



Down for the Count:

Ohio Cities and the 2000 Census

A Report of the Ohio Chapter of the Sierra Club

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Down for the Count: Ohio
Cities and the 2000 Census

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....	i
Introduction	1
The Data	1
Population Change in Ohio's Major Metropolitan Regions.....	1
Population Change in Ohio's Major Counties	2
Population Change in Ohio's Major Cities	3
Movement Within Ohio's Major Metropolitan Areas.....	5
Race and Poverty	8
Columbus Defies the Odds.....	9
Ohio Lags Behind the Nation.....	10
The State's Response	11
Conclusions and Recommendations.....	12
Appendix: Metropolitan Statistical Areas.....	14

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The decennial census provides a rare snapshot of how migration patterns have affected cities, states, and the country. It is particularly useful in gauging the spread of sprawl in a state like Ohio that has seen modest statewide growth in the last 20 years. The 2000 census shows that Ohio's metropolitan areas, while growing, are losing population in central cities and inner ring suburbs. Many Ohio cities are continuing a 50-year trend of population loss. Finally, the state's response to these trends has been lacking.

For most of this report, we focus on Ohio's metropolitan regions greater than 500,000 in population as of the last census. These regions are: Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Toledo, and Youngstown. In most instances, the data for the Cincinnati tri-county region is limited to the Ohio counties to provide a better snapshot at what is happening on this side of the Ohio River.

With the exception of Columbus, Ohio's major cities continue a 50-year trend of population loss and have some of the greatest losses compared with large cities across the country. Ohio's largest counties are also doing poorly and are some of the worst performing counties in the nation. Inner ring suburbs are continuing in their decline. Most of the growth in Metropolitan Statistical Areas has been in the outlying counties. Ohio is becoming less racially segregated but at a slight pace.

Columbus—and to a much lesser extent—Toledo go against many of these trends thanks to each city's annexation policies. Annexation has allowed Columbus to capture population and job growth.

The state's response to sprawl is insignificant. Ohio's cities have been losing population, on average since 1950, and the policies outlined in the Governor's urban revitalization task force report are too weak to overcome this momentum.

Ohio must take stronger action—more like the Governor's Task Force on Farmland Preservation and less like the Governor's Urban Revitalization Report. Ohio's regions must be encouraged to adopt the following:

- Regional governance or regional tax revenue sharing to allow regions to compete as a single unit in a global economy;
- Urban growth or service boundaries that contain unnecessary urban expansion;
- Fair share housing policies that spread affordable housing throughout metropolitan regions;
- Zoning reform to allow for walkable, mixed-use, traditional neighborhoods; and
- Aggressive spending on alternative transportation especially on rail systems (both intra and inter-city).

INTRODUCTION

The decennial census provides a rare snapshot of how migration patterns affect cities, states, and the country. It is particularly useful in showing the spread of sprawl in Ohio, which has seen less than modest growth in the last 20 years. The 2000 census reveals that while most metropolitan areas are growing, there is a significant shift from central cities and inner ring suburbs to outer suburban and exurban areas. Adding to this shift is a continuation of a 50-year trend of population loss. All of Ohio's major cities, except Columbus, continue to lose population despite the best economy in Ohio in 30 years. With no comprehensive response from state government to affect their future, it is anticipated that Ohio's central cities will fare no better this coming decade.

THE DATA

Ohio's metropolitan regions with populations greater than 500,000 are used for this report. They are: Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Toledo, and Youngstown. Data for the Cincinnati tri-county region is limited to the Ohio counties or otherwise noted in order to provide a better snapshot of what is happening in Ohio's 88 counties. All data is from the US Census Bureau unless otherwise noted.

Change in Ohio's Major Metropolitan Regions

Ohio's major metropolitan regions either grew modestly or slightly lost population (Figure 1). The Columbus Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) is the only region growing faster than the national average, adding 194,707 or 14.5%. The growth in the Columbus region accounted for 38% of Ohio's statewide growth while only accounting for 13.6% of the state's overall population. Only the Dayton and Youngstown regions lost population.

Figure 1: Population Changes in Ohio's major Metropolitan Regions, 1990 to 2000.

Metropolitan Area	2000 Population	1990 Population	Numeric Change	Percent Change
Akron	694,960	657,575	37,385	5.7%
Cincinnati*	1,556,755	1,456,769	99,986	6.9%
Cleveland	2,250,871	2,202,069	48,802	2.2%
Columbus	1,540,157	1,345,450	194,707	14.5%
Dayton	950,558	951,270	(712)	-0.1%
Toledo	618,203	614,128	4,075	0.7%
Youngstown	594,746	600,895	(6,149)	-1.0%

* The figures exclude the Kentucky and Indiana portions of the Cincinnati region.

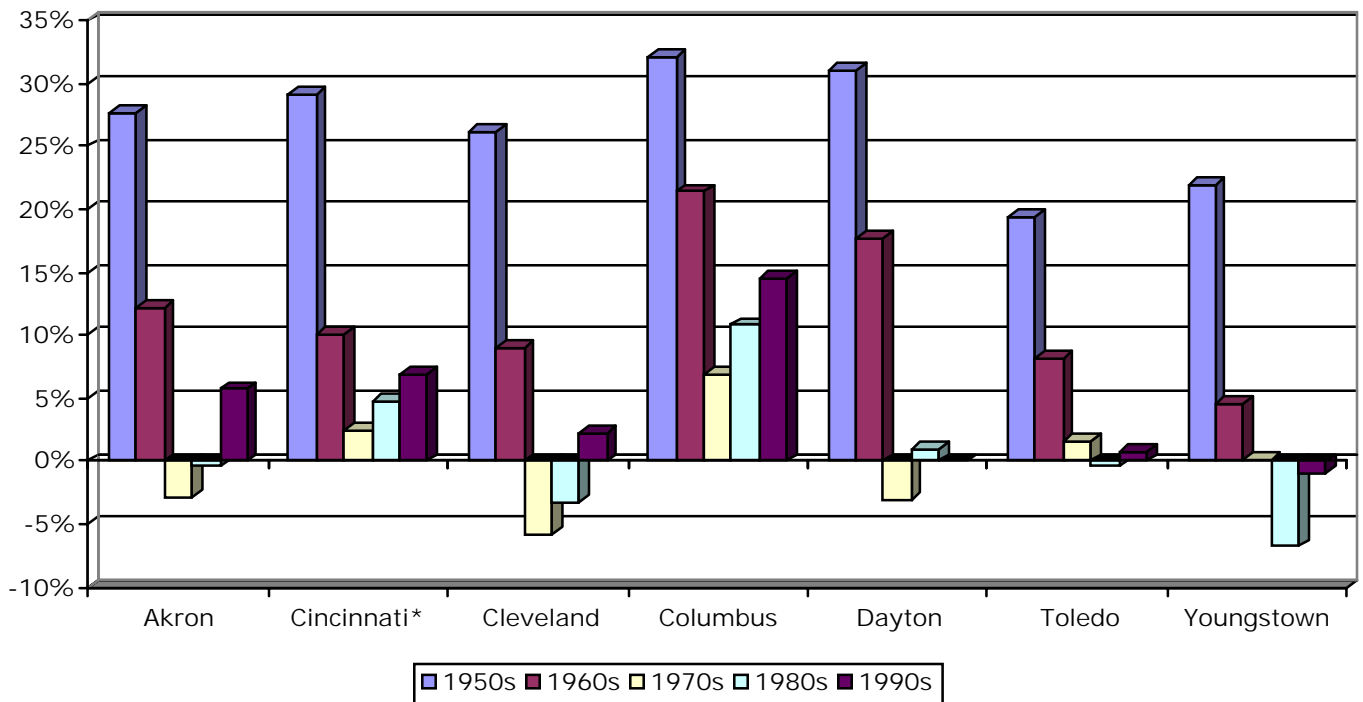
Ohio's last wave of major economic expansion slowed after the 1950s (Figure 2). During the 1950s, every metropolitan region had a growth rate of at least 19%—the last time all of Ohio's metropolitan areas outperformed the national growth rate. Columbus and Cincinnati continue this pattern of growth while Akron, Cleveland, and Toledo, three regions that lost in the 1980s, grew slightly in the 1990s. Dayton grew in the 1980s and lost in the 1990s. Metropolitan Youngstown continued its pattern of population loss. Akron's growth rate of 5.7% is certainly healthier than Toledo's 0.7% and Cleveland's 2.2% but not a growth rate that exceeds the rate of natural increase meaning more people continue to leave metropolitan Akron than move there.

Figure 2: Population change in Ohio's metropolitan regions, 1950 to 2000.

MSA	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Akron	27.7%	12.2%	-2.8%	-0.4%	5.7%
Cincinnati*	29.1%	10.0%	2.5%	4.7%	6.9%
Cleveland	26.2%	9.0%	-5.8%	-3.3%	2.2%
Columbus	32.1%	21.4%	6.9%	10.8%	14.5%
Dayton	31.1%	17.7%	-3.1%	1.0%	-0.1%
Toledo	19.4%	8.1%	1.6%	-0.4%	0.7%
Youngstown	21.9%	4.6%	0.1%	-6.8%	-1.0%
TOTAL	27.2%	11.7%	-0.9%	1.0%	4.8%

* The figures exclude the Kentucky and Indiana portions of the Cincinnati region.

Figure 3: Percent population change in Ohio's metropolitan regions, 1950 to 2000.



Change in Ohio's Major Counties

Ohio's counties also lag behind national averages. The US Census Bureau ranked the nation's 3,141 counties based on population change (Figure 4). Of these counties, Ohio had 3 counties in the top 20% with Franklin County ranking in the top 1% of all counties in population growth. On the other end of the scale, Ohio had five counties in the bottom 1% of all U.S. counties—no other state had as many counties ranking so poorly. Summit, the other well-performing county is experiencing growth due to the expansion of Cleveland suburbs as people move from Cuyahoga County. Akron continues to merge with suburban Cleveland. The census now officially includes Akron as part of suburban Cleveland; this report treats them separately. Five of Ohio's seven major counties lost population in the 1990s.

Figure 4: Ranking of Ohio's major counties based on population growth in all 3,141 United States counties, 1990 to 2000.

National Rank	County Name	2000 Population	Numeric Change, 1990 – 2000	Percent Change, 1990 – 2000
54	Franklin	1,068,978	107,541	11.2%
269	Summit	542,899	27,909	5.4%
3118	Mahoning	257,555	-7,251	-2.7%
3119	Lucas	455,054	-7,307	-1.6%
3129	Montgomery	559,062	-14,747	-2.6%
3131	Cuyahoga	1,393,978	-18,162	-1.3%
3134	Hamilton	845,303	-20,925	-2.4%

Most of Ohio's urban counties population peaked in 1970 (Figure 5). With the major cities in these counties peaking around 1950, Figure 5 shows that it took about 20 years for the population loss to occur in the county as a whole. Cuyahoga County has lost an average of 30 people a day since 1970. Franklin County is the experiencing the opposite effect, with its population continuing to grow, with growth in the 1980s greater than the 1970s, and growth in the 1990s greater than the 1980s.

Figure 5: Peak population in Ohio's major counties and changes since the peak.

County	2000 Population	Year of Peak	Population At Peak	Numeric Loss	Percent Loss	Average Daily Loss Since Peak
Summit	542,899	1970	553,371	(10,472)	-2%	(1.0)
Hamilton	845,303	1970	924,018	(78,715)	-9%	(7.2)
Cuyahoga	1,393,978	1970	1,721,300	(327,322)	-19%	(29.9)
Franklin	1,068,978	2000	1,068,978	NA	NA	NA
Montgomery	559,062	1970	606,148	(47,086)	-8%	(4.3)
Lucas	455,054	1970	484,370	(29,316)	-6%	(2.7)
Mahoning	257,555	1970	303,424	(45,869)	-15%	(4.2)

Figure 6 shows 50-year population trends in Ohio counties. Only Franklin County has grown in every decade over the last 50 years. Montgomery County stands out because it was the only county to show growth in the 1980s and loss in the 1990s. Hamilton County had a greater population loss in the 1990s than the decade before despite stronger growth in the region. Growth in Ohio was concentrated: 10% of Ohio's counties accounted for 70% of its growth.

Figure 6: Population change in Ohio's major counties, 1950 – 2000.

County	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Summit	25%	8%	-5%	-2%	5%
Hamilton	19%	7%	-5%	-1%	-2%
Cuyahoga	19%	4%	-13%	-6%	-1%
Franklin	36%	22%	4%	11%	11%
Montgomery	32%	15%	-6%	0.4%	-3%
Lucas	16%	6%	-3%	-2%	-2%
Mahoning	21%	1%	-5%	-9%	-3%
TOTAL	23%	9%	-6%	-1%	1%

Population Change in Ohio's Major Cities

Fourteen of Ohio's fifteen largest cities suffered population loss in the 1990s. No other state's major cities performed as poorly, even in states whose population growth slower than Ohio's. Columbus stands out as the only major city in Ohio to gain population in the 1990s. Columbus' growth of 78,560 new residents

ranks 26 out of 241 cities putting it in the top 15% of all U.S. cities with at least 100,000 in population (Figure 7). Ohio's other major cities all ranked in the lowest 10% of population change with Cincinnati in the bottom 1% at 236 of 241 cities.

Figure 7: Ranking of Ohio cities with population of 100,000 or more based on population growth in 243 U.S. cities, 1990 – 2000.

2000 Rank	City	2000 Population	Numeric Change	Percent Change
26	Columbus	711,470	78,560	12.4%
217	Akron	217,074	-5,945	-2.7%
228	Dayton	166,179	-15,865	-8.7%
231	Toledo	313,619	-19,324	-5.8%
234	Cleveland	478,403	-27,213	-5.4%
236	Cincinnati	331,285	-32,755	-9.0%

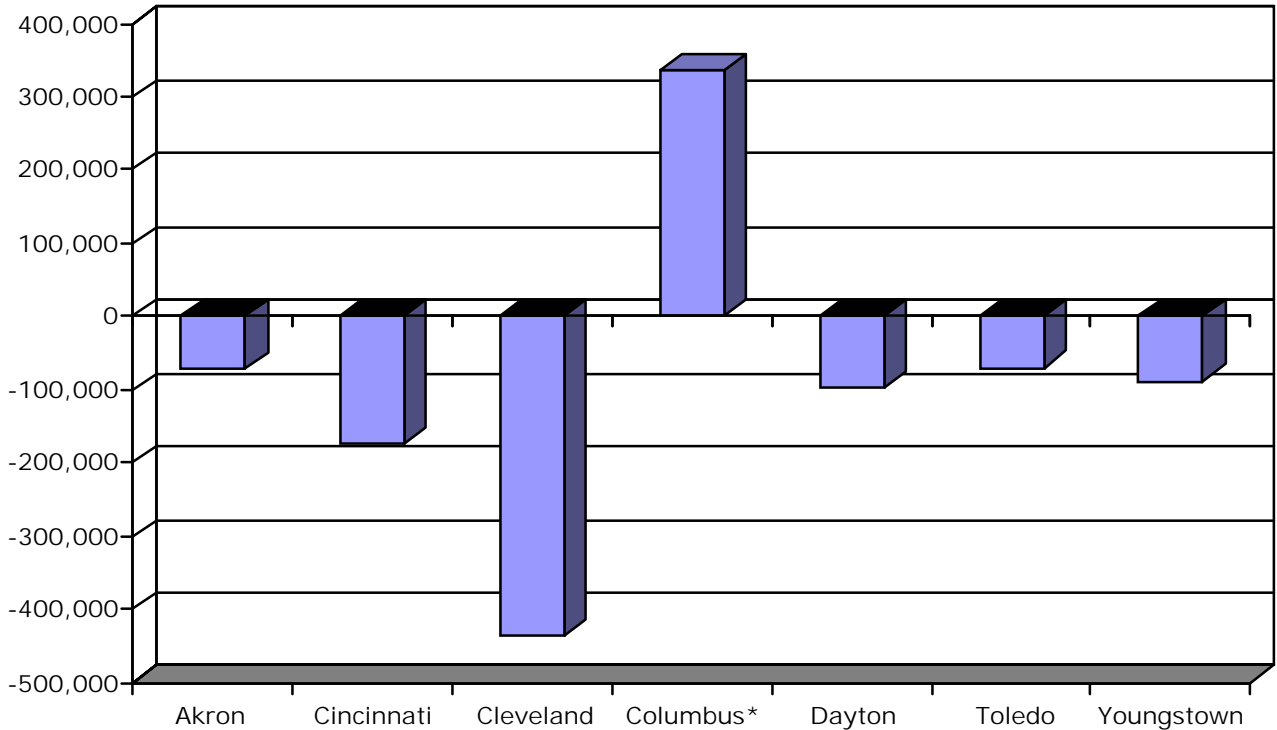
Most of Ohio's major cities are continuing a long decline (Figure 8). Of the central cities in Ohio's largest MSAs, only Columbus has managed to continue growing every decade. Columbus' growth can be almost entirely attributed to its aggressive annexation policy. Toledo, a city that used annexation extensively up until 1970, has seen its population decline since it stopped annexing. Youngstown has been losing population since 1930. One might say that Youngstown never recovered from the Great Depression. Excluding Columbus, Ohio's major cities have been in decline, on average, since 1953!

Figure 8: Peak population in Ohio's major cities and changes since peak.

City	2000 Population	Year of Peak Population	Population at Peak Year	Numeric Loss from Peak Year	Percent Loss from Peak Year	Average Daily Loss Since Peak Year
Akron	217,074	1960	290,351	-73,277	-25%	5.0
Cincinnati	331,285	1950	503,998	-172,713	-34%	9.5
Cleveland	478,403	1950	914,808	-436,405	-48%	24.0
Columbus	711,470	2000	711,470	NA	NA	NA
Dayton	166,179	1960	262,332	-96,153	-37%	6.6
Toledo	313,619	1970	383,818	-70,199	-18%	6.4
Youngstown	82,026	1930	170,002	-87,976	-52%	3.4

Since 1950, Cleveland has lost 24 people a day. By contrast, the city of Columbus has been adding 18 people a day since 1950.

Figure 9: Population change in Ohio's major cities since peak year.



*Columbus change is since 1950.

Collectively, Ohio's major cities lost 2% of their population in the 1990s (Figure 10). Columbus is the only city to have strong and steady population growth since 1950. Despite most Ohio cities slowing their rate of population loss, Cincinnati's population loss was greater in the 1990s than it was in the 1980s. Akron, Cleveland, Dayton, and Youngstown all had slower rates of population loss. Toledo's loss in the 1990s was the same as the 1980s.

Figure 10: Population change in Ohio's major cities, 1950 – 2000.

City	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Akron	6%	-5%	-14%	-6%	-3%
Cincinnati	-0.3%	-10%	-15%	-6%	-9%
Cleveland	-4%	-14%	-24%	-12%	-5%
Columbus	25%	15%	5%	12%	12%
Dayton	8%	-7%	-17%	-10%	-9%
Toledo	5%	21%	-8%	-6%	-6%
Youngstown	-1%	-16%	-17%	-17%	-14%
TOTAL	4%	-4%	-13%	-4%	-2%

Movement Within Ohio's Major Metropolitan Areas

Figures 11 and 12 show the population change within Ohio's major metropolitan regions by central city, remainder of county, and adjoining counties. The majority of growth occurring in Ohio's MSAs is now concentrated in adjacent suburban counties except in Columbus and Akron where Summit accounted for

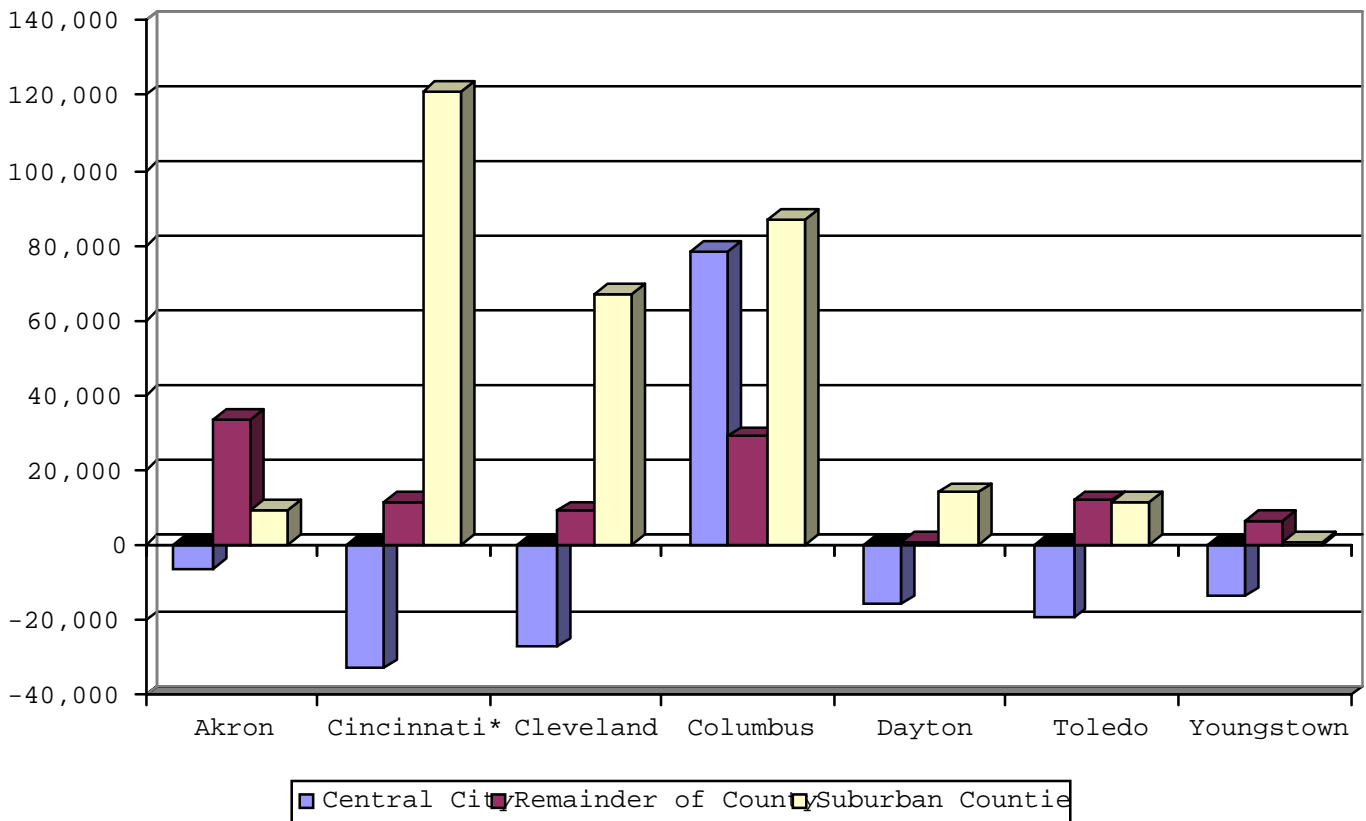
75% of Akron metropolitan growth and Franklin accounted for 55% of Columbus metropolitan growth. The trend is for people to move out of the central city and to also move out of the central county.

Figure 11: Population change in central cities, central county suburbs, and suburban counties, 1990 – 2000.

Ohio MSA	Central City	Central County Suburbs	Suburban Counties
Akron	(5,945)	33,854	9,476
Cincinnati*	(32,755)	11,830	120,911
Cleveland	(27,213)	9,051	66,964
Columbus	78,560	28,981	87,166
Dayton	(15,865)	1,118	14,035
Toledo	(19,324)	12,017	11,382
Youngstown	(13,706)	6,455	1,102

*Excludes the Kentucky and Indiana portions.

Figure 12: Population change in central cities, central county suburbs, and suburban counties, 1990 – 2000.



Population distribution within Ohio's major counties shows a "flip-flop" between the percentages of residents living in the central city versus the remainder of the county (Figure 13). In 1950, the central cities accounted for 61% to 77% of their counties' population base. By 2000, the range had fallen to 32% to 69%. Columbus and Toledo, two cities that used annexation, are the exceptions with each continuing to maintain

the majority of their respective county population within the political boundaries of the central city. Columbus continues to annex while Toledo has not been annexing significantly since 1970.

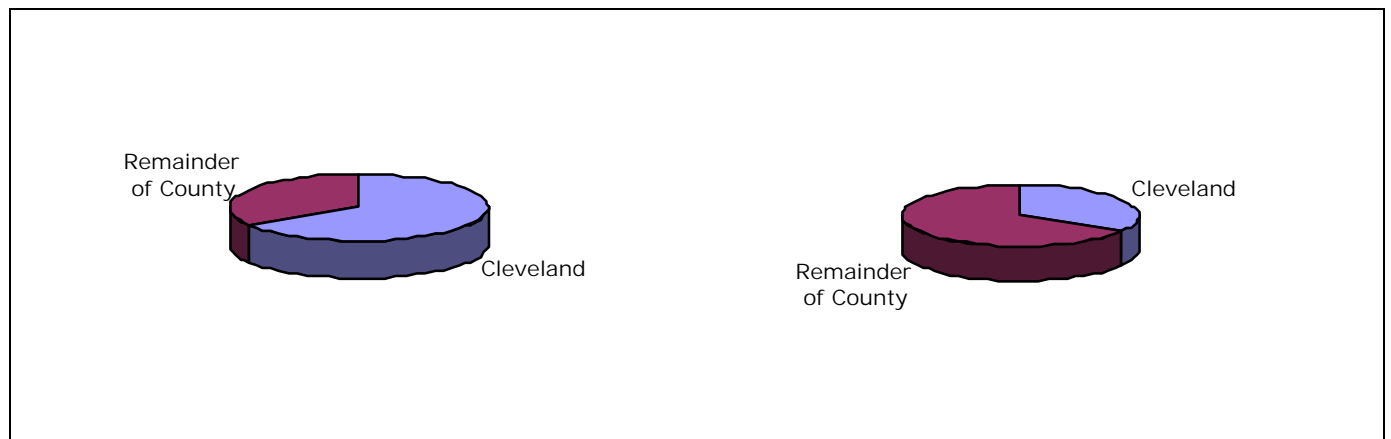
Columbus' annexation policy, beginning in the 1950s under Mayor Jack Sensenbrenner, has enabled the city to continue to capture growth, both population and businesses, for the last 50 years. A city that in 1950 was only 39 square miles now covers an astonishing 220 square miles and stretches into three counties. Columbus is now has the same land area as Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Akron combined.

Figure 13: Central City Share of County Population, 1950 and 2000.

	1950	2000
Akron	67%	40%
Remainder of Summit County	33%	60%
Cincinnati	70%	39%
Remainder of Hamilton County	30%	61%
Cleveland	66%	34%
Remainder of Cuyahoga County	34%	66%
Columbus	75%	67%
Remainder of Franklin County	25%	33%
Dayton	61%	30%
Remainder of Montgomery County	39%	70%
Toledo	77%	69%
Remainder of Lucas County	23%	31%
Youngstown	65%	32%
Remainder of Mahoning County	35%	68%

The population base in Cuyahoga County has completely shifted in the last 50 years from the City of Cleveland to its suburbs (Figure 14). In 1950, Cleveland had 66% of the county's population. By 2000, 66% of the county's residents were living in the suburbs. Since Cuyahoga County's population is now nearly the same as it was in 1950, it makes this shift in population even more dramatic.

Figure 14: Percentage of Cuyahoga County's Population in Cleveland, 1950 & 2000.



The recent census also shows that inner ring suburbs are experiencing population decline (Figure 15). Population loss is no longer a problem of the central city but of the suburban cities in proximity to the central city. Are the outer ring suburbs next?

Figure 15: Population change in Cleveland and Cincinnati, and their suburbs, 1990 – 2000.

	Numeric Change	Percent Change		Numeric Change	Percent Change
Cleveland	(27,213)	-5%	Cincinnati	-32,755	-9%
Inner Ring Suburbs	(24,520)	-4%	Inner Ring Suburbs	-4,034	-6.0%
Outer Ring Suburbs	33,571	12%	Outer Ring Suburbs	15,864	3.6%

Race & Poverty

Race continues to be a major reason behind migration patterns in Ohio. The Brookings Institution studied racial segregation in 2000 census data and found, nationally, black/non-black segregation levels are currently at their lowest point since roughly 1920.¹ Out of the 291 MSAs analyzed, all but 19 are more integrated in 2000 than in 1990. Brookings rated metropolitan areas using dissimilarity and racial isolation indices.

The “dissimilarity index” shows the “proportion of black people (or non-blacks) that would need to move across census tracts to get a perfectly even proportion of black residents across the entire MSA” and “dissimilarity measures above 0.6 are thought to represent hypersegregation.”

The dissimilarity index for Ohio’s major metropolitan regions all declined in the 1990s (Figure 16). The change was the greatest in Cleveland and lowest in Cincinnati. Overall, Columbus remains the least racially dissimilar metropolitan region in Ohio. However, all areas including Columbus are above 0.6 and, therefore, could be classified as hypersegregated by Brookings

Figure 16: Racial Dissimilarity Index for Ohio’s major metropolitan regions, 1990 and 2000.

Metropolitan Area	Dissimilarity 2000	Dissimilarity 1990	Change in Dissimilarity
Akron	65.1%	69.3%	-0.042
Cincinnati	74.2%	76.1%	-0.019
Cleveland	76.6%	84.8%	-0.082
Columbus	61.7%	67.2%	-0.056
Dayton	71.0%	75.1%	-0.042
Toledo	69.0%	73.6%	-0.046
Youngstown	72.0%	74.9%	-0.029

The racial isolation index “captures the percentage of black residents in the census tract where the average black resident lives, corrected for the fact that this number increases mechanically with the black share of the overall MSA population.” Put another way, the index “specifically captures the extent to which black residents are primarily surrounded by non-blacks or other black people.”

Racial isolation declined in all of Ohio’s major metropolitan areas (Figure 17). The change was greatest in Cleveland and smallest in Youngstown. Columbus is now the least racially isolated region.

¹ Glaeser, Edward L., Jacob L. Vigdor, and Terry Sanford. *Racial Segregation in the 2000 Census: Promising News*. The Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 2001.

Figure 17: Racial Isolation Index for Ohio's major metropolitan regions, 1990 and 2000.

Metropolitan Area	Isolation 2000	Isolation 1990	Change in Isolation
Akron	39.1%	43.9%	-0.048
Cincinnati	50.3%	54.9%	-0.046
Cleveland	64.0%	75.3%	-0.113
Columbus	37.9%	44.9%	-0.070
Dayton	51.5%	56.1%	-0.045
Toledo	46.2%	52.8%	-0.066
Youngstown	43.9%	48.4%	-0.044

A more formal analysis of race and its relationship to poverty won't be available until late summer or early fall when poverty statistics from the census are released.

Columbus Defies the Odds

Throughout this report, it's clear that Columbus—both the city and the metropolitan region—is outperforming the rest of Ohio. Columbus is the only major city in Ohio to gain population. The Columbus metropolitan area is the fastest growing in Ohio, growing three times faster than the state as a whole. The Brookings Institution listed Columbus as one of the country's "high-fliers", cities over 100,000 that grew by more than 10%.

Columbus is driving Ohio's growth. The City of Columbus accounted for 16% of the state's population growth between 1990 and 2000. Franklin County accounted for 21% of state growth. The Columbus MSA, which made up only 13% of the state's population base in 1990, accounted for 38% of the state's growth.

Columbus would look vastly different without annexation. The pre-1950 boundary area of Columbus, the city before annexation, actually lost population in the 1990s (Figures 18 and 19). This change in the older part of the city is similar to the change in Dayton, Cleveland, or Cincinnati.

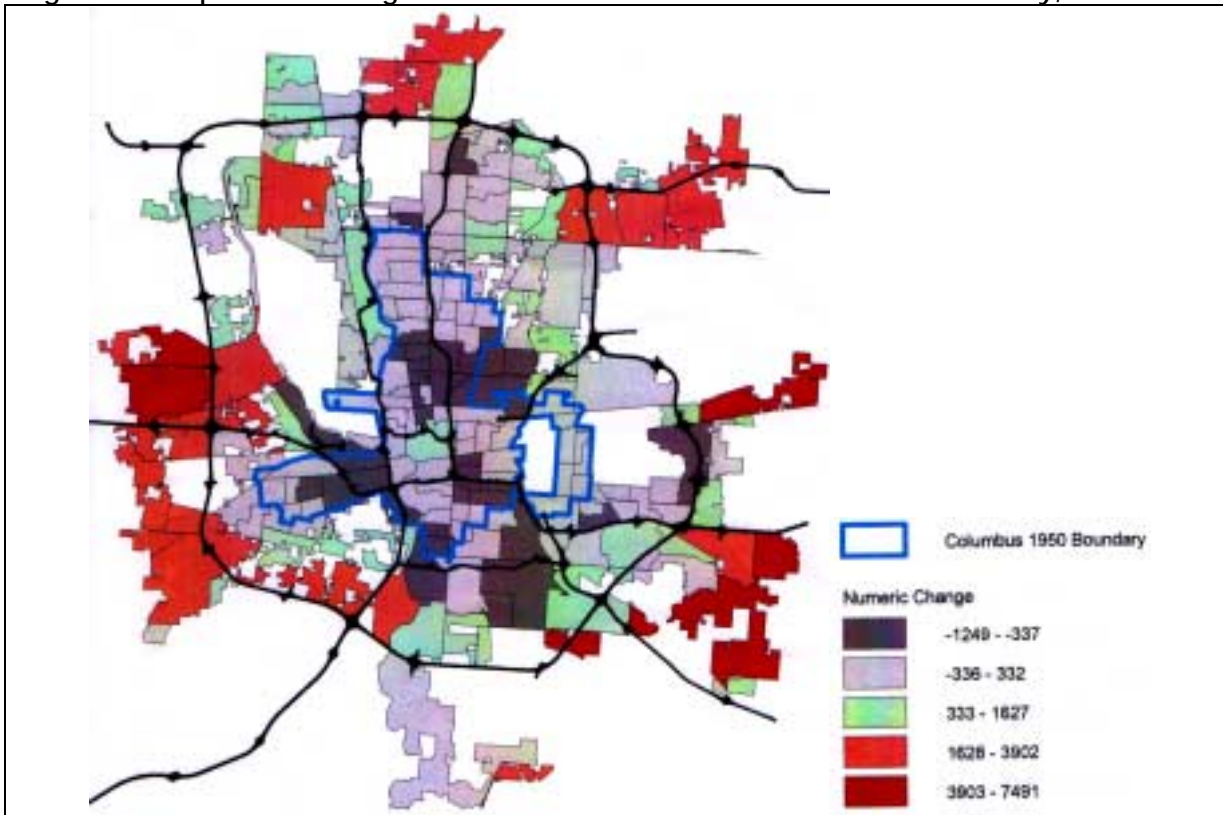
Figure 18: Population change within the City of Columbus, 1990-2000.

Area	Population Change	Percent Change
Pre-1950	-23,603	-8.8%
1950-1990	89,277	26.7%
Post-1990	12,866	NA

Regardless, the City of Columbus has grown overall. So while it still has a disproportionate share of the poor and unemployed, it has the tax base to better deal with social service demands found in major U.S. cities. The population in Cleveland and Cincinnati may have decreased but their needs have not. Much of Cleveland's and Cincinnati's population loss is due to the loss of middle class residents. Since census figures are used as the basis for federal aid, these cities will have less federal resources to provide for the increasing problems associated with concentrated poverty. As John Powell of the Institute on Race and Poverty states, cities are left with, "...fewer resources, concentrated poverty. More needs, higher taxes."²

² Wing, Bob. "What we need to do about the 'burbs: An interview with John Powell" *ColorLines*. Fall, 1999.

Figure 19: Population change in Columbus inside and outside 1950 boundary, 1990 – 2000.



This is perhaps one reason why the bond rating for Columbus is the highest available (Figure 20) and the only one in Ohio to hold such a distinction. Only two cities with a larger population than Columbus have the same AAA bond rating. Of the 76 largest cities, only 7 have an AAA bond rating.

Figure 20: Bond Ratings for City Governments, 1999.

City	Standard & Poor's	Moody's
Akron	AA-	A1
Cincinnati	AA+	Aa1
Cleveland	A+	A2
Columbus	AAA	Aaa
Toledo	A	A3

Ohio Lags Behind Nation

The population of the United States grew by 32.7 million people, or by 13.2%, in the 1990s. Ohio's growth rate was much slower. While the addition of slightly more than a half million people is significant, Ohio's growth rate stood at only 4.7%, much lower than that of the nation. Nineteen of Ohio's 88 counties lost population in the 1990s.

Ohio ranked in the bottom 15% of all states in terms of population growth. Only 6 states had a lower rate of population growth than Ohio: Connecticut, Maine, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and West Virginia.

Midwestern states had a 7.9% population growth in the 1990s (Figure 21). Ohio had the second lowest growth rate of all Midwestern states. Only North Dakota was lower.

Figure 21: Population change in Midwestern states, 1990-2000.

State	Population Change	Percent Change
Midwest Total	4,724,144	7.9%
Minnesota	544,380	12.4%
Indiana	536,326	9.7%
Wisconsin	471,906	9.6%
Missouri	478,138	9.3%
Illinois	988,961	8.6%
Kansas	210,844	8.5%
South Dakota	58,840	8.5%
Nebraska	132,878	8.4%
Michigan	643,147	6.9%
Iowa	149,569	5.4%
Ohio	506,025	4.7%
North Dakota	3,400	0.5%

Ohio fared only slightly better when compared to its neighboring states (Figure 22). Three of the five surrounding states had a higher rate of population growth.

Figure 22: Population change in Ohio and surrounding states, 1990-2000.

State	Population Change	Percent Change
Indiana	536,326	9.7%
Kentucky	356,473	9.7%
Michigan	643,147	6.9%
Ohio	506,025	4.7%
Pennsylvania	399,411	3.4%
West Virginia	14,867	0.8%

THE STATE'S RESPONSE

The trends drawn from the census are nothing new. Generally, Ohio's major cities have been losing population since 1950 and Ohio's major counties have been losing population since 1970. Have trends stretching back 50 years prompted swift action from the state? Not quite.

Concerns about sprawl led to the Governor's Task Force on Farmland Preservation. Their 1997 report listed several forward-thinking recommendations including:

- Authorize the creation of a Purchase of Development Rights (PDR) program.
- Establish an Ohio Farmland Preservation Strategy
- Encourage local governments to prepare comprehensive land use plans that would identify urban service areas.
- Urban service areas reflecting a minimum 25-year expansion area should be recognized.
- Encourage new investments to utilize existing infrastructure in urban areas and brownfields.

Unfortunately, state action on these recommendations has been of little consequence. The legislature authorized the purchase of development rights in 1998 but never significantly funded the program. Even with substantial funding, land preservation programs are unlikely to change growth 50-year growth patterns in a state with more than 41,000 square miles.

The recommendations in *Ohio Urban Revitalization: Policy Agenda and Task Force Report* produced by the Taft administration in 2000 are even less promising. The recommendations include:

- Focus revitalization efforts by allowing the designation of Community Asset Partnership (CAP) Zones.
- Work to adopt and implement the Conservation and Revitalization Bond Fund.
- Expand existing efforts to speed up redevelopment of contaminated properties.
- Create a Housing Revitalization Linked Deposits Program.
- Expand Ohio Housing Finance Agency activity to support single and multi-family housing development in CAP Zones.
- Allow for the creation of Urban Tax Increment Financing (TIF) Districts.
- Recognize and support the Urban School Improvement effort currently operating through the Department of Education

The solutions to Ohio's cities will require more aggressive action and a broader use of tools. Will TIFs and aesthetic policies realistically address the 50-year population loss of Ohio's major cities? Can a \$500 million land preservation and redevelopment program impact Ohio's land-use market?

Ohio's regions must be encouraged to adopt the following:

- Regional governance or regional tax revenue sharing to allow regions to compete as a single unit in a global economy;
- Urban growth or service boundaries that check unnecessary urban expansion;
- Fair share housing policies that spread affordable housing throughout metropolitan regions;
- Zoning reform to allow for walkable, mixed-use, traditional neighborhoods; and
- Aggressive spending on alternative transportation especially on rail systems (both intra and inter-city).

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

With the exception of Columbus, Ohio's major cities continue a 50-year trend of population loss and have some the greatest losses compared with large cities across the country. Inner ring suburbs are continuing to decline. Ohio's largest counties are also performing poorly and are some of the worst performing counties in the nation. Most of the growth in Metropolitan Statistical Areas has been in the outlying counties at low density. Despite gains in racial integration, Ohio is becoming less racially segregated at a slower pace than the nation and continues to be one of the most segregated states in the nation.

Columbus—and to a much lesser extent—Toledo go against many of these trends thanks to each city's annexation policies. Annexation has allowed Columbus and Toledo to capture population and job growth, therefore enabling the cities greater participation in the growth of their regions.

The state's response to sprawl is insufficient to change the decades-long trend of central city population loss and growth on the urban periphery. The policies outlined in the Governor's Urban Revitalization Task Force report are too little, too late to overcome a sprawl-induced momentum.

Ohio must take stronger action—more like the Task Force on Farmland Preservation and less like the *Ohio Urban Revitalization: Policy Agenda and Task Force Report*. True regional partnerships on issues such as land-use planning and transportation are imperative.

Ohio is at a critical juncture. A strong economy in the last half of the 1990s was unable to turnaround a 50-year decline in most of Ohio's central cities. Strong leadership on a local, regional, and especially state level is needed to reverse these strong trends. Will the state take a cue from successful cities across the country and find ways to promote and expand regional cooperative efforts?

Appendix: Metropolitan Statistical Areas

The following metropolitan statistical areas were included in this report:

MSA Title	County	State
Akron	Portage	OH
Akron	Summit	OH
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Dearborn	IN
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Ohio	IN
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Boone	KY
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Campbell	KY
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Gallatin	KY
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Grant	KY
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Kenton	KY
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Pendleton	KY
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Brown	OH
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Clermont	OH
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Hamilton	OH
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Warren	OH
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	Butler	OH
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria	Ashtabula	OH
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria	Cuyahoga	OH
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria	Geauga	OH
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria	Lake	OH
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria	Lorain	OH
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria	Medina	OH
Columbus	Delaware	OH
Columbus	Fairfield	OH
Columbus	Franklin	OH
Columbus	Licking	OH
Columbus	Madison	OH
Columbus	Pickaway	OH
Dayton-Springfield	Clark	OH
Dayton-Springfield	Greene	OH
Dayton-Springfield	Miami	OH
Dayton-Springfield	Montgomery	OH
Toledo	Fulton	OH
Toledo	Lucas	OH
Toledo	Wood	OH
Youngstown-Warren	Columbiana	OH
Youngstown-Warren	Mahoning	OH
Youngstown-Warren	Trumbull	OH