The Social Areas of Cincinnati

The Four Social Areas Described

One of the major purposes of this report is to take the great mass of 2005 – 2009 ACS data and make it more useful for the purpose of analyzing the needs of various sections of the city.

In Chapter 1 we have described the process whereby the census tracts were ranked according to a complex index of social class and then grouped into four quartiles. Appendix II gives us the actual census tracts and their index numbers. The neighborhoods, their census tracts and overall SES index are shown in Table 2a. The quartiles or social areas themselves can be used as units of analysis, along with census tracts and neighborhoods.

Table 2b shows the summary statistics for the four social areas. Table 2c gives the average statistics. Note that the statistics in any given column in Table 2c merely give the average for all the tracts in that particular quartile. Table 2d gives city totals. Each table presents 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2005-2009 data.

SES I: A High Problem Area

The Social Area Described

SES I is the area commonly thought of as the inner city. It is "worse off" on all the social indicators listed in Table 1a (see Appendix II for actual values). It is the white area in Figure 2. It includes five contiguous areas:
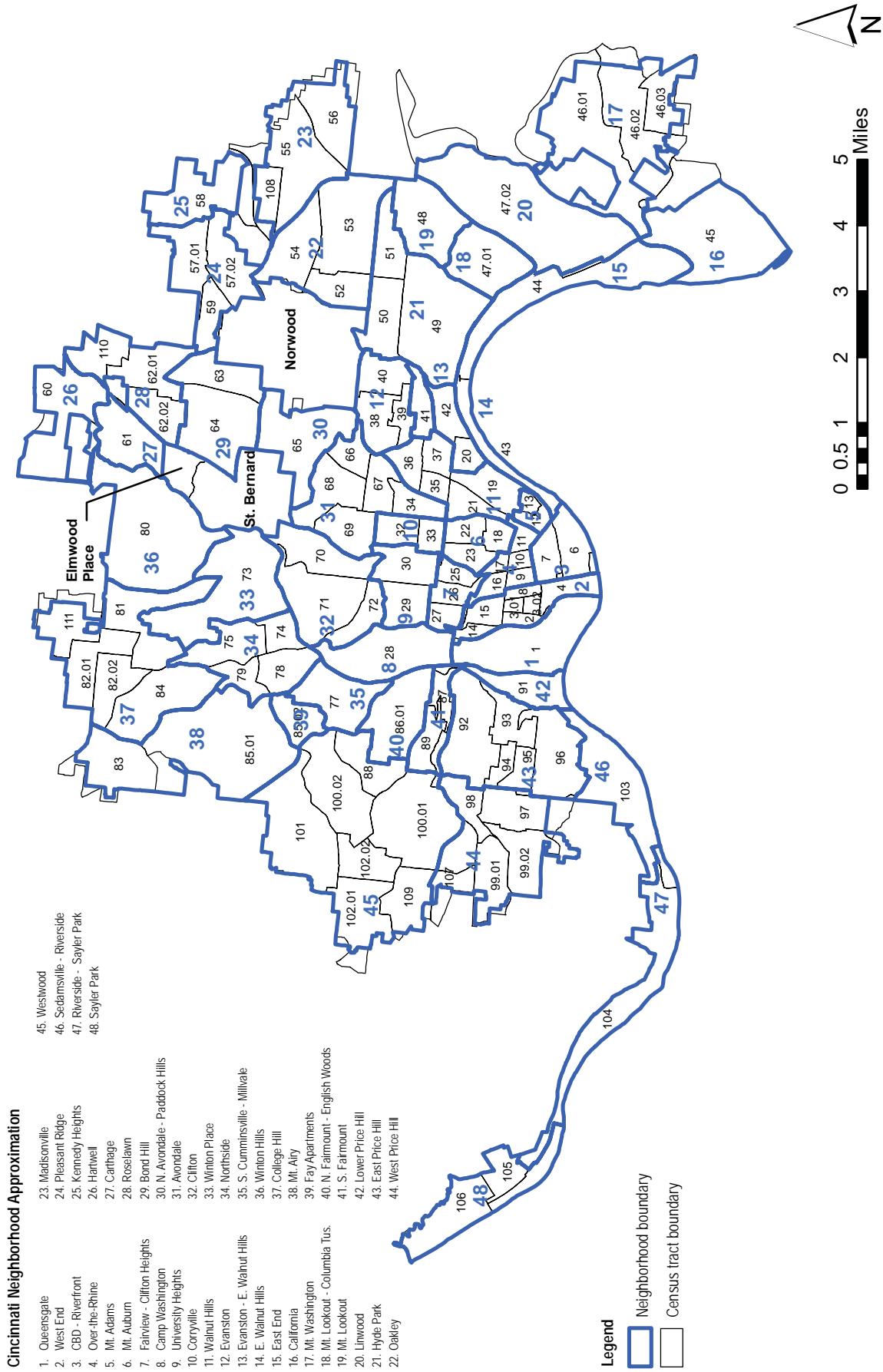
1. An area long the western riverfront which includes Sedamsville-Riverside and Riverside-Sayler Park.

2. An area which stretches from the western plateau up the Mill Creek and through Mount Airy.

3. Much of the Basin Area north of downtown. This includes three census tracts in Over-the-Rhine and three in the West End.

4. An area including most of Avondale and Walnut Hills and one of the Evanston tracts.

5. The neighborhood of Winton Hills on the northern edge of the city which includes large public housing projects.

During the 2000s SES I on the East Side shrunk by one Evanston tract. On the West Side it grew by five tracts including most of East Price Hill, all of Mount Airy, and one tract in West Price Hill. In a dramatic shift, two Over-the-Rhine tracts (Pendleton and Main Street districts) moved from SES I to SES III. In the West End Tract 3.02 moved to SES II. Of the five SES I areas only the one on the West Side expanded. SES I has shifted little since 1970. The addition of five new tracts on the West Side is the most dramatic demographic shift in Cincinnati since this study began in 1970. Table 2b shows the statistics for each quartile for the five census periods. SES I has about 16,000 fewer people compared to 1970 (It is not the same geographic area.) and more than 4000 fewer families. It is 60.4% African American compared to 81% in 2000 and 55% in 1970. The percent first generation immigrants rose from 1% in 2000 to 3% in 2005-2009 perhaps reflecting the growth of the Hispanic population. The percent of immigrants was also 3% in 1970 though at that time most were European. The percentage of immigrants in the other three quartiles changed little in the 2000s. The poverty rate for house-
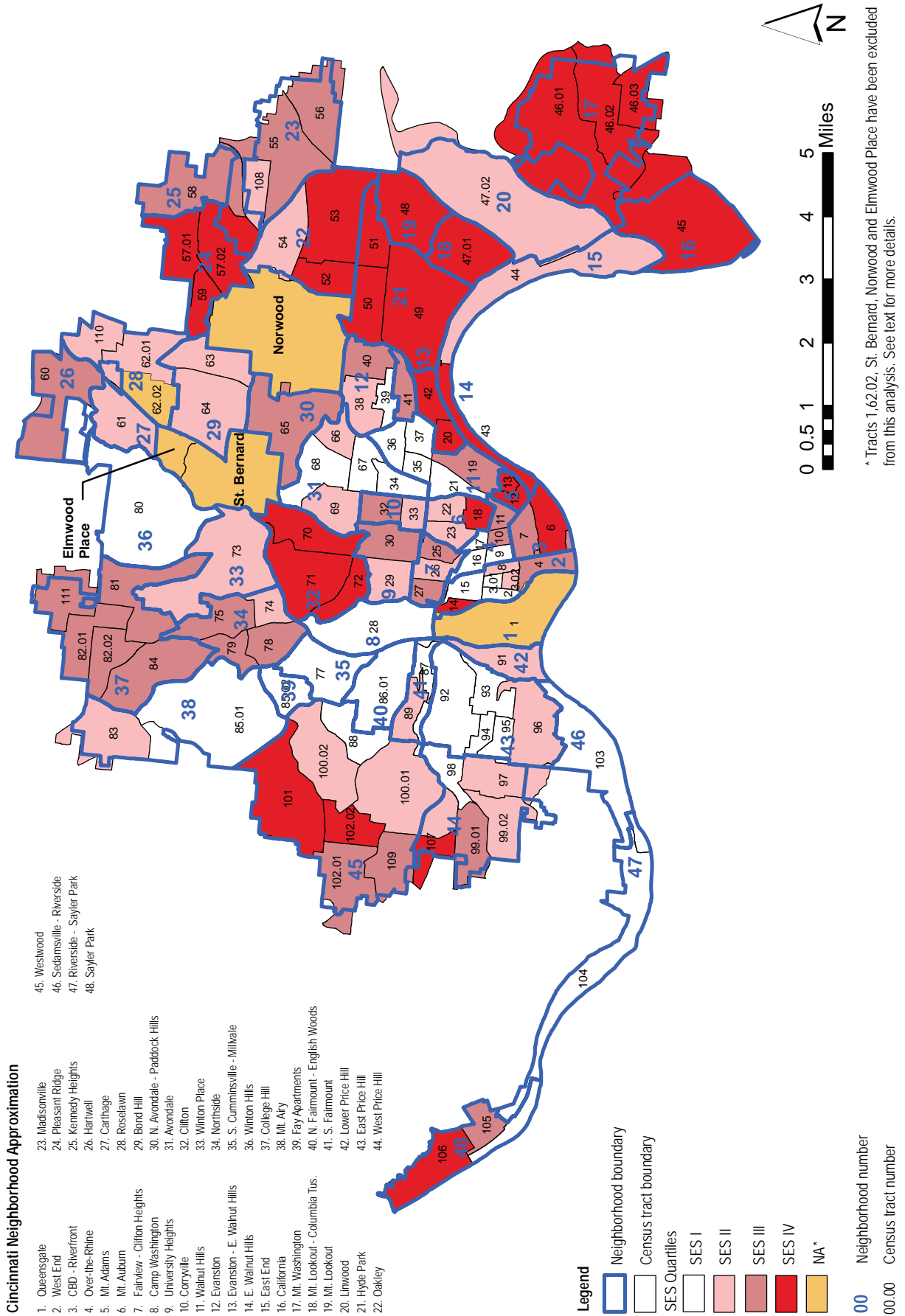
> **SES I is 60.4% African American compared to 81% in 2000 and 55% in 1970.**

holds in this new; more west side, SES I area is higher than 1970 (37.2% vs. 34%) but down from 2000 (45%). The number of households in poverty fell from 11,745 to 10,226. Most of the tracts classified as Appalachian in Chapter 5 are in the West Side SES I cluster. Nearly four (3.8) % of the dwelling units are overcrowded down from 6 percent in 2000. The percentage of dwelling units that are single family rose from 15% in 1970 to 39.3% in 2005-2009. This is only partially attributable to the geographic shift to the west side where single family units are more common than in the Basin (Down-

Figure 1

2005-2009 Cincinnati City Neighborhoods

Cincinnati Neighborhood Approximation

1. Queensgate
2. West End
3. CBD - Riverfront
4. Over-the-Rhine
5. Mt. Adams
6. Mt. Auburn
7. Fairview - Clifton Heights
8. Camp Washington
9. University Heights
10. Corryville
11. Walnut Hills
12. Evanston
13. Evanston - E. Walnut Hills
14. E. Walnut Hills
15. East End
16. California
17. Mt. Washington
18. Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tus.
19. Mt. Lookout
20. Linwood
21. Hyde Park
22. Oakley

23. Madisonville
24. Pleasant Ridge
25. Kennedy Heights
26. Hartwell
27. Carthage
28. Roselawn
29. Bond Hill
30. N. Avondale - Paddock Hills
31. Avondale
32. Clifton
33. Winton Place
34. Northside
35. S. Cumminsville - Millvale
36. Winton Hills
37. College Hill
38. Mt. Airy
39. Fay Apartments
40. N. Fairmount - English Woods
41. S. Fairmount
42. Lower Price Hill
43. East Price Hill
44. West Price Hill

45. Westwood
46. Sedamsville - Riverside
47. Riverside - Sayler Park
48. Sayler Park

Legend

☐ Neighborhood boundary

☐ Census tract boundary

00 Neighborhood number

00.00 Census tract number

* Tracts 1, 62.02, St. Bernard, Norwood and Elmwood Place have been excluded from this analysis. See text for more details.

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

Figure 2

2005-2009 Cincinnati City SES Quartiles

Cincinnati Neighborhood Approximation

1. Queensgate
2. West End
3. CBD - Riverfront
4. Over-the-Rhine
5. Mt. Adams
6. Mt. Auburn
7. Fairview - Clifton Heights
8. Camp Washington
9. University Heights
10. Corryville
11. Walnut Hills
12. Evanston
13. Evanston - E. Walnut Hills
14. E. Walnut Hills
15. East End
16. California
17. Mt. Washington
18. Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tus.
19. Mt. Lookout
20. Linwood
21. Hyde Park
22. Oakley
23. Madisonville
24. Pleasant Ridge
25. Kennedy Heights
26. Hartwell
27. Carthage
28. Roselawn
29. Bond Hill
30. N. Avondale - Paddock Hills
31. Avondale
32. Clifton
33. Winton Place
34. Northside
35. S. Cumminsville - Millvale
36. Winton Hills
37. College Hill
38. Mt. Airy
39. Fay Apartments
40. N. Fairmount - English Woods
41. S. Fairmount
42. Lower Price Hill
43. East Price Hill
44. West Price Hill
45. Westwood
46. Sedamsville - Riverside
47. Riverside - Sayler Park
48. Sayler Park

Legend

Neighborhood boundary
Census tract boundary

SES Quartiles

SES I
SES II
SES III
SES IV
NA*

00 Neighborhood number
00.00 Census tract number

N

0 0.5 1   2   3   4   5

Miles

* Tracts 1, 62.02, St. Bernard, Norwood and Elmwood Place have been excluded from this analysis. See text for more details.

Elmwood Place

St. Bernard

Norwood

town, Over-the-Rhine, West End and Queensgate). Another dramatic change in this social area is that both the number (51,774) and percent (60.4) African American were down. The same is true for SES II. Some of this population moved up to SES III and some left the city as part of Cincinnati's general population loss of 14,000 since 1990. The unemployment rate fell slightly from 18% in 2000 to 16% in 2005-2009. More than 77 percent of the workers are in blue collar or service occupations. Only 70 percent of the adults have a high school education. The median family income is $11,482. The family structure index (% of children under 18 living in two parent homes) went from 24.4% in 2000 to 22.9% in 2005-2009. This means that only one child in four now lives in a two parent family in the core inner city.

> Only 70 percent of the adults have a high school education.

In summary, though all four social areas have been relatively the same geographically since 1970, the SES I portion of the Basin is shrinking and the West Side component has expanded. Since 1990 gentrification has changed the SES designation of the East End from I to IV,

> In 1970 – 1990 SES I, the core inner city, was becoming poorer, more African American, more welfare dependent, and more unemployed. Since 1990 there has been a reversal of these trends.

Liberty Hill from II to IV and some tracts in Over-the-Rhine and West End to SES III and IV. The Avondale-Walnut Hills component of SES I is still large including seven census tracts. However, only one tract in Evanston remains in SES I.

In 1970 – 1990 SES I, the core inner city, was becoming poorer, more African American, more welfare dependent, and more unemployed. Since 1990 there has been a reversal of these trends. By 1990, the percent of households in poverty had peaked at 53%. In 2005-2009 the percentage had dropped to 37.2%. In the same period, the number of households in poverty fell from 11,745 to 10,226. The unemployment rate dropped from 18% to 16%. Welfare continued to decline in importance as an economic support. In 1990, 71% of poor households received public assistance. In 2005-2009, that percentage had dropped to 25. As noted above, some, but not all, of these changes may be a result of the geographic shift of SES I to the west. We say some because the changes began in the 1990s before the big change in SES geography. Whether these generally positive changes in the inner city continue will likely depend on the pace of recovery of the local and national economy, local community development efforts, and the opportunity structure as well as individual and family efforts to overcome obstacles.

SES II: Second Stage Neighborhoods
The Social Area Described

We call this area "second stage neighborhoods" because it is statistically a step up from the core inner city. These census tracts are the light pink area in Figure 2. The area includes large sections in the neighborhoods north of downtown (Uptown), sections of the western plateau, several areas on the north side of the city, and several scattered tracts on the east side.

In the 2000s, Tract 43 in the East End became SES IV reflecting rapid gentrification. Two tracts, 102.01 in Westwood and 99.02 in West Price Hill changed from SES IV to SES II, reflecting rapid change in a downward direction. Mount Airy's Tract 85.01 declined from SES II to SES I. Lower Price Hill moved up to SES II. Tract 96 in West Price Hill declined to SES I. Sedamsville-Riverside declined to SES I. Tract 74 in Northside moved up to SES II. In Over-the-Rhine, the Pendleton and Main Street tracts moved up to SES II from SES I. The same thing happened to Tracts 2 and 3.01 in the West End. Tract 25 in Fairview moved to SES III. In Mount Auburn, Tract 23 moved up to SES II. In University Heights, Tract 30 moved up to SES III. Roselawn moved from SES III to SES II. In Madisonville, tract 55

TABLE 2A

CINCINNATI CENSUS TRACTS AND SES QUARTILES BY NEIGHBORHOOD, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	Neighborhood Population	Census Tract	Census Tract SES Index and (Quartile)	SAS Index	Rank
QUARTILE 1					
S. Cumminsville - Millvale	3,108	77	11.6 (1)	11.6	1
Fay Apartments	1,923	85.02	16.4 (1)	16.4	2
Winton Hills	4,801	80	29.0 (1)	29.0	3.5
East Price Hill	18,798	92; 93; 94; 95; 96	35.2 (1); 21.8 (1); 26.8 (1); 36.2 (2); 25.0 (1)	29.0	3.5
Camp Washington	1,421	28	31.2 (1)	31.2	5
Riverside - Sayler Park	1,577	104	32.0 (1)	32.0	6
Avondale	13,967	66; 67; 68; 69	37.8 (2); 23.0 (1); 28.4 (1); 44.8 (2)	32.4	7
Walnut Hills	6,437	35; 36; 37	22.2 (1); 21.6 (1); 29.0 (1)	32.8	8
Sedamsville - Riverside	1,774	103	33.0 (1)	33.0	9
N. Fairmount - English Woods	3,379	86.01	34.8 (1)	34.8	10
S. Fairmount	3,275	87; 89	28.0 (1); 43.6 (2)	35.8	11
Mt. Airy	9,965	83; 85.01	25.8 (1); 52.6 (2)	39.2	12

Table 2a
Cincinnati Census Tracts and SES Quartiles by Neighborhood, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	Neighborhood Population	Census Tract SES Index and (Quartile)	SAS Index	SAS Rank
QUARTILE 2				
Bond Hill	7,219	63: 38 (2); 64: 41 (2)	39.5	13
Over-the-Rhine	4,677	9: 30.4 (1); 10: 56.4 (3); 11: 55.8 (3); 16: 27.2 (1); 17: 31.4 (1)	40.2	14
Linwood	783	47.02: 41 (2)	41.0	15
Winton Place	2,549	73: 41.8 (2)	41.8	16
Carthage	2,445	61: 42.2 (2)	42.2	17
Evanston	7,028	38: 37.8 (2); 39: 55 (3); 40: 34 (1)	42.3	18
West End	8,113	2: 13.8 (1); 3.01: 23.2 (1); 3.02: 38.6 (1); 4: 55.6 (2); 8: 48 (2); 14: 96.6 (4); 15: 26.6 (1)	43.2	19
Roselawn	9,704	62.01: 51 (2); 62.02: 37.2 (2); 110: ---	44.1	20
Lower Price Hill	758	91: 45 (2)	45.0	21
West Price Hill	19,570	97: 36; 98: 24.4 (1); 99.01: 71.8 (3); 99.02: 51.6 (3); 107: 83 (4)	53.4	22
Corryville	3,072	32: 60.4 (3); 33: 48.6 (2)	54.5	23
Mt. Auburn	5,257	18: 78.2 (4); 22: 46.2 (2); 23: 41.8 (2)	55.4	24

TABLE 2A
CINCINNATI CENSUS TRACTS AND SES QUARTILES BY NEIGHBORHOOD, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	Neighborhood Population	Census Tract	Census Tract SES Index and (Quartile)	SAS Index	SAS Rank
QUARTILE 3					
Kennedy Heights	6,262	58	55.6 (3)	55.6	25
University Heights	8,144	29; 30	52.6 (2); 60.4 (3)	56.5	26
Fairview - Clifton	7,832	25; 26; 27	63.2 (3); 48.6 (2); 60 (3)	57.3	27
Westwood	37,261	88; 100; 101; 102.1; 102.2; 109	24.6 (1); 51.6 (2); 42 (2); 80.4 (4); 74.2 (3); 77.2 (4); 57.8 (3)	58.3	28
Northside	8,376	74; 75; 78; 79	44.8 (2); 67.2 (3); 64.4 (3); 68.4 (3)	61.2	29
Madisonville	11,519	55; 56; 108; 61	74.8 (3); 51.2 (2)	62.3	30
Evanston - E. Walnut Hills	1,814	41	65.6 (3)	65.6	31
Hartwell	5,416	60	66.4 (3)	66.4	32
College Hill	16,949	81; 82.01; 82.02; 84; 111	65.6 (3); 69.4 (3); 64.8 (3); 57 (3); 75.4 (3)	66.4	33
N. Avondale - Paddock Hills	8,746	65	75.0	75.0	34
CBD - Riverfront	3,793	6; 7	71 (3); 80.4 (4)	75.7	35

TABLE 2A
CINCINNATI CENSUS TRACTS AND SES QUARTILES BY NEIGHBORHOOD, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	Neighborhood Population	Census Tract	Census Tract SES Index and (Quartile)	Census Tract	Census Tract SES Index and (Quartile)	Census Tract	Census Tract SES Index and (Quartile)	SAS Index	Rank
QUARTILE 4									
Oakley	13,245	52	90.2 (4)	53	85.2 (4)	54	53.6 (2)	76.3	36
Sayler Park	3,747	105	65.6 (3)	106	87.4 (4)			76.5	37
East End	1,728	43	103 (4)	44	51.8 (2)			77.4	38
Mt. Washington	15,669	46.01	75.8 (4)	46.02	87.8 (4)	46.03	83.6 (4)	82.4	39
Pleasant Ridge	9,451	57.01	82.8 (4)	57.02	75.8 (4)	59	95 (4)	84.5	40
East Walnut Hills	3,617	20	81.2 (4)	42	88.4 (4)			84.8	41
Clifton	8,734	70	80 (4)	71	97.4 (4)	72	85.6 (4)	87.7	42
California	1,285	45	91.6 (4)					91.6	43
Mt. Adams	1,937	12	94.6 (4)	13	94.8 (4)			94.7	44
Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum	3,133	47.01	98.2 (4)					98.2	45
Hyde Park	15,491	49	101.6 (4)	50	101.4 (4)	51	100.6 (4)	101.2	46
Mt. Lookout	4,117	48	102.6 (4)					102.6	47

moved up to SES III. In Evanston, Tract 38 moved up to SES II from SES I. Avondale tracts had no change either way in SES designation. Overall, recent changes in SES II reflect decline on the west and (excepting Roselawn and Bond Hill) positive change on the East.

> The area in 2005-2009 was poorer, less African American and the two parent family structure was eroding but at a slower rate than in previous decades.

With a median family income of only $39,449, most families in SES II struggle to make ends meet. In 1970, 15 percent of the households had incomes below the poverty level. This rose to 18 percent in 1980, 24 percent in 1990, 24 percent in 2000 and to 29.7% in 2005-2009. In 1970, SES II was 41 percent African American. In 2005-2009 this percentage was 54%, down from 80% in 2000. In 1970 38 percent of Cincinnati's African Americans lived in SES II. This fell to 36 percent in 1980, 29% in 2000 and in 2005-2009 fell further to 27%. The number of families decreased from 27,117 in 1970 to 14,181 in 2005-2009. The family structure indicator was 73.5 in 1970 and fell to 32.5 in 2005-2009. The area in 2005-2009 was poorer, less African American and the two parent family structure was eroding but at a slower rate than in previous decades.

Social Indicator Changes

Although there is great variation in income and education from home to home, the overall texture of SES II is that of a working class neighborhood. While the 2005-2009 poverty rate in Over-the-Rhine was 61.7%, in Linwood it was only 9.4%. The unemployment rate in the second quartile varied from 7 in Winton Place to 37 in Lower Price Hill.

Although social workers and educators regard it as a high problem area, the neighborhoods in SES II have their strengths. Many of the census tracts, for example, have, in 2005-2009, less than seventeen percent of their population in poverty and an overcrowding indicator of less than four percent. They are neighborhoods where there are heavy concentrations of families struggling to rise above the poverty they once knew. This is an assumption based on our interpretation of recent Cincinnati history. The data of this report lend credence to the assumption. SES II is an area where most of the housing is multi-family; many of these homes have been converted from single-family use. (A considerable number, of course, are still owner occupied.) Seven workers in ten are blue collar or service workers. Over 20 percent of the population above 25 years of age has less than a 12th grade education.

Even though almost one in three (29.7 percent) of the households in SES II were below the poverty level in 2005-2009 (compared to 24 percent in 1990), community services are usually not as well developed in SES II areas as they are in SES I. Comprehensive community service centers are needed, but are not present in such areas as Carthage, Madisonville, Northside, Sedamsville, or Avondale. Such citywide services as the Department of Jobs and Family Services are trying to become more comprehensive in order to treat the whole range of individual and family problems. They remain centralized and bureaucratic. Individuals from SES II and further outlying areas may be physically and psychologically removed from contact with social services except in cases of extreme necessity. There may be a need for service centers within these neighborhoods(5).

It should be noted that thinking is shifting in some circles from a service provision model to an asset building model of community development. Xavier University and United Way have funded the Community Building Institute to promote the new model. Therefore recommendations about providing more services should be reconsidered in that light. Asset based community redevelopment involves an emphasis on organizing neighborhood residents to utilize their personal, associational, and institutional assets to rebuild the economic and social fabric. Community development efforts such as Price Hill Will and Place Matters Initiative of United Way are responding to neighborhood decline in SES II areas.

Table 2b City of Cincinnati Summary Statistics for SES Quartiles, 1970 to 2005-2009		Quartile I	Quartile II	Quartile III	Quartile IV
Total Population	1970	86,549	116,935	95,902	155,481
	1980	71,824	89,799	111,612	116,682
	1990	78,141	98,954	94,269	92,132
	2000	64,284	81,339	96,066	96,059
	2005-2009	70,425	71,175	116,112	82,154
Total Families	1970	18,712	27,117	22,982	41,132
	1980	6,229	20,434	26,420	29,235
	1990	17,895	23,250	20,720	21,506
	2000	14,336	17,811	21,550	21,307
	2005-2009	14,451	14,181	22,608	17,243
Total Housing Units	1970	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1980	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1990	35,688	43,736	43,347	46,244
	2000	32,472	39,711	46,549	50,292
	2005-2009	36,599	39,316	58,146	43,973
Percent Single Family Units	1970	15%	28%	40%	46%
	1980	19%	31%	41%	47%
	1990	22%	37%	41%	42%
	2000	16%	38%	45%	42%
	2005-2009	39.3%	39.8%	44.2%	51.6%
Total African American Population	1970	47,602	47,943	15,440	13,993
	1980	42,376	46,695	21,206	19,252
	1990	59,632	42,212	25,040	11,037
	2000	51,774	40,601	36,720	12,896
	2005-2009	42,545	38,459	49,467	8,701
Percent African American Population	1970	55%	41%	16%	9%
	1980	59%	52%	19%	16%
	1990	76%	43%	27%	12%
	2000	81%	80%	38%	13%
	2005-2009	60.4%	54.0%	42.6%	10.6%
Percent White or Other	1970	40%	53%	84%	74%
	1980	39%	48%	79%	82%
	1990	24%	57%	73%	88%
	2000	20%	80%	62%	87%
	2005-2009	39.6%	46.0%	57.4%	89.4%
Percent First Generation Immigrants	1970	3%	6%	9%	15%
	1980	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1990	1%	2%	4%	4%
	2000	1%	3%	5%	4%
	2005-2009	3.0%	2.8%	5.1%	4.5%

TABLE 2B
CITY OF CINCINNATI SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR SES QUARTILES, 1970 TO 2005-2009

		Quartile I	Quartile II	Quartile III	Quartile IV
Total Households Below Poverty	1970	6,423	4,063	1,790	1,696
	1980	7,176	3,761	2,213	1,454
	1990	16,072	9,423	5,868	3,637
	2000	11,745	8,387	6,109	4,198
	2005-2009	10,226	8,392	9,959	4,852
Percent of Households Below Poverty	1970	34%	15%	8%	4%
	1980	44%	18%	8%	5%
	1990	53%	24%	14%	8%
	2000	45%	24%	14%	9%
	2005-2009	37.2%	29.7%	20.5%	12.4%
Total Households on Public Assistance	1970	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1980	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1990	11,382	6,053	2,847	1,807
	2000	3,794	1,941	1,193	761
	2005-2009	2,590	1,235	1,495	602
Public Assistance/Poverty Ratio	1970	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1980	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1990	71%	64%	49%	50%
	2000	32%	23%	20%	18%
	2005-2009	25%	15%	15%	12%
Total Population 60 Years or Older	1970	13,346	20,686	15,930	31,075
	1980	10,432	15,186	19,200	27,212
	1990	11,082	16,829	18,743	18,674
	2000	8,043	10,508	16,997	17,323
	2005-2009	9,543	10,477	18,052	15,741
Percent 60 Years or Older	1970	15%	18%	17%	20%
	1980	15%	17%	17%	23%
	1990	14%	17%	20%	20%
	2000	13%	13%	18%	18%
	2005-2009	14%	15%	16%	19%
Total Population Under 16 Years	1970	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1980	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1990	26,367	24,664	16,511	15,446
	2000	20,889	19,343	19,134	15,516
	2005-2009	20,034	14,910	19,109	13,111
Percent Population Under 16 Years	1970	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1980	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]

		Quartile I	Quartile II	Quartile III	Quartile IV
	1990	34%	25%	18%	17%
	2000	33%	24%	20%	16%
	2005-2009	28%	21%	16%	16%
Total Unemployed	1970	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1980	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1990	4,091	4,299	2,592	1,745
	2000	4,090	3,130	3,033	1,772
	2005-2009	4,781	4,049	5,999	2,247
Unemployment Rate	1970	9%	6%	4%	3%
	1980	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]	------[1]
	1990	20%	9%	5%	3%
	2000	18%	8%	6%	3%
	2005-2009	16%	12%	10%	5%
[1]Data not available					

Table 2b
City of Cincinnati Summary Statistics for SES Quartiles, 1970 to 2005-2009

TABLE 2C
CITY OF CINCINNATI AVERAGE SES INDICATORS BY QUARTILE, 1970-2005-2009

SES Indicator / Index		Quartile I	Quartile II	Quartile III	Quartile IV
Family Income Indicator	1970	$5,147	$7,444	$8,944	$11,482
	1980	$8,110	$13,231	$18,641	$22,946
	1990	$11,398	$22,568	$30,913	$44,779
	2000	$17,487	$30,190	$41,848	$73,723
	2005-2009	$28,259	$39,448	$48,937	$93,417
Family Structure Indicator	1970	71.4%	73.5%	80.3%	83.1%
	1980	38.5%	59.0%	76.3%	79.7%
	1990	27.3%	50.5%	69.4%	82.0%
	2000	17.0%	34.7%	50.3%	75.4%
	2005-2009	22.9%	32.5%	48.9%	69.0%
Occupation Indicator	1970	47.5%	38.1%	29.2%	18.6%
	1980	72.0%	56.3%	43.9%	30.5%
	1990	86.9%	79.8%	71.8%	57.3%
	2000	83.6%	74.3%	65.2%	48.9%
	2005-2009	77.3%	72.2%	66.8%	46.4%
Education Indicator	1970	82.0%	68.4%	54.1%	37.6%
	1980	70.6%	53.5%	38.3%	24.3%
	1990	52.9%	38.5%	24.7%	14.6%
	2000	45.4%	30.3%	19.0%	11.4%
	2005-2009	31.1%	22.4%	16.1%	6.8%
Crowding Indicator	1970	19.4%	11.8%	8.7%	3.3%
	1980	11.7%	6.2%	3.5%	1.5%
	1990	9.7%	4.1%	2.1%	0.9%
	2000	6.2%	4.3%	2.2%	0.8%
	2005-2009	3.8%	1.9%	1.7%	0.3%
SES Index	1970	24.1	48.9	74.2	90.0
	1980	17.2	42.0	68.9	93.3
	1990	22.8	50.6	77.0	100.7
	2000	21.5	44.5	69.8	96.6
	2005-2009	31.1	45.7	62.4	86.8

TABLE 2D
CITY OF CINCINNATI SUMMARY STATISTICS, 1970-2009

	City Totals							Percent Change				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-2009	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2009	1970-2009
Total Population	452,524	385,457	364,040	338,669	340,210	-14.8%	-5.6%	-9.2%	0.5%	-24.8%
Number of Families	109,383	91,315	83,399	72,833	68,483	-16.5%	-8.7%	-12.7%	-6.0%	-37.4%
Percent African American of Total Population	27.6%	33.9%	37.9%	42.8%	41.0%	22.5%	12.1%	12.9%	-4.3%	48.5%
Number of African American Individuals	125,070	130,490	138,110	143,070	139,401	4.3%	5.8%	2.5%	-2.6%	11.5%
Percent of Families Below Poverty	12.8%	16.0%	20.7%	18.2%	20.1%	25.0%	29.4%	-12.3%	10.5%	57.1%
Total Families Below Poverty	13,978	14,588	17,235	13,227	13,772	4.4%	18.1%	-23.3%	4.1%	-1.5%
Percent of Persons 60+ Years of Age	17.9%	19.1%	18.0%	12.7%	15.8%	6.7%	-5.8%	-29.6%	24.5%	-11.6%
Total Number of Persons 60+ Years of Age	81,007	73,531	65,417	41,900	53,813	-9.2%	-11.0%	-35.9%	28.4%	-33.6%

As was noted in the First Edition study(3), SES II is characterized by low education levels, high rates of poverty, single parent homes, unemployment and inadequate family income. The 2005-2009 ACS data show school dropout rates range from zero in Mt. Airy, Winton Place and Corryville to 64% in Lower Price Hill. A community survey or review of crime statistics would probably show wide-scale delinquent or pre-delinquent behavior on the part of thousands of 16-25 year olds out of school and unemployed in this area. Neighborhood stabilization requires that schools, religious institutions and social agencies in the communities, backed by neighborhood organizations and area-wide resources, mobilize effective youth and family support services. This approach fits the asset building philosophy.

SES III: Where Front Yards Begin

The Social Area Described

The third quartile areas of Cincinnati, (shown in medium red on Figure 2) are comprised of College Hill, North Avondale, Kennedy Heights, University Heights, parts of Mt. Auburn, Corryville, Sayler Park, Northside, Hartwell, Fairview, Westwood, West Price Hill, Oakley, Madisonville, Evanston, Walnut Hills, the CBD and three newly added tracts in Over-the-Rhine and the West End. If the city can be looked at as a geographic area in which successive waves of foreign or rural-to-urban migrants settle, develop ethnic communities and move on, then SES III could be called stage three.

Intuitively this makes some sense. The writer knows of one Irish family in which one generation was born in the East End, the next in Mount Adams and the third in West Price Hill. Some of the current generation live in Landen. Yet it would be an oversimplification to classify all of SES III thusly. Such an explanation might say a lot about the Germans and Irish in, for example, Price Hill and Northside, but it does not apply to University Heights-which houses successive generations of students and faculty of the University of Cincinnati; or to tract 19 in Walnut Hills, which has become a community of childless professionals. Tract 7

in the Central Business District once had low-income elderly pensioners as well as luxury apartment dwellers.

SES III can be characterized as a series of middle class enclaves which border SES II or SES I areas on their central perimeter. About 44 percent of the residences are single family and many census tracts have large open space areas.

The 2005-2009 population is 57.4 percent white or other and 42.6 percent African American. About five percent of the population is first or second generation foreign born (ethnicity indicator). Median family income is $48,937 and 66.8 percent of the workers were in blue collar

> SES II is characterized by low education levels, high rates of poverty, single parent homes, unemployment and inadequate family income.

or service jobs. On the other side of the coin, 9,959 SES III households are below the poverty line and 16 percent of the population over 25 years of age has less than a 12th grade education.

SES III is not a fortified middle-class sanctuary. In 1970, 14 of the 23 census tracts in this area were at least 90 percent white and eight were at least 99 percent white. By 2000, the area had become much more integrated and included integrated neighborhoods such as Corryville, East Price Hill, and Madisonville. Seven neighborhoods that have at least one tract in SES III also have tracts in SES II and Evanston, Westwood, and Walnut Hills also have one SES I tract. SES III is generally not separated from the lower SES areas by physical barriers such as expressways, parks or steep hillsides.

An examination of the base map (Figure 2) shows the accuracy of this analysis. Evanston, Walnut Hills, and Avondale, for example, are contiguous to higher income areas. As to the feasibility of upgrading various neighborhoods, the Urban Development Department has pub-

lished an analysis entitled "From Urban Renewal to Community Development" which provides an analysis of the requirements to improve housing conditions in several neighborhoods. The City of Cincinnati has developed a housing strategy that would promote both integration and neighborhood stability.

> SES III can be characterized as a series of middle class enclaves

The future of SES III is intimately tied to Cincinnati's success or failure in providing social services, good schools, and physical development programs for the contiguous low-income areas. Residents of SES III are generally aware of this connection and of their need to act positively to solve the problems that affect their own and nearby neighborhoods.

SES IV: The Upper Quartile
The Social Area Described

The fourth quartile (indicated by darkest red in Figure 2) includes the neighborhoods of Mount Lookout, Hyde Park, Pleasant Ridge, Mount Adams, California, Mount Washington, Mount Lookout-Columbia Tusculum, Clifton, East Walnut Hills and tracts in CBD, Sayler Park, Oakley, Westwood, West End, West Price Hill, Mount Auburn and East End. The new SES IV areas are in Sayler Park, Hartwell, the Liberty Hill section of Mount Auburn, the Riverside Drive part of the East End, and Tract 14 of the West End. Tract 111 in College Hill and 102.01 in West Price Hill moved down to SES III. Just as SES I has moved somewhat to the west, SES IV is expanding on the east and in the area north of Central Parkway. In several instances, these areas are contiguous to SES I or SES II areas. Just as often, they are "buffered" from lower SES areas by parks, hillsides, cemeteries, or other open space areas.

Trends in SES IV since 1970 include the fact that today's SES IV has 73,327 fewer people. It is the only social area to continuously lose population. Today's SES IV is slightly more integrated than the counterpart area in 1970. The percentage of single family dwellings has risen from 46 to 51.6 percent. Its immigrant population fell from 15 (Table 2b) percent in 1970 to 4.5 percent in 2005-2009. The percent of households below the poverty level rose to 12.4 percent. Almost two thousand households were on public assistance in 1990. This fell to 602 in 2005-2009. Its elderly population fell to 19 percent, but was a higher proportion of elderly than any area except SES III. Its youth population (under 16) was 16 percent, which is lower than the other social areas. Its unemployment rate was 5 percent compared to 3 percent in 1970. Median family income was a hefty $93,417, eight times that of 1970. SES I, by comparison, saw its median family income increased by less than six times to $28,259 in the same time period. As clearly as any statistic can, this illustrates the growing gap between the haves and have-nots in Cincinnati.

In 1970 the median family income ratio between SES I and SES IV was 2.23. In 2005-2009 it was 3.31. This "inequality index" for Cincinnati did not quite double in four decades. At the metropolitan area level the gap was even wider. The median income in SES I is well below the poverty level. In SES IV the poverty rate for families ranges from 2.5 percent in Hyde Park to 5.5 percent in East Walnut Hills. The overall SES IV poverty rate was 12.4 percent (of households). The Family Structure Indicator declined from 83.1 percent in 1970 to 69 percent in 2005-2009. As with all the social areas, the Occupation Indicator increased dramatically until 1990 then dropped somewhat (Table 2c). The Education Indicator decreased in all four social areas as well. By 2005-2009, only 6.8 percent of SES IV's population over age 25 had less than a 12th grade education, down from 37.6 percent in 1970. Overcrowding has been reduced to a mere 1.7 percent.

Presumably most of the families in SES IV can provide for their housing, social services, and health needs through the use of private resources. Community issues in these areas center around preserving the existing character of their neighborhoods and improving the quality of public education. The issue of the quality of public schools (more than any other issue) brings SES IV people into dialogue with other neighborhoods. There are other problems

which also cut across class lines. Drug abuse and mental health also pose problems which call for public intervention, as do law enforcement and the provision of utilities, parks, public transportation, and services for the elderly. It should also be noted that the poverty rate grew by one third in SES IV in the past decade.

Patterns of Concentration and Dispersal

It has been noted that most of the buildings in SES I are multi-family although overcrowding has greatly declined. It is possible to be more specific and describe three different patterns of high density multi-family neighborhoods.

1.   Public Housing

In 1970 Cincinnati had 7,184 rental public housing units occupied by some 20,000 individuals. Of these units, 5,821 were located in SES I. By definition, occupants of public housing are low or moderate-income families or elderly or disabled individuals. The concentration

> As clearly as any statistic can, this illustrates the growing gap between the haves and have-nots in Cincinnati.

of public housing units in the West End and along the hillsides west of Mill Creek poses special problems for community residents and for those responsible for the planning and delivery of services in these areas.

 One limitation of using overcrowding as a housing indicator is that it does not point to public housing as a "housing problems". Since public housing regulations do not permit "overcrowding," neighborhoods with large public housing projects are not always the most overcrowded even though sections of the tract may be very overcrowded. The five most overcrowded census tracts are in North Fairmount, Lower Price Hill, South Cumminsville, Winton Hills, and Madisonville.

2.   High Density Private Housing and Section 8 Units

Over-the-Rhine, Mount Auburn, and Lower Price Hill, for example, have areas of high density, low-income housing which is privately owned. The existence of large rent supplement rehabilitation projects in these neighborhoods should, however, receive special analysis. Also, in interpreting the data for a particular tract or neighborhood, it is important to note the existence of high rises and large apartment complexes.

3.   Overcrowded Housing in a Dispersed Setting

Columbia-East End and Riverside Sedamsville provide a different pattern of a low-income population dispersed in narrow "string town" fashion along the river. This pattern poses special problems of transportation and communication which have been a perennial headache for planners and organizers in the East End. Note: Since this was written for the first edition in 1974, part of the East End has gone upscale and overcrowding is no longer a major issue in most neighborhoods.

The preceding discussion illustrates that for any specific planning purpose, knowing the SES typology is only a starting place toward neighborhood need definition. New strategies must be developed to link these neighborhoods, spread east and west along the Ohio River, with the rest of the city.

The Target Area Concept for Social Welfare Programs

One possible use of this report is in helping develop "target neighborhood" definitions for various social programs. SES I is considered a critical area for many programs on the basis of data presented in this report. However, this report needs to be supplemented with specific data from the area of intervention proposed. For example, health, mental health and crime and delinquency rates could be mapped out on a census tract basis. Since so many social indicators are highly correlated with social class, chances are that the highest rates would occur in SES I. However, it is possible that for some intervention programs census tract map-

ping would indicate at least partial inclusion of some of the other SES areas, especially SES II, which tend to be neglected. Certainly the data indicate that programs aimed at the problem of family stability or "broken homes" should not be concentrated in any one area of the city.

Problems of the Target Area Approach
A. "Poor Services"
One of the standard criticisms of the practice of creating special programs for people most in need is that such programs for the poor also turn out to be "poor services" and constantly suffer from lack of community support, funding and accountability. The other side of the dilemma is that when resources are scarce it seems only fitting to expend them where the need is greatest. The authors believe that the answer to this dilemma lies in providing certain essential services universally even if it means eliminating some of the present array of subsidies which, in fact, now favor the upper classes. But until there is a restructuring of national social policy it is important to be able to determine the areas of greatest need at the local level, and that is what this report does.

B. The Dispersed Poor
Because some antipoverty strategies have used the "target area" approach, to that degree the poor who live in more affluent neighborhoods are left to their own resources or to seek out private charitable organizations or city or county wide bureaucracies. In the absence of special outreach programs, the poor may never become aware that they are eligible for such services.

In 2005-2009, there were 4,736 families with incomes below the formal poverty level living in the higher income areas (SES III and IV). Table 2b show that 62.6 percent of the poor live outside SES I. Use of the target area approach should not blind us to the needs of those who live outside the high-risk areas. The assumption that it is worse to be poor in all of the social disorder of a "hard core" neighborhood is true, but there can be real human need anywhere in the city.

Refining and Updating Target Areas
In the first edition of this report, the author called for expanding the target area for the programs of the Community Action Commission based on the report's findings. In the second edition, attention was called to the needs of Linwood, Walnut Hills, Evanston, Madisonville, Northside and Westwood because of declining indicators in those areas. Appendix II is especially useful for noting these trends by census tract and by neighborhood. Tables 2e, 2f, and 2g show the Cincinnati neighborhoods which experienced the greatest decline in the different decades.

The third edition (1996) pointed out the dramatic decline which Bond Hill, Avondale, Mt. Airy, Kennedy Heights, and Westwood had experienced since 1970. Between 1980 and 1990 the greatest declines were in Fay Apartments and Roselawn. Various agencies and citizen groups have used previous editions to justify the location of community centers and other programs. These include a senior center in Hyde Park and a recreation center in East Price Hill. Per-

> In 2005-2009, there were 4,736 families with incomes below the formal poverty level living in the higher income areas (SES III and IV).

haps the most dramatic use of the Third Edition was by the civic leaders who successfully advocated for the establishment of a federally funded Empowerment Zone in Cincinnati. The Fourth Edition noted dramatic decline in Mt. Airy and the Fifth Edition points to the decline in Riverside-Sayler Park. Hospitals, university programs, schools, and social agencies have used this report data extensively in proposals seeking funding for a great variety of health, education, and human service programs.

Table 2e
Neighborhoods That Declined 10 SES Points or More, 1970-1980

Neighborhood	Decline
Bond Hill	-28.8
CBD – Riverfront	-23.8
Kennedy Heights	-20.6
Avondale	-20.4
North Avondale – Paddock Hills	-19.4
College Hill	-18.7
South Cumminsville – Millvale	-16.2
Mt. Airy	-13.7
Hartwell	-13.4
Winton Hills	-13.4
Evanston	-13.1
Over-the-Rhine	-12.4
Northside	-12.0
Carthage	-10.9
Walnut Hills	-10.8
Madisonville	-10.3

Table 2f-1
Neighborhoods That Experienced the Greatest SES Decline, 1970-1990

Neighborhood	Decline
Bond Hill	-31.9
Mt. Airy	-26.7
Avondale	-21.5
Kennedy Heights	-21.0
East Price Hill	-15.0
S. Cumminsville – Millvale	-14.2
Westwood	-14.0
College Hill	-13.2
Mt. Washington	-12.4
Fay Apartments	-12.3
Roselawn	-11.4
North Avondale – Paddock Hills	-10.2
Winton Hills	-10.2

Table 2f-2
Neighborhoods That Experienced the Greatest SES Decline, 1980-1990

Neighborhood	Decline
Fay Apartments	-20.4
Roselawn	-15.1
Mt. Airy	-13.0
East Price Hill	-5.8
South Fairmount	-5.6
Westwood	-4.8
Mt. Washington	-3.7
North Fairmount-English Woods	-3.6
Sedamsville-Riverside	-3.2
Bond Hill	-3.1
Lower Price Hill	-3.0
University Heights	-3.0

Table 2g-1
Neighborhoods That Experienced the Greatest SES Decline, 1990-2000

Neighborhood	Decline
Sayler Park	-27.3
Mt. Airy	-17.7
Fairview – Clifton	-17.5
CBD – Riverfront	-14.8
North Avondale-Paddock Hills	-12.2
Westwood	-12.0
University Heights	-12.0
Hartwell	-11.9
College Hill	-11.8
Corryville	-11.4
Clifton	-11.3
Roselawn	-10.4
Winton Place	-10.0

Between 1990 and 2000 eleven neighborhoods experienced SES decline of ten points or more (Table 2g). Six of these neighborhoods also show up in Table 2h as having experienced the greatest long term decline. These are Mt. Airy, North Avondale-Paddock Hills, Westwood, Hartwell, University Heights, and College Hill. At the top of the list for long term decline are Mt. Airy (44.4 points), Bond Hill (39.9), Westwood (26), and College Hill (25). Close behind are North Avondale-Paddock Hills (22.4), Rose-

lawn (21.8), Avondale (21.8), and East Price Hill (18.8). In the Fourth Edition, we reported that Bond Hill, Avondale, Kennedy Heights,

> Six of these neighborhoods also show up in Table 2h as having experienced the greatest long term decline.

Mt. Washington, Fay Apartments, Northside, Roselawn, Winton Hills, East Price Hill and Pleasant Ridge could be taken off the critical list in that none of these neighborhoods, which had experienced long term decline, declined more than 10 points in the 1990-2000 period. Mt. Airy, Westwood, North Avondale-Paddock Hills, University Heights, and College Hill remained on the critical list as having experienced both long and recent decline. These are all second or third ring Cincinnati neighborhoods. Presumably inner city neighborhoods such as Over-the-Rhine, West End, and Lower Price Hill, already near the bottom of the SES scale, have nowhere to go but up. Many did experience gains on the SES Index during the decade. The results of community development efforts show up in dramatic gains in the East End.

Between 2000 and 2005-2009 Mt. Airy, Westwood, and Hartwell reappeared on the list of neighborhoods which declined more than ten points (Table 2g-2). Kennedy Heights and Roselawn which had been on this list prior to 1990-2000, reappeared with big losses. West Price Hill appeared for

> The results of community development efforts show up in dramatic gains in the East End.

the first time. Surprisingly, Mt. Adams, California, East Walnut Hills, Hartwell and Mt. Washington were added to this list in 2005-2009. Though their overall scores remain very high. Carthage lost 10.8 points. The SES decline for Westwood was 10 points, down from 12 points in the previous decade. The losses in

these neighborhoods will be explained in more detail in Chapter 9.

TABLE 2G-2 NEIGHBORHOODS THAT DECLINED 10 SES POINTS OR MORE, 2000 TO 2005-2009	
Neighborhood	**Decline**
Riverside - Sayler Park	-38.4
West Price Hill	-22.2
Kennedy Heights	-21.4
Roselawn	-20.2
Mt. Airy	-15.7
Mt. Adams	-15.2
California	-14.8
Hartwell	-11.6
Mt. Washington	-11.5
Winton Place	-10.8
Carthage	-10.8
East Walnut Hills	-10.8
Westwood	-10.0

Note that the neighborhoods which experienced rapid decline on the SES index are distributed through all four social areas. The tables in this section are based on neighborhood level data. Appendix III can be used to look at SES changes at the tract level. Block group data is also available on CD ROM for those who want to carry small area analysis even further.

Neighborhood leaders and planners of services should study these downward trends and, after determining whether they are artificial functions of boundary changes, plan appropriate service improvements or community renewal efforts.

From the data presented thus far, the authors conclude:

1. SES I should remain a high priority area for health and social service planning and for community development efforts. This area still includes the old core of Walnut Hills and Avondale on the east, the Basin Area north of the CBD, Winton Terrace, and a large and expanding area on the west side. Mount Airy and Riverside-Sayler Park are now "inner city" along with the entire front of the western plateau.

2. Demographic shifts and socioeconomic change

can affect almost any area of the city. Examples of this include recent declines in Mount Airy and, to a smaller degree, Mount Washington.

3. The high-SES core from Mount Washington to the CBD is moving toward consolidation into one solid SES IV area. Liberty Hill (Mount Auburn tract) has joined this area as have non-contiguous areas in Over-the-Rhine and the West End.

> The high-SES core from Mount Washington to the CBD is moving toward consolidation into one solid SES IV area. Liberty Hill (Mount Auburn tract) has joined this area as have non-contiguous areas in Over-the-Rhine and the West End.

4. Poverty is much less concentrated in SES I and II than it was in 1970.

5. Racial isolation is less severe now than it was in 2000. SES III is now 42.6 African American and SES I and II have lower percentages African American than previously. This is a big reversal of previous trends.

6. The poverty rate went up in all social areas ex-

cept SES I where it fell from 45 to 37.2 percent. The core inner city since 1990 has continued to be less African American and somewhat less poor.

7. The welfare-poverty ratio has continued to decline since welfare reform was enacted in 1998. Now only 25 percent of households in poverty receive public assistance in SES I and even fewer in the other social areas.

8. The decline in the Family Structure Indicator has slowed. In SES I it has even reversed slightly (perhaps only due to a geographic shift). This is a remarkable shift in the city's demographic history. From 1970 to 2000 it declined in SES I from 71.4 to 17 and in SES IV from 83.1 to 75.4. In 2005-2009 it was 22.9 in SES I and 69.0 in SES IV (Table 2c). The 1990s saw huge declines in all four social areas. The Family Structure Indicator is 'the percentage of children under 18 living in two parent families.'

Table 2h
Neighborhoods that Experienced the Greatest Decline 1970 to 2005-2009

Neighborhood	1970 Value	2005-2009 Value	Difference
Mt. Airy	99.3	39.2	-60.1
Bond Hill	87.2	39.5	-47.7
Roselawn	86.1	44.1	-42.0
Kennedy Heights	93.4	55.6	-37.8
Westwood	94.3	58.3	-36.0
College Hill	100.7	66.4	-34.3
N. Avondale – Paddock Hills	106.4	75.0	-31.4
East Price Hill	56.8	29.0	-27.8
West Price Hill	79.4	53.4	-26.0
Mt. Washington	107.6	82.4	-25.2
Hartwell	89.2	66.4	-22.8
Avondale	52.8	32.4	-20.4
University Heights	76.0	56.5	-19.5
Riverside – Sayler Park	49.0	32.0	-17.0
S. Cumminsville – Millvale	27.4	11.6	-15.8