

COLONIAL PLACE, NORFOLK: RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION IN A SOUTHERN URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD

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Racial integration on a neighborhood scale is a relatively new phenomenon in southern cities. The experience of the Colonial Place neighborhood in Norfolk, Virginia, since the middle 1960s provides evidence for testing generalizations about the factors required for stable racial integration. The paper suggests that the characteristics of racial relations in the South may allow socioeconomic heterogeneity to be compatible with racial integration. It also suggests that the increasing availability of procedures and programs for community planning and community conservation provide effective tools which neighborhood organizations can adapt to the goal of racial integration.

Introduction: Residential Integration in the Urban South

Colonial Place in 1960 was little different from half a dozen other Norfolk neighborhoods founded at the opening of the twentieth century. Its two-story homes along tree-lined streets held settled white families headed by skilled craftsmen, white collar workers, and businessmen. The problems of Norfolk's Black community seemed comfortably distant, with block after block of white residents to the south screening the inner-city ghetto. During the 1960's, however, a major shift of population transformed the racial composition of these buffer neighborhoods. The first black family moved north of 35th street—the traditional community boundary—in 1965. The neighborhood civic league countered by redefining the dividing line as 38th Street, three blocks further north. When Black families crossed that line as well in 1967 and 1968, it appeared that Colonial Place was destined to be one more American community to experience the quick-change process of white flight and the transition to an all-black community. In fact, however, local initiative and a small commitment of public resources combined to create a viable biracial community in the 1970s. Although the future of Colonial Place is by no means fixed, it is appropriate to evaluate the factors which to date have worked to limit racial transition and to promote stable racial integration.¹

The Colonial Place experience is of particular interest because the turnover of neighborhoods from white to black residents and the concomitant opportunity for the deliberate development of racially integrated communities is a relatively new phenomenon in southern cities. Most of the scholarly literature on residential succession and racial integration has come in reaction to the migration of blacks into northern cities and their spillover from established ghettos into previously all-white neighborhoods. The classic description of the general process of racial transition is Duncan and Duncan's 1957 study of *The Negro Population of Chicago*. Case studies of communities in which white residents reacted to the onset of the succession process with efforts to maintain biracial neighborhoods have dealt with such areas as Hyde Park and South Shore in Chicago, Russell

Woods and Bagley in Detroit, West Philadelphia and Mount Airy in Philadelphia, Mount Royal in Baltimore, the "fruit belt" section of Buffalo, University City, Missouri, and "Bridgeview," New Jersey.²

Neighborhoods in southern cities experienced black entry and racial turnover infrequently in the first two postwar decades. In a number of older cities, public programs and social pressures forced the relocation of black residents and reduced previously high levels of racial mixture which had reflected "backyard" or "alley" housing patterns dating from the nineteenth century. Most newer southern cities developed or maintained high levels of racial segregation through the definition of certain sectors of the city as appropriate for black occupancy. Since these sections often contained large amounts of open land, black population increases were accommodated with limited pressure on white neighborhoods. The degree of segregation in southern cities as a group thus increased between 1940 and 1960 at the same time that segregation decreased in northeastern and western cities and showed no change in those of the north central region.³ An elaborate study by the National Opinion Research Center in the mid-sixties added detail to this general description. Only 5.5 percent of the total southern population lived in integrated urban neighborhoods as contrasted with 31.8 percent for the Northeast and 12.5 percent for the Middle West. Moreover, two-thirds of the integrated neighborhoods found in southern cities had been biracial since their establishment. Moderately integrated neighborhoods, whose 1-10 percent mixture of black residents would indicate their recent movement into white communities, were rare in border South cities and absent in the cities of the deep South.⁴

During the last decade southern cities have begun to follow more closely the northern pattern of residential succession.⁵ Most larger southern cities in the 1960s had substantial increases in the black share of their total population after very limited proportionate increases from 1940 to 1960. The reverse black migration from North to South reported by recent census studies is accelerating this growth in the numbers of southern urban blacks. An additional cause of black movement into older white neighborhoods during the sixties was the selective application of highway and urban renewal demolition to established black communities.⁶ The result in the late 1960s and 1970s has been a growing incidence of racial turnover and the appearance in southern cities of the first integrated neighborhoods established by recent locational decisions.⁷

Therefore, the Colonial Place neighborhood in Norfolk is an example of a relatively new phenomenon in the urban South. Because a wide variety of published and unpublished information is available on the recent history of the community, it is possible in the present essay to analyze the factors which have been most important to its relatively successful racial integration. The following section therefore describes its evolution and the variety of private and public efforts which have helped to produce a stable racial balance of approximately 60 percent white and 40 percent black. The third section summarizes patterns of change in the Colonial Place real estate market since integration. The fourth and fifth sections use Colonial Place to evaluate common generalizations about residential succession and the requirements for maintaining biracial communities and to explore possible policy implications of the Norfolk experience.

The Evolution of Colonial Place

Little in the original conception of Colonial Place distinguished it among the dozen or so streetcar suburbs developed two to three miles from the center of Norfolk in the first decade of the century. The first advertisements for Colonial Place lots in 1907 featured its stone curbing, sidewalks, paved streets, and full utilities and touted its "city and country advantages combined."⁸ In honor of Norfolk's Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907, cross streets were named for the thirteen colonies and north-south avenues for the ship captains of the original Jamestown expedition. As early as 1912, the development company dropped a requirement for large homes on double lots in an effort to escape insolvency, opening the community to solid but unexceptional three and four bedroom homes. During World War I, speculative builders threw up scores of small two-story frame houses for naval officers, small businessmen, skilled workers, and supervisory personnel in the transportation enterprises which boomed along with the war. Because the completion of waterfront bulkheading and filling for a circumferential drive took two decades, builders placed most of these early houses on higher land along the southern and interior streets. Construction showed even greater variety during the 1920s and 1930s, with new four-flat and six-flat apartments scattered among both modest and imposing single-family houses.⁹ The neighborhood is described by Leon Uris in *QB VII*, which catches the flavor of the growing residential area in the 1930s with a description of a "big shingled ten room house at the corner of Gosnold and New Hampshire Streets with a view of the estuary."¹⁰ Since 1940, another 300 or so homes and a modern high-rise apartment of 165 units have been added on lower land to bring the total of dwelling units to 1320 and the population to 3400 in 1970.¹¹

Colonial Place was ripe for change by the 1960s. Although the slow pace of building and the variety of housing types meant that its residents spanned the whole spectrum of the middle class, it suffered the expected physical problems of an older community. Its aging wooden houses on 25, 37.5, or 50 foot lots lacked the appeal of the suburbs, yet the community was too young to possess the quaint townhouses, brick sidewalks, and cobblestones of rediscovered nineteenth-century neighborhoods. Thirty-one percent of its household heads were aged 65 or older in 1970 as compared with 14 percent for the city as a whole. As in many similar communities, the first reactions to the arrival of black neighbors in 1967 and 1968 were real estate panic and the activation of a Civic League designed to hold the line against integration. The League embraced both Colonial Place and Riverview, an adjacent but distinct neighborhood of similar age and character where integration did not come until the 1970s, and Civic League activities and public programs have since included both areas. At the same time, however, relatively low housing prices and proximity to the expanding Old Dominion University brought in a continuous flow of white buyers. As segregationists left the neighborhood or withdrew in disgust from the Civic League, newer residents found themselves in a position to influence the evolution of the community. Under new leadership, the Civic League in the fall of 1968 established a stabilization committee and undertook to work for two goals: the creation of an

integrated community as a positive entity, and the reversal of physical deterioration of private and public property.¹²

Achievement of the first of these goals required vigorous efforts by local residents. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 provided a lever against the unscrupulous real estate practices of blanket solicitation and racial "steering." The public announcement of a pending federal investigation of neighborhood real estate practices in July, 1969 halted most panic peddling and brought action by the Norfolk Board of realtors to curtail racially biased practices. Other efforts to build a racially open real estate market included successful pressure on the Norfolk newspapers to discontinue racial distinctions in real estate advertisements in 1969, the maintenance of a list of cooperating realtors, and the use of a brochure describing the advantages of the neighborhood. The Colonial Place-Riverview Civic League supplemented these efforts by working to build a positive reputation with a neighborhood open house held annually since 1972. An article in *Metro: Hampton Roads Magazine* and several editorials and feature stories in the two metropolitan dailies between 1968 and 1972 pointed to the stabilization of the racial balance as a positive and practicable goal.¹³ Although it is difficult to measure the impact of image-building in the metropolis as a whole, comparison of surveys of residents' attitudes in 1970 and in 1973 shows a lessening of concern about racial relations.¹⁴

The first external assistance for stabilization came in August, 1969, when the City Council rezoned the community from multi-family to single-family in response to local requests. In addition, strong leadership in the late sixties made the local elementary school attractive to new white residents despite its high proportion of black students. After 1970, a court-ordered busing plan integrated the entire Norfolk system, relieving the schools serving Colonial Place-Riverview from the full pressure of integration while destroying the magnet of all-white schools in other neighborhoods.¹⁵ Indirect assistance came from Navy efforts to open the suburban housing market to black navy personnel, although few navy families chose Colonial Place itself until the latter part of the seventies. The growth of Old Dominion University also provided white buyers, although university faculty and staff occupied only 2.5 percent of the neighborhood's dwelling units as late as 1975.

If the years from 1968 through 1972 constituted an initial phase of private community initiative aided by external forces, more recent years have brought a broadening of community goals and a fuller enlistment of city government in the stabilization process. The first step was the adoption in 1972 of a General Development Plan for the area by the City Council. Written cooperatively by the Planning Department and the Civic League, the plan laid out a set of goals for the improvement of housing and public facilities and explicitly committed the city to work to "preserve the character of an integrated residential community."¹⁶ The designation of Colonial Place and Riverview as a Conservation District followed in October, 1973, allowing the Norfolk Housing and Redevelopment Authority to systematically inspect homes and to provide low-interest loans and grants for rehabilitation. A parallel effort by the Norfolk Community Improvement Department is a certificate-of-occupancy program which prohibits sale or rental of property which has not met a community-approved building code within the past year. To supplement these programs, the city has also tried to channel

through traffic around the edges of the neighborhood and has committed funds for pedestrian-level streetlights and for additional recreational space near the elementary school. Most Civic League activities since 1975 have been directed at such public investments, and local leaders now define the major problem primarily in terms of physical maintenance of the neighborhoods and their streets, secondarily in terms of housing upkeep, crime, and race relations.¹⁷

Piles of ripped-out plaster, derelict plumbing, and contractors' trucks mark the progress of the Conservation District inspectors. As of September 1, 1979, the Conservation District had inspected 890 dwelling units in Colonial Place-Riverview and had authorized approximately \$4,500,000 in loans and grants. These funds have been drawn both from the federal 312 program and from local banks which offer reduced interest in return for city guarantees. In the same period, 1356 units were inspected under the certificate-of-occupancy program (many of them were repeat rental units). Funding of \$200,000 in 1974-75 came through the Norfolk Model Cities program. More recently the city has used Community Development funds totaling \$276,000 for 1975-76, and \$330,000 for 1976-77, \$219,000 for 1977-78 and \$305,000 in 1978-79. Because the neighborhood is not fashionable enough to support extraordinary profits on renovated houses and because the city programs have been administered with the goal of stabilizing current residential patterns, they have not so far resulted in substantial displacement of blacks by whites.

Real Estate Trends in Colonial Place

The combined effects of racial stabilization efforts and rehabilitation can be seen in changing housing prices. Kenneth Galchus has analyzed the movement of Colonial Place prices in comparison with those in an all-white neighborhood of comparable location. His data indicate that there was indeed a lag in Colonial Place real estate in 1966-67, apparently the result of pre-integration jitters. During the transition years of the late 1960s, however, increased black demand offset the reduction of white demand caused by integration. Although the community survey of February, 1970 found that half the residents believed that housing values had fallen since integration, the neighborhood real estate price index based on average sale prices in fact rose in 1968, 1969, and 1970. During the 1970s, housing prices have shown an accelerating increase which has roughly paralleled that of the all-white neighborhood studied but which has not closed the gap dating from the mid-sixties.¹⁸ Table 1, compiled by the Civic League stabilization committee, also indicates the increasing value of neighborhood property. Most of the low value sales in 1975 and 1976 involved the purchase of small, rundown houses by small speculators for rehabilitation and resale.

The other basic measure of the success of community stabilization is actual racial composition (Table 2). In 1970, Colonial Place and Riverview together were 14.9 percent black. With the omission of Riverview, which at that time had no black residents, the Colonial Place figure for 1970 was 18.7 percent black. Three years later, a random sample in Colonial Place alone found that 38 percent of its adults were black. Figures on the race of home buyers in Colonial Place and Riverview provide evidence that the turning point in attractiveness to white buyers came in 1972-1973, at the same time that the Civic League felt able to shift

Table 1
Real Estate Transfers: Colonial Place-Riverview

	Total Transfer	Median Price	Average Price	% Increase Of Average Value	Low Price	High Price
1970	45	\$15,550	\$16,066		\$11,000	\$28,500
1971	77	17,600	17,906	11.4	10,000	32,000
1972	68	18,500	19,985	11.6	10,700	47,500
1973	81	21,600	22,346	11.8	10,500	43,900
1974	63	25,000	25,692	14.9	15,000	45,000
1975	63	25,500	28,398	10.5	10,000	65,000
1976	102	27,000	30,376	6.9	5,000	69,000

Source: Colonial Place-Riverview Civic League, Stabilization Committee, Annual Reports.

its emphasis to public improvements and the city instituted the Conservation District. The proportion of home buyers who were black was 60 percent in 1970 and 1971, 43 percent in 1972, 30 percent in 1973 and 1974, and 22-25 percent in 1975 and 1976. An alternative set of figures from the 1973 survey, which refer to Colonial Place alone, indicate that 75 percent of the adults who moved to the neighborhood in 1970 were black, 68 percent in 1971-72, and 67 percent in 1973. These figures differ from the 1970-1976 series because they refer to Colonial Place without Riverview, because they include renters as well as home-buyers, and

Table 2
Racial Composition of Colonial Place-Riverview: Percent Black

Total Population	Colonial Place-Riverview	Colonial Place
1970	14.9% ¹	18.9% ¹
1973		38% ²
New Home³ Buyers		
1970	60%	
1971	60%	
1972	43%	
1973	30%	
1974	30%	
1975	25%	
1976	22%	
New Residents²		
1970		75%
1971/72		68%
1973		67%

Sources:

¹Nineteenth Census, *Census Tracts: Norfolk-Portsmouth, and Block Statistics, Norfolk-Portsmouth.*

²Rosenfeld, *Class, Life Style, and Attitude Congruence*, pp. 75-76.

³Colonial Place-Riverview Civic League, Stabilization Committee, Annual Reports.

perhaps because of the small size of the sample.¹⁹ For comparison, the black share of Norfolk's total population was 28.5 percent of 307,000 in 1970 and approximately 30 percent of 287,000 in 1975.

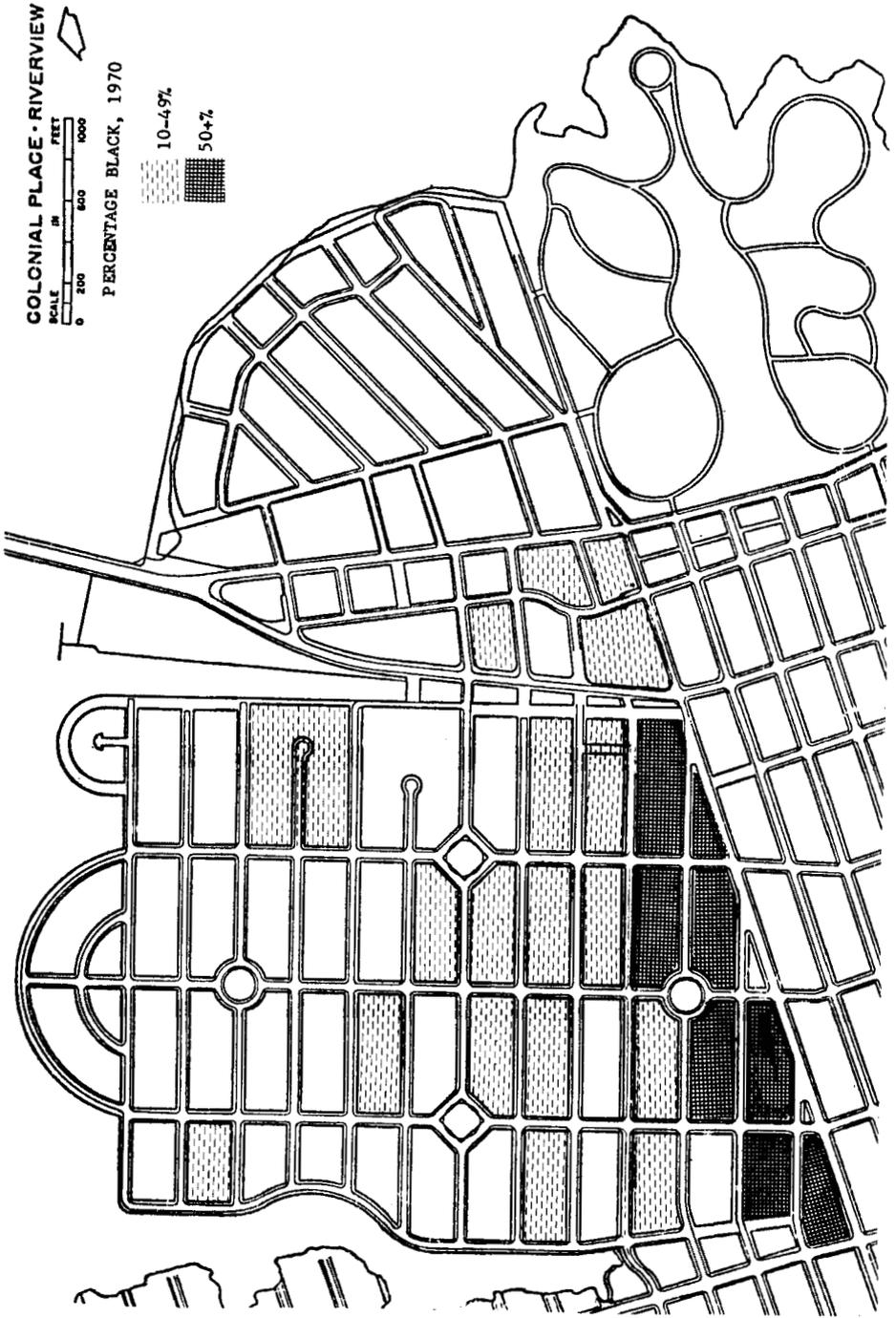
There has also been a change in the geographical distribution of black residents. The eight blocks which in 1970 had 50 percent or more black residents were all contiguous at the southern end of Colonial Place. Fourteen of the eighteen blocks with 10-49 percent black residents in 1970 were also in the southern half of the neighborhood. By 1977, the pattern was more thoroughly mixed. Only six blocks in the northern end of Colonial Place and four in Riverview remained all white.²⁰ In the southern part of the neighborhood there has recently been displacement of black residents by white purchasers and by white student renters, with the latter group creating potential problems of physical upkeep, traffic, and crowding. If the maintenance of public commitments and real estate market conditions allows the current ratio of new white to new black residents to hold for the remainder of the decade, the neighborhood can in fact be expected to show a slow increase in percentage white.

The evidence available on the recent history of Colonial Place-Riverview casts further doubt on the already questionable existence of a neighborhood "tipping point," or proportion of nonwhite residents which triggers accelerated outmigration by whites and inevitably leads to an all-black neighborhood. Although the concept of a tipping point, as defined by Morton Grodzins, has intuitive appeal, it has more applicability to racial change on a single block or in a single apartment building than in an entire neighborhood. The figure usually suggested as the tipping point is 20-30 percent black, but scholars have found little evidence that reaching such a proportion leads to dramatic upturns in the rate of racial transition. In this context, Colonial Place appears to be a community whose passage of the expected threshold has been followed by a deceleration of racial change. As in other urban neighborhoods, simple racial percentage has been of little importance relative to more complex factors in determining the attractiveness of Colonial Place to white residents.²¹

Colonial Place as a Biracial Neighborhood

The suggestion that Colonial Place-Riverview offers an example of stable racial integration deserves further analysis, for it contradicts some of the expectations about neighborhood racial change. Setting aside the idea of a specific tipping point, the model of residential succession which has framed most studies of neighborhood transition emphasizes the several stages of penetration, invasion, and consolidation by which one group displaces another from a neighborhood, and it tends to assume that population turnover is a one-way process. Duncan and Duncan thus wrote in 1957 that "the succession of areas from non-Negro to Negro occupancy has infrequently been arrested, interrupted, or reversed, once under way, although areas have differed widely in the rate at which this succession had taken place." In a review article in 1975, Aldritch agreed that more recent evidence also shows that examples of short-term stability in an interracial neighborhood or of reversal in the pattern of increasing segregation are "exceptions to the rule."²²

Figure 1



Within the Norfolk metropolitan area, Colonial Place-Riverview is the only community which is such an exception. The fact that the regional housing market has not produced stable integration at more than nominal levels in new subdivisions or in similar core city neighborhoods indicates that important keys to successful integration are to be found at the neighborhood level. The following paragraphs therefore compare the specifics of the Colonial Place experience with patterns of neighborhood behavior in racially changing communities elsewhere in the United States. On the one hand, the career of Colonial Place appears to confirm three generalizations about local integration, including the importance of specific housing characteristics in maintaining a flow of white buyers and the roles of public assistance and neighborhood image in enhancing local attractiveness. On the other hand, Colonial Place suggests that neighborhood leadership may be more important and social homogeneity less important than commonly allowed as components of an attractive integrated community.

On the first point, there is a broad agreement that the key to maintaining a biracial neighborhood is the persistence of white demand after the entry of black residents and that the primary factors supporting such demand are practical attractions. The suitability of the housing itself, including type of units and cost, is therefore extremely important. Since the rental or purchase of housing also involves the choice of a group of associated attributes, the amenities offered by the neighborhood are equally important. Locational decisions are thus influenced by the neighborhood's level of public services, its physical charm, its proximity to jobs and shopping, and its ethnic or religious affiliations.²³

Indeed, community leaders in Colonial Place-Riverview emphasize the neighborhood's amenities as its chief attractions. A recent survey of twenty-two present and former Civic League officers elicited 28 citations of the neighborhood location, natural setting, or physical attractiveness as the most highly valued characteristics of the community. There were eighteen references to neighborliness or sense of community, ten to the size, value, or design of housing, and nine to social diversity and racial integration. Moreover, white and black residents share a mutual basis for continued civic action. The 1973 survey by Raymond Rosenfeld showed that preintegration white residents, newer white residents, and black residents have a common concern about the physical upgrading of the neighborhood. The most frequent complaints about the quality of public services by all three groups referred to parks and recreation, housing, education, and roads. Community leaders in 1977 continued to show the greatest dissatisfaction with these services.²⁴ Significantly, the Civic League has tried to build on the concern for practical attractions. By focusing on problems of traffic regulation and open space and by providing continued support for the Conservation District/Occupancy Permit program, it offers the possibility of unifying the community around a positive program of action which can provide visible benefits to residents.

Outside commitment has also been necessary to help preserve the positive amenities of neighborhood and housing. The stabilization effort has combined capital investment and code enforcement by public agencies, low interest loans through private sources using federal seed moneys and guarantees, and active citizen involvement in the formulation of goals and the generation of neighborhood support. This allied effort closely resembles the Neighborhood

Housing Services program which has been successfully implemented in Pittsburgh and which has served as a model for similar programs elsewhere under the leadership of the Urban Reinvestment Task Force of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.²⁵

A third area in which the experience of Colonial Place supports the accepted ideas about neighborhood change lies in the importance of a clear shared definition and image of the community among both its residents and the larger metropolitan population.²⁶ Because the city of Norfolk as a whole has clearly defined neighborhoods, the general public commonly thinks in terms of neighborhood units. Local government officials are equally accustomed to formulate policy for service delivery in terms of established geographical subareas. Within this context, Colonial Place is one of the most distinct of the city's component communities, with boundaries marked on three sides by water or open space and on the fourth side by an arterial street. Riverview is equally well defined by water, a commercial street, and a large city park. Pressures of ghetto expansion have thus come only from the south across a recognizable boundary, and city officials have had no difficulty in defining Colonial Place-Riverview as a logical unit to receive special programs.

In addition, the Colonial Place waterfront provides a positive symbol for the neighborhood, for its circumferential road provides one of Norfolk's few areas of public access to a long stretch of waterfront. Analysis of six major items of publicity about Colonial Place published since 1970 indicates the importance of its natural setting in building a positive image. Five of the six items emphasized the waterfront in text and/or pictures and five also emphasized interior open space and trees. In short, the neighborhood within the public mind stands not only for racial integration but also for specific advantages of natural setting and geographical compactness.²⁷

Although Colonial Place fits the expected pattern for integrated neighborhoods in the three ways described above, it also contradicts two other important generalizations. First, a number of scholars agree that middle class neighborhood associations are of little value in preserving racial balance. They are described as short-lived, limited in their aims, and uncertain about their tactics.²⁸ In the Bagley neighborhood in Detroit, for example, the Community Council devoted considerable effort to the formation of block groups whose actual function had not been clearly defined. Moreover, many middle class neighborhood groups are viewed by their white members largely as "abstract, philosophical and guilt-relieving." Participants in the "Bridgeview Community Conference," for example, "derived their major satisfaction from organizing intergroup relations discussions and preparing or distributing printed material on the merits of interracial communities." The general conclusion of Aldritch is that "racial succession. . . is not amenable to reversal at the level of community association activity."²⁹

Colonial Place diverges from the commonly described pattern in the persistence of its local leadership and in the clarity of its community goals. The Civic League has attracted over 250 members each of the past three years and attendance at its bimonthly meeting ranges between forty and eighty persons, about one-fifth of whom are black and four-fifths white. Of the twenty-two Civic League activists who responded to the recent questionnaire, thirteen were persons

who moved to Colonial Place or Riverview before integration, four were persons who moved in between 1966 and 1970, and five were more recent arrivals. Seventeen of the twenty-two leaders joined the League before 1970, and all but two agreed that the organization was working effectively toward its goals. Although Old Dominion University faculty have been important catalysts for the stabilization effort, they have never dominated the Civic League. The most serious weakness in the community leadership is a limited involvement of black residents, probably attributable to the socioeconomic patterns described below.

Over the last decade, the Civic League has not only mobilized local residents but has also developed a sophisticated program for representing the community to outside institutions. One of its tactics has been the establishment of a "neighborhood coalition committee" to agitate new issues and apply strong pressure on the city government while the Civic League itself serves broader functions and projects a more "reasonable" image. In turn, the existence of an intermediary between residents and city officials has helped to facilitate public intervention and to maintain community self-confidence. In developing basic community strategy, the local leadership has recognized that the key to racial stabilization is not so much "right thinking" by present residents as it is the attraction of newcomers to replace the natural attrition of white residents. The shift of emphasis to housing and community improvements in the early seventies was thus seen as taking a more forward defensive position after coping with the initial crisis of panic and white flight. Important evidence of the coherence of the community stabilization strategy is the fact that the Colonial Place leadership defines integration and improved racial relations as the major community goal but as a secondary problem, while housing quality and physical upkeep, which are important tools in the stabilization effort, are seen as major problems but only as subordinate long-range goals.

The quality of community leadership may be tied indirectly to Norfolk's southern location. As is elsewhere in the South, the crisis of residential integration did not hit Norfolk until the 1960s, and Colonial Place residents were able to benefit from the earlier experience of northern cities. They were able to evaluate the relative success of different community tactics and strategies and to make use of public programs developed in the 1960s in response to the failure of integration in the North. If the Colonial Place experience is typical, the lag in urbanization in the South may possibly allow the region to ameliorate some of the more serious consequences of that process.

A second accepted argument stresses the difficulty of promoting integration in socially heterogeneous neighborhoods. New developments are supposedly easier to integrate than older neighborhoods because of the uniformity of housing types and the centralized market control.³⁰ Americans are also thought to be particularly unwilling to accept socioeconomic mixing as an accompaniment of integration, with successful experiments coming only in communities housing a single socioeconomic class. A recent summary of the literature on residential segregation concludes that "there is no evidence from field studies that socioeconomic mixing is feasible. The trend in movements of urban population is toward increasing separation of socioeconomic categories."³¹

In fact, Colonial Place appears to have benefited from the diversity of its housing types and its consequent attraction for persons of differing class levels.

Initial sales to blacks in the 1960s involved duplexes or smaller frame houses built from 1915 to 1930. The early 1970s saw the continued sale of such houses to blacks as well as the purchase of more solid homes of 1910-1940 vintage by both blacks and whites. In the last three years, white families have begun to purchase larger and more expensive houses built from the 1900s through the 1950s. The result is that parallel and partially autonomous housing markets exist within the same small neighborhood. The upper price housing market (\$40,000-70,000 in 1976-78) involves sales almost exclusively to whites, the middle price market (\$25,00-40,000) involves sales to both blacks and whites, and the low price market (\$10,000-25,000) involves sales either to blacks or to younger whites looking for a bargain price on a deteriorated property suitable for rehabilitation.³² Since the pattern of building has created clear distinctions in the character and value of structures on a block by block scale, purchasers tend to be concerned about the value of nearby structures rather than that of the entire area. By extension, white concern about the effects of racial integration on community ambiance and livability focuses more on the block than on the larger neighborhood, a pattern which may allow integration to be viewed as an individual rather than a mass movement.³³

Although important differences have developed in the range of housing prices paid by members of each race, family income differences are relatively small. In 1970, within the entire Census Tract 28 including both Colonial Place and Riverview, median family income was \$8939 for blacks and whites together and \$7545 for blacks alone (compared with \$7821 for the entire city of Norfolk). Median income of black families moving into Colonial Place in 1970 was in fact higher than that of new white families. Three years later, roughly equal numbers of white and black families reported family incomes of \$5000-19,999, although twice as many black as white families reported incomes under \$5000 and twice as many white as black families fell in the \$20,000+ range.³⁴

The income figures conceal a significant difference among whites and blacks on other indicators of social status. In 1973, 43.6 percent of the white adults but only 12.8 percent of the blacks had at least some education. Professional, semiprofessional, clerical and sales jobs accounted for 48.4 percent of the whites but only 18.0 percent of the blacks. Blue collar and service jobs accounted for only 24.1 percent of whites but 69.2 percent of blacks. The remaining 27.4 percent of whites and 12.8 percent of blacks were retired, unemployed, or students. It thus appears that the number of students, retired persons and relatively low-paid white collar workers (such as teachers and other public employees) helps to hold the white income average below what might be expected from other status indicators.³⁵ By contrast, many of the black family incomes reflect two employed persons or skilled workers whose high wages have allowed the purchase of a home. More broadly, Colonial Place at the present time is attracting large numbers of white professionals who enjoy its convenience to the Navy Base, Old Dominion University, and downtown offices, but it attracts few black professionals, who prefer newer neighborhoods located closer to predominantly black Norfolk State College.

Colonial Place therefore embraces two subcommunities which exist physically intermingled—a middle class, white, professional community and a black community of nearly comparable income but lower social status. According

to figures developed by Taeuber and Taeuber, older integrated neighborhoods in the South often show dissimilar socioeconomic levels for black and white residents. Although Colonial Place integration is the result of contemporary decisions rather than historical heritage, the heterogeneity of its population repeats the southern pattern. This peaceful coexistence of groups which are dissimilar both in race and socioeconomic position may be attributable to an older southern style in race relations in which social distance can be maintained without the requirement of physical distance.³⁶ Certainly in Norfolk there is no history of black militancy to make the city's whites feel insecure about their social position. The fact that many Colonial Place blacks are families trying to earn and save their way into the middle class also makes it difficult to perceive them as a threat. Whites in Colonial Place may thus be willing to accept substantial racial integration because they believe that the physical proximity of blacks is not likely to reduce either their property values or their social standing. In turn, these attitudes may indicate a new version of the historic southern pattern of long term stability and socioeconomic mixture in integrated areas.

Public Policy and Neighborhood Integration

The strong conclusion from the foregoing analysis is that attitudes toward real estate are more important than attitudes toward people in the achievement of a stable biracial neighborhood. As with other studies, we have found that the successful pursuit of neighborhood integration requires primary attention to the total package of factors which influence the market for housing, from the character and price of individual dwellings to the prestige and amenities of the surrounding community.³⁷ A combination of positive appeals from attractive housing and racial indifference is the most likely set of factors which can lead to integration, with racial harmony as a possible consequence rather than as a prerequisite.

For example, Colonial Place indicates that there is less need than commonly thought to preserve class homogeneity on the neighborhood scale. Planners and developers prefer to raise single-class in-town communities out of the rubble of urban renewal on the assumption that residents will feel more comfortable among their own sort, but it is important to remember that heterogeneity can be an urban value. Colonial Place offers a pattern of spatial mixing of races and social classes accompanied by limited, unforced social contact between two neighborhood subcommunities which are attracted by different aspects of the local real estate. Such a socially and racially diverse neighborhood, which combines the amenities of middle-price, single-family housing with free choice among a variety of associates, may be able to offer some of the virtues of both inner-city and suburban locations.

In relation to community groups, the scholarly literature agrees that community-centered efforts to prevent panic among white residents or to build interracial understanding are largely irrelevant to the process of community change.³⁸ However, the experience of the Colonial Place-Riverview Civic League indicates that such groups can be effective forces for racial stabilization if they try to affect public officials rather than themselves. As pressure groups with a specific agenda, neighborhood civic leagues can provide strong assistance in securing

public aid and investment that will significantly enhance the appeal of local real estate. Indeed, by presenting city officials the chance to achieve the dual goals of integration and the conservation of real estate values with a single commitment of public effort, integrating neighborhoods may be able to gain priority in the allocation of municipal resources.

A broader implication of this conclusion is the need to bring together policies which are designed to promote residential integration with those which are intended to aid neighborhood preservation. Because of the character of ghetto expansion, concern about integration has focused on middle class communities. Neighborhood conservation and rehabilitation programs, in contrast, have aimed at either low-income or high-income communities and have developed with little attention to their effects on racial relations. When applied to poorer neighborhoods as an alternative to slum clearance and public housing, conservation and rehabilitation have the potential problem of becoming tools for preserving white ethnic communities from challenge by minority groups. Other efforts to restore or preserve the charm of older downtown areas may in fact result in the eviction of black residents when affluent whites recolonize the newly stylish city center.³⁹ In general terms, the conservation movement is a typical product of the federal policy orientation of the early seventies, emphasizing the operation of the private market and local initiative, evaluating projects in terms of economic feasibility, and accepting the mutual isolation of the nation's component groups.

Lack of interest in the racial implications of neighborhood conservation has existed in both the private and public spheres. A recent summary volume on architectural and neighborhood preservation sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation thus makes no mention of integration as either a goal or a problem. A HUD survey in 1975 of one hundred neighborhood preservation programs also failed to mention racial relations or integration as an important issue, while a HUD volume describing the Neighborhood Housing Services program misread its own evidence in dismissing the question of racial change in twenty-two study communities. A position statement by the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment officials in "neighborhood conservation and rehabilitation" similarly ignored the issue of race. Only in the last two years has the involuntary displacement of established residents through housing rehabilitation become an issue for public discussion, and even then stress is placed on economic class rather than on race.⁴⁰

To the extent that the experience of Colonial Place can be generalized, it appears that programs developed for physical preservation and rehabilitation of housing can strengthen efforts at integration. Since the suburbanization of blacks in the 1970s has largely involved the creation of new all-black communities beyond core city boundaries and since middle-class white suburbs are unlikely to open to minority residents in the near future, the pressures of integration will continue to fall on existing central city communities.⁴¹ Especially in southern cities with rapidly growing black populations, it is therefore essential to make imaginative use of the full range of policy tools which when adapted to local circumstances can further the development of residential integration.

NOTES

¹Colonial Place has been treated previously in a set of essays by Carl Abbott, Kenneth Galchus, Norman Pollock, and Raymond Rosenfeld published as **The Evolution of an Urban Neighborhood: Colonial Place, Norfolk, Virginia** (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Institute of Government, 1975). This essay would not be possible without the availability of this work and without the cooperation of members of the Colonial Place-Riverview Civic League, of which Margery Abbott served as President for 1976-78.

²Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, **The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Transition** (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959); Harvey Molotch, *Racial Change in a Stable Community*, **American Journal of Sociology**, 75 (Sept. 1969), 226-37; Harvey Molotch, *Racial Integration in a Transition Community*, **American Sociological Review**, 34 (Dec. 1969), 878-93; Chester Rapkin and William Grigsby, **The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960); Eleanor Wolf and Charles N. Lebeaux, **Change and Renewal in an Urban Community: Five Case Studies** (New York: Praeger, 1969); Albert Mayer, *Russell Woods: Change without Conflict*, in **Studies in Housing and Minority Groups**, ed. Nathan Glazer and David McEntire (Berkeley, 1960); Davis McEntire, **Residence and Race** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 342-43; C. M. Baressi, *Racial Transition in an Urban Neighborhood*, **Growth and Change**, 3 (July 1972), 16-22; Solomon Sutker and Sara Smith Sutker, **Racial Transition in the Inner Suburb: Studies of the St. Louis Area** (New York, 1974); Josua Fishman, *Some Social and Psychological Determinants of Intergroup Relations in Changing Neighborhoods: An Introduction to the Bridgeview Study*, **Social Forces**, 40 (Oct. 1961), 42-50.

³Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, **Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change** (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 5, 44-51; Leo Schnore and Phillip C. Evenson, *Segregation in Southern Cities*, **American Journal of Sociology**, 72 (July 1966), 58-67; Nicholas J. Demerath and Harlan W. Gilmore, *The Ecology of Southern Cities*, in **The Urban South**, ed. Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 156-58; McEntire, **Residence and Race**, pp. 36, 72; Elizabeth L. Virrick, *New Housing for Negroes in Dade County*, Forrest E. LaViolette, *The Negro in New Orleans*, and Robert A. Thompson, Hylan Lewis, and Davis McEntire, *Atlanta and Birmingham: A Comparative Study in Negro Housing*, all in Glazer and McEntire, **Housing and Minority Groups**.

⁴Normal M. Bradburn, Seymour Sudman, and Galen L. Gockel **Racial Integration in American Neighborhoods: A Comparative Study** (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1970), pp. 73-75, 79, 91.

⁵Taeuber and Taeuber, **Negroes in Cities**, p. 6.

⁶Theodore Lowi, **The End of Liberalism** (New York: Norton, 1969), pp. 250-66; Carl Abbott, *Norfolk: From Honky Tonk to Honky Glitter*, **Southern Exposure**, 3 (1976), 31-34.

⁷One indicator is the membership of National Neighbors, an organization of neighborhood groups representing racially integrated communities. In 1976 it drew 14 of its 70 member groups from 8 southern cities. A Memphis neighborhood which began to experience racial succession at the end of the 1960s is reported in Michael P. Kirby and Richard K. Thomas, *The Urban Liberal Arts College and Neighborhood Preservation*, unpublished paper delivered at National Conference on Urban Education, Milwaukee, November, 1976.

⁸**Norfolk Landmark**, Oct. 27, 1907.

⁹Norman Pollock, *Streetcar Suburb to Integrated Community: The Growth of Colonial Place, 1903-1974, in Evolution of an Urban Neighborhood*, pp. 22-31.

¹⁰Leon Uris, **QB VII** (New York: Doubleday, 1970), pp. 109-110.

¹¹Colonial Place and the adjacent neighborhood of Riverview together constitute Census Tract 28, which in 1970 had 4658 people, 1869 dwelling units, and 1192 structures. Within the entire tract, 1245 dwelling units were built before 1940 and 625 after, with 165 of these latter in the Lafayette Towers building. U.S., Bureau of the Census, **Nineteenth Census, 1970, Census Tracts: Norfolk-Portsmouth, Virginia**.

¹²Pollock, *Streetcar Suburb*, pp. 31-36, Norfolk, City Planning Department, **A General Development Plan for Colonial Place-Riverview** (July 1972), pp. 15-16.

¹³**Norfolk Ledger-Star**, Jan. 19, 1968, May 25, 1970; **Norfolk Virginian-Pilot**, August 22, 1970, May 21, 1972; Brown Carpenter, *Open Housing and the Integrated Neighborhood*, **Metro: Hampton Roads Magazine** (Feb.-March 1972), 10-14, 40.

¹⁴In February, 1970, Professor Alex Hawryluk conducted a survey of 481 residents of Colonial Place-Riverview for the Old Dominion University Center for Metropolitan Studies. In the fall of 1973, Professor Raymond Rosenfeld of Old Dominion University conducted a survey of 101 residents of Colonial Place. Findings of the 1970 survey have not been published; results from the 1973 survey have appeared as Raymond Rosenfeld, *Class, Life Cycle, and Attitude Congruence in an Integrated Neighborhood*, in **Evolution of an Urban Neighborhood**, pp. 66-102. The 1970 survey found that 36 percent of local residents believed that the idea racial balance for the community would be 100 percent white, 19 percent believed that it would be 90 percent white, and 45 percent believed that it would be 50-75 percent white. Three and a half years later, the second survey found that only 23 percent of the residents cited racial relations or racial composition as the major neighborhood problem.

¹⁵Pollock, *Streetcar Suburb*, pp. 36-39.

¹⁶Norfolk, *General Development Plan*, p. 24.

¹⁷In January 1977, the authors conducted a survey directed to persons still resident in Colonial Place or Riverview who have held positions as officers or committee chairpersons in the Civic League during the last ten years. Replies were received from 22 of 28 persons so identified. The frequency with which specific problems were mentioned was physical maintenance (15), housing (11), crime (8), and race (6).

¹⁸Kenneth Galchus, *Property Values in an Integrated Neighborhood*, *The Real Estate Appraiser*, 38 (Nov.-Dec. 1970), 15-20; Kenneth Galchus, *Further Evidence on the Effect of Integration on Property Values*, in *Evolution of an Urban Neighborhood*, pp. 43-65. The index used by Galchus is calculated by dividing the selling price of each house by a factor of two times the 1960 assessed value of the property. Multiplying by two converts assessed value into fair market value. This factor was used as a base against which to measure price changes and to adjust for differences in the quality of housing in test and control areas. The Colonial Place index was 1.42 in 1965, 1.41 in 1967, 1.63 in 1970, and 2.23 in 1974.

¹⁹The Rosenfeld survey in 1973 found that 12 of 16 persons who moved to Colonial Place in 1970 were black, 17 of 25 persons who arrived in 1971-72, and 4 of 6 persons who arrived in 1973.

²⁰U.S., Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Housing, Block Statistics: Norfolk-Portsmouth, Virginia*.

²¹Morton Grodzins, *Metropolitan Segregation*, *Scientific American*, 197 (Oct., 1957), 34-35; Eleanor P. Wolf, *The Tipping Point in Racially Changing Neighborhoods*, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 29 (Aug., 1963), 217-222; Frederic L. Pryor, *An Empirical Note on the Tipping Point*, *Land Economics*, 47 (Fall, 1971), 413-18. In some ways the Colonial Place experience parallels that of University City, Missouri, as described in Sutker and Sutker, *Racial Transition*.

²²Duncan and Duncan, *Negro Population of Chicago*, pp. 11, 106; Howard Aldritch, *Ecological Succession in Racially Changing Neighborhoods: A Review of the Literature*, *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 10 (March 1975), 335; Harvey Molotch, *Managed Integration: Dilemmas of Doing Good in the City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 147; Taeuber and Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities*, p. 112; Baressi, *Racial Transition*, pp. 16-17; McEntire, *Residence and Race*, p. 350.

²³John F. Kain and John M. Quigley, *Housing Markets and Racial Discrimination* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1975), pp. 7, 35-37; James S. Millen, *Factors Affecting Racial Mixing in Residential Areas, in Segregation in Residential Areas: Papers on Racial and Socioeconomic Factors in Choice of Housing*, ed. Amos Hawley and Vincent P. Rock (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1973), pp. 162-64; Rapkin and Grigsby, *Demand for Housing*, pp. 42, 115-116; Wolf and Lebeaux, *Change and Renewal*, pp. 501-522; Bradburn, Sudman and Gockel, *Racial Integration*, p. 259; Molotch, *Managed Integration*, pp. 82-112.

²⁴Rosenfeld, *Class, Life Cycle, and Attitude Congruence*, pp. 95-97.

²⁵Roger S. Ahlbrandt, Jr., and Paul C. Brophy, *Neighborhood Revitalization: Theory and Practice* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1975), pp. 2, 127-32; U.S., Department of Housing and Urban Development, *The Neighborhood Housing Services Model: A Progress Assessment of the Related Activities of the Urban Reinvestment Task Force* (Sept. 1975). Also see Molotch, *Managed Integration*, p. 211.

²⁶Gerald Suttles, *The Social Construction of Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 13, 59; Gerald Suttles, *Community Design: The Search for Participation in Metropolitan Society*, in *Metropolitan America in Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Amos Hawley and Vincent P. Rock (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975); *Neighborhood Housing Services Model*, p. 64.

²⁷*Norfolk Ledger-Star*, March 25, 1970; *Norfolk Virginian Pilot*, May 21, 1973, Oct. 31, 1976; Carpenter, *Open Housing: Evolution of an Urban Neighborhood*, p. ix; brochure published by Colonial Place-Riverview Civic League, 1970.

²⁸Suttles, *Social Construction*, p. 36; Michael Danielson, *The Politics of Exclusion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 113, 117.

²⁹Wolf and Lebeaux, *Change and Renewal*, pp. 1-104; Fishman, *Introduction to the Bridgeview Study*, p. 344; George and Eunice Grier, *Equality and Beyond: Housing Segregation and the Goals of the Great Society* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966), p. 74.

³⁰*Introduction*, in Hawley and Rock, *Segregation in Residential Areas*, p. 19.

³¹*Introduction*, in Hawley and Rock, *Segregation in Residential Areas*, p. 20; Nathan Glazer, *Housing Problems and Housing Politics*, *Public Interest*, 7 (Spring 1967) pp. 21-51; Wolf and Lebeaux, *Change and Renewal*, pp. 518-19; Baressi, *Racial Transition*, p. 21; Millen, *Factors Affecting Racial Mixing*, p. 166; Cora B. Marrett, *Social Stratification in Urban Areas*, in Hawley and Rock, *Segregation in Residential Areas*, pp. 178-83; McEntire, *Residence and Race*, pp. 354-55.

³²In 1976, no black home purchaser paid more than \$30,000. The 1969 rezoning of the neighborhood for single-family houses prevented the subdivision of larger homes into apartments and in effect reserved them for more affluent families.

³³Community leaders show a strong tendency to describe and characterize frontage blocks as units, speaking of the "4300 block of Colonial Avenue" or the "700 block of Delaware."

³⁴Norfolk, General Development Plan, p. 8; Rosenfeld, *Class, Life Cycle, and Attitude Congruence*, pp. 80-81; U.S., **Nineteenth Census, Census Tracts: Norfolk-Portsmouth**. The 1973 figures for the three family income categories were (white/black): under \$5000 (14.5/28.2%); \$5000-19,999 (66.1/61.5%); over \$20,000 (19.4/10.3%).

³⁵Rosenfeld, *Class, Life Cycle, and Attitude Congruence*, p. 81. In 1970, 73 percent of black families in Colonial Place were home owners.

³⁶Taeuber and Taeuber, **Negroes in Cities**, p. 5; Wade Clark Roof, *Residential Segregation of Blacks and Whites and Racial Inequality in Southern Cities*, **Social Problems**, 19 (Winter 1972), 395-97.

³⁷Aldritch, *Ecological Succession*, p. 336.

³⁸Aldritch, *Ecological Succession*, p. 336, 338; Eleanor Wolf, *Racial Transition in a Middle-Class Area*, **Journal of Intergroup Relations**, 1 (Summer 1960), 79-80.

³⁹William Grigsby and Louis Rosenberg, **Urban Housing Policy** (New York: APS Publications, 1975); Bernard Friedan, **The Future of Old Neighborhoods** (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Michael A. Stegman, **Housing Investment in the Inner City** (Cambridge Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972), pp. 226-58; Lawrence Friedman, **Government and Slum Housing** (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968), pp. 178-79; Stephan Aduvato and Richard Krickus, *Stable Urban Neighborhoods: A Strategy for the Cities: Housing for American Ethnic Minorities*, **Nation**, 218 (May 18, 1974), 623-28.

⁴⁰Tony P. Wrenn and Elizabeth D. Mulloy, **America's Forgotten Architecture** (New York: Pantheon, 1976); U.S., Department of Housing and Urban Development, **Neighborhood Preservation: A Catalog of Local Programs** (Washington, 1975); **Neighborhood Housing Services Model**; *NAHRO 1976 Policy Document*, **Journal of Housing**, 33 (August 1976), 390-91.

⁴¹Harold Rose, **Black Suburbanization** (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1976).