the social areas of cincinnati

an analysis of social needs

FOURTH EDITION

executive summary • 2004

PATTERNS FOR FOUR CENSUS DECADES

School of Planning, University of Cincinnati • UC Institute for Community Partnerships (UCICP)

By Michael Maloney and Christopher Auffrey

Credits

This project is supported by contributions from the University of Cincinnati's School of Planning, the UC Institute for Community Partnerships, and the Knowledgeworks Foundation through the Urban Appalachian Council. School of Planning graduate research assistant Steven Sizemore assisted with data preparation and GIS mapping. Phillip Obermiller and William K. Woods assisted with policy analysis. Jeffrey Dey was responsible for report production. The Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio and Catholic Social Services supported some of Michael Maloney's time on this project.

Christ Church Cathedral supported preparation of the report summary.

Brigid McLendon Swartz and Mary Bridget Reilly advised on report release. Marie Gemelli-Carroll of Communications in the Public Interest assisted with report presentation and dissemination. Duraid Da'as assisted with community presentations. Graphic design was completed by group west communications.

introduction and methodology

The Social Areas of Cincinnati Fourth Edition records and analyzes the demographic changes that have taken place in Cincinnati and its environs during the last three decades.

The data are entirely from the decennial census, and the target area is the seven-county Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as it existed in 1974 when the first edition was compiled. Social areas analysis is one of the standard tools planners and social workers use in needs assessment.

The four social areas, SES I (lower), SES II (lower middle), SES III (upper middle) and SES IV (upper), are determined by ranking the 115 census tracts located entirely within the city of Cincinnati on a complex index of socioeconomic status (SES). (See figure 2 and figure 13.) The elements that go into the SES index are income (median family income), education (the percentage of adults with less than a high school education), overcrowding (the number of housing units with more than 3.01 persons per room), family structure (percent of children under 18 in two-parent households), and occupation (percent of blue-collar and service workers).

The report includes voluminous data on Cincinnati neighborhoods. Analysis of neighborhood trends is a key element of the study. Chapter 9 focuses on neighborhood analysis specifically. Chapter 10 focuses on the metropolitan area.Chapter 11 includes an analysis of current urban policy studies and recommendations for remediation of social conditions.

Limitations of this study

The target area does not include Butler County even though migration to and from Butler County is very important to Cincinnati, Hamilton County, and the rest of the region. The target area also excludes five counties that have been added to the Cincinnati SMSA since 1970. The reason for these omissions is to maintain comparability with the 1970 baseline data.

The list of Cincinnati neighborhoods is the 48 "statistical neighborhoods" used by the city in statistical reports. It differs slightly from the list of 52 neighborhoods used by community councils. The neighborhoods listed in this report consist of one or more census tracts.

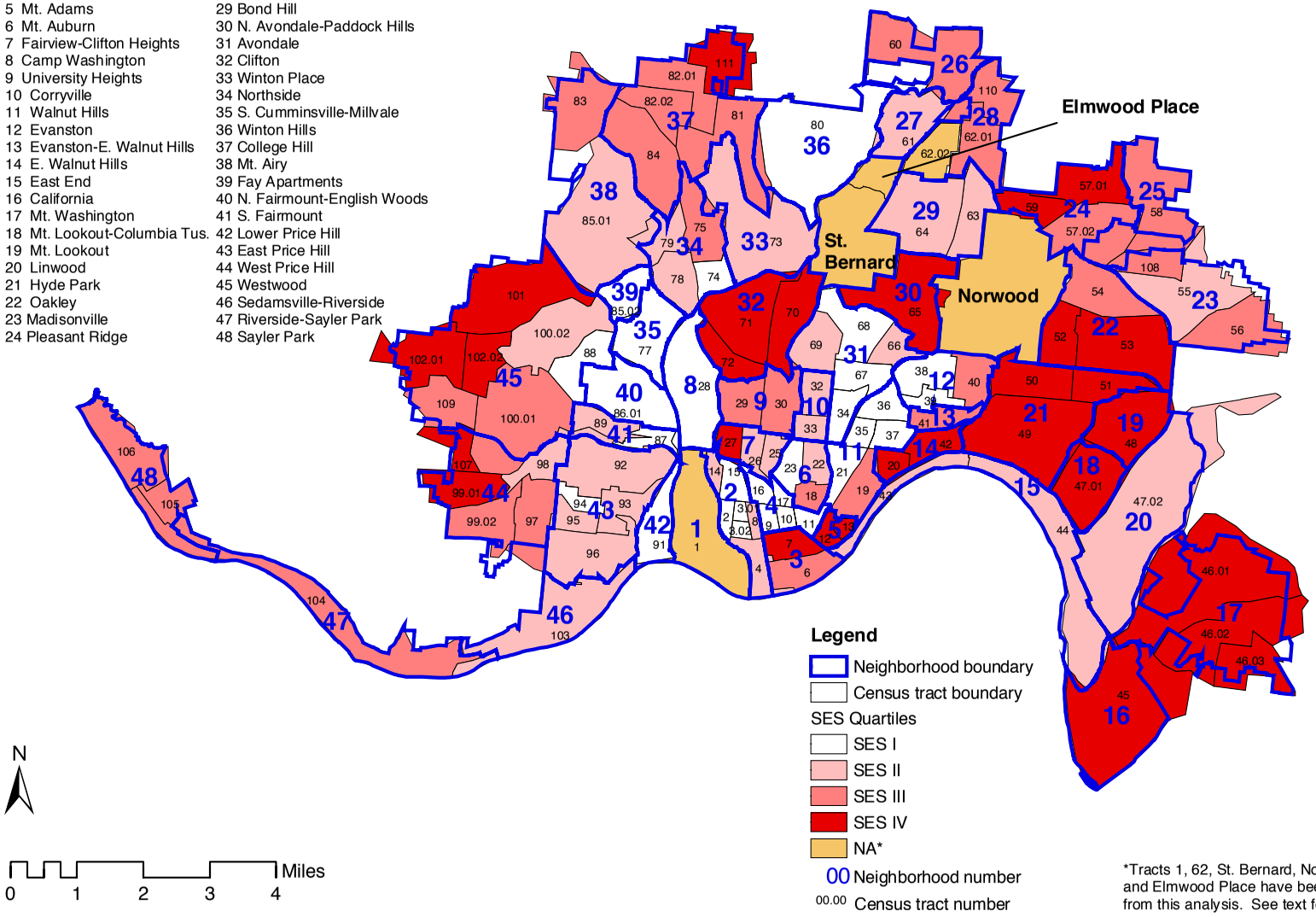
Social areas analysis is also subject to what is called "the ecological fallacy." A census tract that is classified as SES III, for example, may actually have many individuals who are of lower or higher status living within its boundaries. The reader is cautioned to take this into account in using data for tracts or neighborhoods. This report also focuses heavily on the city of Cincinnati. Data for Covington, Norwood, and other jurisdictions are included in the appendixes, but not specifically analyzed. (The data reflect information at the census tract level only.) Health and crime statistics are not included though reference is made to these concerns in the policy section.

Figure 2

2000 Cincinnati City SES Quartiles

2000 Cincinnati Neighborhood Approximation

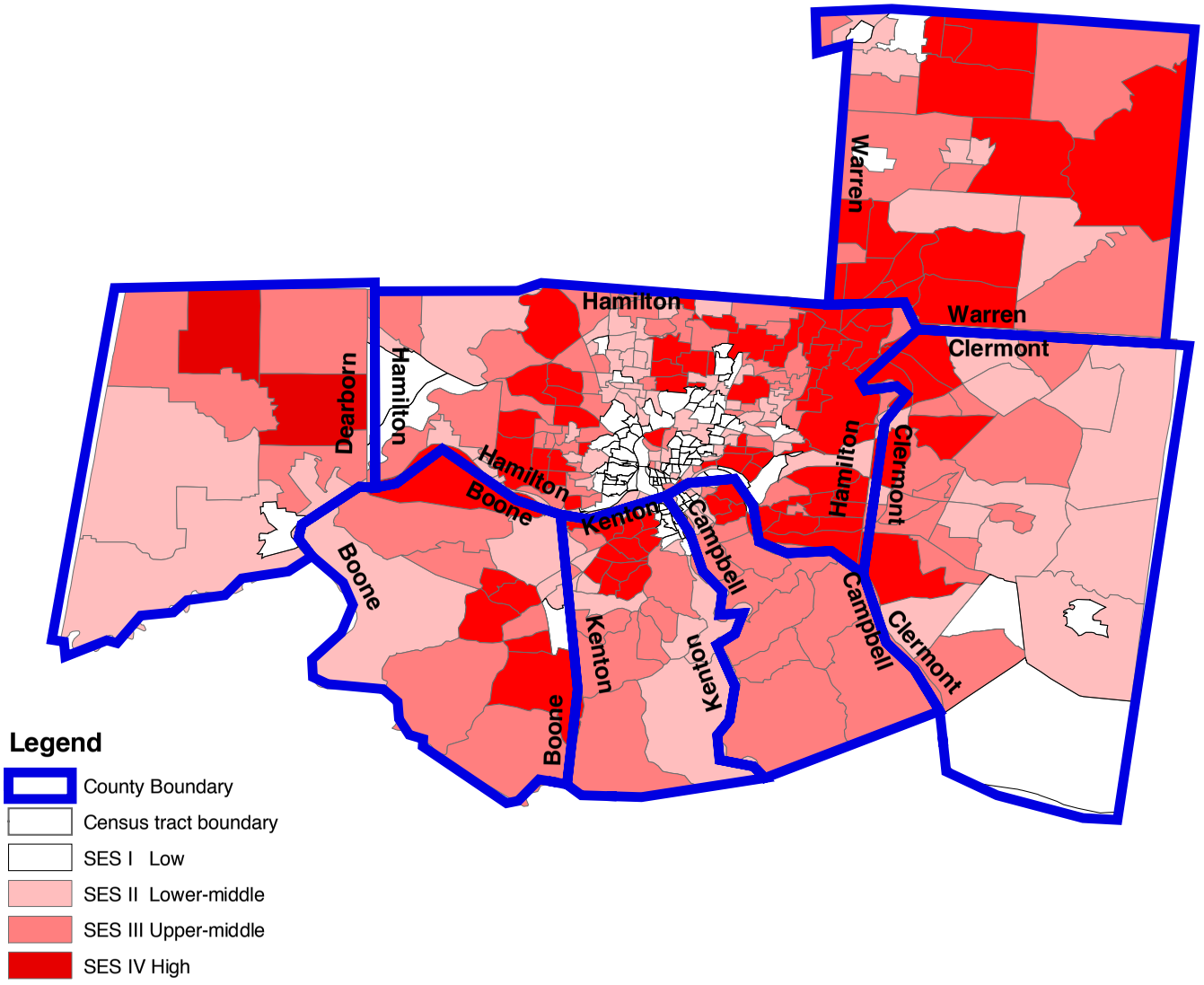
1 Queensgate	25 Kennedy Heights
2 West End	26 Hartwell
3 CBD-Riverfront	27 Carthage
4 Over-The-Rhine	28 Roselawn
5 Mt. Adams	29 Bond Hill
6 Mt. Auburn	30 N. Avondale-Paddock Hills
7 Fairview-Clifton Heights	31 Avondale
8 Camp Washington	32 Clifton
9 University Heights	33 Winton Place
10 Corryville	34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



*Tracts 1, 62, St. Bernard, Norwood, and Elmwood Place have been excluded from this analysis. See text for more detail.

Figure 13

Metropolitan Cincinnati SES Quartiles



metro trends/1970-2000

There is some good news and some bad news in recent trends

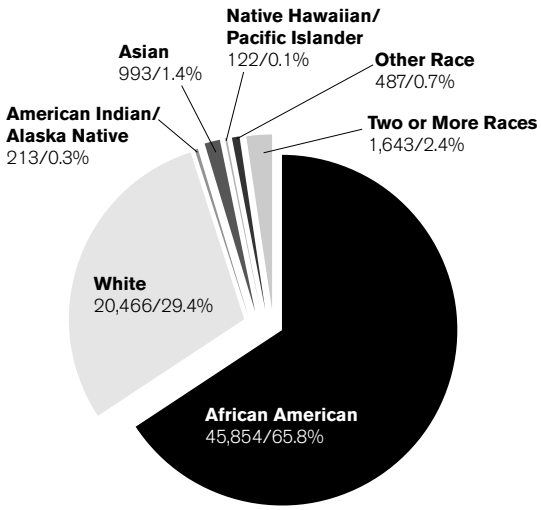
Population Loss

The rate of population loss increased from 8.7% in the 1980s to 12.7% in the 1990s. The rate of loss in the 1970s was 14.8%. During the three decades Cincinnati lost 26.9% of its 1970 population of 452,524. This represents 121,862 people.

Poverty

The poverty rate for Cincinnati families was 12.8% in 1970, 16% in 1980, and 20.7% in 1990. By 2000, the rate had dropped to 18.2% (a 42% increase for the three decades). The total number of poor families in 2000 was actually lower than in 1970, due to the city's overall population loss. Among those remaining in the city, the portion that is poor increased substantially, reflecting a disproportionate loss of middle and upper SES residents. In 2000, there were 69,778 individuals below the poverty level in Cincinnati.

The breakdown by race was:



Poverty by Race
Number of Individuals/Percent of Total

Notably, between 1990 and 2000, there was a major reversal of the 1980-1990 trend of increased poverty levels. The poverty rate of SES I (city portion) dropped from 53% to 36%. In the other three quartiles, the rate was cut in half. The core inner city became more African American but less poor during the 1990s. Whether this was an effect of social policy or a booming economy is beyond the

scope of this study. It also may be the result of how poverty is defined. It is likely an effect of all three explanations. It will be interesting to see what effect the recession of the early 2000s and social policy will have in the current decade. One might expect some repeat of the 1980s pattern unless the economy recovers or welfare reform accomplishes more than critics anticipate. The welfare/poverty ratio was altered radically in the 1990s. Only a fraction of households below the poverty level continued to receive public assistance in 2000. This will have long-term effects. It should be noted that the recession drastically reduced the ability of government at all levels to follow through on the promises made to provide support to help the families who lost welfare benefits to become self-sufficient. This factor will possibly limit the positive effects of the change in welfare policy.

Among African American neighborhoods poverty rates were highest in Fay Apartments (67%), Winton Hills (65%), Over-the-Rhine (56%), South Cumminsville-Millvale (51%), North Fairmount-English Woods (51%), West End (49%), Avondale (33%), and Walnut Hills (33%). In Appalachian neighborhoods, high poverty areas were Lower Price Hill (56%), Camp Washington (36%), South Fairmount (28%), East Price Hill (23%), Linwood (20%), and Northside (20%).

Education

In the 1990s, school dropout rates decreased in six out of the 12 neighborhoods in SES I. The dropout rate increased in five of these neighborhoods and remained the same in one. In SES II, the rate decreased in eight neighborhoods, increased in two and remained the same in one. The city's highest dropout rates were in Lower Price Hill (58%), CBD-Riverfront (39%), Winton Hills (47%), and Carthage (41%). The highest concentrations of dropouts were in East Price Hill, Avondale, and Westwood.

In SES I and II neighborhoods in Cincinnati, the education indicator (percent of adults with less than a high school education) ranged from 16% in Fairview-Clifton Heights to 62% in Lower Price Hill. Neighborhoods with the highest education indicators are Lower Price Hill (62%),

Camp Washington (60%), North Fairmount-English Woods (50%), South Cumminsville-Millvale (49%), and Linwood (48%).

Functional illiteracy is high only in certain white Appalachian areas including Camp Washington (26%), Lower Price Hill (25%), and Linwood (20%).

Unemployment

Unemployment decreased in most inner city neighborhoods during the booming 1990s, but increased dramatically in Fairview-Clifton Heights (40%), North Fairmount-English Woods (30%), and Fay Apartments (27%).

Racial Change

In the city of Cincinnati, the African American population increased from 125,070 in 1970 to 141,616 in 2000 (a 13.2% gain). During the 1990s, the rate of increase slowed to 2.5% per decade. While African Americans were more likely in 2000 to live in middle class neighborhoods than in 1970, those living in the city's poorest neighborhoods were less likely to have non-African American neighbors. The SES I areas were 81% African American in 2000. This means that children growing up in the inner city are increasingly isolated by race as well as by class.

Poor African Americans are especially isolated. Of the 10,097 African American families below poverty in Cincinnati in 2000, 5,477 live in SES I neighborhoods. Only 500 live in SES IV neighborhoods.

Counter to this trend, there were several predominantly African American neighborhoods that became more integrated over the thirty-year period of the study. These include South Cumminsville-Millvale, West End, Walnut Hills, Evanston-East Walnut Hills, Evanston, and Corryville. Avondale and Mt. Auburn maintained a virtually unchanged ratio of blacks to whites.

Neighborhood Change

Mt. Airy topped the list of neighborhoods that declined the most between 1970 and 2000, losing 44.4 points on the SES scale. Other neighborhoods experiencing significant decline were Bond Hill, College Hill, Avondale, and Roselawn. From 1990 to 2000, the highest rates of decline were Bond Hill, College

Hill, Avondale, and Roselawn. From 1990 to 2000, the highest rates of decline were in Mt. Airy (23.1), Fairview-Clifton Heights (17.5), CBD-Riverfront (14.8), Westwood (12), and University Heights (12). The neighborhoods that experienced the greatest gains on the SES Index during the 1970-2000 period were Mt. Adams, Oakley, and California.

Only one (West End) of 12 blue-collar African American neighborhoods improved in SES in the 1990s. Five declined and six were rated as "stable." Among the middle and upper class African American neighborhoods, Kennedy Heights and Evanston-East Walnut Hills improved and North Avondale-Paddock Hills declined.

Appalachians

Ten Cincinnati neighborhoods are still classified as "Appalachian" based on poverty, race, education, employment, and family size criteria. During the decade, six of these neighborhoods improved in socioeconomic status and four declined. Nine of the 10 neighborhoods lost population in the 1990s. The family status index declined dramatically in all ten neighborhoods from 1970-2000. Camp Washington, Linwood, Lower Price Hill, and Riverside-Sayler Park all had 2000 unemployment rates above 12%. School dropout rates were among the city's highest. Lower Price Hill had the city's highest unemployment rate at 58%. Dropout rates increased in Carthage, East Price Hill, Riverside-Sayler Park, and Sedamsville-Riverside in the 1990s. Poverty rates declined in all Appalachian neighborhoods but remained above 20% in four.

Hispanics

During the 1990s decade, Hispanics/ Latinos surpassed African Americans as the largest minority group in the U.S. While the number of Hispanics in midwestern cities has grown substantially, still relatively few live in Cincinnati, though this trend appears to be changing. The official census count of Hispanics in Cincinnati increased from 2,386 in 1990 to 4,230 in 2000. This represents a 77.3% increase. Hispanics in Cincinnati were dispersed throughout the 48 neighborhoods and

still do not constitute a major percentage of the population in any one neighborhood. The largest numbers were found in Westwood (334), East Price Hill (240), Mt. Airy (235), Oakley (223), and Hyde Park (199). Other neighborhoods that had more than 100 persons of Hispanic origin include: Clifton (193), West Price Hill (182), Lower Price Hill (142), Madisonville (142), Walnut Hills (141), Fairview-Clifton Heights (137), Pleasant Ridge (137), Mt. Washington (123), West End (119), Avondale (113), and College Hill (113).

The neighborhoods with the largest number of newcomer Hispanics from 1990 to 2000 were East Price Hill (127), Lower Price Hill (136), Mt. Airy (187), Oakley (139), and Westwood (107). Agencies providing services to newcomer Hispanics will want to focus on these neighborhoods. The growing Hispanic community is complex in terms of

Neighborhoods with Large Hispanic Populations, 1990-2000

Neighborhood	Persons of Hispanic Origin		Increase 1990-2000	
	1990	2000	#	%
Westwood	227	334	107	47
East Price Hill	113	240	127	112
Mt. Airy	48	235	187	390
Oakley	84	223	139	165
Hyde Park	111	199	88	79
Clifton	133	193	60	45
West Price Hill	104	182	78	75
Lower Price Hill	6	142	136	2267
University Heights	145	141	-4	-3
Over-the-Rhine	61	172	111	182
Fairview-Clifton Heights	126	137	11	9

socioeconomic status, national origin, and other features. Most of the recent concern has been for newcomers who may not have good command of the English language and are 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. It can be expected that the demand for such services will increase as Cincinnati's Hispanic population continues to grow at a faster rate than for other groups.

Elderly

The percent population over age 60 increased in the 1970s and then started falling. The rate of loss for the three decades was 29.2%, slightly higher than the overall population loss of 26.9%. The percent over age 60 in 1970 was 17.9%. In 2000, the percent was 12.7%, a surprisingly low proportion considering that the American population is aging. In terms of total numbers, Cincinnati lost almost half of its elderly during the 1970-2000 period (48.3%). The loss of elderly population is most notable in the lower SES areas. This may be linked to poor health and resultant high morbidity rates among poor elderly residents, as well as the relatively higher SES status of the more recent elderly. This trend coupled with the decline in the two-parent family structure means that children in the lowest SES neighborhoods may not have either a second parent or nearby grandparents available to help in their nurture.

Family Structure

Family structure has changed fundamentally and radically since 1970 in the SES I and SES II neighborhoods. Whereas in 1970, 71.4% of children in SES I neighborhoods lived in two-parent families; by 2000, only 17.0% did so. For children in SES II neighborhoods, the change was from 73.5% to 34.7%.

The change in SES III is also dramatic, from 80.3% to 50.3%. The "traditional" family structure is holding up only in the highest SES

areas. Although we believe this is the single most important finding of this thirty-year study, we are not quite sure of all its implications. We are certain that it is not just associated with an increase in the African American population in these areas. It has affected some poor white areas as well. It appears that, at least in Cincinnati, there is a correlation between family structure and SES that was not as apparent thirty years ago. We are certain that community organizers, social workers, school officials, health workers, and others concerned about the poor city neighborhoods need to assess how practice and policy need to adapt to the new reality that the two-parent family is rapidly disappearing.

Family Structure Indicator*		
Social Area	1970	2000
SES I	71.4	17.0
SES II	73.5	34.7
SES III	80.3	50.3
SES IV	83.1	75.4

*Percent of children under 18 living in two-parent families.

metro trends/1970-2000

The metro area included in this report is the seven-county SMSA as it was defined in 1970 when the study began. It includes Hamilton, Warren, and Clermont Counties in Ohio, Kenton, Campbell, and Boone Counties in Kentucky, and Dearborn County in Indiana.

Racial Isolation

Racial isolation in metropolitan Cincinnati continues, with most African Americans living in Hamilton County. The percent African American for various jurisdictions for 1970 and 2000 are as follows:

Racial isolation has increased dramatically in SES I and somewhat in SES II. SES III and

Jurisdiction	1970	2000
Cincinnati	37.5	42.8
Hamilton County	23.4	24.7
Boone County	0.5	1.7
Campbell County	1.0	1.6
Clermont County	0.8	0.9
Kenton County	2.9	3.8
Dearborn County	0.7	0.7
Warren County	0.8	2.7

IV have become more racially integrated. The racial unrest that has beset Cincinnati over the past few years is perhaps symptomatic of the continuing disproportionate concentration of African Americans in lower SES neighborhoods. In 1990, 75% of the metropolitan area's African Americans lived in the two lower socioeconomic areas. In 2000, the figure was 73%. This slight decrease in the proportion of the area's African American population that lives in SES I and II is potentially the start of a positive trend toward more racial balance at all SES levels.

Socioeconomic Segregation

Socioeconomic integration is also lacking. Most of the metropolitan area's poor families live in Hamilton County, and primarily in SES I and II areas. In 1990, 74 % of the metropolitan area's poor lived in the two lower socioeconomic areas. In 2000, the figure was 69%.

From 1980 to 2000, the gap between the central city and the metropolitan area grew in a number of ways. In 1980, more than 20 tracts outside the central cities were in SES I. In 2000, there were only a few such tracts.

In the seven-county metropolitan area, there were 60,968 households and 28,960 families in poverty in 2000. Sixty-five percent of the families in poverty lived in Hamilton County. Family poverty rates in Kenton (7.1%) and Campbell (7.3%) counties were almost as high as that for Hamilton County (8.8%). The family poverty rate was 18.2% in Cincinnati and 6.1% in the metro area overall.

recommendations

The great majority (73%) of the Cincinnati area's African Americans live in the city of Cincinnati. Segregation's worst effect is expressed by the fact that SES I (city) is 81% African American in 2000, up from 55% in 1970. During the same period the city's SES II neighborhoods went from 41% African American to 50%. The change is less dramatic in SES III (from 16% to 38%) and SES IV (from 9% to 13%). Those African Americans who live outside the central city mostly live in SES III.

It is unclear whether low income African Americans are concentrated in the city by choice or by policy. Regardless of the reason, the reality is that by and large working class black communities have not developed outside the central cities (Cincinnati, Covington, and Newport). The communities of Lincoln Heights and Lockland would be rare exceptions.

The fact that 73% of the metro area's African Americans and 53% of the area's poor of all races live in the city of Cincinnati (a proportion that gets even larger when expanding the core city area to include Covington and Newport) is a problem because too many families and their children live in an environment where the concentration of poverty means that good housing, good schools, and good job opportunities are not available. The so-called "neighborhood effect" means that too many children are exposed to the effects of poverty, including crime, violence, drugs, and often a polluted environment. Children are often not exposed to the variety of role models that would be helpful to them.

We have in fact through social policy, such as Euclidian zoning, set aside the great majority of the metro area's land mass and made it unavailable to the poor, the working class, and minorities. This has the potential for turning the American dream into a nightmare for all of us.

We recommend a two-fold policy thrust that would expand racial and socioeconomic diversity both in the core city and in suburbia. We agree

with the work of Rusk, which suggests that if the core city does not thrive, the entire region will begin to decline. Socioeconomic and racial segregation is not only an injustice; it threatens the vitality of our entire region.

Chapter 11 of this study reviews various policy options available to cities and regions. We recommend a comprehensive set of options including investment in education and other programs that increase people's earnings potential. Milwaukee's New Hope Program is suggested as a model comprehensive program. It includes the purchase of childcare services, governmentally enforced child support, job training and job finding services, a guaranteed income floor, wage subsidies to able-bodied adults, and long-term public employment.

But programs that "gild the ghetto" will not be enough. Again, we concur with Rusk that if this region wants to thrive it needs more effective regional strategies that address such issues as uneven economic development, social and housing segregation, separate and unequal school systems, and the lack of transit options. The region's unwillingness to confront sprawl-led development has produced a regressive and inefficient cycle that transfers human and financial resources from poorer neighborhoods to subsidize new infrastructure for the relatively wealthy. Clearly this cycle must be broken, if only to protect the self-interests of the non-poor whose quality of life depends on a strong and vibrant metropolitan core. We hope that the conclusions of this analysis will be useful in devising more effective approaches for improving the quality of life for all Greater Cincinnati residents.

The following is a summary of our conclusions:

1. SES I should be the highest priority area for health and social service planning. However, the majority of poverty households are dispersed throughout the other three social areas. Resources should be concentrated where the need is greatest but the dispersed poor should not be forgotten.
2. Demographic shifts and socioeconomic

change have affected a broad range of neighborhoods in the region.

3. Inequality has grown within the city, as well as between the city and the suburbs.
4. Racial isolation has increased dramatically in SES I and somewhat in SES II. SES III and IV have become more racially integrated. SES I is moving toward a critical juncture that if ignored, can be expected to further perpetuate racial disparities in income, education, and crime.
5. Between 1990 and 2000, there was a big reversal of the 1980-1990 trend of increased poverty levels. The poverty rate in SES I dropped from 53% to 36%. In the other three quartiles, the rate was cut in half. The core inner city became more African American but less poor during the 1990s. Whether this was an effect of social policy or a booming economy is difficult to judge. It is likely an effect of both. It will be interesting to see what effect the recession of the early 2000s and social policy will have in the current decade. One might expect some repeat of the 1980s pattern unless the economy recovers dramatically or welfare reform accomplishes more than some people anticipate.
6. The welfare/poverty ratio was altered radically in the 1990s. Only a fraction of households below the poverty level continued to receive public assistance in 2000. This will have long-term effects.
7. The change in family structure in the two lower SES quartiles indicates a new inverse correlation between family structure and SES. In 1970, there was little difference between family structure in the high and low quartiles. In 2000, the traditional family structure survived only in the high SES areas.

Related Studies

Regional Cooperation

Cincinnati Metropatterns, a report by Myron Orfield, compares Cincinnati with other major metropolitan areas on such factors as urban sprawl and inequities in tax revenues. Contact the staff at Citizens for Civic Renewal at (513) 459-6736 or go to www.citizenscivicrenewal.org.

The Challenge of Regionalism: A Civic Forum Report by John J. Gilligan and William K. Woods, University of Cincinnati College of Law, Fall 1996.

Greater Cincinnati Metro Region Resourcebook: The Metropolitan Growth Alliance (MGA) commissioned Michael Gallis & Associates to do an "opportunity analysis" of our community. This document was created to provide a tool for creating a shared understanding of our metro region's competitive position in the new global economy and for pursuing a common vision. The publication is available on the web at www.communitycompass.org/research.

Sustainability

Sustainable Indicators for the Cincinnati Region was developed by Sustainable Cincinnati, a citizen led effort to develop and maintain measures of sustainability for the region. Contact Chris Moran at (513) 281-8683 or cmoran@queencity.com, or go to www.sustainablecincinnati.org.

African Americans

The National Urban League publishes a report entitled *The State of Black America*. Go to www.nul.org.

Appalachians

The Urban Appalachian Council makes various studies of the Appalachian community available on its web site, www.uacvoice.org. Regarding these studies, contact Dr. Phillip Obermiller at (513) 232-2669. Regarding Appalachian health studies, contact Dr. M. Kathryn Brown at (513) 556-6000.

Children's Issues

Information on the status of children can be found in Chapters 7 and 11 of this report. Further data can be accessed through the Child Welfare Policy Research Center and Families and Children First Councils in each county.

Social Capital

Social Capital in Greater Cincinnati: A report funded by the Greater Cincinnati Foundation to study civic participation. Contact Ellen Gilligan at (513) 241-2880. The report is available on the web at http://www.greatercincinnatifdn.org/page225.cfm.

Hispanics

Contact Dr. Liliana Rojas Guyler, University of Cincinnati, (513) 556-0993.

Hamilton County Economy

State of the County Report: Economy and Labor Market, Hamilton County Regional Planning Commission. Available on the web at www.hamilton-co.org/hcrpc.

The Hamilton County Data Book, produced as part of the Community Compass process by the Hamilton County Regional Planning Commission. Available on the web at http://www.communitycompass.org/research.

About the Authors

Christopher Auffrey is an associate professor in the School of Planning at the University of Cincinnati. He has been involved with research and community service projects addressing a variety of social, economic, environmental, and health issues in the Greater Cincinnati area.

Michael Maloney is a community organizer, social planner, and consultant. He has authored or co-authored each of the previous editions of this report.

How to order

Print versions are available from Michael Maloney and Associates (513) 531-8799 or meamon@aol.com. The report is also available at www.socialareasofcincinnati.org.

For information, contact:

Michael Maloney (513) 531-8799.

Christopher Auffrey (513) 556-0579.