

Poverty, Race and Gender in Cincinnati

The concepts of race and ethnicity as used in the decennial census present some complex issues. For example, separate questions are asked about whether a respondent is African American and whether a respondent is Hispanic. This means one can be enumerated as both African American and Hispanic. Moreover, the 2000 census for the first time offered respondents the option of listing more than one race. This means, for instance, one could be multiracial (e.g., white and black) as well as Hispanic.

For the purposes of this report, we have defined as African American all non-Hispanic respondents to the 2005-2009 American Community Survey who listed themselves as being of one race, black. We have done this to maintain comparability with the previous editions of the Social Areas Report, and to avoid confounding ethnicity with race. This is not just a pragmatic decision, however. The social science literature indicates that within American society, multiracial people tend to adapt to the general white population to the extent they are able, while Spanish-speaking blacks do not readily assimilate into the resident African American population.

Poverty in Cincinnati

In 2005-2009, the median percent of Cincinnati families in each census tract with incomes below poverty level was 20.1 percent. The median income for Cincinnati families was \$51,670 (city tracts mean). Figure 3 shows tracts that have poverty rates higher than the tract average of 23 percent (gray areas) and incomes below the median incomes (striped areas).

Most of these income indicators overlap. However, there are five areas on the map that are striped but not shaded. These five tracts have

family incomes below the overall city median, but do not have high percentages of families below poverty. Two tracts (26 and 32) have high percentages of college students. The other three are blue collar Appalachian (61) and African American (41 and 63) sections. Table 4a reveals the numbers behind the map in figure 3.

Women and Poverty

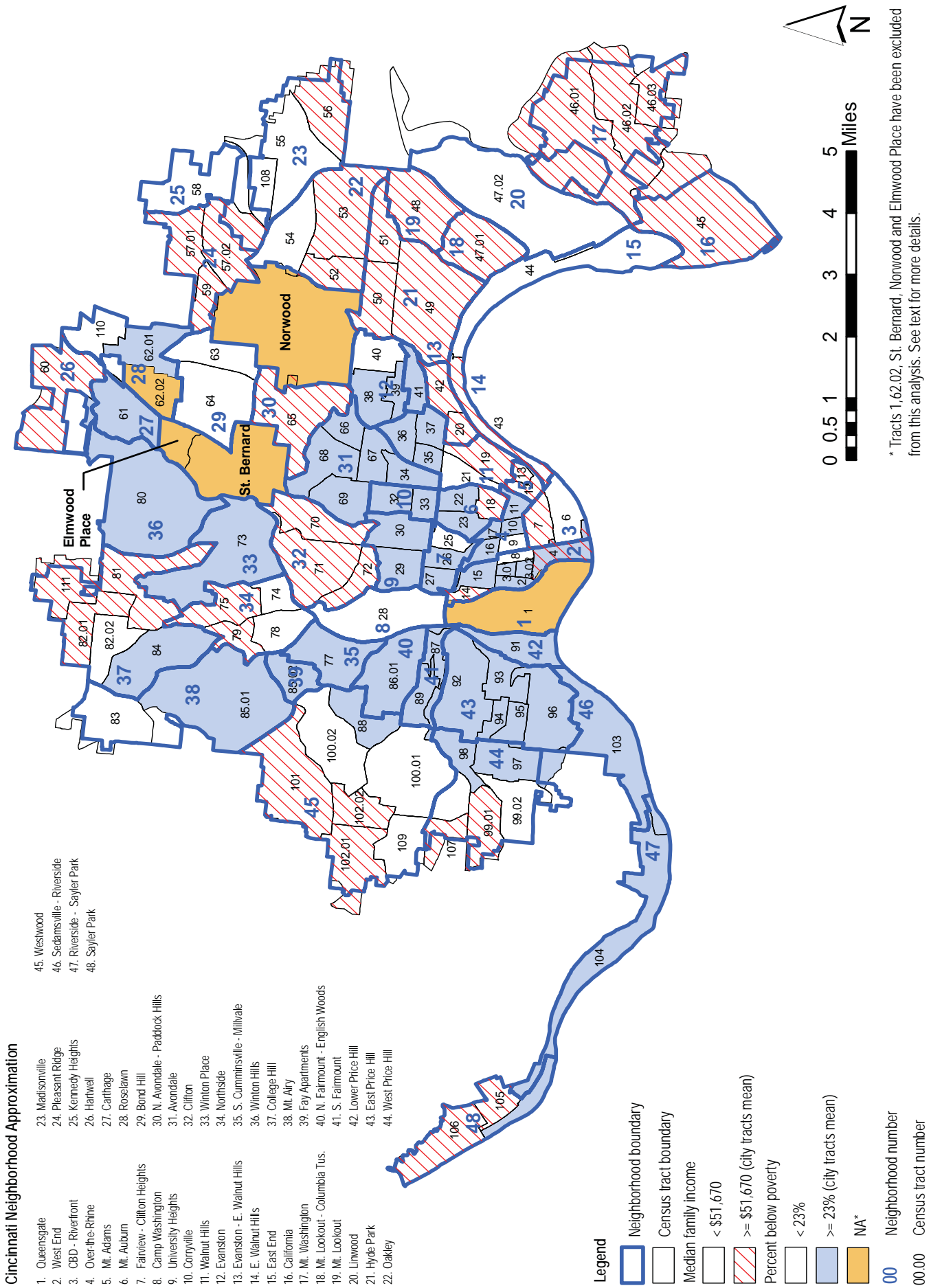
Figure 4 illustrates the relationship between poverty and female headed households in Cincinnati census tracts. Note that the relationship between poverty and female-headed households is not consistent. Several predominantly Appalachian areas and the three tracts in the University of Cincinnati area have high poverty rates but not high percentages of female headed households. Other areas, some heavily African American, have high percentages of female headed households but not high rates of poverty. Excluding the atypical area around the University, Figure 4 makes

clear that even within the African American and Appalachian communities there are a variety of neighborhood patterns. Clearly, poverty and female headed households are not synonymous. Furthermore, there are several low income heavily white Appalachian areas in which traditional family structure is fairly intact. Table 4b provides the numbers and percentage of female headed households in poverty. Looking at all 48 neighborhoods, in 39 neighborhoods the majority of these families with incomes below poverty are female headed.

Looking at all 48 neighborhoods, in 39 neighborhoods the majority of these families with incomes below poverty are female headed.

In 2005-2009, the median percent of Cincinnati families in each census tract with incomes below poverty level was 20.1 percent.

2005-2009 Cincinnati City Median Family Incomes and Areas of Poverty



2005-2009 Cincinnati City Women and Areas of Poverty

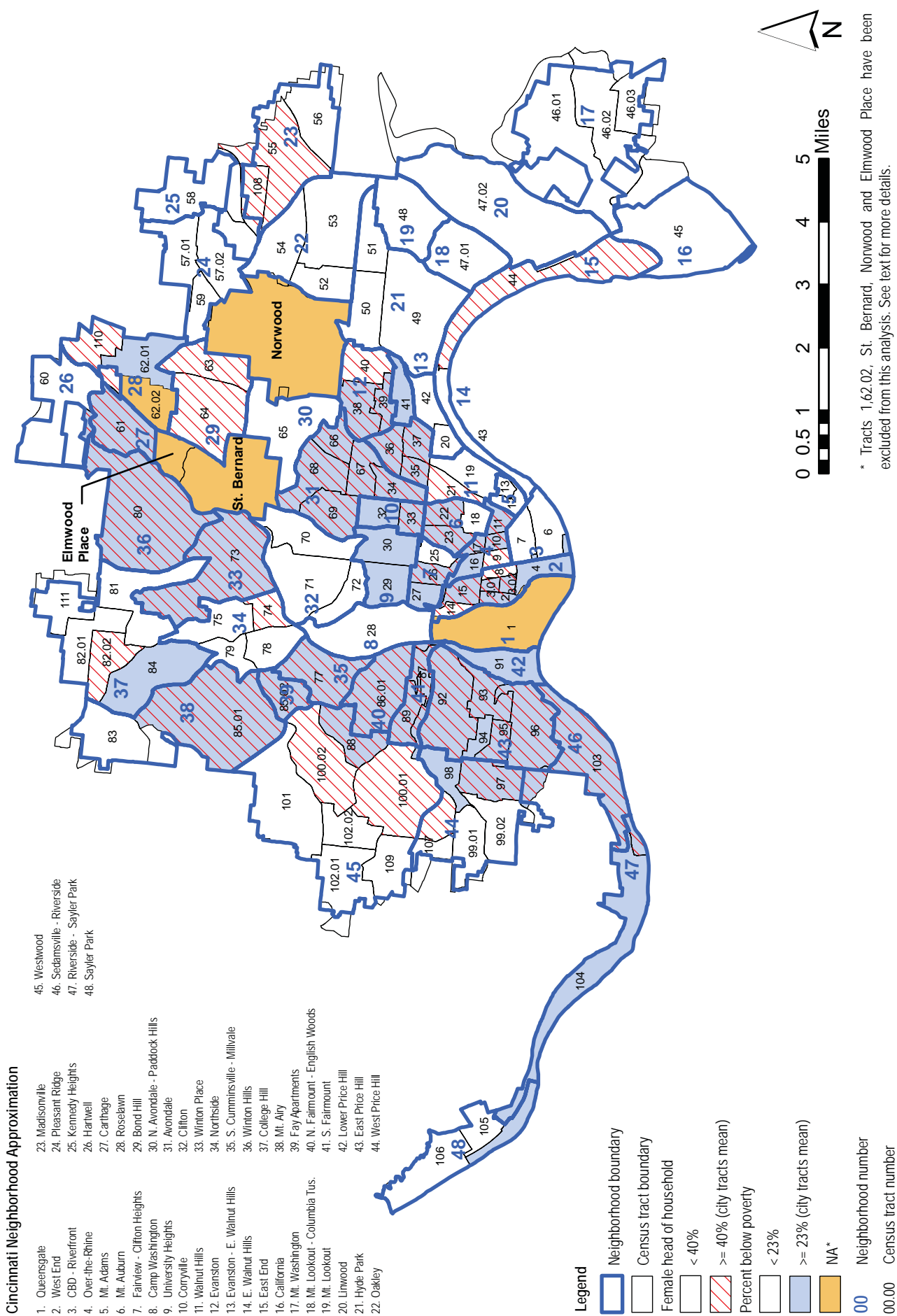
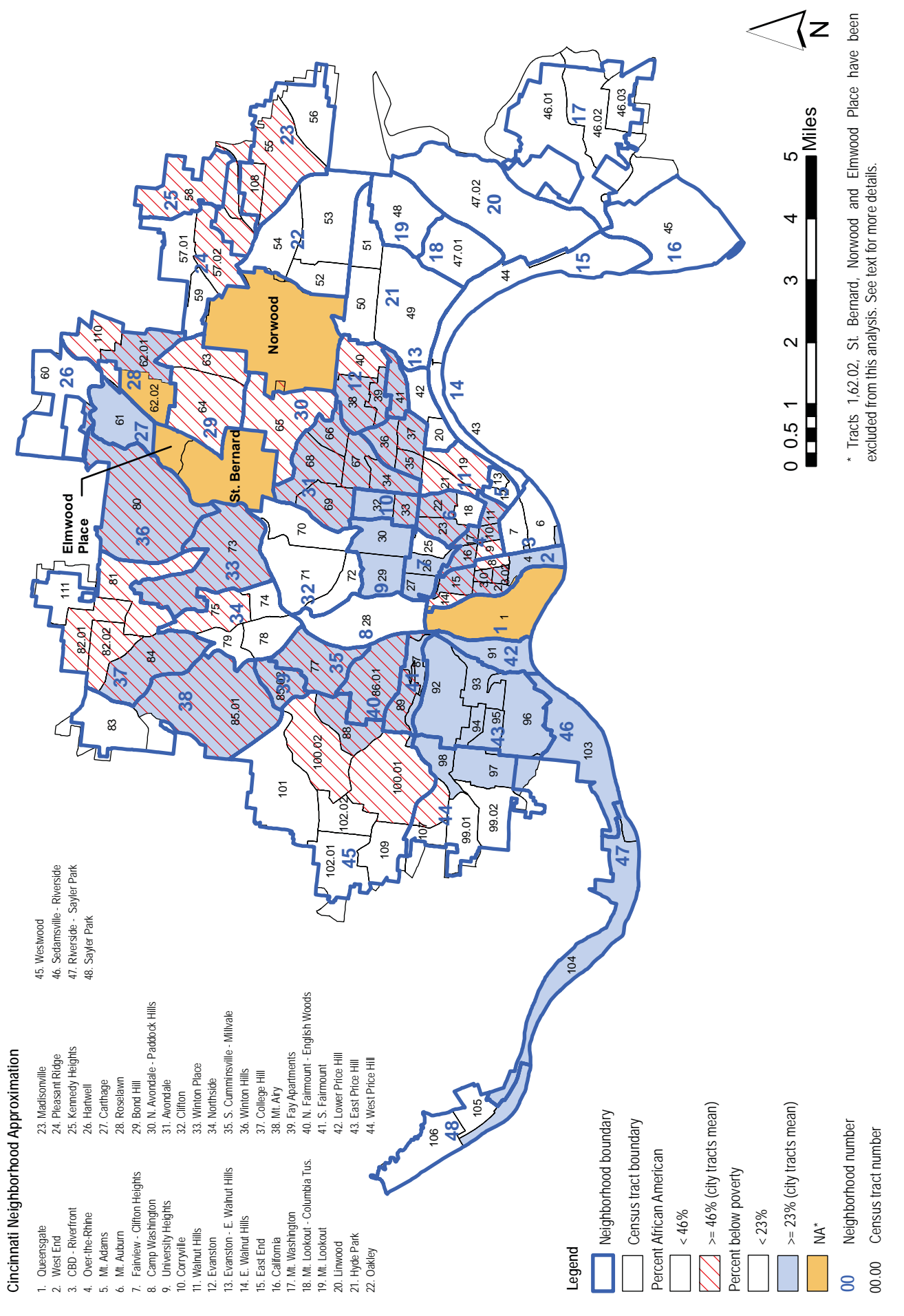


Figure 5 2005-2009 Cincinnati City African Americans and Areas of Poverty



The largest concentrations of female headed households below poverty are:

1. East Price Hill 884
2. Avondale 864
3. Westwood 836
4. West End 759
5. Winton Hills 740
6. West Price Hill 577
7. College Hill 555
8. South Cumminsville-Millvale 395
9. Over-the-Rhine 371
10. Mt. Airy 356
11. Fay Apartments 313

Notably Over-the-Rhine is no longer high on this list. It is also notable that much of this poverty concentration is now on the West Side.

Poverty and Race

Figure 5 illustrates the relationship between poverty and race. The two types of shading show that while the heart of Cincinnati's African American core area is also an area of high poverty, there are numerous tracts in which there are more than the median number of African Americans but poverty rates are not above average. Excluding the University area (Tracts 26, 27, 29, and 30 and Tract 4) poor white areas are shown in the gray unstriped areas. These tracts are heavily Appalachian.

African American Middle Class Neighborhoods

After viewing the 1990 census we were able to write that,

One of the more dramatic and hopeful findings of this report is that the neighborhoods which have become home to the vast majority of Cincinnati's African American middle class have reversed a long trend of declining social indicators and are either stable or improving (Table 4c and Table 9).

Avondale, College Hill, Evanston, Kennedy Heights, Bond Hill, and Madisonville are beginning to stabilize after two decades of decline." Walnut Hills and Mt. Auburn have not only reversed their pattern of decline but, as of 1990, were improving. North Avondale-Paddock Hills,

an SES IV neighborhood, not only reversed its pattern of decline, it also stabilized in terms of racial change (Table 4e).

This picture changed somewhat with the 2000 census. Avondale, Kennedy Heights, and Madisonville continued to improve on the SES scale (Table 9). Mt. Auburn and Evanston experienced a fractional decline that is not statistically significant. Bond Hill, College Hill, and North Avondale-Paddock Hills experienced decline of 8, 12 and 12 points respectively. A review of the tract level components of change in Appendix II

Declines in family structure and housing conditions seemed to be major components of change but there was great variety from tract to tract.

revealed no obvious pattern. Declines in family structure and housing conditions seemed to be major components of change but there was great variety from tract to tract.

Between 2000 and 2005-2009 there was virtually no

change in SES score for Avondale and Evanston. Mt. Auburn gained by 8.5 points (Table 9). College Hill declined for the second decade in a row (by 9.3 points) North Avondale-Paddock Hills by 9 points and Roselawn by 20 points. Kennedy Heights' SES score fell by 21.4, the third steepest decline among the 48 neighborhoods. The biggest decline in Kennedy Heights was caused by the failure of median family income to grow significantly compared to other neighborhoods. It appears that the gains made in the 1980-90 decade for some of these neighborhoods have not been sustained. Outmigration and the national and local economy are possible factors.

**TABLE 4A
CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS: MEDIAN FAMILY INCOMES AND FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY, 2005-2009**

Neighborhood	Median Family Income ^a	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Total Families Below Poverty Level
1st Quartile			
S. Cumminsville - Millvale	\$15,465	56.9%	421
Fay Apartments	\$9,808	71.5%	371
East Price Hill	\$32,508	31.4%	1,201
Winton Hills	\$10,167	66.4%	753
Camp Washington	\$30,465	16.7%	35
Riverside - Sayler Park	\$32,250	26.9%	95
Avondale	\$25,854	37.5%	985
Walnut Hills	\$28,091	34.5%	390
Sedamsville - Riverside	\$25,727	38.9%	167
N. Fairmount - English Woods	\$32,353	27.7%	187
S. Fairmount	\$31,538	38.3%	249
Mt. Airy	\$34,949	21.3%	458
2nd Quartile			
Bond Hill	\$32,447	17.8%	281
Over-the-Rhine	\$10,522	61.7%	539
Linwood	\$44,063	9.4%	16
Winton Place	\$44,345	28.7%	163
Carthage	\$39,669	24.7%	144
Evanston	\$30,764	21.2%	344
West End	\$16,606	48.8%	839
Roselawn	\$41,765	23.2%	348
Lower Price Hill	\$20,568	48.4%	75
West Price Hill	\$47,347	15.7%	679
Corryville	\$28,400	34.8%	119
Mt. Auburn	\$43,438	23.7%	177
3rd Quartile			
Kennedy Heights	\$49,656	11.1%	157
University Heights	\$44,655	23.8%	212
Fairview - Clifton	\$31,187	23.9%	196
Westwood	\$47,048	16.1%	1,305
Northside	\$51,018	13.5%	228
Madisonville	\$54,054	11.9%	323
Evanston - E. Walnut Hills	\$42,083	28.7%	87
Hartwell	\$54,844	14.6%	158
College Hill	\$56,540	17.3%	704
N. Avondale - Paddock Hills	\$59,268	10.2%	131
CBD - Riverfront	\$56,613	0.0%	0

TABLE 4A
CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS: MEDIAN FAMILY INCOMES AND FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	Median Family Income ^a	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Total Families Below Poverty Level
4th Quartile			
Oakley	\$81,911	8.4%	173
Sayler Park	\$68,879	7.2%	53
East End	\$54,211	14.7%	51
Mt. Washington	\$66,195	10.2%	387
Pleasant Ridge	\$62,791	12.8%	301
East Walnut Hills	\$79,167	5.5%	38
Clifton	\$90,369	8.1%	137
California	\$156,098	0.0%	0
Mt. Adams	\$108,475	0.0%	0
Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum	\$118,275	1.1%	8
Hyde Park	\$122,401	2.5%	75
Mt. Lookout	\$168,966	1.2%	12

^a Median family income calculated from 16 income ranges and families per income range

TABLE 4B

CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS: WOMEN AND POVERTY, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	<i>Within Total Families</i>			<i>Within Families Below Poverty Level</i>	
	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Female Headed Families as Percent of Total Families	Female Headed Families Below Poverty Level	Female Headed Families	Total Number Female Headed Families Below Poverty Level
1st Quartile					
S. Cumminsville - Millvale	56.9%	83.4%	53.4%	93.8%	395
Fay Apartments	71.5%	82.7%	60.3%	84.4%	313
East Price Hill	31.4%	44.2%	23.1%	73.6%	884
Winton Hills	66.4%	80.3%	65.3%	98.3%	740
Camp Washington	16.7%	36.2%	5.2%	31.4%	11
Riverside - Sayler Park	26.9%	39.9%	22.7%	84.2%	80
Avondale	37.5%	64.2%	32.9%	87.7%	864
Walnut Hills	34.5%	62.7%	26.3%	76.2%	297
Sedamsville - Riverside	38.9%	49.4%	24.5%	62.9%	105
N. Fairmount - English Woods	27.7%	45.1%	21.4%	77.5%	145
S. Fairmount	38.3%	47.7%	22.0%	57.4%	143
Mt. Airy	21.3%	45.5%	16.5%	77.7%	356
2nd Quartile					
Bond Hill	17.8%	49.1%	14.1%	79.4%	223
Over-the-Rhine	61.7%	55.6%	42.5%	68.8%	371
Linwood	9.4%	23.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0
Winton Place	28.7%	55.2%	22.4%	77.9%	127
Carthage	24.7%	43.6%	22.0%	88.9%	128
Evanston	21.2%	48.6%	18.6%	87.8%	302
West End	48.8%	69.5%	44.2%	90.5%	759
Roselawn	23.2%	43.3%	16.6%	71.8%	250
Lower Price Hill	48.4%	19.4%	13.5%	28.0%	21
West Price Hill	15.7%	31.2%	13.4%	85.0%	577
Corryville	34.8%	40.6%	30.1%	86.6%	103
Mt. Auburn	23.7%	38.7%	21.3%	89.8%	159

TABLE 4B

CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS: WOMEN AND POVERTY, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	Within Total Families			Within Families Below Poverty Level	
	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Female Headed Families as Percent of Total Families	Female Headed Families Below Poverty Level	Female Headed Families	Total Number Female Headed Families Below Poverty Level
3rd Quartile					
Kennedy Heights	11.1%	37.3%	8.7%	78.3%	123
University Heights	23.8%	21.0%	14.4%	60.4%	128
Fairview - Clifton	23.9%	41.2%	15.5%	64.8%	127
Westwood	16.1%	34.9%	10.3%	64.1%	836
Northside	13.5%	30.7%	6.1%	45.2%	103
Madisonville	11.9%	30.0%	7.9%	66.3%	214
Evanston - E. Walnut Hills	28.7%	25.4%	12.5%	43.7%	38
Hartwell	14.6%	29.4%	10.1%	69.0%	109
College Hill	17.3%	35.0%	13.7%	78.8%	555
N. Avondale - Paddock Hills	10.2%	38.3%	9.4%	91.6%	120
CBD - Riverfront	0.0%	21.0%	0.0%	--- ^a	0
4th Quartile					
Oakley	8.4%	17.2%	5.7%	67.6%	117
Sayler Park	7.2%	11.3%	3.8%	52.8%	28
East End	14.7%	45.7%	14.7%	100.0%	51
Mt. Washington	10.2%	21.1%	6.6%	65.1%	252
Pleasant Ridge	12.8%	28.0%	9.6%	75.4%	227
East Walnut Hills	5.5%	20.3%	3.2%	57.9%	22
Clifton	8.1%	17.0%	7.4%	92.0%	126
California	0.0%	3.2%	0.0%	--- ^a	0
Mt. Adams	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	--- ^a	0
Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum	1.1%	7.9%	1.1%	100.0%	8
Hyde Park	2.5%	10.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0
Mt. Lookout	1.2%	12.7%	1.2%	100.0%	12

^a Neighborhood has no families below poverty level. Therefore, percent is an undefined number.

TABLE 4C
NEIGHBORHOOD STATUS, 2005-2009

Neighborhood Status	SES Quartile	Predominant Ethnic Composition	Long Term Trend	Current Condition
Avondale	1	African American	After dramatic decline in 1970s; SES index is stable.	Beginning to stabilize
Bond Hill	2	African American	After dramatic decline, decline is slowing	Beginning to stabilize (slower decline)
California	2	White	Continued improvement until 2000	Stable
Camp Washington	1	Appalachian	Continued Improvement since 1980	Improving
Carthage	2	Appalachian (13.2% Hispanic)	After two decades of improvement, trend has reversed	Declining
C.B.D. – Riverfront	4	White	Tract 6 declined in 1990-2000	Mixed
Clifton	4	White	Little change in 40 years	Stable
College Hill	3	White	Decline in past two decades and in 1970s	Declining
Corryville	2	Integrated (Relatively large Asian population (7.9%))	Continued pattern of improvement except 1980s	Improving
East End	4	White (Tract 44 predominantly Appalachian)	Continued pattern of improvement since 1970	Improving dramatically
East Price Hill	1	White Census Tracts 92, 93, 94, 95 predominantly Appalachian ; Relatively large Hispanic Population (7.4%)	Continued pattern of decline since 1970	Declining
East Walnut Hills	4	White	Continued pattern of improvement until 2000	Stable
Evanston	2	African American	Has almost reversed pattern of decline	Stable
Evanston-E.Walnut Hills	3	White *	Significant improvement 1980-2000	Improving
Fairview-Clifton Heights	2	White	Dramatic improvement until 1990	Declining

TABLE 4C
NEIGHBORHOOD STATUS, 2005-2009

Neighborhood Status	SES Quartile	Predominant Ethnic Composition	Long Term Trend	Current Condition
Fay Apartments	1	African American	Improved 1970-1980	Stable
Hartwell	3	White	Stable until 2000s	Declining
Hyde Park	4	White	Stable since 1970	Stable
Kennedy Heights	3	African American	Had declined since 1970. Improved in 1990s.	Declining
Linwood	1	White	No data for 1970, improved 1980-1990 and 2000-2009	Improving
Lower Price Hill	2	Appalachian	Declined 1970-1990	Improving
Madisonville	3	African American	Slight decline, 1970-1980, improvement 1980-2000, declined 2005-2009.	Declining
Mt. Adams	4	White	Improved dramatically 1970-2000	Stable
Mt. Airy	1	African American	Dramatic decline	Declining
Mt. Auburn	2	African American	Improved since 1980	Improving
Mt. Lookout	4	White	Continued improvement, 1970-1990	Stable
Mt. Lookout/Columbia Tusculum	4	White	Continuous pattern of improvement until 2000	Improving
Mt. Washington	4	White	Dramatic decline in tract 46.01, until 1990	Declining
N. Avondale-Paddock Hills	4	White*	Improved 1980-1990, declined since.	Declining
N. Fairmount-English Woods	1	African American (relatively large Asian population (5.3%))	Declined 1970-1990, improved since	Improving
Northside	3	White, diverse	Improving since 2000	Improving
Oakley	4	White	Stable 1970-1980, improving since	Improving
Over-the-Rhine	2	African American	Improved 1980-1990, fell in 2000, improved 2000 to 2005-2009	Improving
Pleasant Ridge	4	White	Little change since 1970	Stable

TABLE 4C
NEIGHBORHOOD STATUS, 2005-2009

Neighborhood Status	SES Quartile	Predominant Ethnic Composition	Long Term Trend	Current Condition
Queensgate	-		Has ceased to exist as a residential neighborhood	
Riverside-Sayler Park	1	Appalachian	Improved 1970-1980, declined 1980-present	Declining
Roselawn	2	African American	Improved 1970-1980, declined 1980-present	Declining
S. Cumminsville-Millvale	1	African American	Declined 1970-1980	Stable (at the bottom)
Sayler Park	4	White	Improved in 1980s and 00s	Stable
Sedamsville-Riverside	1	Predominantly Appalachian	Improved 1970-1980, declined 1980-2000	Stable
South Fairmount	1	White*, Tract 87 Appalachian	Declined 1970-2000	Improving
University Heights	3	White	Improved 1970-1980, declined 1980-2009	Declining
Walnut Hills	1	African American	Has reversed pattern of decline	Improving
West End	2	African American	Has stopped pattern of decline	Improving
West Price Hill	3	White	Slight decline until 2000, declining since.	Declining
Westwood	3	White*, Tract 98 Appalachian	Continued pattern of decline	Declining
Winton Hills	1	African American	Has reversed pattern of decline	Improving
Winton Place	2	African American	Continued pattern of improvement until 1990, declining since.	Declining
* Over 40% African American				

TABLE 4D
CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS' RACE COMPOSITION AND POVERTY, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	All Families	African American Families		White Families	
	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Total Families Below Poverty Level	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Total Families Below Poverty Level
1st Quartile					
S. Cumminsville - Millvale	56.9%	54.6%	340	56.1%	37
Fay Apartments	71.5%	70.2%	328	0.0%	0
East Price Hill	31.4%	43.9%	584	24.7%	586
Winton Hills	66.4%	70.4%	678	23.0%	26
Camp Washington	16.7%	0.0%	0	20.0%	35
Riverside - Sayler Park	26.9%	55.1%	75	9.2%	20
Avondale	37.5%	36.4%	891	30.6%	34
Walnut Hills	34.5%	37.9%	351	23.6%	39
Sedamsville - Riverside	38.9%	58.9%	73	30.8%	94
N. Fairmount - English Woods	27.7%	37.1%	161	0.0%	0
S. Fairmount	38.3%	29.0%	99	53.2%	150
Mt. Airy	21.3%	31.7%	369	7.5%	70
2nd Quartile					
Bond Hill	17.8%	18.5%	269	13.8%	12
Over-the-Rhine	61.7%	72.2%	518	15.8%	21
Linwood	9.4%	--- ^a	0	9.4%	16
Winton Place	28.7%	35.0%	108	15.4%	32
Carthage	24.7%	32.3%	61	21.1%	83
Evanston	21.2%	24.8%	335	0.0%	0
West End	48.8%	57.8%	839	0.0%	0
Roselawn	23.2%	24.3%	300	18.7%	48
Lower Price Hill	48.4%	0.0%	0	56.4%	75
West Price Hill	15.7%	38.2%	259	12.0%	420
Corryville	34.8%	41.7%	73	16.3%	13
Mt. Auburn	23.7%	35.0%	159	6.3%	18

TABLE 4D
CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS' RACE COMPOSITION AND POVERTY, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	All Families	African American Families		White Families	
	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Total Families Below Poverty Level	Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	Total Families Below Poverty Level
3rd Quartile					
Kennedy Heights	11.1%	14.1%	141	0.0%	0
University Heights	23.8%	49.1%	86	15.0%	74
Fairview - Clifton	23.9%	34.9%	89	11.4%	57
Westwood	16.1%	23.9%	814	9.2%	388
Northside	13.5%	20.3%	119	9.8%	105
Madisonville	11.9%	22.0%	323	0.0%	0
Evanston - E. Walnut Hills	28.7%	34.9%	61	20.3%	26
Hartwell	14.6%	25.3%	95	9.2%	63
College Hill	17.3%	25.9%	608	6.1%	96
N. Avondale - Paddock Hills	10.2%	12.6%	100	7.0%	31
CBD - Riverfront	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
4th Quartile					
Oakley	8.4%	38.3%	51	6.5%	122
Sayler Park	7.2%	--- ^a	0	7.3%	53
East End	14.7%	40.0%	30	7.7%	21
Mt. Washington	10.2%	30.5%	64	9.1%	323
Pleasant Ridge	12.8%	29.7%	254	2.5%	34
East Walnut Hills	5.5%	6.4%	12	5.2%	26
Clifton	8.1%	24.1%	79	1.0%	12
California	0.0%	--- ^a	0	0.0%	0
Mt. Adams	0.0%	--- ^a	0	0.0%	0
Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum	1.1%	0.0%	0	1.1%	8
Hyde Park	2.5%	0.0%	0	2.6%	75
Mt. Lookout	1.2%	--- ^a	0	1.2%	12

^a Neighborhood has no African American families. Therefore, percent is an undefined number.

Working Class African American Neighborhoods

**TABLE 4D-2
CHANGES IN SES SCORES FOR
WORKING CLASS AFRICAN AMERICAN
NEIGHBORHOODS**

Neighborhood	2000 to 2005-2009 Change in SES Score
Over-the-Rhine	24.6
North Fairmount - English Woods	19.4
West End	14.7
Winton Hills	11.6
Mt. Auburn	8.5
Avondale	1.4
Fay Apartments	1.4
Walnut Hills	1.3
Evanston	-1.4
South Cumminsville-Millvale	-3.8
Mt. Airy	-15.7

Among working class African American neighborhoods Evanston and South Cumminsville-Millvale experienced marginal decline (Table 4d-2). The decline in Mt. Airy was more substantial at 15.7. West End, Over-the-Rhine, North Fairmount-English Woods, and Winton Hills had gains of more than 10 points on the SES scale. Avondale and Fay Apartments each gained 1.4 points. What are the components of change? Appendix II allows us to look at Cincinnati census tracts and see values in the five SES variables over time. If we compare these values to those in the Fourth Edition we can see which variables caused the change. In Fay Apartments we find that gains in education and occupation offset decline in income to slightly improve the SES index.

In Walnut Hills income was a factor in the positive change except in tract 37 where income actually declined. In the West End’s tract 2 income nearly doubled in the past decade. But its rank on other variables fell so that its rank among Cincinnati’s neighborhoods remained at 19. The West End’s improvement in overall score is partly due to the dramatic changes in Tract 4. Again, the details of this change can

be found by comparing Appendix II from this edition and the fourth edition.

As Over-the-Rhine, the West End, and Corryville become more cosmopolitan those neighborhoods are losing some of their working class and ethnic flavor. Some of this is the result of intentional community development efforts and some is related to the incipient renewed demand for urban life style especially on the part of the young. As this happens, as noted above, the “inner city” continues to shift to the west and out of the Basin Area. Walnut Hills (except for Tract 19) and Avondale are not affected by these trends in any obvious way and remain a largely low income, low SES, enclave. During the past twenty years the African American working class area has

Walnut Hills (except for Tract 19) and Avondale are not affected by these trends in any obvious way and remain a largely low income, low SES, enclave.

expanded to include tracts 100.01 and 100.02 in Westwood, tract 89 in South Fairmount and three of the four Mt. Airy tracts (Figure 5). Mt. Airy has declined more than any neighborhood (60 points) since 1970, followed closely by Bond Hill (47) and Roselawn (42). See Table 9.

Working Class White Areas

Among the working class white Appalachian areas Camp Washington, South Fairmount, the East End, and Lower Price Hill saw improvements in the 2000 to 2005-2009 period. East Price Hill continued a pattern of decline. Carthage, which had experienced positive change in the 1990s experienced a small decline in SES in the 2000s. Northside, which has affluent as well as working class areas, saw an increase in its SES score (Table 9). Sedamsville-Riverside declined insignificantly in the past three decades after some improvement in the 1970’s. During the 2000s, Riverside-Sayler Park was at the top of the list of declining neighborhoods with a 38.4 drop in SES score (Table 2g2).

TABLE 4E
CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS' AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION, 1970-2009

Neighborhood	Percent African American						Percent Change					
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-2009	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2009	1970-2009		
1st Quartile												
S. Cumminsville - Millvale	97.7	92.2	94.5	88.8	90.0	-6%	2%	-6%	1%	-8%		
Fay Apartments	---	91.2	92.4	94.6	92.3	---	1%	2%	-2%	---		
East Price Hill	0.4	4.4	8.1	21.7	34.6	1000%	84%	168%	59%	8543%		
Winton Hills	75.2	88.8	87.8	84.8	82.7	18%	-1%	-3%	-2%	10%		
Camp Washington	10.1	10.5	21.4	26.6	17.9	4%	104%	24%	-33%	77%		
Riverside - Saylor Park	7.1	6.2	12.4	18.0	29.2	-13%	100%	45%	63%	312%		
Avondale	91.2	92.3	91.7	91.9	87.2	1%	-1%	0%	-5%	-4%		
Walnut Hills	81.9	90.4	88.1	83.9	77.2	10%	-3%	-5%	-8%	-6%		
Sedamsville - Riverside	---	0.7	4.5	6.7	22.9	---	543%	49%	242%	---		
N. Fairmount - English Woods	44.3	60.9	71.9	84.8	65.7	37%	18%	18%	-22%	48%		
S. Fairmount	2.6	4.8	19.0	43.9	49.7	85%	296%	131%	13%	1812%		
Mt. Airy	0.2	10.2	33.0	43.8	54.1	5000%	224%	33%	23%	26950%		
2nd Quartile												
Bond Hill	26.2	69.6	87.4	93.3	92.7	166%	26%	7%	-1%	254%		
Over-the-Rhine	41.4	62.5	71.8	77.2	74.8	51%	15%	7%	-3%	81%		
Linwood	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	---	-100%	---	-100%	---		
Winton Place	1.0	11.7	25.7	46.6	59.4	1070%	120%	81%	27%	5840%		
Carthage	0.1	0.0	0.6	5.8	31.7	-100%	---	867%	445%	31556%		
Evanston	94.7	92.3	90.9	88.5	81.4	-3%	-2%	-3%	-8%	-14%		
West End	97.1	94.8	93.3	86.1	80.6	-2%	-2%	-8%	-6%	-17%		
Roselawn	6.8	23.4	56.4	52.8	65.7	244%	141%	-6%	24%	866%		
Lower Price Hill	0.1	0.0	1.8	7.3	8.7	-100%	---	304%	20%	8607%		
West Price Hill	0.2	0.4	2.1	4.3	17.6	100%	425%	105%	309%	8717%		
Corryville	55.2	52.1	50.4	49.7	34.8	-6%	-3%	-1%	-30%	-37%		
Mt. Auburn	73.9	72.6	73.9	73.1	52.5	-2%	2%	-1%	-28%	-29%		
3rd Quartile												
Kennedy Heights	58.1	75.5	76.2	76.8	70.8	30%	1%	1%	-8%	22%		

**TABLE 4E
CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS' AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION, 1970-2009**

Neighborhood	Percent African American						Percent Change				
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-2009	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2009	1970-2009	
University Heights	9.2	12.7	12.9	18.2	19.6	38%	2%	41%	8%	113%	
Fairview - Clifton	6.3	10.0	10.8	19.7	15.2	59%	8%	83%	-23%	141%	
Westwood	1.2	4.5	17.6	25.8	43.4	275%	291%	47%	68%	3519%	
Northside	4.0	12.4	20.6	37.5	32.3	210%	66%	82%	-14%	707%	
Madisonville	49.3	56.9	59.2	33.0	55.8	15%	4%	-44%	69%	13%	
Evanston - E. Walnut Hills	74.1	67.7	47.7	61.3	48.0	-9%	-30%	28%	-22%	-35%	
Hartwell	8.2	10.7	15.9	18.1	28.8	30%	49%	14%	59%	251%	
College Hill	11.2	33.9	40.9	37.6	54.2	203%	21%	-8%	44%	384%	
N. Avondale - Paddock Hills	37.6	53.0	55.4	51.8	44.4	41%	5%	-6%	-14%	18%	
CBD - Riverfront	13.6	18.8	36.8	39.9	37.9	38%	96%	8%	-5%	179%	
4th Quartile											
Oakley	0.6	2.6	6.6	9.2	10.0	333%	154%	40%	8%	1562%	
Saylor Park	1.3	1.9	1.8	0.8	1.1	46%	-5%	-54%	33%	-16%	
East End	15.3	12.6	8.5	10.8	24.6	-18%	-33%	27%	128%	61%	
Mt. Washington	0.0	---	2.7	2.6	4.7	---	---	-4%	79%	---	
Pleasant Ridge	4.4	15.9	24.1	39.9	33.2	261%	52%	65%	-17%	655%	
East Walnut Hills	32.1	32.9	36.0	29.5	28.8	2%	9%	-18%	-3%	-10%	
Clifton	8.7	12.3	12.9	15.2	18.0	41%	5%	18%	18%	107%	
California	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	---	---	-100%	---	---	
Mt. Adams	4.2	4.1	2.8	1.6	0.5	-2%	-32%	-42%	-68%	-88%	
Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum	---	4.0	6.1	7.6	7.2	---	53%	25%	-5%	---	
Hyde Park	2.8	3.7	3.1	2.7	1.2	32%	-16%	-12%	-56%	-58%	
Mt. Lookout	5.0	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.2	-98%	400%	-100%	---	-95%	

^a Statistics not available.

^b Percent change is an undefined number.

TABLE 4F
HISPANIC POPULATION CONCENTRATIONS, 1990-2009A

Neighborhood	Persons of Hispanic Origin			Increase 2000 to 2005-2009	
	1990	2000	2005-2009	Number	Percent
East Price Hill	113	240	1,393	1,153	480%
Westwood	227	336	1,013	677	201%
West Price Hill	104	195	718	523	268%
Mt. Washington	65	141	418	277	196%
Mt. Airy	48	176	415	239	136%
Roselawn	59	48	346	298	621%
Carthage	19	41	322	281	685%
Hartwell	65	81	230	149	184%
N. Avondale - Paddock Hills	141	85	213	128	151%
Hyde Park	111	199	205	6	3%
Oakley	84	223	152	-71	-32%
Pleasant Ridge	68	121	150	29	24%
Evanston	39	49	148	99	202%
Sayler Park	13	25	144	119	476%
Clifton	133	193	139	-54	-28%
S. Fairmount	34	75	117	42	56%
Walnut Hills	24	71	117	46	65%
Winton Place	17	53	117	64	121%
College Hill	73	120	79	-41	-34%
University Heights	145	141	72	-69	-49%
Fairview-Clifton	126	137	60	-77	-56%
Over-the-Rhine	61	172	46	-126	-73%
Avondale	75	113	39	-74	-65%
Lower Price Hill	6	142	21	-121	-85%
West End	36	119	18	-101	-85%

^a Neighborhoods with Hispanic populations less than 100 (in either the 2000 Census or 2005-2009 ACS) do not appear in Table 4f.

During the 2000s, Riverside-Sayler Park was at the top of the list of declining neighborhoods with a 38.4 drop in SES score (Table 2g2).

Over the 40-year period, East Price Hill declined from a rank of 19 to a rank of 3.5 among Cincinnati neighborhoods (Table 9). It declined 9 points in the 2000s. South Fairmount has changed radically in racial composition and is now 49.7 percent African American. It has declined 6.7 SES points since 1970 but actually gained 6.4 points in the 2000s (Table 9). Tract 87 is still primarily Appalachian. Tract 98 in West Price Hill is now considered to be primarily Appalachian. It did not decline in SES during the 2000s. The map of Appalachian neighborhoods otherwise changed little in the 2000s (Figure 6).

Hispanic Concentrations

The number of Hispanics increased from 2,386 in 1990 to 4,230 in 2000 and 9,186 in the 2010 census. Hispanics are dispersed throughout the 48 neighborhoods and do not constitute a large percentage in any one neighborhood. The largest concentrations are shown in Table 4f.

Because of the limitations of the American Community Survey data when dealing with small populations, this data is primarily illustrative of the Hispanic pattern of settlement. There is a preference for location on the West Side in Cincinnati. About 3,500 Hispanics live in East Price Hill, Westwood, West Price Hill, and Mt. Airy. There is a smaller concentration along the upper Vine Street corridor which includes Carthage and Hartwell. It is worth noting that the numbers of Hispanics increased significantly in some areas while declining in others such as the West End, Over-the-Rhine and Lower Price Hill. We compared the numbers in Table 4f to the 2000 census and found that there were serious variations. Hispanic data

About 3,500 Hispanics live in East Price Hill, Westwood, West Price Hill, and Mt. Airy.

using the 2010 census for Cincinnati census tracts is available from the authors.

Agencies concerned about newcomer Hispanics who may need services would want to include the West Side neighborhoods as well as the Vine Street corridor. The growing Hispanic community is very complex in terms of socioeconomic status, and ability to use the English language. New immigrants may be subject to exploitation because of language and immigration status issues. In low-income communities such as Over-the-Rhine and Lower Price Hill, there has been some intergroup tension, discrimination, and crime involving African Americans, Appalachians, and Hispanics. Various agencies have responded by providing interpreters and other services to newcomers.

TABLE 4G
NEIGHBORHOODS WITH HISPANIC POPULATION INCREASES, 2005-2009

Neighborhood	Persons of Hispanic Origin	Percent Increase 2000 to 2005-2009
Carthage	322	685%
Roselawn	346	621%
East Price Hill	1,393	480%
Sayler Park	144	476%
West Price Hill	718	268%
Evanston	148	202%
Westwood	1,013	201%
Mt. Washington	418	196%
Hartwell	230	184%
N. Avondale - Paddock Hills	213	151%
Mt. Airy	415	136%
Winton Place	117	121%
Walnut Hills	117	65%
S. Fairmount	117	56%
Pleasant Ridge	150	24%
Hyde Park	213	3%

What Causes Decline

What do the thirteen neighborhoods which experienced the greatest decline have in common? They are all, except Winton Place and Carthage, present or former (Mt. Airy) high status areas, SES III or IV. Eight of the thir-

teen had an increase in the percentage of African Americans during the decade. Three experienced a decrease on this variable and two saw no change (Table 4e). Rapid racial change can be a factor in decline because new residents sometimes are younger families with lower income and education and a different family structure than the people who had lived in the neighborhood before. This is true regardless of the race of the newcomers. In Kennedy Heights the higher status people leaving may have been part of the African American upper middle class. Shifts in the national and local economy such as the last two recessions are another factor. In the current economy, even wealthy areas such as Mt. Adams have experienced decline in median family income.

In the previous sub sections we have used the 1970-2000 US censuses and the 2005-2009 American Community Survey to analyze trends in Cincinnati as they affect various subgroups of the population including African Americans and Appalachians. We focus in on these two groups because they are large components of the population, and, in many respects, the future of the city and metropolitan area are tied to their welfare. We also provide some data on the emerging Hispanic population. Immigration from all sources is not a major factor in Cincinnati's overall demographic picture. During the period of this study (1970 to 2005-2009) the percentage declined in three of the four SES quartiles and remained the same in the other (Table 2b).

The Distribution of Poverty

Table 4d shows the percentage of families below poverty for each neighborhood. It also reveals the percent and number that are white or African American. Table 4e just reveals the percentage of the neighborhood that was African American from 1970-2005-2009. The lower SES predominantly African American census tracts are as follows: Avondale (all 5 tracts), Mt. Auburn (2 of 3 tracts), South Cumminsville-Millvale, Fay Apartments, Corryville (1 of 2 tracts), Over-the-Rhine (4 of 5 tracts), North Fairmount-English Woods, Evanston (2 of 3 tracts), Walnut Hills (3 of 5 tracts), West End (4 of 7 tracts), Westwood (1 of 6 tracts), Winton

Hills, Roselawn (1 of 2 tracts), Mt. Airy (1 of 2 tracts), and Evanston-East Walnut Hills (Figure 5).

In African American neighborhoods, poverty rates were highest in Fay Apartments (71.5 percent), Winton Hills (66.4 percent), Over-the-Rhine (61.7 percent), South Cumminsville-Millvale (56.9 percent), West End (48.8 percent), and Avondale (37.5 percent).

These rates were higher than in 2000 except in North Fairmount-English Woods where the rate fell significantly and in the West End where it was unchanged.

The white neighborhoods with the highest poverty rates were Lower Price Hill (48.4 percent), Sedamsville-Riverside (38.9 percent), part of South Fairmount (38.3 percent), East Price Hill (31.4 percent), Riverside-Sayler Park (26.9 percent), and Carthage (24.7 percent).

The neighborhoods near the University of Cincinnati, University Heights, Fairview-Clifton Heights and Corryville, had poverty rates of 23 percent or higher (Figure 5, Table 4d).

The neighborhoods with the highest numbers of poor African American families in 2005-2009 were Avondale (891), West End (839), Westwood (814), Winton Hills (678), College Hill (608), and East Price Hill (584). As we reported in the Fourth Edition poverty is increasingly concentrated west of the I-75 corridor. However, a look at Figure 5 confirms a large concentration of poverty in the Basin and in the Walnut-

Hills-Avondale-Evanston-University of Cincinnati area. On this map, the areas that are shaded but not cross-hatched are the primary concentration of white poverty. It should be noted that there are significant numbers of poor white families in predominantly African

Poverty rates were higher than in 2000 except in North Fairmount-English Woods where the rate fell significantly and in the West End where it was unchanged.

American neighborhoods and that the converse of that is also true. In 2005-2009 there were 3,355 white families in poverty in Cincinnati. Over 2000 of these families were concentrated in East Price Hill (586), West Price Hill (420), Westwood (388), Mt. Washington (323), South Fairmount (150), Northside (105), and Oakley (122).

Summary

In 2005-2009 there were 13,772 families below the poverty level in Cincinnati. Seventy-six percent were African American. This represents a change from 1990 when there were 16,945 poor families, 71% of whom were African American. In 1990 there were 5,052 poor white families. In 2005-2009 there were 3,355, down from 3,367 in 2000. The Hispanic population continued to grow at a high rate and is beginning to be a visible population in several neighborhoods. The percent foreign born has been at 3 percent or below since 1970 but the Hispanic proportion of that number has grown.

When we began this study in 1970 there were nine neighborhoods with African American majorities. By 2005-2009 there were 17. Eight of these were more than 75 percent African American. The comparable numbers for 2000 were 16 and 10. During the past decade, 21 neighborhoods actually declined in percent African American, most notably Corryville, Mt. Auburn, and Evanston-East Walnut hills (Table 4e). So we have neighborhoods changing racial composition in both directions. The biggest declines are in neighborhoods experiencing gentrification. The biggest increases are in neighborhoods experiencing rapid change such as Price Hill, Westwood and Mt. Airy. The data in Table 2b show that SES I and II, the two lowest SES quartiles, are substantially less African American now than in 2000. This is also true of SES IV. SES III had a growing percentage of African Americans but the rate of this growth has declined. It is safe to say that Cincinnati is less segregated now than it was a decade ago. We are not a cosmopolitan city. Ninety-seven percent of our population was born in the United States. Our population is overwhelmingly people of European, African, and Appalachian origin. Lack of language

diversity has become a handicap in retaining at least one corporate headquarters. The great majority of our Hispanics are “language isolated” (speak only one language) according to the 2010 census (not ACS).

The case can be made that we are an integrated or segregated city depending on how you slice the data. Socioeconomically, we can still see a lot of segregation though we can see some encouraging signs especially in the part of the city between the hills. Most of the poor still live in SES I and II (Table 2b). Fourteen of the majority African American neighborhoods are in the two lowest SES quartiles. Seven are in SES I, 7 in SES II, and 3 in SES III, none in SES IV. Table 4e shows that in 1970 there were 24 neighborhoods with African American percentages of less than 10. In 2000 there were 12 and in 2005-2009 there were only 9.

