

The Neighborhoods: 1970 to 2005-2009 Comparisons

Previous sections of this report have been concerned with establishing the broad pattern of the distribution of social indicators in the city. The authors feel that the concept of socioeconomic status, especially when it is supplemented with the other kinds of data available, is a valuable social indicator for needs assessment purposes. The map of the four social areas (Figure 2) shows the broad pattern of the city's socioeconomic structure.

In the first edition of this study (1974) care was taken to point out the limitations of "ecological analysis" - the utilization of statistics aggregated at the census tract, neighborhood, or social area level. It was pointed out that this type of analysis is subject to the "ecological fallacy", the attribution of statistical averages to all the diverse individuals in a given geographic unit. In the 1970 Neighborhood Descriptions, therefore, the reader was informed about the relative diversity or homogeneity of each neighborhood. This exercise will not be repeated here. The reader is hereby referred to the first edition for that discussion. The focus of the following narrative will be to outline changes in the neighborhoods that have occurred since 1970, and especially the 2000 to 2005-2009 period. Both Appendix II and III, as well as Table 9 have been used for the neighborhood descriptions.

Small changes in 1970 to 1980 SES index and SES rank for a tract or neighborhood may be accidental. These accidental changes are caused by the fact that tracts and neighborhoods were added and deleted. Example: Linwood was a new tract and neighborhood in 1980. Its insertion on the list of tracts and neighborhoods caused all tracts and neighborhoods with a higher SES index to have a slightly higher SES index. Gains or losses of less than six points should not be regarded as significant.

The reader may note that for neighborhoods consisting of a single census tract, there is a small divergence between the values in Table 4a and Appendix II. In Table 4a we use the

median of medians rather than the mean of medians for the tracts. For single tract neighborhoods, the values in Appendix II are closer to the ACS estimates and are used in this chapter for single tract neighborhoods.

1 Queensgate

During the 1980s, Queensgate ceased to be a residential neighborhood. In 2010 the Census Bureau merged Tract 1 with Tract 91 (Lower Price Hill).

2 The West End. SES II

In 1970, the West End ranked 8th (from the bottom) on the SES Index. In 1980 it fell to 5th. Since then its score has gradually improved. It currently ranks 19th and is firmly in SES II overall. Three tracts are still in SES I; two are in SES II. Tract 14 is in SES IV and Tract 4 is in SES III. Amid this new diversity poverty and unemployment persist in the neighborhood's midsection (Figure 2). There are 2,271 jobless persons and the 2005-2009 unemployment rate was 12 percent.

Tract 2 has the second lowest SES score among Cincinnati Tracts. Thirty four percent of its adults have less than a high school education. Only 2.6 percent of its children under 18 are in two parent homes. Tracts 3.01, 3.02, and 15 are also among the city's ten poorest census tracts.

3 CBD Riverfront. SES III

In 2005-2009 numbers reflect new upscale housing in Tract 6 and some lower income housing in Tract 7. Tract 6 became SES IV and Tract 7 fell to SES III, reversing their previous positions in the quartile chart. The good news is that the CBD is again developing as a residential community and it is at the very top of SES III. The area ranked 28 among the neighborhoods in 1970, fell to 24 in 1980, rose to 41 in 1990 and now holds the rank of 35. This means there are 12 neighborhoods with higher SES scores (Table 9). The population is now 3,793 up from 3,149 in 2000.

TABLE 9
CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS, OVERALL SES INDEX CHANGES, 1970 TO 2005-2009

SES Rank			Neighborhood				SES Index				Change in SES Index				
1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-2009	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-2009	1970 - 1980	1980 - 1990	1990 - 2000	2000 - 2009	1970 - 2009	
7	2	1	2.5	1	S. Cumminsville - Millvale	27.4	11.2	13.2	15.4	11.6	2	2.2	-3.8	-15.8	
---	13	2	1	2	Fay Apartments	26.3	34.4	14	15	16.4	-20.4	1	1.4	-9.9	
19	20	15	14	3.5	East Price Hill	56.8	47.6	41.8	38.0	29.0	-9.2	-5.8	-9.0	-27.8	
9	7	7	5	3.5	Winton Hills	32.4	19.0	22.2	17.4	29.0	3.2	-4.8	11.6	-3.4	
1	3	8	7	5	Camp Washington	16.2	17.2	26.4	27.2	31.2	1	9.2	4.0	15.0	
---	28	25	31	6	Riverside - Saylor Park	49.0	71.6	69.8	70.4	32.0	-1.8	0.6	-38.4	-17.0	
17	11	11	10	7	Avondale	52.8	32.4	31.3	31.0	32.4	-1.1	-0.3	1.4	-20.4	
10	8	14	11	8	Walnut Hills	34.6	23.8	37.9	31.5	32.8	14.1	-6.4	1.3	-1.8	
5	14	12	13	9	Sedamsville - Riverside	25.1	39.0	35.8	35.4	33.0	-3.2	-0.4	-2.4	7.9	
4	4	3	2.5	10	N. Fairmount - English Woods	21.5	17.8	14.2	15.4	34.8	-3.6	1.2	19.4	13.3	
13	16	11	9	11	S. Fairmount	42.5	40.2	34.6	29.4	35.8	-5.6	-5.2	6.4	-6.7	
38	38	29	23	12	Mt. Airy	99.3	85.6	72.6	54.9	39.2	-13	-17.7	-15.7	-60.1	
32	25	20	19	13	Bond Hill	87.1	58.3	55.2	47.2	39.5	-3.1	-8	-7.7	-47.6	
---	1	5	4	14	Over-the-Rhine	21.6	9.2	18.8	15.6	40.2	9.6	-3.2	24.6	18.6	
---	9	13	12	15	Linwood	---	27.8	37.6	35.0	41.0	---	9.8	-2.6	6.0	---
15	22	24	21	16	Winton Place	48.1	53.2	62.6	52.6	41.8	5.1	9.4	-10	-6.3	
16	15	18	22	17	Carthage	50.7	39.8	47.8	53.0	42.2	-10.9	8	-10.8	-8.5	
18	17	16	15	18	Evanston	53.4	40.3	45.1	43.7	42.3	-13.1	4.8	-1.4	-11.1	
8	5	6	8	19	West End	27.8	18.3	19.8	28.5	43.2	-9.5	1.5	14.7	15.4	
30	41	27	26	20	Roselawn	86.1	89.8	74.7	64.3	44.1	3.7	-15.1	-20.2	-42.0	
3	6	4	6	21	Lower Price Hill	21.0	18.6	15.6	19.2	45.0	-2.4	-3	25.8	24.0	
27	33	34	32	22	West Price Hill	79.4	78.5	77.0	75.6	53.4	-0.9	-1.5	-22.2	-26.0	
14	21	21	16	23	Corryville	43.3	50.6	55.3	43.9	54.5	7.3	4.7	10.6	11.2	
11	12	17	18	24	Mt. Auburn	34.7	33.4	47.5	46.9	55.4	-1.3	14.1	8.5	20.7	
34.5	30	26	34	25	Kennedy Heights	93.4	72.8	72.4	77.0	55.6	-20.6	-0.4	-21.4	-37.8	
26	34	28	25	26	University Heights	76.0	78.7	75.7	63.7	56.5	2.7	-3	-7.2	-19.5	
12	26	31.5	24	27	Fairview - Clifton	42.2	59.1	80.3	62.8	57.3	16.9	21.2	-5.5	15.1	
36	37	31.5	28	28	Westwood	94.3	85.1	80.3	68.3	58.3	-9.2	-4.8	-10.0	-36.0	

**TABLE 9
CINCINNATI NEIGHBORHOODS, OVERALL SES INDEX CHANGES, 1970 TO 2005-2009**

	SES Rank				Neighborhood	SES Index				Change in SES Index					
	1970	1980	1990	2000		2005-2009	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-2009	1970 - 1980	1980 - 1990	1990 - 2000	2000 - 2009
20	19	19	20	29	Northside	58.9	46.9	52.8	48.8	61.2	-12	5.9	-4	12.4	2.3
23	23	23	30	30	Madisonville	64.0	53.7	60.1	69.9	62.3	-10.3	6.4	9.8	-7.6	-1.7
---a	18	22	29	31	Evanston - E. Walnut Hills	---a	46.3	59.4	68.8	65.6	---a	13.1	9.4	-3.2	---a
33	32	39	35	32.5	Hartwell	89.2	75.8	89.9	78.0	66.4	-13.4	14.1	-11.9	-11.6	-22.8
39	36	36	33	32.5	College Hill	100.7	82.0	87.5	75.7	66.4	-18.7	5.5	-11.8	-9.3	-34.3
41, 42	39	42	37	34	N. Avondale - Paddock Hills	106.4	87.0	96.2	84.0	75.0	-19.4	9.2	-12.2	-9.0	-31.4
28	24	41	36	35	CBD - Riverfront	80.0	56.2	95.8	81.0	75.7	-23.8	39.6	-14.8	-5.3	-4.3
24	29	35	39	36	Oakley	73.7	72.3	82.1	85.6	76.3	-1.4	9.8	3.5	-9.3	2.6
25	27	33	27	37	Saylor Park	74.7	71.1	80.5	53.2	76.5	-3.6	9.4	-27.3	23.3	1.8
2	10	9	17	38	East End	18.3	28.5	29.2	46.4	77.4	10.2	0.7	17.2	31.0	59.1
43	45	40	41	39	Mt. Washington	107.6	98.9	95.2	93.9	82.4	-8.7	-3.7	-1.3	-11.5	-25.2
37	40	39	38	40	Pleasant Ridge	95.1	89.3	89.9	84.7	84.5	-5.8	0.6	-5.2	-0.2	-10.6
31	35	38	42	41	East Walnut Hills	86.2	78.9	87.8	95.6	84.8	-7.3	8.9	7.8	-10.8	-1.4
34.5	43	44	40	42	Clifton	93.4	93.3	102.1	90.8	87.7	-0.1	8.8	-11.3	-3.1	-5.7
22	31	30	43	43	California	62.2	75.2	78.8	106.4	91.6	13	3.6	27.6	-14.8	29.4
21	44	43	45	44	Mt. Adams	60.1	98.4	100.5	109.9	94.7	38.3	2.1	9.4	-15.2	34.6
---a	42	45	43	45	Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum	---a	91.2	102.4	104.6	98.2	---a	11.2	2.2	-6.4	---a
40	47	46	46	46	Hyde Park	102.3	106.9	111.9	110.1	101.2	4.6	5	-1.8	-8.9	-1.1
29	46	47	47	47	Mt. Lookout	85.5	101.7	118.2	112.2	102.6	16.2	16.5	-6	-9.6	17.1
6	---a	---a	---a	---a	Queensgate	25.8	---a	---a	---a	---a	---a	---a	---a	---a	---a
---a	Data not available														

4 Over-The-Rhine. SES II

Across Central Parkway from the CBD, Over-the-Rhine changed dramatically. The area between Vine Street and Reading Road (Tracts 10 and 11) and below Liberty are now SES III. As late as 2000 Over-the-Rhine ranked 4th from the bottom on the SES Index. It now ranks 14th. The other three tracts (Table 2a) still look very much like inner city neighborhoods with high poverty rates and Education Indicators. In Tract 9 the Education Indicator is 37.7 and the Family Structure Indicator is so low it registers as zero (Appendix II).

5 Mount Adams. SES IV

In 1970 Mt. Adams was a working class neighborhood in SES II. By 1980 the area had been completely transformed. New housing was added and older housing upgraded to produce a neighborhood that includes many artists and professionals and few children. In 2000 we wrote that Mt. Adams' SES score had risen more than any neighborhood. In the 2005-2009 period there was a noticeable decline in the SES Index, perhaps the result of two recessions and their effect on income. Mt. Adams ranks 44th (3rd from the top) on the SES Index.

6 Mount Auburn. SES II

With data from the 1990 census we were able to report that Mt. Auburn had reversed its pattern of decline which had held since 1970. This trend continued in the 2005-2009 period. The Liberty Hill area (Tract 18) rose to SES IV and Tract 23 rose from SES I to SES II. The poverty rate fell from 26 percent to 24 percent and the percent female headed families fell from 50 to 21.3 percent. After remaining steady at about 73 for 30 years the percent African American fell to 52.5. Mt. Auburn is at the top of SES II and should be in SES III by 2020.

7 Fairview-Clifton Heights. SES III

At the time of the 1970 Census all three tracts in this neighborhood were in SES II. They all gained in SES score in the 1970-1990 period and then Tracts 25 and 26 declined some in the 1990s. Currently Tract 26 is SES II and Tracts 25 and 27 are SES III. Fairview is a close-in high density neighborhood which has been a

working class and student district. Many of its homes have excellent city views. It is clearly becoming more upscale over time.

8 Camp Washington. SES I

In 1970 Camp Washington had the lowest SES of any Cincinnati neighborhood. By then, it had ceased to be Italian and German and had become primarily Appalachian. In 2005-2009 it has the fifth lowest SES Index. The poverty rate at 16.7 percent is low for an inner city neighborhood. Fifty four percent of children under 18 live in two parent families. This is a stable working class neighborhood with some racial and ethnic diversity. It is located in the industrial valley along the Mill Creek. Because of its location between the creek and the expressway access to other areas is restricted somewhat but Spring Grove Avenue is a major traffic artery through the industrial valley.

9 University Heights. SES III

University Heights had little change in SES in the 70s and 80s and declined during the 90s. A drop in the family status indicator accounted for much of that decline. Tract 29 declined from SES III in 2000 to SES II in 2005-2009. Tract 30 which includes Fraternity Row along Clifton Avenue remains SES III. The racial composition is stable. The percent African American was 18.2 percent in 2000 and 19.6 in 2005-2009. As in previous decades, overcrowding and a low family status index (in Tract 29) help lower the overall SES Index.

10 Corryville. SES II

Corryville historically has been a working class to middle class neighborhood adjacent to UC and the medical centers. In 1970 it was 55 percent African American. By 2005-2009 this had dropped to 34.8 percent. Tract 32 abuts the hospital area along Martin Luther King Avenue and has some new market rate housing. College students do not usually have high incomes and this affects SES levels in the whole of Uptown. On the other hand, the steady demand for housing for university and medical people is a stabilizing factor. With 119 families below the poverty line Corryville has a poverty rate of 34.8 percent. The SES Index was 43.3 in 1970 and is at 54.5 in 2005-2009.

11 Walnut Hills. SES I

The SES Index for Walnut Hills was 34.6 in 1970. After rising to 37.9 in 1990 it has been static at around 32 since. Progress in one tract is offset by decline in another. The poverty rate in 2005-2009 was 34.5, the eighth highest in the city. The Education Index continued to improve and was down to 30.2. The dropout rate was only 11 percent compared to 23 percent in Roselawn and 14 percent in Avondale. Tract 19 improved in SES Index in the 80s, declined in the 90s and recovered some in the past decade to 72.0. This tract is now near the top of SES III. The other tracts have not seen similar rises in SES (Appendix II). The SES score for Tract 35 has fallen to 19 compared to 30.4 in the Over-the-Rhine's poorest tract (9). Walnut Hills (except for Tract 19) and Avondale seem to be enduring pockets of poverty on Cincinnati's near east side. Community development efforts need to include education and access to jobs with good pay and benefits. There are almost 1,500 children and youth in this neighborhood so child development and youth opportunities are also crucial. A look at Table 9 shows that a turnaround for Walnut Hills is needed. Its neighborhood rank has declined from 14 in 1990 to 8 in 2005-2009.

12 Evanston. SES II

In 2000 we wrote that Evanston seemed stuck. This still seems to be true. The SES Index is stable at around 43. Tracts 38 and 40 are in SES II and III respectively. Tract 39 dropped to SES I in 2000 and remained there in 2005-2009. Its SES score of 34 is near to that of Tract 17 in Over-the-Rhine. Evanston is 81 percent African American compared to 89 percent in 2000. The poverty rate is 21 percent. The dropout rate is 9 percent and 822 adults lack a high school education. That is one out of five, but the number is down from 1,777 in 2000. The unemployment rate for Evanston is one of the city's highest at 21 percent. The program recommendations are similar to those for Walnut Hills. Area planning needs to include Walnut Hills and Avondale. Evanston shares some of their community development needs.

13 Evanston - East Walnut Hills. SES III

This statistical neighborhood first appeared in the second edition of this report (1986). Its single census tract had by 2000 risen by 22 SES points and was in SES III. Its percent African American declined from 74 percent in 1970 to 48 percent in 2005-2009. Its SES Index is now 65.6. Its unemployment rate is 8%, about average for SES III. Median family income is a modest \$41,042 compared to \$49,625 in Kennedy Heights and \$81,911 in Oakley. This neighborhood is in a transition zone with SES I areas on two sides and SES IV on the other two sides.

14 East Walnut Hills. SES IV

East Walnut Hills SES score fell by 10.8 points in the 2000 to 2005-2009 period. Overall, the neighborhood has been stable since 1970. Only six neighborhoods rank above it on the SES Index. Its unemployment rate of 7 percent is higher than in most other SES IV areas. Median family income rose 2000 to 2005-2009 and its census tracts still rank 100 and 102 among the tracts on this variable.

15 East End. SES IV

In 2005-2009 the trend toward improvement continued and the East End is now overall in SES IV. Tract 43 now is at 103 on the SES Index. In Median Family Income (\$223,333) it is only outranked by Tract 14 in the West End (\$250,001). Tract 44 is still in SES II. Its Education Indicator is 27 and its Family Structure Indicator is 33.7. It ranks 55 in SES among the city's 115 tracts. Part of the East End remains a working class neighborhood. After falling to 8.5 in 1990 the percent African American in the East End rose to 10.8 percent in 2000 and to 24.6 in 2005-2009. A look at Figure 2 illustrates the trend for the entire eastern riverfront to become SES IV. (The East End's Tract 44 remains SES II as does Tract 47.02 which is Linwood.) Much of Tract 44 is industrial/commercial or in the flood plain. The new school there had to be built on stilts.

16 California. SES IV

California, on the southeastern rim of the city below Mt. Washington and along the Ohio River moved from SES II in 1970 to the middle of SES III in 1980. It held this position in 1990 and moved up to SES IV in 2000. Only Mt. Adams, Mt. Lookout-Columbia Tusculum, Hyde Park and Mt. Lookout have a higher SES Index. Median family income is \$150,658 and 96 percent of the children live in two parent homes. The percent elderly is 15 percent. It was 16 percent in 1970. The unemployment rate is 5 percent.

17 Mt. Washington. SES IV

In 1970 Mt. Washington ranked 43rd among the neighborhoods. By 2005-2009 its rank had declined to 39. The neighborhood was 100 percent white or other in 1970 and the percent African American stands now at 4.7. Although it has absorbed some of the displaced Appalachians from the East End its unemployment rate is only 5 percent. The Family Structure Indicator ranges from 39.5 in Tract 46.01 to 82.3 in 46.03. The poverty rate is 10.2. The percent elderly has increased to 20 percent. There are 3,117 people over 60 in this neighborhood. Median family income is in the range of \$59,115 in Tract 46.03 to \$73,144 in Tract 46.02.

18 Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum. SES IV

This area remained stable in the past 40 years with very small changes in its social indicators. Adjacent to the East End and Linwood as well as to Hyde Park and Mt. Lookout, it has some diversity. In 2005-2009, the poverty rate was 1.1 percent. There were 409 persons over age 60 (The percent elderly has been stable at 13 percent since 2000). There were no reported school dropouts according to the 2005-2009 data. The median family income, at \$113,333, is the seventh highest among city tracts. The percent African American is 7.2. Only 5 percent of the population has less than a high school education. The unemployment rate 2005-2009 was only 1 percent.

19 Mt. Lookout. SES IV

Since the boundary changes that created Linwood and Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum as separate statistical neighborhoods, Mt. Lookout (tract 48) has been at the top of the heap among Cincinnati neighborhoods. Its SES score of 102.6 is marginally higher than the Hyde Park census tracts. Its median family income at \$166,087 is exceeded only by East End's Tract 43 and West End's Tract 14.

20 Linwood. SES II

Linwood is a working class heavily Appalachian neighborhood at the foot of Mt. Lookout and adjacent to the East End and Columbia-Tusculum. Its social indicators are improving and in the past decade it moved from the top of SES I to the lower part of SES II. Its poverty rate fell from 20 to 9.4 percent. Its median family income of \$42,031 is one of the highest in SES II. The dropout rate is 46 percent and the Education Indicator is 56.9. The percent elderly is 13 percent, down from 22 percent in 1990.

21 Hyde Park. SES IV

Hyde Park's social indicators changed little from 1970 to 2005-2009. It is second only to Mt. Lookout in its overall SES index. In 1980, the percent of the population over 60 had reached 24 percent. By 2000, this figure had declined to 17 percent where it remains. Hyde Park was surpassed by Mt. Lookout for the first time in 1990 in the overall SES index and by 2005-2009 Mt. Lookout also had a higher median family income. Tract 49 ranks 111 out of 115 on the Income Indicator.

22 Oakley. SES IV

Oakley has changed dramatically in classification since 1970. In 1970 its three census tracts were in SES II and III. In 2000 they were in III and IV. Now they are in II (Tract 54) and IV (52, 53). All three tracts declined on the SES Index in the 2005-2009 period. Tract 54 actually has a lower SES Index now than it did in 1970. The other two tracts improved steadily until 2000. The indicator which lowers its SES Index is the Family Structure Indicator (24.7). Oakley has a high percent of elderly (24 percent), an unemployment rate of 4 percent

and a poverty rate of only 8.4 percent. It is predominantly white (90 percent) as are its neighbors to the west and south but shares some elements of Norwood's and Madisonville's blue collar flavor at least in Tract 54. The area adjacent to Hyde Park has new upscale housing developments.

23 Madisonville. SES III

Madisonville, like Oakley, encompasses two social areas (Figure 2). Like College Hill, Oakley, Bond Hill, and other middle class/working class neighborhoods, it has needed to cope with massive racial or demographic changes. In 1990, Madisonville was almost 60 percent African American. By 2000, this percentage had fallen to 33 percent. In 2005-2009 it was back up to 55.80. Its overall SES index declined from 64.0 in 1970 to 53.7 in 1980. This went up to 60.1 in 1990 and to 69.9 in 2000 then fell to 62.3 in 2005-2009 for an overall decline of 1.7 points in the period of this study. Its median family income ranges from \$35,530 in Tract 55 to \$63,561 in Tract 56. Its unemployment rate is 11 percent. Madisonville has achieved the status of a stable integrated neighborhood but is still struggling. We believe it will improve as the national economy improves. In terms of income, Madisonville is at a median family income of \$54,054, in the middle of the third quartile neighborhoods. Its poverty rate was below average at 11.9 percent. Neighborhood organizations have worked hard to reverse Madisonville's decline. They have made progress but had a setback in the 2000s.

24 Pleasant Ridge. SES IV

Pleasant Ridge and Kennedy Heights are primarily residential neighborhoods on the northeast fringe of Cincinnati. They are only arbitrarily separated by city boundaries from suburbs such as Golf Manor and Amberley Village. Pleasant Ridge has experienced significant population loss and some racial change. The neighborhood was 39.9 percent African American in 2000. This fell to 33.2 percent in 2005-2009. The poverty rate now is 12.8 percent, less than the city average. In 1970, all three tracts were in SES IV. By 1980, only two remained in SES IV. The SES Index declined by ten points between 1970 and 2000. Things

turned around in the past decade and now all three tracts are in SES IV once again and the decline has stopped.

25 Kennedy Heights. SES III

Kennedy Heights, like Pleasant Ridge, has maintained a quality residential atmosphere despite demographic changes. It is known as one of Cincinnati's stable integrated neighborhoods. Its stability is now in question. Its one census tract, 58, declined rapidly in the 1970s but by 2000 had reached an SES score of 77. This declined to 55.6 in 2005-2009. Kennedy Heights has fallen from SES IV to the bottom of SES III in the past decade. Its rank among the neighborhoods fell from 34.5 to 25. The unemployment rate is now 14 percent. Median family income is \$49,625 and the poverty rate is 11.1 percent. The Family Structure Indicator is low at 38.3.

26 Hartwell. SES III

Although Hartwell's SES Index has changed from 89.2 in 1970 to 66.4 in 2005-2009 its rank among the neighborhoods changed little (from 33 to 32.5). During the 1990s the Family Structure Indicator declined from 71 to 58.5 as the neighborhood experienced racial and other demographic change. It has a small but growing Hispanic population. Hartwell is a neighborhood of over 5,000 people and remains in the upper half of SES III. Its unemployment rate is only 5 percent. It is 28.8 percent African American.

27 Carthage. SES II

Carthage in 2000 was a relatively stable blue collar neighborhood near the top of SES II (Figure 4a). It failed to hold this position in the current ACS data. Its SES Index in 1970 was 50.7. It declined to 39.8 in 1980, rose to 47.8 in 1990, rose to 53 in 2000 then fell to 42.2 in 2005-2009. Its unemployment rate is 9 percent, about the regional and national average. The African American percentage increased from 5.8 in 2000 to 31.7 in 2005-2009. The poverty rate went up from 6 to 24.7 percent during the decade. The Family Structure Indicator fell from 58.7 to 45.6. The Education Indicator is now 22.8 percent and the median family income is \$39,798. Carthage has more people

over 60 (25 percent) than it did in 2000 and has seen an increase of 685 percent in its Hispanic population (322 in 2005-2009).

28 Roselawn. SES II

Roselawn began serious decline in the 1980s and this has continued. Its SES score in 1970 was 86.1 and rose to 89.8 in 1980. It has declined at least 10 points in each decade since and now stands at 44.1 which puts it in SES II. In 1990 Roselawn had the highest percentage of elderly in Cincinnati at 29. Now its population over 60 is only 17 percent. There is a large number of children under 5 (320) and the poverty rate is 23.2 percent. It has a Hispanic population of 346, Cincinnati's sixth largest. The African American population increased from 6.8 percent (Table 4e) in 1970 to 65.7 percent in 2005-2009. Roselawn has a great housing stock and a diverse and creative population. We expect it will begin to stabilize as the economy improves.

29 Bond Hill. SES II

The 2005-2009 numbers do not confirm our prediction in 2004 that Bond Hill, which had declined rapidly, would stabilize. The decline has continued. The 2000 SES Index of 47.2 fell to 35.9 in 2005-2009. The percent African American remained virtually the same at 92.7 percent. Unemployment rose to 19 percent. The poverty rate fell to 17.8 percent. The Family Structure Indicator was low at 25 percent. Like Roselawn, Avondale, East Price Hill and Westwood and other neighborhoods which have experienced rapid change, Bond Hill needs continued efforts to support newcomers and long term residents in their community building/stabilization efforts. There are 268 children under 5 and 1,384 in the 5-17 age group. The percent elderly has remained stable at around 21 percent.

30 North Avondale - Paddock Hills. SES III

In 1990, North Avondale held relatively the same rank in SES that it held in 1970. In 2000 it fell below its 1970 rank as it had in 1980 (Table 9). During the past decade (2005-2009) North Avondale experienced another nine point drop in its SES Index (Table 2a) and went from

near the bottom of SES IV to near the top of SES III. Unemployment (9 percent) and joblessness (3,904 people) are a concern. The median family income of \$59,500 though the third highest in SES III is \$30,000 below that of, e.g., Clifton. The Family Structure Indicator of 52.2 also lowers North Avondale's SES score. It should be noted that a high proportion of college (Xavier) students could be significantly affecting the income data for this area. This is also true of the area around the University of Cincinnati. By 2000 North Avondale had stabilized regarding racial change at about a 50-50 ratio of African Americans to white.

31 Avondale. SES I

Avondale has lost 20 points on the SES Index since 1970 but its score rose by 1.4 points from 2000 to 2005-2009. In Table 4c we rated it as stable, but it has fallen from 17 to 7 in rank (Table 9) since 1970. In 2005-2009, the poverty rate rose to 37.5 percent affecting 985 families. Joblessness is 44 percent and the unemployment rate is 15 percent. All five tracts maintained their 2000 SES quartile positions. Tract 34 has an income of \$7,243 which is lower than that of any Over-the-Rhine tract. The Family Structure Indicator is low in all five tracts. These data make clear that Avondale's problems are deep and not getting better. Avondale is part of a larger Cincinnati area which includes Evanston and Walnut Hills. These neighborhoods have experienced many strains due to population shifts and disinvestment. The investments made in economic development, the Empowerment Zone and Community Action have not created a big statistical difference but the tiny gain in the SES Index is encouraging. It is important to the entire region that community development efforts in these close-in Cincinnati neighborhoods succeed.

32 Clifton. SES IV

For many years, Clifton has been an island of affluence in the Uptown section. The neighborhood rank is 42. The SES Index started off at 93.4 in 1970, rose to 102.1 in 1990 and has declined to 87.7 in 2005-2009. The 11 point decline in the 1990s corresponded with declines in some other Uptown neighborhoods. Changes in the university-medical complex may have

been a factor. The decline of 3.1 points from 2000 to 2005-2009 was not significant. There is a huge income gap between the three tracts (Appendix II). The same is true in the Family Structure Indicator which ranges from 58.4 in Tract 70 to 83.6 in Tract 71. The unemployment rate at 8 percent is the highest in SES IV. It involves 433 individuals.

33 Winton Place. SES II

Winton Place improved its SES score from 1970 to 1990 and has declined since. It ranks just above Bond Hill, Linwood and Over-the-Rhine among SES II neighborhoods. Its unemployment rate is 7 percent, its Education Indicator 21.3, and its Family Structure Indicator only 22.1. The median family income in 2005-2009 was \$42,173 close to the median for Cincinnati census tracts.

34 Northside SES III

Northside has had a bumpy ride in its renewal efforts with its SES Index falling to 46.9 in 1980 and climbing to 61.2 in 2005-2009. Three of its four census tracts moved up one quartile and Northside is now in SES III. Unemployment is 8 percent, poverty at 13.5 percent and the percent African American at 32.3 (down from 37.5 percent in 2000). Northside's renewal comes at a time when Mt. Airy and Winton place, its neighbors, are experiencing decline. Tract 74, still in SES II, has some problems. Median Family Income in this tract is \$32,882 and the Family Structure Indicator is only 4.9 percent, one of the city's lowest. Northside seems to be well on its way to becoming a stable integrated neighborhood. The positive change we predicted in the Fourth Edition is now occurring.

35 South Cumminsville-Millvale SES I

This neighborhood ranked 7th from the bottom among Cincinnati neighborhoods on SES in 1970. Since 1980 it has ranked at or near the bottom of the scale (Table 9). Its SES Index is now 11.6, the city's lowest. Unemployment stands at 27 percent, poverty at 56.9 percent and the Education Indicator is 41.8. Only 8.3 percent of children under 18 are in two parent homes. Some of South Cumminsville-Millvale operates under public housing regulations

which require residents to be low income. At \$15,732 median family income in Tract 77 is the 11th lowest in Cincinnati. The neighborhood is 90 percent African American. Almost one third of the housing units are public housing.

36 Winton Hills. SES I

Winton Hills has an even higher percent of public housing (61.3) than South Cumminsville-Millvale. It ranked 9th among the neighborhoods in 1970 and now is tied for third from the bottom. Its SES Index is now 29. The disastrous period for Winton Hills was the 1970s when the SES Index fell from 32.4 to 19, the population increased from 7,273 to 7,711 and the percent African American increased from 75.2 to 88.8. The tract boundary also changed slightly. The most important component of change was the Family Structure Indicator. During the 1980s no further decrease in SES occurred. The index rose in 2005-2009 to 29, taking Winton Hills a bit further away from the lowest score of 11.6.

Because it is a public housing area, Winton Hills is poor by definition. The poverty rate is the city's second highest at 66.4 percent (down from 68 percent in 1990). Median family income in 2005-2009 was \$10,135. The poverty rate among female headed families is 65.3 percent. In Winton Hills 80.3 percent of the households are female headed. The percent African American has declined to 82.7. The Education Indicator declined from near 50 in 1980 to 31.7 and the dropout rate is 25.8, down from 42.7 percent in 2000. The population has declined almost half to 4,801 since 1980.

37 College Hill. SES III

Only five neighborhoods have lost more points in the SES Index than College Hill since 1970 (Table 9). In 2005-2009, the percent African American rose to 54.2 after declining slightly in the 1990s. College Hill is a large and diverse neighborhood of over 16,000 people. In Tract 82.01 median family income is \$57,357 and the Family Structure Indicator is 46.5, compared to \$63,542 and 67.7 in Tract 111. The Education Indicator is low in all five census tracts meaning most of the population has at least a

high school education (Appendix II). College Hill has many assets and is still near the top of SES III. It holds promise of becoming a stable integrated community. Its recent decline may be related to two successive recessions.

38 Mt. Airy. SES I

Mt. Airy declined more than any Cincinnati neighborhood since 1970, losing 60.1 points on the SES Index. There were two major factors in Mt. Airy's slide in SES index from 99.3 in 1970 to 72.6 in 1990. First in 1990 a new census tract was added which had a different demographic base. Secondly in the 1980's the original tract 83 itself declined on all components of the SES index except income. Change in the Family Structure Indicator was a major factor. Almost half (45.5%) of Mt. Airy families are now female headed. During the 1990's the African American population increased to 43.8 percent. From 1970 to 2000, Mt. Airy lost 44 points on the SES scale. The change within predominantly white Tract 83 was more gradual than in the more integrated tract 85.01. Tract 85.01 went from 8.8 percent African American in 1980 to 34.8 in 2000. It fell from SES III to SES II. Mt. Airy ranked near the top of SES II in 2000. In 2005-2009 it lost another 16 points on the SES Index and fell to the top of SES I. At 54.1 percent, Mt. Airy is now a neighborhood with an African American majority. The changes in Mt. Airy are part of a general westward movement of Cincinnati's inner city population. This parallels the decline of East Price Hill and Westwood and on the east side, that of Bond Hill. Change in Mt. Airy may have been accelerated by the closing of the English Woods public housing project in the 1980s.

39 Fay Apartments. SES I

The SES index for this neighborhood has fluctuated with decisions regarding ownership and who would live there. The SES index rose from 1970 - 1980 and by 1990 had declined to the city's second lowest. In 2000 Fay Apartments' SES Index at 15 was the city's lowest. Change factors included all five SES variables. Fay Apartments had fallen from the bottom of SES II to the bottom of SES I, a full quartile, since 1980. Changes in ownership and tenancy may

have affected the social indicators. The poverty rate is now 71.5 percent and 82.7 percent of the families are female headed. The poverty rate is the city's highest and the percent female headed families is second only to that of South Cumminsville-Millvale.

40 North Fairmount-English Woods. SES I

Tract boundary changes in 1980 affected this neighborhood's SES Index. By 2000, the newly defined area (Tract 86.01) experienced further decline in SES Index and then ranked with Fay Apartments and South Cumminsville-Millvale at the bottom of the SES scale, ranking second. Things improved in the 2000s and now this neighborhood has moved to a rank of 10 and is near the top of SES I. What changed? The poverty rate dropped from 51 to 27.7; the percent female headed families fell from 66 to 45.1, median family income rose from \$13,966 to \$31,176, more than doubling. The Education Indicator fell from 50 (% adults without high school diplomas) to 39.4. The unemployment rate dropped from 25 to 20 percent. The gains in income, education, and unemployment were large enough to offset the negative impact of a change in the Family Structure Indicator. In fact, the usual correlation between female headed and poverty does not hold for this neighborhood nor for Bond Hill. The poverty rate of female headed households is only 21.4 percent compared to 27.7 for the total population. Another dramatic change in the past decade was a drop in percent African American from 84.8 to 65.7. The underlying cause of the change was the closing of the English Woods public housing project displacing primarily poor African American families. The population shrank from 4,565 in 2000 to 3,379 in 2005-2009.

41 South Fairmount. SES I

South Fairmount lies in a hollow which connects the Mill Creek industrial valley to Price Hill and Westwood. A working class neighborhood, once partly Italian, then Appalachian and now partly African American was ranked 13 (from the bottom) among the neighborhoods in 1970. It ranked 16 in 1980, 11 in 1990, 9 in 2000 and rose to 11 in 2005-2009. Tract 87 at

the bottom of the hill is SES I and Tract 89 is SES II. Unemployment for South Fairmount is 16 percent, poverty at 38.3. The Education Indicator is 47.5 and 14.6, respectively, for the two tracts. Of the two tracts, 87 has the higher median family income but has lower SES because of the Overcrowding Indicator of 9.9. In 1970, South Fairmount was predominantly white and Appalachian. That is still true of Tract 87 but the neighborhood is now 49.7 percent African American.

42 Lower Price Hill. SES II

The SES index was 21 in 1970, fell to 18.6 in 1980 and declined further to 15.6 in 1990. In 2000, the SES Index rose for the first time in three decades. Its rank among the neighborhoods went from 3 (from the bottom) in 1970 to 6 in 2000 - its SES indicators not being significantly higher than South Cumminsville-Millvale, Over-the-Rhine, Fay Apartments, Winton Hills and North Fairmount, the other neighborhoods at the bottom. In 2000, the poverty rate was 56 percent (down from 65 percent in 1990), the third highest in the city. The percent of female headed households increased from 47 to 49.

Improvements occurred in the 2000s and Lower Price Hill rose to a neighborhood SES rank of 21 putting it in the upper half of SES II. The unemployment rate rose to 37. The Education Indicator fell to 47.8 and the Family Structure Indicator fell to 41.9. The population fell to 758 and the Census Bureau combined Tract 91 with Tract 1 (Queensgate). The school dropout rate is still the city's highest at 64 percent but that only accounts for 16 young people according to the American Community Survey. Because of the small population of the neighborhood and the small sample size we acknowledge that the confidence levels of this data is not acceptable and it should not be the sole basis for any decision making.

43 East Price Hill. SES I

East Price Hill ranked 19th among the neighborhoods in 1970. It has declined precipitously in SES and the index is now 29. The neighborhood's rank has slipped to being tied for 3 behind only South Cumminsville-Millvale and

Fay Apartments (Table 9). The population is still high at 18,798. The African American population was .4 percent in 1970 and was 34.6 percent in 2005-2009. The Hispanic population increased from 240 in 2000 to 1,393 in 2005-2009 and constitutes Cincinnati's largest concentration of this minority group. Most of the white population is still Appalachian. The changes in East Price Hill compare to those in Mt. Airy and Bond Hill and are part of the general movement of Cincinnati's low income population to the west. The dropout rate (Table 6a) fell slightly to 22 percent but there are 3,871 adults without a high school education and over 1,000 estimated to be functionally illiterate. Strong community development efforts there are faced with great challenges as poverty declines in the core city and expands in "second ring" communities. The poverty rate is now 31.4 and this involves 1,201 families and many more if the 200% of poverty level is applied. The Family Structure Indicator ranges from 16.2 in Tract 96 to 48.2 in Tract 92. Median family income ranges from \$22,788 to \$38,607. Only 7 neighborhoods have declined more since the 1970 census.

44 West Price Hill. SES II

Since 2000 the SES Index fell to 53.4 and the neighborhood rank fell by 10 to 22. Tract 98 fell to SES I and the neighborhood as a whole is near the top of SES II. Now West Price Hill has tracts in all four social areas just as Westwood does. West Price Hill's decline is part of the same broad patterns as those described in the sections on Mt. Airy, Bond Hill, Roselawn, and East Price Hill. This neighborhood now has 2,280 adults without a high school education and 431 who may be functionally illiterate. There are 2,299 people over 60 but they are only 12 percent of the population. The dropout rate is low at 5.2 percent. There are over 5,000 children under 18. Unemployment is at the national average of 9 percent. This neighborhood needs strong civic activities and effective education and social services to support newcomer families and ease the strains of neighborhood change. Part but not all of the change is racial. The percent African American was 0.2 in 1970 and 17.6 in 2005-2009.

There are now 718 Hispanics, the city's third largest concentration. Tract 98 is heavily Appalachian.

45 Westwood. SES III

Westwood's SES index fell 36 points in the last three decades. In 1970, all five tracts were in SES IV. By 2000, one was in SES I, one was in SES II, two in SES III, and three still in SES IV. 1980 census tract boundary changes included part of old Northwest Fairmount in Westwood. In the older Westwood, tract 109 experienced a 10 point drop in the 1990s and in the area that was once tract 100, now 88, 102.01, and 102.02, also experienced significant decline (Appendix III). The authors attribute part of the change to an influx of both white Appalachians and African Americans. Westwood's poverty rate is 16.1 percent and because the neighborhood is so large this gives it the third highest concentration of poor families in the city. There are also nearly 814 African American families below the poverty level and the third highest concentration of poor whites in the city (Table 4d). Westwood has become a very diverse neighborhood.

East Westwood has formed its own neighborhood association. The tracts in that section are still SES III and IV and, along with two tracts in West Price Hill, still have much of the social composition of the 1970s West Side. West Siders complain that they have borne an undue share of the cost of population shifts in Cincinnati. We have no judgment on this but note that Walnut Hills, Avondale, and Mt. Auburn, for example, saw similar changes starting two decades earlier.

46 Sedamsville-Riverside. SES I

Sedamsville was relatively stable from 1970-2000. It ranked 5th in 1970, improved to 14 in 1980 held the rank of 12 in 1990, 13 in 2000, then dropped to 9th in 2005-2009 losing its SES II rank. It shared this fate with its neighbor to the east, Riverside-Sayler Park. Its percent African American changed from .7 in 1980 to 22.9 in 2005-2009. Unemployment rose to 27 percent. The poverty rate rose from 17 percent in 2000 to 38.9 and the Family Structure Indi-

cator fell to 37.1. Median family income is now \$26,250 down from \$36,500. The population of 1,714 is down from 2,144 in 2000. The Education Indicator is 49.9, meaning almost half the adult population lacks a high school education. One in five residents is over 60 and one in 5 are under 18. Changes in this neighborhood are part of the shift of poverty to the west side.

47 Riverside-Sayler Park. SES I

In the past decade, the trends noted in the Fourth Edition for Riverside-Sayler Park accelerated beyond belief. The neighborhood dropped in rank from 31 to 6. Its neighbor, East Price Hill, dropped from 14 to 3rd (from the bottom). It is unusual for a neighborhood to change so dramatically in one decade. There is some racial change. The percent African American rose from 18.0 to 29.2. The Family Structure Indicator fell to 15.8, median family income to \$33,625, and the Education Indicator rose to 22.7, still not very high compared to other SES I neighborhoods. The unemployment rate, at 8 percent, is less than the city average.

Recent rises in the poverty rate and school dropout rate also give some cause for concern. As elderly residents age and die or move out they are probably being replaced by younger families with different needs. Forty percent of the families are female headed and these and other working families need supports such as day care.

48 Sayler Park. SES IV

Sayler Park has been relatively stable during the four decades reviewed in this study. In 2005-2009 Sayler Park improved in neighborhood rank from 27 to 37 and it is now in SES IV. The dropout problem noted in the Fourth Edition disappeared. The Education Indicator stands at 11.5. The Family Structure Indicator is 56.6. The change in racial composition went from .8 percent African American to 1.1 percent.