



# Ohio + Columbus: A Tale of Two States

Ohio is Mostly a Legacy State and Needs  
Appropriate Policies

Report by  
Greater Ohio Policy Center  
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## Summary

Demographic and economic trends in most of the state deviate significantly from the city of Columbus and its metro area. This divergence suggests a need for policy solutions attuned to conditions in the legacy areas of the state outside of Columbus where populations are aging and are not growing. We recommend appropriate responses.

## Introduction

Greater Ohio Policy Center utilized 2020 Census data to illuminate significant trends in the state of Ohio, its metro areas, and its 23 largest cities to support data-driven policy recommendations responsive to current trends. We show that **demographic and economic trends in most of the state deviate significantly from the city of Columbus and its metro area.** This suggests that the state has one high-growth metro and city (Columbus), while **much of the rest of the state exhibits the characteristics of legacy places.** We conclude much of Ohio functions like a legacy state rather than a rapidly growing place. As a result, state policy makers need to think differently about the needs and challenges of the Columbus area versus other places in Ohio. GOPC offers policy solutions for the unique needs of the legacy areas of the state.



## Methodology

GOPC examined trends for the state, nation, city of Columbus, Columbus metro, Ohio’s legacy cities, and legacy city metros. We grouped Ohio’s legacy cities and legacy metro areas into two different size cohorts, but comment when there is individual variation within the groups, see *Table 1*. We created a unique geography called “Adjusted Metros” because Ohio contains several metropolitan boundaries that cross statelines and we wanted to capture only the data for Ohio. In some cases we examined trends for the state of Ohio and removed the Columbus metro from the data set to see more clearly how the rest of the state is faring on its own.

**Tab. 1: Ohio City and Metro Groupings**

Small Legacy Cities and Metros	
City	Adjusted Metro Area
Zanesville	Muskingum County
Chillicothe	Ross County
Lima	Allen County
Mansfield	Richland County
Marion	Marion County
Portsmouth	Scioto County
Sandusky	Erie County
Springfield	Clark County
Mid-Sized Legacy Cities and Metros	
Toledo	Fulton, Lucas, Ottawa, Wood Counties
Warren	Mahoning, Trumbull Counties
Youngstown	
Dayton	Greene, Miami, Montgomery Counties
Xenia	
Akron	Portage, Summit Counties
Canton	Carroll, Stark Counties
Massillon	
Large Legacy Cities and Metros	
Cincinnati	Brown, Butler, Clermont, Hamilton, Warren Counties
Hamilton	
Middletown	
Cleveland	Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake, Lorain, Medina Counties
Elyria	
Lorain	
Non-Legacy City and Metro	
Columbus	Delaware, Fairfield, Franklin, Hocking, Licking, Madison, Morrow, Perry, Pickaway, Union Counties

We conducted longitudinal analysis utilizing American Community Survey and Decennial Census data from 2000, 2010, 2015 and 2020.

**A note on the 2020 Census:** In spring 2022, the U.S. Census Bureau concluded that the 2020 Decennial Census undercounted six states and over counted eight, one of which was Ohio.<sup>[1]</sup> Analysis conducted by the Census estimates that Ohio was over counted by as much as 1.49%.<sup>[2]</sup> Research by the Urban Institute concludes that older, white Ohioans were over counted and that Hispanic, Black, noncitizen residents, and children under 5 were undercounted.<sup>[3]</sup> We note these discrepancies in the data but used 2020 data as reported by the Census for this analysis because it is the best public data available. Based on these analyses of the 2020 Census, it is possible that places that showed marginal growth in 2020, were actually unchanged or even lost population.

**Fig. 1: Columbus & 22 Legacy Cities in Ohio**



## What does “legacy state” mean?

Many people are already familiar with the idea of a legacy city, places that came to prominence in the early-to-mid 1900s around a manufacturing economy but experienced significant population and manufacturing industry losses in the mid-to-late twentieth century. Ohio is rife with places like this, containing 22 legacy cities surrounded by 15 legacy metros. Cities such as Akron, Toledo, and Dayton exemplify this concept. Today Ohio’s legacy cities are no longer experiencing precipitous population declines but may still be seeing only marginal population change, be it slow declines, slight growth or remaining steady. These dynamics go hand-in-hand with an aging population and decreased economic vitality. Despite this history, **legacy cities today are still home to a significant concentration of jobs, residents, and anchor institutions that positively impact the state’s economy.**

Applying the term “legacy” to the state more broadly indicates that the same or similar trends of population and economic change are occurring not only in cities but also in much of the rest of the state as a well. Like its legacy cities, the state as a whole has experienced a reduction in manufacturing jobs and its population is aging. While not everywhere suffered the same dramatic population loss during the second half of the twentieth century that the 22 legacy cities under study did, today many places are experiencing the types of population trends that are the norm in the legacy cities of the twenty-first century.

The city of Columbus and its metro area—which developed later and largely around professional and government services, and education and medical fields—do not exhibit these characteristics and are, in fact, diverging from much of the state on many key trends.

**Appalachian Ohio** contains 17% of the state’s population within its 5 legacy cities and 32 counties. This region, which has never been densely populated, struggles with many of the same challenges that Ohio’s legacy cities face on top of the effects of an resource extraction economy. Though Appalachia is not a specific focus of this report, several of the solutions offered for Ohio’s legacy cities are also likely to help rural Appalachian cities and town, some of which are also captured in our legacy cities and metros cohorts.

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Understanding the different conditions throughout the state is important because it means that policies or programs that might be right in Columbus may not be applicable elsewhere.

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## Why does it matter that Ohio is a legacy state?

Understanding the different conditions throughout the state is important because it means that policies or programs that might be right in Columbus may not be applicable elsewhere. For example, if a region is not growing, expanding highway systems may not be appropriate there; nor may it be appropriate to allow real estate developers to hold undeveloped but improved land indefinitely at lower agricultural use tax rates. Understanding these trends can help policy makers fine-tune policy decisions to local conditions and provide differentiated policy solutions based on the unique issues and opportunities facing places in Ohio.



**Tab. 2. Ohio Population by Geography and NonWhite Residents, 2020**

<b>Geography</b>	<b>Percent of Ohio's Total Population</b>	<b>Percent of Ohio's NonWhite Population</b>
<b>Cities</b>		
Columbus	7.6%	16.6%
All Legacy Cities	17.4%	36.4%
<i>Small to Mid-sized Legacy Cities</i>	9.6%	17.4%
<i>Large Legacy Cities</i>	7.8%	19.0%
<b>Adjusted Metros</b>		
Columbus Adjusted Metro	18.0%	23.8%
All Legacy City Adjusted Metros	63.8%	71.0%
<i>Small to Mid-sized Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	31.8%	29.6%
<i>Large Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	32.0%	41.4%

Source: GOPC; U.S. Census Bureau (2000). Profile of General Demographic Characteristics, 2000; DEC Summary File 2 Demographic Profile; U.S. Census Bureau (2020). ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates, 2020; ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles.

## What are the indications that Ohio is a legacy state?

**Sixty-four percent of Ohioans live in a legacy city or the adjusted metro area anchored by one.**

In 2020, 64% of the state's population lived in a legacy city or the metro area surrounding one. The legacy cities with the largest populations are Cleveland (383,331), Cincinnati (302,687), and Toledo (275,116). Seventy-one percent of non-white Ohioans live in legacy cities metros, with 36% in a core city. Eighteen percent of the state's population lives in Columbus or its metro and this region is home to 24% of the state's non-white residents.

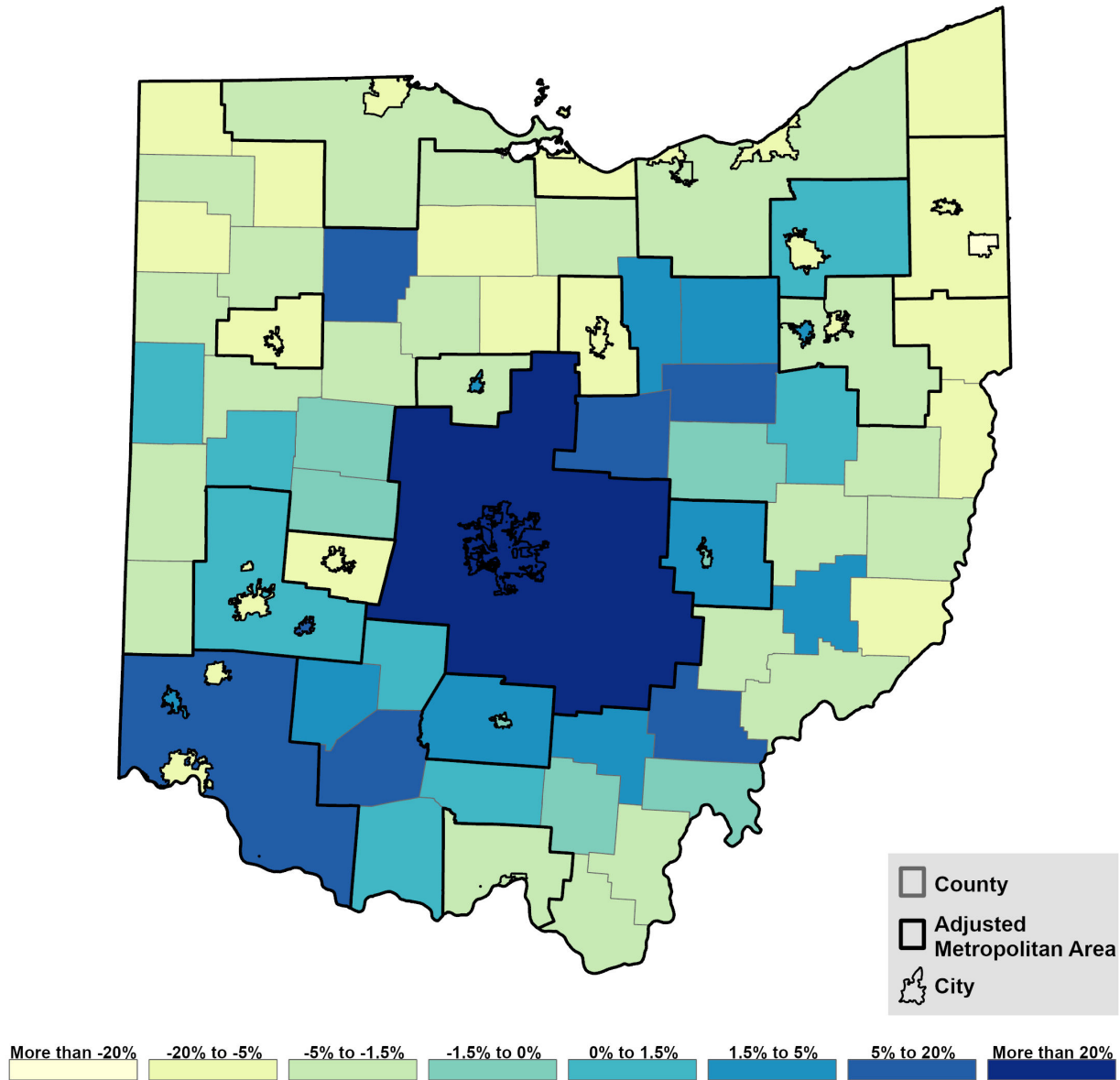
**A majority of Ohio geographies studied experienced population losses from 2000-2020.**

Eighteen of the 22 Ohio legacy cities studied experienced a loss in population from 2000 to 2020, ranging from -22% for Youngstown to -0.06% for Chillicothe. Four legacy cities experienced population gain: 2% for Marion to 11% gain for Xenia. Ten of the 16 metro areas studied experienced a loss in population with the Youngstown metro experiencing the most severe lost at -11%. The Columbus metro experienced a 25% gain, the greatest growth in the state during the





**Fig. 2: Ohio Population Change 2000-2020**



**Percentage change for city, nonurbanized county<sup>1</sup>, and adjusted metropolitan area<sup>2</sup> geographies, 2000-2020.**

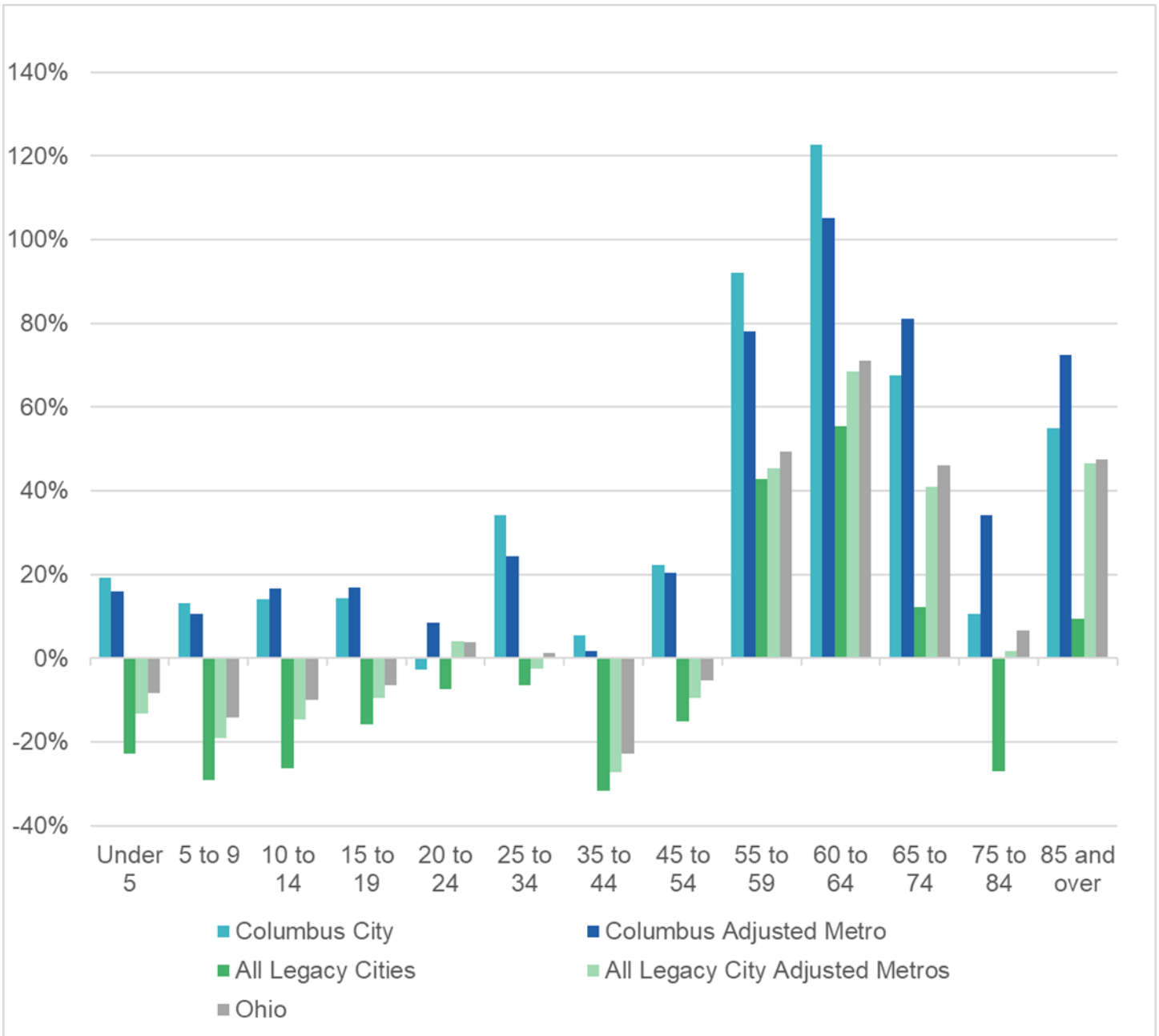
Population change data for counties and metros includes all cities within those geographies; for any given county or adjusted metro data include all geographies in that county even when city trends for that county are shown separately. [1] Nonurbanized counties are defined as any Ohio county that does not fit within an adjusted metropolitan area boarder. [2] Adjusted Metropolitan Area combines Ohio county boarders that are located within metropolitan areas, while excluding non-Ohio counties that are also a part of these metropolitan areas.

studied time period. Forty-seven of 88 counties experienced population changes ranging from -12% in Trumbull County to an increase of 87% in Delaware County.

**Finally, the state as a whole experienced a population gain of 3% from 2000 to 2020 but when looking at Ohio’s population exclusive of the rapidly-growing Columbus metro, that number reflected a loss of -1% for the parts of the state outside the Columbus metro.**



**Fig. 3: Ohio Population Percent Change by Age, 2000-2020**



Source: GOPC; U.S. Census Bureau. Profile of General Demographic Characteristics,;DEC Summary File2 Demographic Profile, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau. ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates, 2020: ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles, 2020

**The majority of the state is growing older but Columbus city and metro experienced increases in younger residents.**

Legacy cities, legacy metros, and the state as a whole experienced significant decreases in people under age 54. **Legacy cities lost residents in all age groups younger than 54.** Legacy adjusted metros and the state experienced similar losses but saw slight gains in residents aged 20 to 24.





**Tab. 3. Ohio Household Sizes/Individuals per Household, 2000-2020**

Geography	2000	2020	Percentage Change
<b>Cities</b>			
Columbus	2.30	2.39	3.9%
All Legacy Cities	2.41	2.30	-4.7%
<i>Small to Mid-sized Legacy Cities</i>	2.38	2.25	-5.3%
<i>Large Legacy Cities</i>	2.45	2.35	-4.1%
<b>Adjusted Metros</b>			
Columbus Adjusted Metro	2.64	2.67	0.9%
All Large City Adjusted Metros	2.57	2.46	-4.3%
<i>Small to Mid-sized Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	2.50	2.40	-4.0%
<i>Large Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	2.64	2.52	-4.5%
<b>Ohio</b>	2.49	2.41	-3.2%
<b>United States</b>	2.59	2.60	0.4%

Source: GOPC; U.S. Census Bureau. Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: DEC Summary File 2 Demographic Profile, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau. Households and Families: ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles, 2020.

**Household sizes are smaller than the national average and are decreasing in legacy cities, legacy metros, and the state as a whole, but household sizes in the Columbus metro area are on par with national trends.**

Columbus metro has the largest household sizes in the state and grew, along with the city of Columbus, from 2000 to 2020. The Columbus metro was the only geography examined in Ohio to have a household size larger than the national average.

While legacy cities' household sizes shrunk as a cohort, four of the twenty-two individual legacy cities experienced an increase in household size or maintained their household size (Hamilton 2%, Portsmouth 1%, Chillicothe 0%, and Middletown 0%).

**Ohio's median household income is lower than the national average and has not kept pace with increases nationally.**

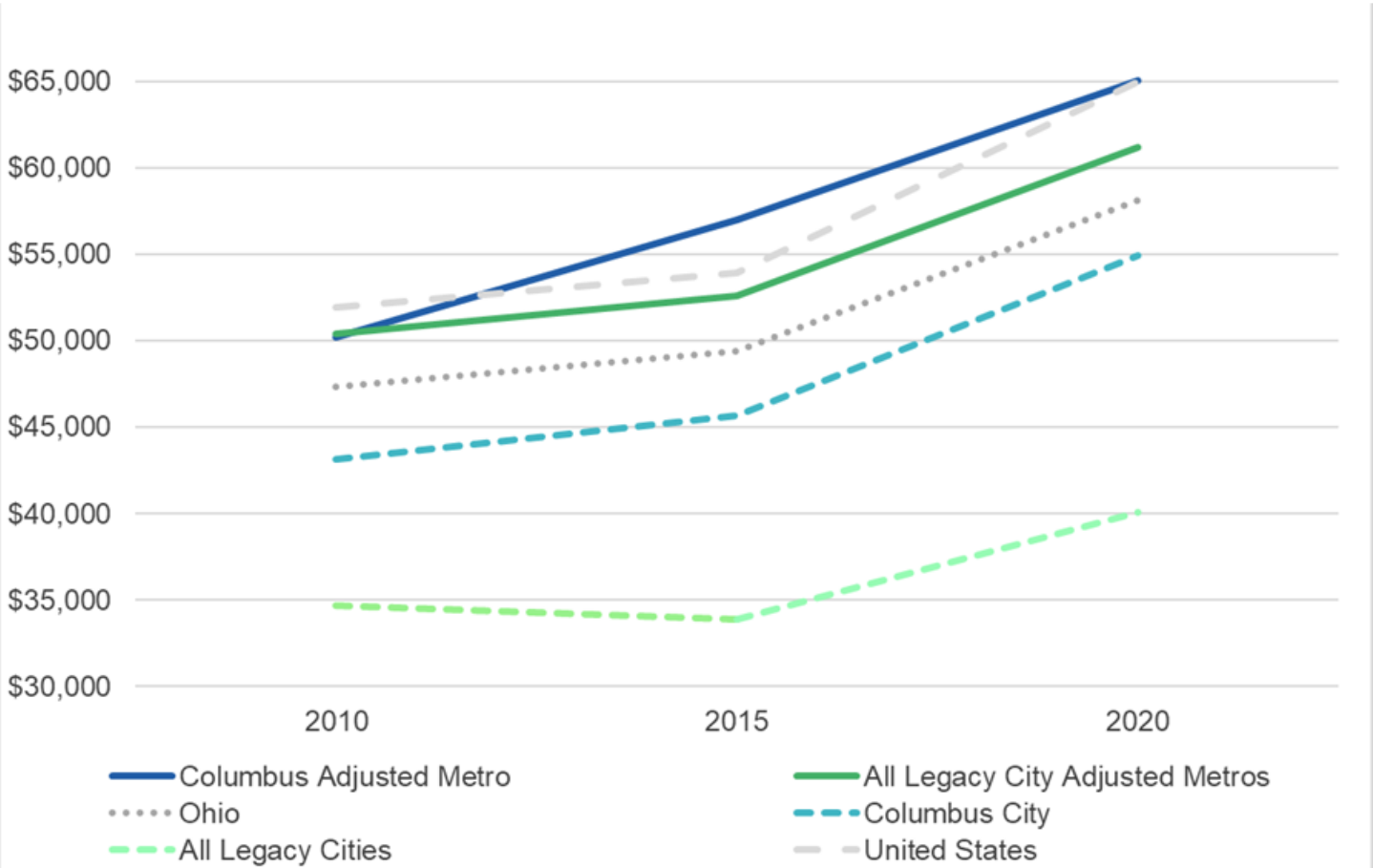
Wages in Columbus city and metro increased the most of any place in Ohio since 2000 but even so did not keep pace with national trends, increasing at rates of 45 and 50%, respectively compared to the nation's 55%. In 2020, the city of Columbus had the highest median household income for any city in the state (\$54,902).

The highest incomes in real numbers are in the Columbus metro (\$65,044), Cincinnati metro (\$69,023), Cleveland-Elyria metro (\$65,814), and Dayton metro (\$62,347). Despite having incomes higher than the state median income, legacy metros as a whole did not experience income growth at the same rate, increasing by 38% versus 42% for the state and 55% for the nation.

Adjusted metro level income is higher than city level income for both legacy and non-legacy geographies. Likewise, metro area percent changes also outpaces those of their associated cities.

**Despite having incomes higher than the state median income, legacy metros as a whole did not experience income growth at the same rate.**

**Fig. 4. Ohio Household Income, 2010, 2015, 2020**



Source: GOPC; U.S. Census Bureau. Selected Economic Characteristics: ASC 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles, 2000, 2020.

## In what ways do Columbus and its metro diverge from than the rest of the state?

### Columbus metro population gains offset losses elsewhere in the state from 2000-2020.

The Columbus metro gained over 426,000 residents during this time period but the state as a whole only gained 322,000 residents. Columbus metro's increase was significant enough that if population trends are examined without the region, the state as a whole would have lost over 100,000 residents, or about the population of Lima's Allen County. In light of this, it is not surprising that Columbus metro makes up an increasingly larger share of the total Ohio population, growing from 15% to 18% between 2000 to 2020.

If the people who moved to the city of Columbus from 2000 to 2020 were their own city, they would populate the sixth largest city in the state today, ahead of Dayton and nipping at the heels of Ohio's fifth largest city, Akron.





**Tab. 4. Ohio Population Trends, 2000-2020**

Geography	Population		Population Change	
	2000	2020	Actual	Change
<b>Cities</b>				
Columbus	711,470	889,079	<b>177,609</b>	25%
All Legacy Cities	2,294,851	2,030,777	-264,074	-12%
<i>Small to Mid-sized Legacy Cities</i>	1,248,263	1,116,156	-132,107	-11%
<i>Large Legacy Cities</i>	1,046,588	914,621	-131,967	-13%
<b>Adjusted Metros</b>				
Columbus Adjusted Metros	1,675,013	2,101,543	<b>426,530</b>	25%
All Legacy City Adjusted Metros	7,519,427	7,448,114	-71,313	-1%
<i>Small to Mid-sized Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	3,814,529	3,715,394	-99,135	-3%
<i>Large Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	3,704,898	3,732,720	27,822	1%
<b>Ohio</b>	11,353,140	11,675,275	<b>322,135</b>	3%
<i>Ohio Minus Columbus Adjusted Metro</i>	9,678,127	9,573,732	<b>-104,395</b>	-1%
<b>United States</b>	281,421,90	326,569,30	45,147,402	16%

Source: GOPC; U.S. Census Bureau (2000). Profile of General Demographic Characteristics, 2000: DEC Summary File 2 Demographic Profile. U.S. Census Bureau (2020). ACS Demographic and Housing Estimates, 2020: ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles.



**Tab. 5. Civilian Employed Population 16 Years and Over, 2000-2020**

Geography	Change in Employed		Percentage Employed	
	Actual	Change	2000	2020
<b>Cities</b>				
Columbus	95,585	25%	7%	8.4%
All Legacy Cities	-85,440	-9%	17%	15.9%
<i>Small and Medium Sized Cities</i>	-60,364	-11%	9%	8.5%
<i>Large Legacy Cities</i>	-25,076	-6%	8%	7.4%
<b>Adjusted Metros</b>				
Columbus Metro	215,318	25%	15%	19.1%
All Legacy City Metros	9,716	0%	62%	63.6%
<i>Small to Mid-sized Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	-50,557	-3%	31%	31.0%
<i>Large Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	60,273	3%	31%	32.6%
<b>Ohio</b>	-91,078	-2%	100%	100%
<i>Ohio Minus Columbus Adjusted Metro</i>	-306,396	-6%	93%	91.6%
<b>United States</b>	26,167,468	20%	-	-

Source: GOPC; U.S. Census Bureau. Selected Economic Characteristics: ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles, 2000 & 2020.

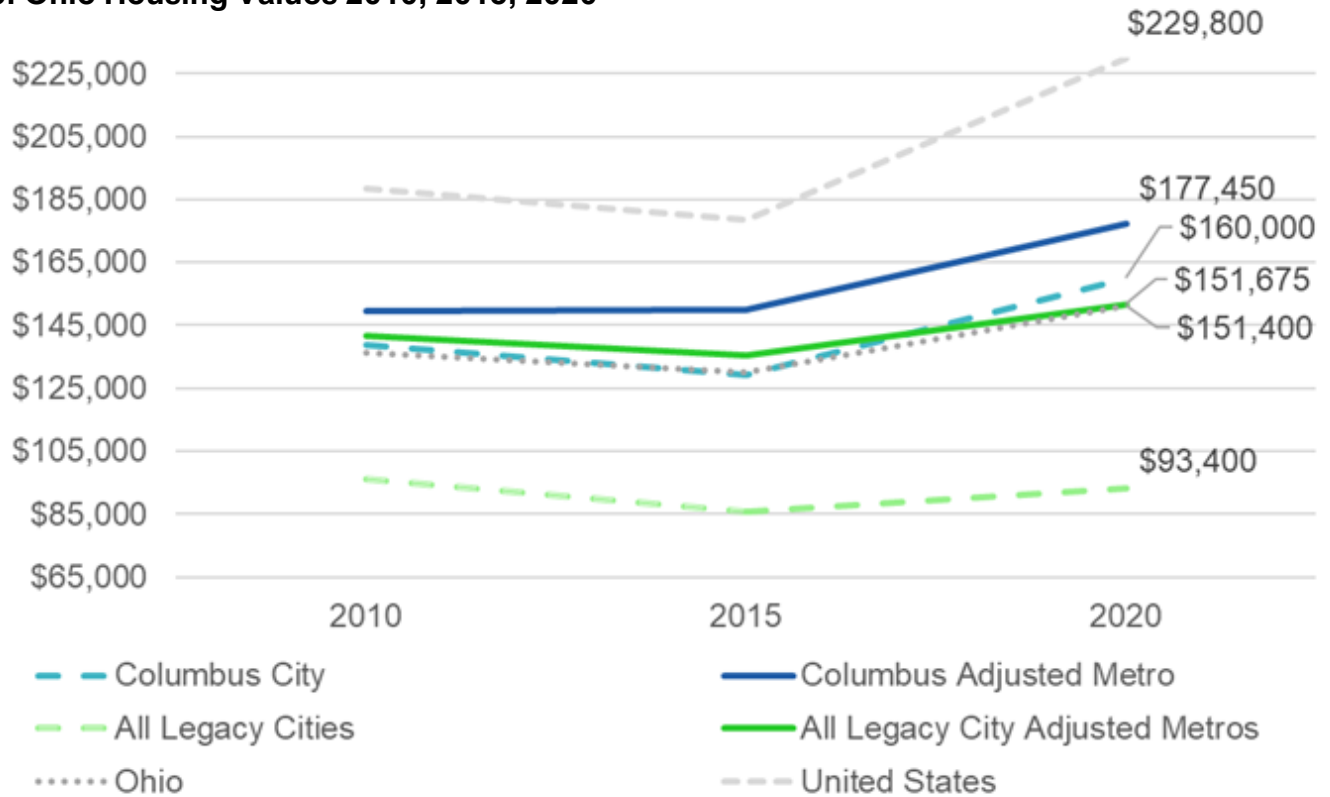
**From 2000-2020, the state’s labor force decreased by 91,000 workers but Columbus and its metro gained twice as many employed workers as the rest of the state.**

Legacy cities experienced a loss of 85,000 workers with small to medium sized cities accounting for 70% of those losses. Legacy city adjusted metro areas experienced little change. The Columbus area was the only place in the state to perform on par with the nation as a whole. Legacy city adjusted metro areas make up 64% of total Ohio labor force and nearly 81% of the state’s workforce is outside the Columbus metro area.





**Fig. 5: Ohio Housing Values 2010, 2015, 2020**



Source: GOPC; U.S. Census Bureau. Selected Housing Characteristics. ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles, 2000, 2020.

**The greatest increases in housing values in Ohio were in Columbus and its metro.**

In 2020, Columbus home values were 1.7 times greater than legacy city home values and grew 3 times as fast, while Columbus metro values were 1.2 times greater than legacy city adjusted metros, and grew 1.6 times faster.

**What other significant trends are happening in Ohio?**

**Homeowner populations are decreasing and renter populations are increasing.**

This trend is true at the city, adjusted metro, state, and national level. Adjusted metro areas maintain a larger share of homeowners than cities, but these shares are declining. The average homeownership rate in the adjusted legacy metro areas for 2000 was 74% and had reduced to 71% by 2020.

Columbus metro experienced the smallest shift in tenure of the geographies examined. Cincinnati had the lowest proportion of owner-occupied housing units of all the cities studied at 39% of the city’s housing units. Massillon was the city with the highest share of owner-occupied units with 63%.



**Tab. 6. Ohio Housing Tenure, 2000, 2020**

Geography	2000		2020		Change	
	Owner	Renter	Owner	Renter	Owner	Renter
<b>Cities</b>						
Columbus	49%	51%	45%	55%	-9%	8%
All Legacy Cities	60%	40%	52%	48%	-12%	18%
<i>Small to Mid-sized Legacy Cities</i>	59%	41%	51%	49%	-14%	20%
<i>Large Legacy Cities</i>	60%	40%	54%	46%	-11%	16%
<b>Adjusted Metros</b>						
Columbus Adjusted Metro	76%	24%	76%	25%	-1%	2%
All Legacy City Adjusted Metros	74%	26%	71%	29%	-5%	13%
<i>Small to Mid-sized Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	73%	27%	69%	31%	-6%	15%
<i>Large Legacy City Adjusted Metros</i>	76%	24%	73%	27%	-4%	11%
<b>Ohio</b>	69%	31%	66%	34%	-4%	9%
<b>United States</b>	67%	33%	64%	36%	-3%	7%

Source: GOPC; U.S. Census Bureau. Profile of General Demographic Characteristics, DEC Summary File 2 Demographic Profile, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau. Selected Housing Characteristics, ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profile, 2020.

**Housing values are much higher for adjusted metros than their associated cities and in legacy places values are increasing faster in the metros than their corresponding city.**

The difference between housing values for Columbus and its metro in 2020 was \$17,450, while for legacy cities and adjusted metros, the difference was \$58,275. Growth rates are nearly the same for Columbus city and metro, while legacy cities are growing 17% slower than their adjusted metros, with large legacy cities having a slightly smaller gap than small to mid-sized legacy cities.





## What does this mean for practitioners and policymakers?

The data indisputably demonstrate that **Columbus and its metro differ significantly from the rest of the state**. The different contexts present within the state mean that **legacy areas of the state need different policies from Columbus**. The focus of these policies should be:

- Stabilize existing populations, prevent further population loss, and set the stage for attracting new residents
- Address the needs of an aging population
- Promote new housing development to improve housing values and address demographic trends in household size, age, income, and homeownership
- Attract and retain higher-wage jobs

## What policies can support legacy places in Ohio?

### Protect the Fiscal Health of Ohio's Cities.

For Ohio's cities to sufficiently serve businesses, prepare workers, and attract and retain talent, they need predictable and assured access to stable sources of income to fund municipal services.



### How do the data support this policy?

Well-run cities with consistent service delivery are better able to compete for new residents and businesses and more likely to retain existing ones. Successfully meeting these basic functions can help curb population declines and strong core cities lead to increased vitality in the entire metro region.

### Invest in Existing Places, Rectify Historic Inequities, Build Capacity.

Ohio has hundreds of cities and villages with historic architecture, solid homes, and walkable



neighborhoods. Many of these places are older and need to repair or modernize their utilities and life-sustaining infrastructure. The state's allocation of ARPA and BIL offer the opportunity to invest in residents and neighborhoods that have been marginalized or under-invested, in both rural and urban communities.

State leaders should deploy funding, technical assistance and capacity-building support to Ohio's left behind communities to keep the state vibrant for existing residents and potential new residents.

### How do the data support this policy?

Existing places often have century-old legacy infrastructure and building stock that is expensive to repair and maintain and is a disproportionate burden to city and county budgets. Providing state and federal assistance to offset these expenses can help bring more projects to a state of repair and free municipal funds for other uses that support the high-quality, amenity rich places people want to live in.

### Create the Ohio Community Transformation

**Fund** to revitalize commercial and mixed-use districts, finance entrepreneurs, and build much needed housing in Ohio's legacy cities and legacy neighborhoods. This proposed program would provide grants to Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs) for lending and technical assistance to businesses and real estate projects that cannot access traditional bank loans. The weak real estate markets in Ohio's legacy cities



make it hard to secure sufficient financing from traditional financial institutions; this fund would provide grants to trusted, experienced, financial intermediaries who know how to coach borrowers and leverage other dollars to help real estate projects and businesses succeed.

### *How do the data support this policy?*

Supporting real estate revitalization and business creation in legacy places will help strengthen real estate markets, foster high-quality places, build wealth for Ohioans, address historic inequities, attract new residents and businesses, and retain existing ones.

### **Pilot a program to help local communities modernizing their zoning codes** to reduce

barriers to redevelopment. Many communities in Ohio are operating under zoning codes that have not evolved with changing market preferences. A pilot program, run through the Department of Development or Ohio Housing Finance Authority, would help select communities produce modern zoning codes. These zoning reforms will help reduce the time and cost of developing or redeveloping real estate in a legacy city setting.



### *How do the data support this policy?*

Updated zoning codes can take the red tape out of the development process and attract more private developers to the market place. They can also can permit new housing types, like Accessory Dwelling Units, that are more appropriate for smaller and frequently older households common in the state.

### **Establish a loan loss reserve fund for small-dollar mortgages and home improvement loans.**

The weak real estate markets in Ohio's legacy cities make it difficult for Ohioans to secure small-dollar mortgages and home improvement loans. The Department of Development or Ohio Housing Finance Agency should create a loan loss reserve fund available to intermediaries and local housing agencies for underwriting housing loans that exceed loan-to-value ratios serviced by traditional financial institutions.



### *How do the data support this policy?*

A loan loss reserve fund could help address low housing values in legacy places and declining populations by supporting new construction in places that currently experience very little. It will also incentivize developers to build the smaller, lower-cost housing that is suitable to aging populations, smaller household size, and households with lower-incomes.

### **Invest in Public Transportation.**

With job loss most acute in our cities, the reality is that many city residents must commute to the suburbs and ex-urbs for jobs. Public transportation is an important link to opportunity for many who would otherwise be unable to participate in the workforce. As such, Ohio must maintain or increase existing state funding levels for public transportation to ensure Ohio's workplaces can attract and retain the employees they need.



### *How do the data support this policy?*

Increased investment in public transit across the state will directly serve Ohio's large aging populations who are increasing unable to drive themselves to medical appointments and errands. Public transit will also serve working age residents, connecting them to employment opportunities.

## **Conclusion**

Much of Ohio, including cities, the suburban metro areas surrounding them, and even rural areas exemplify the characteristics of legacy places indicated by lack of population growth, aging population, and slow wage growth. In contrast, the city of Columbus and its metro area are experiencing strong population and economic growth. Policy makers should be attuned to these differences and make efforts to tailor policy to local conditions. **The legacy places in Ohio need different policy solutions than rapidly growing Central Ohio.** Policy solutions that build on existing assets, protect the strength of the existing workforce, and invest in high-quality places will help support a majority of places in the state, including cities, towns, rural areas, and the Appalachian region.





**Citations**

[1] Passel, J., & Cohn, D. (2022). Key facts about the quality of the 2020 census.

[2] America Counts Staff. (2022). 2020 Census Undercounts in Six States, Overcounts in Eight.

[3] Elliot, E. & Martin, S. (2021). The 2020 Census and the Consequences of Miscounts for Fair Outcomes: Ohio.

## About Greater Ohio Policy Center

The Greater Ohio Policy Center (GOPC) is a statewide nonprofit organization with a mission to improve Ohio's communities through smart growth strategies and research. Our vision is a revitalized Ohio. GOPC is highly respected for its data-driven, nonpartisan policy analysis, research expertise, and policy development and regularly provides expert analysis to public, private, and nonprofit leaders at the local, state, and national level.

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