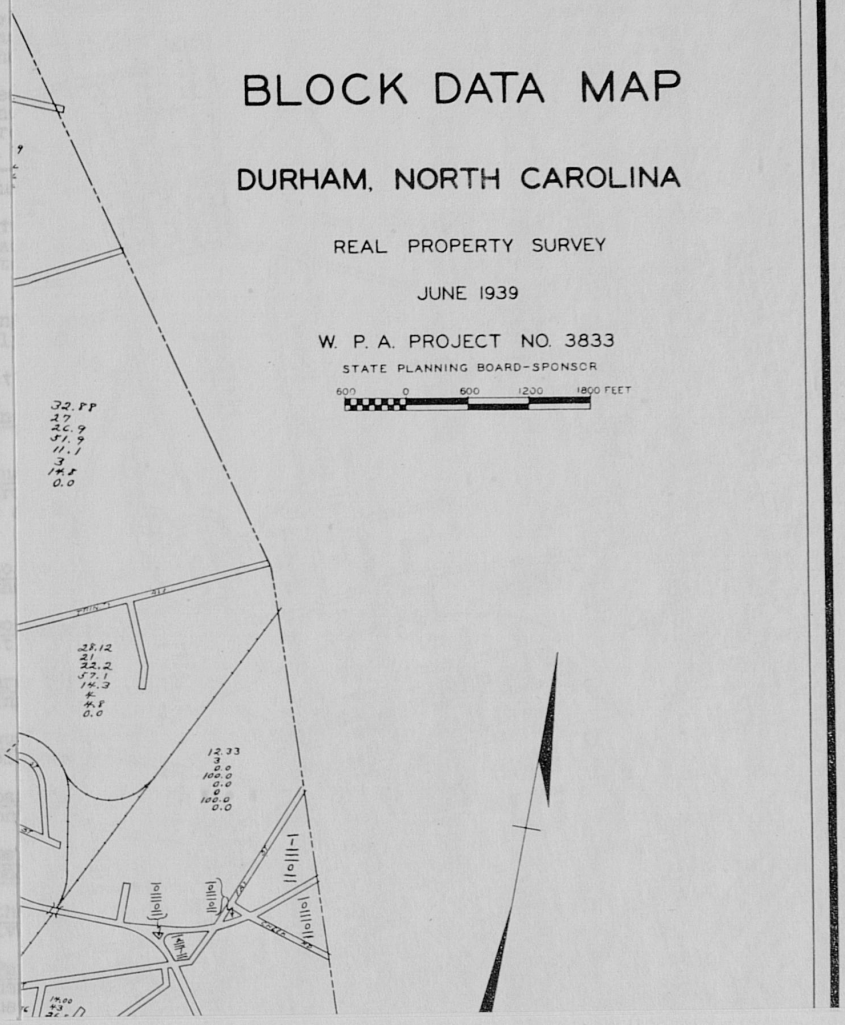
REAL PROPERTY SURVEY

JUNE 1939

W. P. A. PROJECT NO. 3833

STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR

600 0 600 1200 1800 FEET



BLOCK DATA MAP

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

REAL PROPERTY SURVEY

JUNE 1939

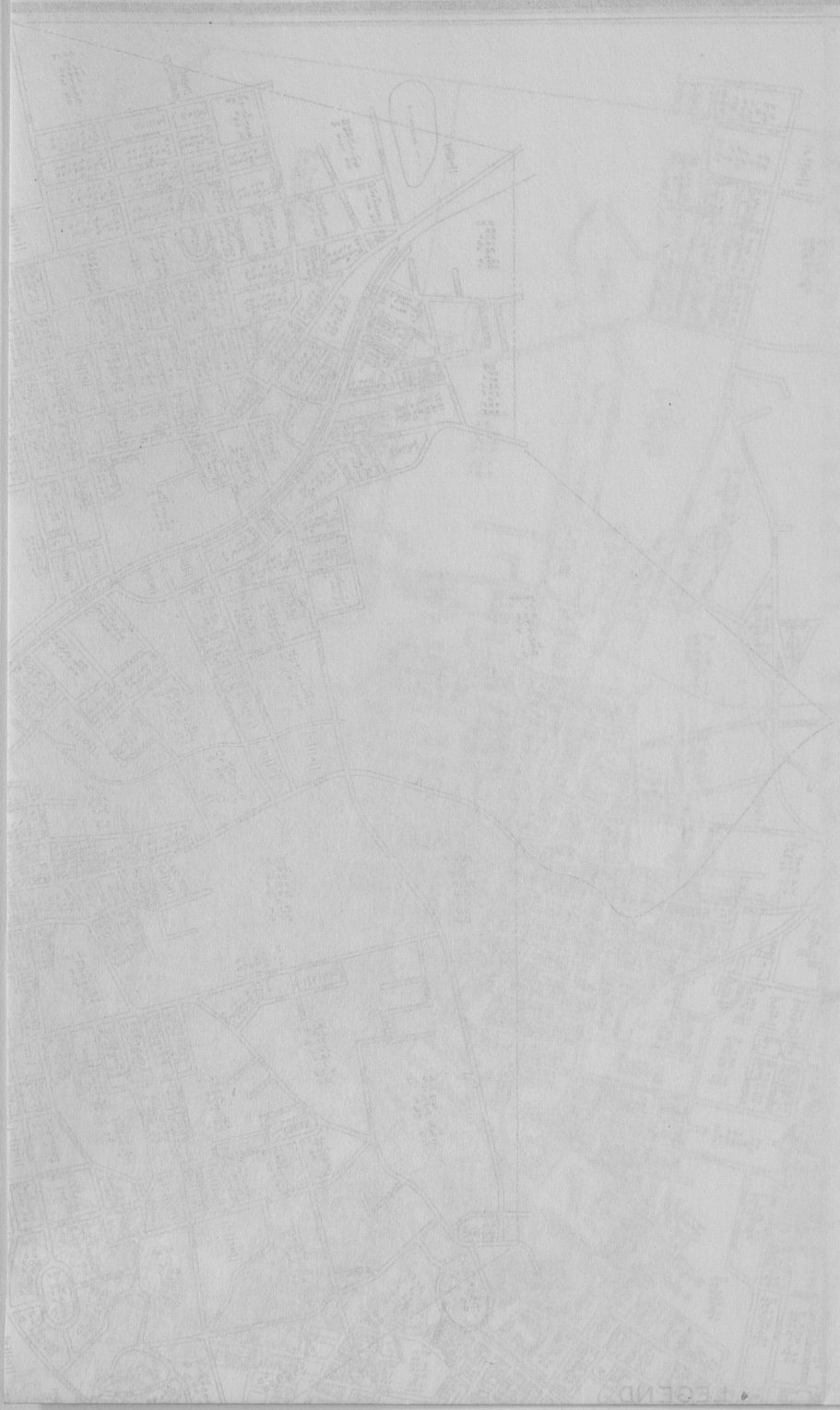
W. P. A. PROJECT NO. 3833

STATE PLANNING BOARD-SPONSOR

LEGEND

BLOCK DATA FIGURES ARE LISTED IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER FROM TOP TO BOTTOM

1. AVERAGE MONTHLY RENTAL OF ALL DWELLING UNITS
2. TOTAL NUMBER OF DWELLING UNITS
3. PERCENT OF ALL RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES BUILT IN 1919 OR BEFORE.
4. PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER OF DWELLING UNITS OCCUPIED BY OWNERS.
5. PERCENT OF ALL RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES NEEDING MAJOR REPAIRS OR UNFIT FOR USE.
6. TOTAL NUMBER OF STRUCTURES USED FOR BUSINESS OR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES.
7. PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER OF DWELLING UNITS WITH NO PRIVATE TOILET OR BATH.
8. PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS OF A RACE OTHER THAN WHITE.



GLOSSARY

1. Real Property Survey or RPS -- in general, the entire survey procedure; specifically, that division of the field and office work required to gather and tabulate the results of the initial, exhaustive house-to-house enumeration. Some of the special terms employed in the RPS are:

Block -- that area of land entirely enclosed by one or more passable thoroughfares, all dwelling units on such land being enumerated as of that block. Blocks were numbered serially throughout the enumerated area.

Major Structure -- every building in each block, with the exception of such appurtenant structures as barns, outbuildings, sheds, and private garages without dwelling units.

Residential Structure -- any structure containing dwelling units, even though there are business units or other additional uses in the same structure; excepting institutional structures, hotels, school dormitories, etc.

Dwelling Unit -- the living quarters intended for the use of a single family of one or more persons and containing permanently installed cooking facilities, or, lacking such cooking facilities, being completely closed off from the rest of the structure.

Types of Residential Structures, including mixed business and residential uses:

Type 1 -- Single Family Detached -- unattached single-family house containing one dwelling unit.

Type 2 -- Single Family-Attached -- a single-family house containing one dwelling unit, being a separate building but having wall construction adjoining that of either a business structure or another structure used for residential purposes. Row houses are included in this type.

Type 3 -- Two Family-Side by Side -- a structure containing two separate dwelling units, each under the same roof and each extending from basement to roof.

Type 4 -- Two Family-Two Decker -- a two-story house, each story containing one complete dwelling unit.

Type 5 -- Three Family-Three Decker -- a three-story house, each story containing one complete dwelling unit.

Type 6 -- Four Family-Double Two-Decker -- a two-story house, each story containing two complete dwelling units.

Type 7 -- Apartment -- any other non-converted structure, primarily residential in character and containing five or more dwelling units.

Type 8 -- Business with Dwelling Units -- a structure, primarily business in character but containing one or more dwelling units.

Type 9 -- Other Non-Converted -- any other non-converted residential structure, excluding 1-8, inclusive.

Type 10 -- Partially Converted -- a house altered to provide a different number of dwelling units than that provided by its original type of construction or to provide the addition of a business unit, but so slightly altered that a small expenditure of time and money would restore it to its original form.

Type 11 -- Completely Converted -- a structure converted from its original type to such an extent that a considerable expenditure of time and money would have to be made to restore it to its original type, such conversion either changing the number of dwelling units or introducing a business unit into the structure.

Under Construction -- residential structures on which construction was so far incomplete as to be unready for occupancy. Except for such items as refer to occupancy such houses were enumerated.

Condition -- the general physical condition of the entire residential structure classified as good, in need of minor repairs, in need of major repairs, or unfit for use.

Exterior Material -- the principal material used in the exterior walls, brick veneer being considered as brick.

Stories -- total number of stories, not including basements; full stories being those finished off as living quarters and having full ceiling height over their entire areas.

Basement -- the space underneath the first principal floor of the structure, extending under at least half thereof, and being high enough for a person to stand in, with enclosed walls of some kind.

Garage -- any private garage on the same parcel of land as the residential structure, whether it is a separate building or attached to the residence itself.

Duration -- the length of time in years and months that each dwelling unit has been occupied by the present dwellers or has been vacant.

Monthly Rent -- in the case of tenant occupancy, the actual contract rent paid for the use of the dwelling unit; in the case of owner occupancy, as accurate an estimate as possible of such rental value, based on rentals paid for similar quarters in the same or a similar neighborhood.

Installed Heating -- any heating equipment permanently installed, including stoves, fireplaces, etc.

Running Water -- water actually piped into the residential structure in question.

II. Land Use Survey -- that portion of the survey designed to obtain by actual measurement the area of land devoted to various uses in each block in the city and the actual street foot-frontage consumed by each such parcel in each block of the city.

Types of Non-Residential Structures:

Commercial -- buildings devoted to the uses of retail trade or commerce, and hotels.

Industrial --buildings devoted to light or heavy manufacturing and other industrial uses; such as railway shops and yards, wholesale trade, warehouses, etc.

Public Buildings -- buildings of a public or institutional character; such as city buildings, county, state, and federal buildings, YMCA's, churches, schools, jails, etc.

Unused Land -- land free of all use, permanent or temporary.

Permanent Open Space -- land containing no major structures but devoted to some permanent use; such as parks, playgrounds, cemeteries, etc.

Temporary Business Use -- land devoted to such temporary business uses as temporary vegtable stands and markets, temporary fruit stands, offices of a temporary character, parking lots, etc.

Business Unit -- a portion of a residential structure devoted to a business use and having a separate outdoor entrance. Exception: office of a doctor or dentist in his own home.

III. Low Income Housing Survey -- that additional part of the Real Property Survey conducted for the purpose of obtaining special, detailed, data about persons living in inadequate dwelling units.

Substandard -- below certain predetermined standards, deemed essential to safe, sanitary, healthful living conditions. A dwelling unit may be substandard because of physical condition, occupancy factors, or both.

Physically Substandard -- inadequate due to any one of the following conditions:

poor structural conditions, being in need of major repairs or unfit for use;
lack of a private flush toilet;
lack of a private bathing unit, either shower or tub;
lack of running water;
lack of installed heating;
lack of electric or gas lighting.

Occupancy Substandard -- inadequate due to any one of the following conditions:

more than 1.5 persons per room;
two or more families living in the dwelling unit.
(note: both factors must be present when the rent is more than $40 a month)

Physically and Occupancy Substandard -- inadequate from both a physical and an occupancy standpoint.

Family Group -- a group consisting of man and wife with or without unmarried children in the household, or either parent with one or more unmarried children, with or without other related persons in the household.

Income of Dwelling Unit -- the annual income (exclusive of lump sum payments received) of all persons living in the dwelling unit who are in any way related to the head of the dwelling unit or to any member of the group of which the head of the dwelling unit is a part, for the year preceding the Saturday preceding enumeration.

Employment Status -- that obtaining during the week ending with the Saturday preceding the day of enumeration, each person being classified as being one of the following:

Gainfully Employed -- a worker in private industry, government agencies, or on Works Program projects at an occupation by which the worker earns money or a money equivalent, in-

cluding self employed persons in professions and business.

Non-Paid Family Worker -- a relative working without wages or salary, in some business operated by a member of the family, which business contributes to the family income.

Seeking Re-employment -- a person who has been employed at some time in the past and is now seeking re-employment.

Seeking Employment for the First Time -- a person who has never been employed but who is now seriously looking for work.

None -- a person who is not gainfully employed and is not seeking work.

Employables -- all persons either gainfully employed, working without pay in a family-operated establishment, seeking re-employment, or seeking employment for the first time.

Net Rent -- the actual contract monthly rent paid for a dwelling unit, in cases of tenant occupancy; or an estimate of such rent, in cases of owner occupancy.

Gross Rent -- the net rent plus expenditures for water, gas, electricity, fuel, refrigeration, and garage facilities.

A.

B.

C.

APPENDIX
SUMMARY TABLES

I. Structure Data

	Total		Owners		Non-Owners	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
A. Type of Structure						
Total reports	11082	100.0	3519	100.0	7563	100.0
Single family detached	7661	69.2	3010	85.5	4651	61.4
Single family attached	5	*	0	0.0	5	*
2-family side-by-side	2329	21.0	190	5.4	2139	28.3
2-family 2-decker	288	2.6	109	3.1	179	2.4
3-family 3-decker	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
4-family double 2-decker	76	0.7	11	0.3	65	0.9
Apartment	44	0.4	2	*	42	0.6
Business with dwelling units	125	1.1	20	0.6	105	1.4
Other non-converted structures	477	4.3	147	4.2	330	4.4
Partially converted structures	32	0.3	16	0.5	16	0.2
Completely converted structures	45	0.4	14	0.4	31	0.4
* Less than 0.1%						
B. Structures by Year Built						
Total reports	11082	100.0	3519	100.0	7563	100.0
1935-1939	986	8.9	407	11.6	579	7.7
1930-1934	659	5.9	256	7.3	403	5.3
1925-1929	1605	14.5	721	20.4	884	11.7
1920-1924	1597	14.4	573	16.3	1024	13.5
1915-1919	1336	12.1	343	9.7	993	13.1
1905-1914	1966	17.7	573	16.3	1393	18.4
1895-1904	2214	20.0	497	14.1	1717	22.7
1885-1894	495	4.5	118	3.4	377	5.0
1860-1884	208	1.9	27	0.8	181	2.4
1859 or before	16	0.1	4	0.1	12	0.2

	Total		Mortgaged		Unencumbered	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
C. Encumbrance by Value - Owner-Occupied Structures, types 1-6						
Total reports	3320	100.0	1252	100.0	2068	100.0
$ 499 or less	6	0.2	1	0.1	5	0.2
500 - $ 999	38	1.1	15	1.2	23	1.1
1000 - 1499	153	4.6	56	4.5	97	4.7
1500 - 1999	262	7.9	92	7.3	170	8.2
2000 - 2499	311	9.4	114	9.1	197	9.5
2500 - 2999	321	9.7	138	11.0	183	8.9
3000 - 3999	666	20.1	276	22.0	390	18.9
4000 - 4999	408	12.2	167	13.3	241	11.7
5000 - 5999	291	8.8	110	8.8	181	8.8
6000 - 7999	354	10.7	136	10.9	218	10.5
8000 - 9999	206	6.2	59	4.7	147	7.1
10000 - 14999	187	5.6	56	4.5	131	6.3
15000 - 19999	78	2.3	26	2.1	52	2.5
20000 - 29999	25	0.8	5	0.4	20	1.0
30000 or more	14	0.4	1	0.1	13	0.6

I. Structure Data (Cont'd.)

	Total	
	Number	Percent
D. Basements		
Total reports	11082	100.0
No basement	9372	84.6
With basement	1710	15.4
F. Stories		
Total reports	11082	100.0
1 story	8307	75.0
1½ stories	391	3.5
2 stories	2334	21.1
2½ stories	21	0.2
3 or 3½ stories	27	0.2
4 or 4½ stories	2	*
5 or 9½ stories	0	0.0
10 stories or more	0	0.0

* Less than 0.1%

	Total	
	Number	Percent
E. Garages		
Total reports	11082	100.0
No garage	6288	56.7
With garage	4794	43.3
G. Exterior Material		
Total reports	11082	100.0
Wood	10400	93.8
Brick	545	4.9
Stone	22	0.2
Stucco	84	0.8
Other	31	0.3

II. Dwelling Unit Data

	Total		Owner		Tenant		Vacant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
A. Monthly Rent or Rental Value								
Total reports	15334	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
$ 4.99 or less	134	0.9	7	0.2	116	1.0	11	1.8
5.00 - $ 9.99	1370	8.9	20	0.6	1288	11.5	62	10.4
10.00 - 14.99	3873	25.2	127	3.6	3542	31.7	204	34.2
15.00 - 19.99	2575	16.8	232	6.6	2242	20.0	101	16.9
20.00 - 24.99	1952	12.7	503	14.3	1389	12.4	60	10.1
25.00 - 29.99	1330	8.7	477	13.6	802	7.1	51	8.6
30.00 - 39.99	1682	11.0	795	22.5	842	7.5	45	7.6
40.00 - 49.99	1066	7.0	518	14.7	519	4.6	29	4.9
50.00 - 74.99	983	6.4	546	15.5	413	3.7	24	4.0
75.00 - 99.99	274	1.8	213	6.1	52	0.5	9	1.5
100.00 - 149.99	80	0.5	73	2.1	7	*	0	0.0
150.00 or more	15	0.1	8	0.2	7	*	0	0.0
B. Condition								
Total reports	15334	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
Good condition	5297	34.5	2081	59.1	3062	27.3	154	25.8
In need of minor repairs	7015	45.8	1220	34.7	5555	49.5	240	40.3
In need of major repairs	2869	18.7	215	6.1	2504	22.3	150	25.2
Unfit for use	153	1.0	3	0.1	98	0.9	52	8.7

* Less than 0.1%

II. Dwelling Unit Data (Cont'd.)

	Total		Owner		Tenant		Vacant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
C. Adequacy								
Total reports	15334	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
Standard	5966	38.9	2540	72.2	3257	29.0	169	28.4
Substandard - Total:	9368	61.1	979	27.8	7962	71.0	427	71.6
Physically only	7166	46.7	834	23.6	5905	52.6	427	71.6
Occupancy only	212	1.4	48	1.4	164	1.5	--	--
Physically and occupancy	1990	13.0	97	2.8	1893	16.9	--	--
D. Rooms								
Total reports	15334	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
1 room	206	1.3	7	0.2	194	1.7	5	0.8
2 rooms	2577	16.8	45	1.3	2407	21.5	125	21.0
3 rooms	4037	26.4	181	5.1	3674	32.8	182	30.6
4 rooms	2656	17.4	434	12.3	2100	18.7	122	20.5
5 rooms	2488	16.2	869	24.7	1542	13.7	77	12.9
6 rooms	1600	10.4	841	23.9	717	6.4	42	7.0
7 rooms	726	4.7	418	11.9	292	2.6	16	2.7
8 rooms or more	1044	6.8	724	20.6	293	2.6	27	4.5
E. Heating								
Total reports	15334	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
Central steam or hot water	1752	11.4	756	21.5	953	8.5	43	7.2
Central warm air	554	3.6	306	8.7	233	2.1	15	2.5
Other installed	12938	84.4	2451	69.6	9990	89.0	497	83.4
None installed	90	0.6	6	0.2	43	0.4	41	6.9
F. Lighting								
Total reports	15334	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
Electric	13724	89.5	3406	96.8	9851	87.8	467	78.4
Gas	13	0.1	3	0.1	10	0.1	0	0.0
Other	1597	10.4	110	3.1	1358	12.1	129	21.6
G. Cooking								
Total reports	15334	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
Electric	2147	14.0	990	28.1	1119	10.0	38	6.4
Gas	1966	12.8	852	24.2	1099	9.8	15	2.5
Other installed	10679	69.7	1666	47.4	8849	78.8	164	27.5
None installed	542	3.5	11	0.3	152	1.4	379	63.6
H. Refrigeration								
Total reports	15334	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
Electric	5686	37.1	2312	65.8	3344	29.8	30	5.0
Gas	447	2.9	167	4.7	275	2.5	5	0.8
Ice	7234	47.2	965	27.4	6248	55.7	21	3.5
None	1967	12.8	75	2.1	1352	12.1	540	90.7

II. Dwelling Unit Data (Cont'd.)

	Total		Owner		Tenant		Vacant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
I. Plumbing								
Total reports	15334	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
At least 2 toilets and 2 bathing units	701	4.6	521	14.8	162	1.4	18	3.0
At least 2 toilets and 1 bathing unit	252	1.6	144	4.1	106	0.9	2	0.3
1 toilet and at least 1 bathing unit	5557	36.2	1997	56.7	3383	30.2	177	29.7
At least 1 toilet, less than 1 bathing unit	4088	26.7	541	15.4	3363	30.0	184	30.9
Shared toilet and running water	4091	26.7	220	6.3	3714	33.1	157	26.3
Shared toilet, no running water	38	0.2	1	*	36	0.3	1	0.2
No toilet but with running water	304	2.0	37	1.1	247	2.2	20	3.4
No toilet and no running water	303	2.0	58	1.6	208	1.9	37	6.2

* Less than 0.1%

	Total Occupied		Owner		Tenant		Vacant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
J. Duration of Occupancy or Vacancy								
Total reports	14738	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0	596	100.0
Less than 6 months	2189	14.9	116	3.3	2073	18.5	505	84.7
6 months-11 months	1545	10.5	111	3.2	1434	12.8	37	6.2
1 year-1 year 11 months	1924	13.1	188	5.3	1736	15.5	16	2.7
2 years-2 years 11 months	1615	11.0	203	5.8	1412	12.6	10	1.7
3 years-4 years 11 months	1945	13.2	325	9.2	1620	14.4	28#	4.7
5 years-9 years 11 months	2302	15.5	445	12.6	1857	16.6		
10 years-19 years 11 months	2144	14.5	1298	36.9	846	7.5		
20 years or more	1074	7.3	833	23.7	241	2.1		

3 years or more

III. Occupied Dwelling Unit Data

	Total		Owner		Tenant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
A. Race of Household						
Total reports	14738	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0
White	9018	61.2	2656	75.5	6362	56.7
Negro	5716	38.8	862	24.5	4854	43.3
Other	4	*	1	*	3	*

* Less than 0.1%

III. Occupied Dwelling Data (Cont'd.)

	Total		Owner		Tenant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
B. Size of Household						
Total reports	14738	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0
1 person	619	4.2	116	3.3	503	4.5
2 persons	3517	23.8	691	19.6	2826	25.1
3 persons	3214	21.8	738	21.0	2476	22.1
4 persons	2743	18.6	746	21.1	1997	17.8
5 persons	1875	12.7	555	15.8	1320	11.8
6 persons	1174	8.0	315	9.0	859	7.7
7 persons	701	4.8	173	4.9	528	4.7
8 persons	385	2.6	90	2.6	295	2.6
9 persons	229	1.6	46	1.3	183	1.6
10 persons	118	0.8	18	0.5	100	0.9
11 persons or more	163	1.1	31	0.9	132	1.2
C. Extra Families						
Total reports	14738	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0
No extra families	14421	97.9	3424	97.3	10997	98.0
1 extra family	298	2.0	87	2.5	211	1.9
2 or more extra families	19	0.1	8	0.2	11	0.1
D. Persons Per Room						
Total reports	14738	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0
.50 or less	2574	17.5	1272	36.2	1302	11.6
.51 - .75	3230	21.9	1017	28.9	2213	19.7
.76 - 1.00	4237	28.7	856	24.3	3381	30.2
1.01 - 1.50	2628	17.8	279	7.9	2349	20.9
1.51 - 2.00	1352	9.2	72	2.0	1280	11.4
2.01 or more	717	4.9	23	0.7	694	6.2
E. Children Under 15 Years of Age						
Total reports	14738	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0
No children	7485	50.7	2055	58.4	5430	48.4
1 child	3393	23.0	758	21.5	2635	23.5
2 children	2074	14.1	456	13.0	1618	14.4
3 or 4 children	1453	9.9	221	6.3	1232	11.0
5 children or more	333	2.3	29	0.8	304	2.7
F. Roomers						
Total reports	14738	100.0	3519	100.0	11219	100.0
No roomers	12879	87.4	2924	83.2	9955	88.7
1 roomer	972	6.6	280	8.0	692	6.2
2 roomers	511	3.5	174	4.9	337	3.0
3 or 4 roomers	262	1.8	110	3.1	152	1.4
5 to 10 roomers	103	0.7	29	0.8	74	0.7
11 roomers or more	11	*	2	*	9	*

* Less than 0.1%

IV. Low Income Housing Data

	Total		Owner				Tenant			
			White		Negro		White		Negro	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
A. Size of Family Group										
Total groups	8174	100.0	429	100.0	495	100.0	3193	100.0	4057	100.0
2 persons	2817	34.5	155	36.2	197	39.9	990	31.0	1475	36.4
3 persons	2020	24.7	107	24.9	107	21.6	823	25.7	983	24.2
4 persons	1372	16.8	72	16.8	72	14.5	586	18.4	642	15.8
5 persons	872	10.7	49	11.4	53	10.7	366	11.5	404	10.0
6 persons	469	5.7	16	3.7	20	4.0	192	6.0	241	5.9
7 persons	278	3.4	12	2.8	19	3.8	114	3.6	133	3.3
8 persons or more	346	4.2	18	4.2	27	5.5	122	3.8	179	4.4
B. Net Annual Rental										
Total dwelling units	8542	100.0	466	100.0	486	100.0	3145	100.0	4445	100.0
Less than $60	480	5.6	4	0.9	9	1.9	305	9.7	162	3.6
$ 60 - $119.99	1725	20.2	19	4.1	24	4.9	680	21.6	1002	22.5
120 - 179.99	3244	37.9	62	13.3	86	17.7	896	28.5	2200	49.6
180 - 239.99	1688	19.8	79	17.0	133	27.4	697	22.2	779	17.6
240 - 299.99	843	9.9	110	23.5	149	30.7	343	10.9	241	5.4
300 - 359.99	311	3.6	75	16.1	58	11.9	133	4.2	45	1.0
360 - 479.99	193	2.3	82	17.6	21	4.3	75	2.4	15	0.3
480 or more	58	0.7	35	7.5	6	1.2	16	0.5	1	*
* Less than 0.1%										
C. Annual Income										
Total dwelling units	8542	100.0	466	100.0	486	100.0	3145	100.0	4445	100.0
None	124	1.5	5	1.1	12	2.5	32	1.0	75	1.7
Less than $200	297	3.5	35	7.5	22	4.5	51	1.6	189	4.3
$ 200 - $ 399.99	688	8.0	27	5.8	37	7.6	171	5.4	453	10.2
400 - 599.99	1079	12.6	32	6.9	36	7.4	343	10.9	668	15.0
600 - 799.99	1375	16.1	45	9.7	66	13.6	483	15.5	781	17.5
800 - 999.99	1230	14.4	36	7.7	72	14.8	334	10.6	788	17.7
1000 - 1199.99	762	8.9	41	8.8	43	8.8	333	10.6	345	7.8
1200 - 1399.99	795	9.3	45	9.7	48	9.9	388	12.3	314	7.1
1400 - 1599.99	649	7.6	42	9.0	47	9.7	280	8.9	280	6.3
1600 - 1799.99	551	6.5	33	7.1	39	8.0	189	6.0	290	6.5
1800 - 1999.99	309	3.6	30	6.4	18	3.7	163	5.2	98	2.2
2000 or more	666	7.8	92	19.7	46	9.5	371	11.8	157	3.5
No reports	17	0.2	3	0.6	0	0.0	7	0.2	7	0.2