



DURHAM



1869

CITY OF MEDICINE



Updated Gang Assessment

June 2014

Community Description

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Community Description

The City of Durham is located in the north-central section of the state of North Carolina and along the eastern border of the judicial Middle District. Durham is a mid-sized urban city and is the county seat for Durham County, North Carolina. It is the fourth largest city in North Carolina and the 85th largest in the United States, with a population of 228,330 (2010 Census) and covering 107.4 square miles (Durham County has a land area of 285.9 square miles). The city and county of Durham currently serve as the regional center of art, culture and research with Duke University, North Carolina Central University being located within the city limits. Because of its medical research and related medical facilities, Durham is known as the “City of Medicine”. The Research Triangle Park (RTP) is located adjacent to the city in Durham County. The RTP is the largest research park in the United States, covering 7,000 acres, and employing 39,000 high-tech workers in the 170 companies located in the park.

A Brief History

Located in the “Research Triangle” of central North Carolina, Durham was established as a county in 1881 and remained largely agriculturally-based until the construction of a railroad station in the early 1850’s. This access point, along with Civil War-driven enthusiasm for North Carolina tobacco, led to a rapid industry boom and development of the city of Durham. Tobacco, and later textiles, would fuel population growth and provide a large number of jobs. Durham was a cultural hub and a blues hotspot, and was called at one point the “capital of the black middle class.”¹

As a result of anti-tobacco legislation and public awareness campaigns about smoking, cigarette factories began to close in the 1980’s and 90’s. While Duke University had emerged by then as a major source of jobs, the unemployment and poverty that rose during this time deeply affected the vitality of the county. Unemployment, a history of segregation along racial and economic lines (typical of the South in particular, but other regions as well), construction of a new highway that isolated previously connected parts of the community from downtown: these and other factors created a set of circumstances that coincided with and probably contributed to the emergence of gangs in Durham in the 1980’s.

¹ Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South: Leslie Brown (2008)

Active efforts to revitalize Durham and re-establish the city as a center of art, culture, and research have brought in more money to the city as a whole. Since the completion of the initial Durham Comprehensive Gang Assessment in 2007, the downtown area has become safer, school performance scores have begun to improve, and multiple indicators show that the city is on a positive track towards revitalization. However, many neighborhoods in Durham do continue to experience gang activity, and improvement has been slowed by the economic recession.

Demographic Overview

Durham County and the City of Durham experienced steady population growth between 2000 and 2010 (19.8% and 18.2% respectively), slightly higher than the level of population growth for the state of North Carolina during the same time period (15.6%).

Table 1 – Population

	Durham County	Durham City	North Carolina
Total Population (2010)	267,587	228,386	9,535,471
Total Population (2000)	223,314	187,035	8,049,313
Rate of Growth (2000 – 2010)	19.8%	18.2%	15.6%

<http://quickfacts.census.gov>

Durham is one of several cities in the U.S. with almost equal numbers of black and Caucasian residents. Over the past 10 years, the city and the county have become steadily more diverse, and are much more diverse than North Carolina as a whole. Durham City/County’s percentage of Hispanic/Latino residents has nearly doubled since 2000, and Hispanic/Latino residents now make up 13.5% of the county’s population and 14.2% of the city’s population, compared to a statewide average of 8.6%.

Approximately 15% of Durham (city and county) residents are foreign born, and almost 1 in 5 speak a language other than English at home (age 5+, 2007 – 2011). Durham County is one of the five primary resettlement counties in North Carolina, which also contributes to the diversity in the community. Many refugees from Wake County have ultimately settled in Durham because of the relatively reasonable housing prices in Durham.²

² <http://www.ncdhhs.gov/dss/refugee/>

Table 2 – Racial/Ethnic Demographics

Racial/Ethnic Demographics for Durham County/City and North Carolina						
	Durham County 2000	Durham County 2010	Durham City 2000	Durham City 2010	North Carolina 2000	North Carolina 2010
White alone	50.9%	46.4%	42.3%	42.5%	72.1%	68.5%
Black or African American	39.5%	38.0%	43.8%	41.0%	21.6%	21.5%
Hispanic or Latino	7.6%	13.5%	8.6%	14.2%	4.7%	8.4%
Asian alone	3.3%	4.6%	3.6%	5.1%	1.4%	2.2%
2 or more races	1.8%	2.6%	2.0%	2.7%	1.3%	2.2%
Language Other Than English Spoken at Home, ages 5+ (2007 – 2011)	n/a	19%	n/a	19.8%	n/a	10.6%

Sources:³

Age

The residents of the city and county Durham tend to be younger than other North Carolina residents. The median age of city and county Durham residents is 32.1 for the city and 33.2 for the county, several years younger than the median age of all North Carolina residents, which is 37.4. The number of college-age students at both Duke University and North Carolina Central University may contribute to this age difference.

Rate of Poverty

The percentage of persons living below the poverty level (2010) for the City of Durham is 18.6%, slightly higher than the overall rate for the County (17.1%). Both rates are higher than the North Carolina rate of 16.1%. **Approximately one in five children in the City of Durham lives at or below the poverty level.**

Household Data

The average number of persons per household for both the City and County of Durham (2007 –

³ <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37/37063.html> <http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/c2kprof00-nc.pdf> <http://censusviewer.com/county/NC/Durham>

2011 figures) is slightly lower than the state-wide average of 2.50. City and county residents occupy rental properties at a much higher rate than the statewide average.

Table 3 – Additional Demographics

Additional Demographics for Durham County/City and North Carolina			
	Durham County	Durham City	North Carolina
Percent Persons Under 18 (2012)	22.6%	22.7%	23.4%
Median Age	33.2	32.1	37.4
Average Persons per Household (2007 – 2011)	2.34	2.32	2.50
Percent Rental Occupied Properties	41.63%	45.41%	28.82%
<u>Poverty</u>			
Percent Persons Below Poverty Level (2010)	17.1%	18.6%	16.1%
Median Household Income (2007 – 2011)	\$50,078	\$47,394	\$46,291
<u>Education</u>			
Percent High School Graduate or Higher, Persons age 25+ (2007-2011)	86.9%	86.4%	84.1%
Percent Bachelor’s Degree or Higher, Persons age 25+ (2007 – 2011)	44.3%	46.3%	26.5%
Source for all above: quickfacts.census.gov			
<u>Employment</u>			
	Durham County	Durham City	North Carolina
Percent unemployed (August 2013)	7.2%	7.5%	8.7%
Source for Employment: citydata.com/North Carolina			

Durham County & Comparison Counties

To provide perspective on some distinctive aspects of Durham County’s demographic data, six comparison counties were selected based upon overall population size, and racial/ethnic, economic, and educational demographics.

The six comparison counties are Cabarrus, Cumberland, Forsyth, Gaston, Guilford, and New Hanover. Similarities used to justify selection of comparison counties are based on the following criteria:

- Counties with population between 175,000 and 350,000 (Durham County has a population of 267,587).
 - Cabarrus County
 - Forsyth County
 - Gaston County
 - New Hanover County

- Counties whose population is between 25% and 40% black (Durham County has a black population of 38.0%).
 - Cumberland County
 - Forsyth County
 - Guildford County

- Counties whose population is between 9% and 20% Hispanic (Durham County has a Hispanic population of 13.5%).
 - Cabarrus County
 - Cumberland County
 - Forsyth County

- Counties whose population in poverty rate is between 15% and 21% (Durham County has a population in poverty rate of 18.8%).
 - Cumberland County
 - Forsyth County
 - Gaston County
 - Guilford County
 - New Hanover County

- Counties where between 7% and 10% of the population speak Spanish at home (9.2% of Durham County residents speak Spanish at home).
 - Cabarrus County
 - Cumberland County
 - Forsyth County

The following table compares key descriptive information for each of these counties side by side. Table XX utilizes census-based demographic information for these comparison counties, the state of North Carolina, and the United States.

Table 4 – Census Information for Durham County and Comparison Counties⁴

	Population	% Black	% Hispanic	% Population in Poverty	% Spanish Spoken at Home
USA	x	12.6	16.4	15.3	11.5
NC	x	21.5	8.4	17.5	6.3
Durham	267,587	38.0	13.5	18.8	9.2
Cabarrus	178,011	15.3	9.4	13.0	7.1
Cumberland	319,431	36.7	33.4	18.0	7.9
Forsyth	350,670	26.0	12.0	16.4	7.0
Gaston	206,086	15.3	5.9	20.5	n/a
Guilford	488,406	32.5	7.1	17.7	5.9
N. Hanover	202,667	14.8	5.3	18.1	4.9

Violent Crime Rates for Durham County and Comparison Counties (2007 – 2012)⁵

The comparison counties are also useful for examining trends in violent crime, which has been trending downward nationally over the past decade. The chart below illustrated a downward trend in violent crime rates for Durham County and comparison counties since 2007, when the original Comprehensive Gang Assessment was completed for Durham.

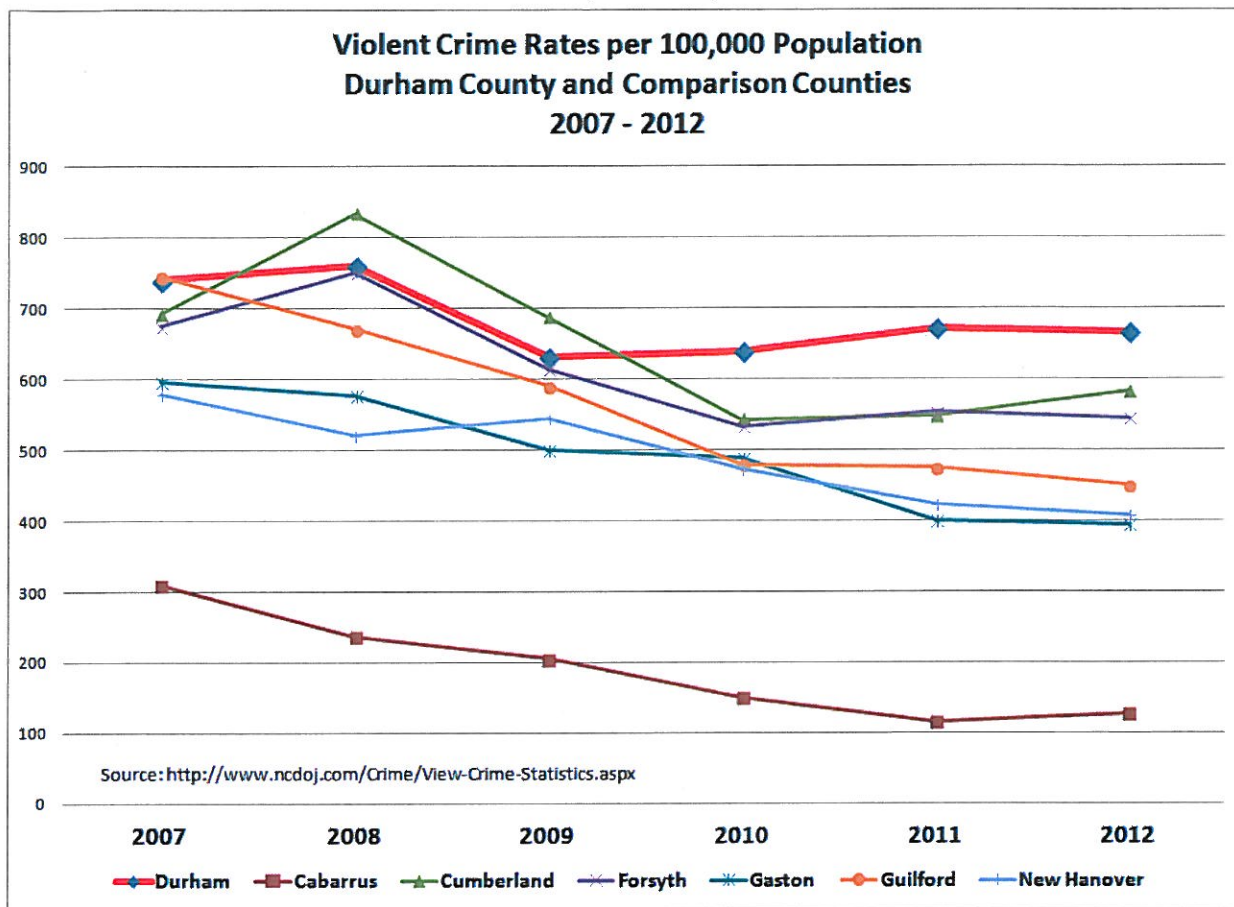
The comparison counties' violent crime rate per 100,000 population dropped approximately 30%, from a rate of 599 in 2007 to a rate of 417 in 2012.

During the same timeframe, Durham's violent crime rate dropped approximately 9%. The largest reduction occurred between 2008 and 2009. Since 2009, Durham County's violent crime rate has actually increased, from a rate of 630.5 in 2009 to a rate of 665.6 in 2012.

⁴ All census data retrieved from <http://www.usa.com/>; to access individual county data, type the county name into the website search bar

⁵ All data retrieved from <http://www.ncdoj.com/Crime/View-Crime-Statistics.aspx>

Chart 1 – Violent Crime Rates for Durham County and Comparison Counties



Areas in Durham Where Residents are Exposed to Multiple Risk Factors

There are ongoing efforts in Durham to continuously identify areas that have increase levels of crime, gang activity and poverty. Drawing on a variety of databases, “hot spots” can be identified at the census tract level where prevention, intervention and suppression efforts can produce the best results. This type of geospatial analysis consists of processing several map layers resulting in a new map that predicts where resources can best be deployed.

“I lived in a house at times that didn’t have electricity or hot water. Which was very difficult and extremely embarrassing. So as a source of survival at age 12, I started snatching pocket books and committing petty crime.” (“Otis” – former gang member from Durham)

Crime and gang activity follow the elevated risk factors and suppression efforts can draw upon the same data to narrow the focus. Law enforcement efforts however, are most often aimed at *persons* of interest rather than *locations* of interest. Predictive policing as it pertains to gangs

often relies on the analysis of social networks in addition to examining site specific data. John M. Kamensky of the IBM Center for the Business of Government, states that *“Like all human institutions, organized crime and gangs depend on interpersonal relationships.”*⁶

Most zip codes in Durham have a good mix of affluence and poverty, educational attainment, and race distribution, making it difficult to focus on areas where the population experiences exposure to multiple risk factors. At the census tract level, however, areas with high concentrations of unemployment, poverty and low educational attainment can be identified as areas where residents are exposed to high levels of risk for involvement in crime and gang activity.

Nine census tracts were identified where residents experience exposure to multiple risk factors, which include:

- Greater than 30% of the population in poverty (range is 30.8% to 59.7%)
- Greater than 25% of the population over age 25 not attaining a high school diploma (range is 25.3% to 43.4%)
- Greater than 28% living in single parent households (range is 28.4% to 62.6%)
- Greater than 8% of the population unemployed (range is 8.2% to 35.4%)



These census tracts have a combined population of 26,051 (2010 Census) and comprise 11.4% of the Durham (city) population. These census tracts are located mostly in central and eastern Durham, on both sides of the Durham Freeway (Highway 147).

Five of the nine multiple-risk census tracts lie within Police District 1 boundaries. Police District 1 experienced Durham City’s highest rate of gang-involved violent, property, and drug crimes per capita between 2009 and 2012.⁷ Police District 1 contains the highest concentration of population (63%) of the total population of the multiple risks census tracts.

The nine Census tracts featured in the table below were once home to much of Durham’s middle class. Their deterioration during the 1980’s and 1990’s coincided with the closure of many tobacco and textile industries and the resulting decrease in employment opportunities.

⁶ John M. Kamensky *“Fighting Crime in a New Era of Predictive Policing”* Governing Magazine (November 2013)

⁷ See specific gang involved crime data per police district elsewhere in this report

“My street life continued filled with drug selling, drive by shootings, stick ups, shoot outs and fights. My younger brother got locked up for murder, and was serving a 17 year sentence. By age 19, almost every police officer in Durham knew me by my first name.” (“Otis” – former gang member from Durham)

Although these economic setbacks occurred as long as 30 years ago, some of these neighborhoods have not experienced economic, employment, or educational rebounds, and continue to be affected by negative social conditions and high rates of crime and gang involvement.

Table 5 - Census Data for Multiple-Risks Census Tracts in Durham⁸

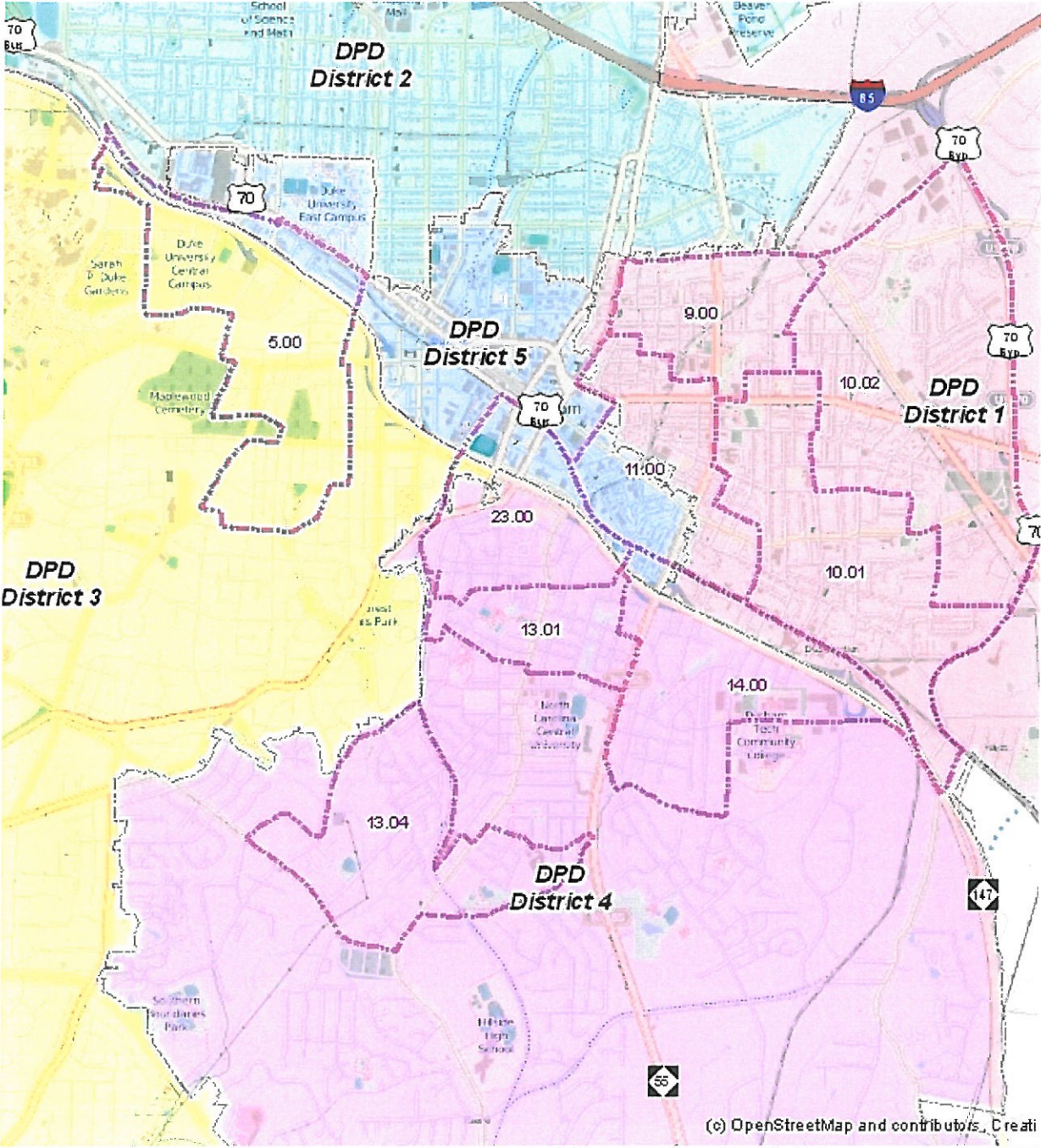
Census Tract	Population	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% Population in Poverty	% Older than 25 with Less than High School Diploma	% Spanish Spoken at Home	% Single Parent Household	% Unemployment
Durham	228,330	42.5	41.0	14.2	21.0	13.3	9.9	23.1	7.5
5	4,093	30.0	45.9	26.8	44.8	22.8	15.7	28.4	14
9	1,668	11.6	67.1	27.3	58.1	38.7	16.6	38.1	8.2
10.01	3,466	14.0	66.2	24.3	43.7	38.4	26.8	34.2	18.5
10.02	5,974	22.3	51.0	41.8	30.8	35.8	30.0	43.1	9.2
13.01	1,128	5.0	89.1	7.1	44.2	27.6	3.6	31.5	35.4
13.04	2,557	3.4	85.0	11.8	45.6	25.3	15.7	37.1	21.7
11	3,225	13.3	66.2	25.6	37.1	42.0	10.9	34.9	25.1
14	2,609	2.6	89.4	7.9	58.7	36.3	7.1	62.6	23.5
23	1,331	9.5	81.5	12.1	59.7	43.4	6.7	35.3	15.4

Police Districts Containing the Multiple-Risks Census Tracts

The map below illustrates where the multiple-risks census tracts (outlined in purple) are located within the various Durham Police Department districts. The multiple-risks census tracts are mostly contained within districts 1 and 4, with smaller portions located in Police Districts 3 and 5.

⁸ Data taken from Census website <http://www.usa.com/durham-nc.htm>; individual census tracts can be accessed by clicking on the website map

Map 1 – Multiple Risks Census Tracts (purple border) and Durham Police Districts

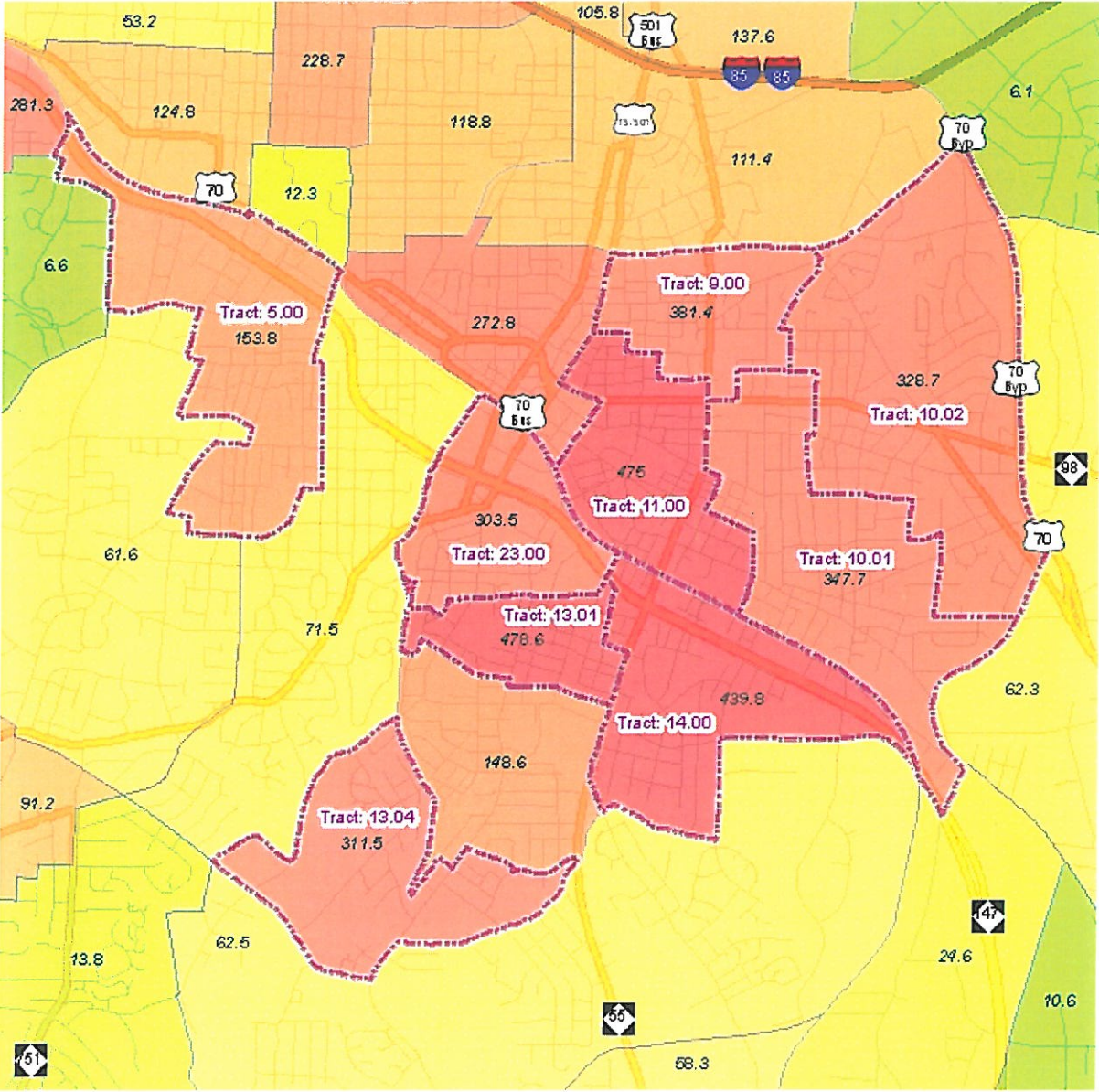


Part 1 Violent Crimes in the Multiple-Risks Census Tracts

The map below shows the number of Part 1 violent crimes per square mile in the at-risk census tracts for the years 2009 - 2012. The multiple risks census tracts are outlined in purple.

The greatest concentration of Part 1 violent crimes appears to occur in multiple risks census tracts on either side of Roxboro Street, immediately north and south of the Durham Freeway (NC 147)

Map 2 – Part 1 Violent Crimes per Square Mile



Multiple Risks Census Tracts and the Former “Bull’s Eye” Target Area of 2007

The Crime Analysis Unit of the Durham Police Department conducted a city-wide study on the number of “shots fired” calls and violent crime committed with a firearm between May 1, 2006 and April 30, 2007. Findings revealed that these occurrences were concentrated in a geographical area of two square miles located in the northeast area of the city, and the area was then named the Bull’s Eye.

The multiple risks census tracts identified in this report include and surround the 2007 Operation Bull’s Eye area. The 2006-07 study covered violent crime as well as quality of life issues such as prostitution and drugs/narcotics. Operation Bull’s Eye was deemed a success by the Durham Police Department as a multi-year initiative to reduce crime in a specified area of East Durham. According to published police department reports⁹, Bull’s Eye six-month comparison year 3 (August 2006 to January 2007 vs. August 2009 to January 2010) showed:

- 53% decrease in violent crime in the Bull’s Eye area and 50% decrease in buffer area
- 52% reduction in shots fired calls in the Bull’s Eye area and 51% decrease in buffer area
- 31% decline in non-self initiated drug calls for services in the Bull’s Eye area and 35% decrease in buffer area

Summary

The City and County of Durham has a rich history and has shown steady growth in the past decade. Growing along with the population and diversity of Durham are long standing social issues such as poverty, unemployment and crime.

To put all these issues in perspective, it is useful to compare Durham County with other counties in North Carolina that are similar in population, diversity and poverty rates.

At a macro level, it is useful to identify which census tracts have the greatest number and concentration of risk factors that may be underlying causes of criminal gang membership and activity.

⁹ Durham Police Department 2009 Annual Report to the City Council