

The Changing Face of Poverty in Northeast Ohio

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The latest recession has taken a devastating toll on America, at least in terms of the number suffering economically. The national poverty rate is at its highest since 1993, with the rate equating to 46.2 million people—the most in the 52 years poverty numbers have been tabulated¹. Disadvantage has not only been deepening—it has been spreading—with suburban poverty increasing by 53% since 2000 and 66% since 2007. Taken together, more than half (55%) of America's poor live in metropolitan suburban areas². Such percentages are unprecedented in our nation's history.

The national picture is a macrocosm for what is occurring in both Cleveland and Northeast Ohio; that is, poverty is well rooted where it has traditionally existed, and it is dispersing to areas once immune to inner city concerns. This brief describes these distress patterns more in depth, with the intent to show not only where poverty has emerged, but also to begin the discussion of why some geographies have become more susceptible to poverty than in the past. Given the economic realities that have come to dominate the American landscape, it is a discussion worth having.

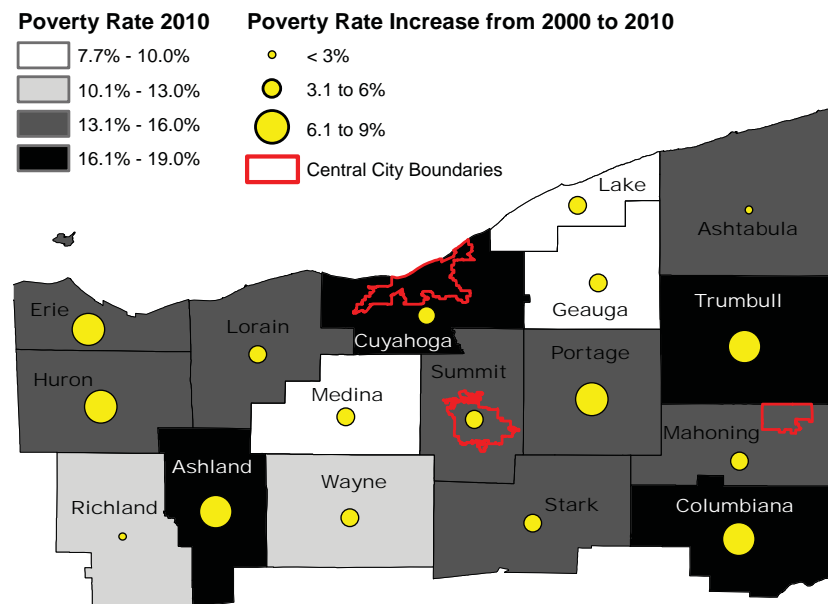
ECONOMIC INOPPORTUNITY IN NORTHEAST OHIO

The 17-County Region: Data from the 2000 Census and the 2010 American Community Survey's 1-year estimates were used to analyze the poverty rate and change in poverty across a ten-year period.

Figure 1 illustrates the 2010 poverty rate for each county as well as the percentage point change in poverty across time³. Counties with the highest poverty rates included Columbiana, Ashland, and Trumbull at over 18%, whereas Cuyahoga was at 17.9%.

The poverty rate increased from 2000 to 2010 for all 17 counties. Change ranged from 2.8% (Ashtabula) to 9.2% (Ashland) (see **Figure 2**). Caution is warranted when examining the rate of change over time as a metric of economic conditions. For instance, while there was a varying rate of change between Ashtabula and Erie (2.8% vs. 7.4%), their overall poverty rates are similar. This is in part because Ashtabula had a high poverty rate in 2000 (12.1%), indicative of depressed conditions even before the 2007 recession.

Figure 1: Poverty Rate and Percent Change for Northeast Ohio



Note: The Cleveland MSA is comprised of Lorain, Medina, Cuyahoga, Lake, and Geauga Counties. The Akron MSA is comprised of Summit and Portage Counties. The Youngstown MSA is comprised of Trumbull and Mahoning Counties.

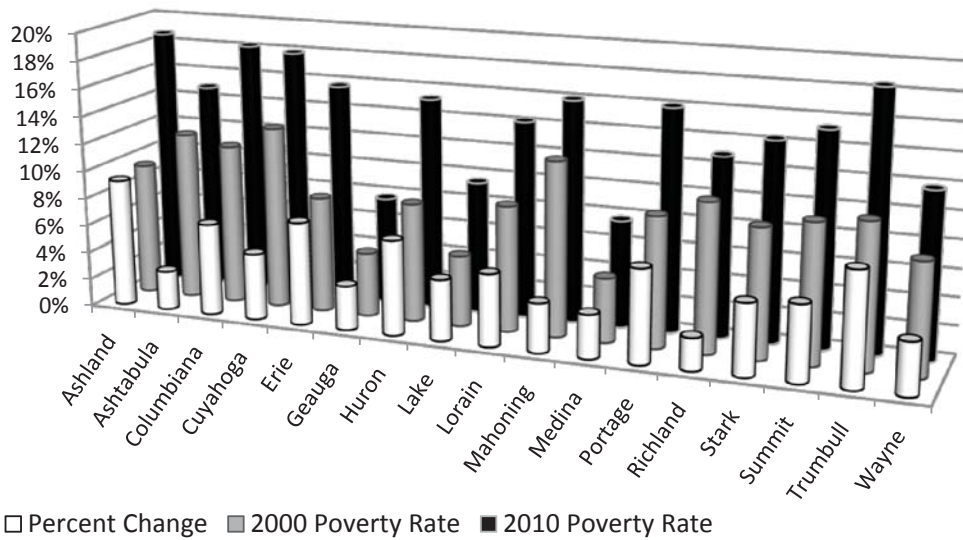
Data Source: American Community Survey 2010 1-year estimate and 2000 Census
Prepared By: Center on Urban Poverty and Community Development at MSASS, Case Western Reserve University

Examining the regional scene further, the conditions are predictably interrelated: high unemployment, lower wages, and an increased cost of living. Each factor contributes to less disposable income, thus a swelling of the poverty ranks. Taking some examples at the county level, the following illuminates just how dismal the economic conditions have become⁸: Erie County—a peak unemployment rate of 14.2% in 2010 and a drop in median household income from 2007 to 2010 of \$8,963 (in adjusted dollars); Columbiana

poor of the MSA minus the population of poor in the respective city proper).

For both the Cleveland and Youngstown MSAs the geography of poverty has shifted markedly over the last decade. Fifty-seven percent (57.1%) of Greater Cleveland's disadvantaged persons live outside of the City of Cleveland, and this represents an 11.2% increase from 2000. For Greater Youngstown, nearly 75% of the disadvantaged live outside of the City of Youngstown—a 9.3% increase.

Figure 2: County Poverty Over Time



That said—while both figures uncloak the reality that poverty is no longer mainly an inner-city concern—caution is warranted when inferring that suburban poverty is simply of the “subdivision” variety. To wit: both the Cleveland and Youngstown MSAs are comprised of a significant number of older, industrial settings such as Elyria and Warren that aesthetically and economically mirror the conditions of the inner city. Such settings have significant tracts of vacancy, declining industrial and commercial zones, and poor performing indicators of economic well-being. This does not, however, muddy what is becoming an

increasingly clear image of not only Northeast Ohio, but the country at-large. Namely, that a lowering tide of economic well-being is swelling the ranks of America's disadvantaged outside of the urban core.

County—a 14.9% peak unemployment and a median household income decline of \$6,098 dollars from 2007 to 2010; and then Geauga County, perhaps the most economically stable county in the region—a 10% peak unemployment rate with a 3-year income decrease of \$9,771 (from 2007-2010). Again, no county has remained immune to the economic downturn.

The poverty picture in Greater Akron is somewhat different. While the overall Akron MSA has a similar 2010 poverty rate (15.5%) as the other two metropolitan areas—as well as a similar rate of change (5.7% increase between 2000 and 2010)—the spread of suburban metropolitan poverty across Greater Akron has been less pronounced (a 1.8% increase). This is not to say that conditions in Greater Akron have not been worsening, it is that the brunt of this deterioration has occurred in Akron's central city. This is reflected in the near 12% increase in the ranks of Akron's poor, and it is a rate outpacing the central cities of both Cleveland and Youngstown.

The Metropolitan Areas: Analysis of Northeast Ohio's three Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) was undertaken to examine the spread of poverty across the metropolitan region. The five-county Cleveland MSA and the two-county MSAs of Youngstown⁹ and Akron were examined (see **Figure 1** for composition of each MSA). **Table 1** shows the poverty rate and percentage point change in poverty for the MSAs and the cities of Cleveland, Akron, and Youngstown. **Table 1** also highlights the proportion of poverty that exists in the suburban metropolitan areas (i.e., the total

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ECONOMIC INOPPORTUNITY IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY

Poverty in Cuyahoga County: An analysis was undertaken on both the spreading and deepening of poverty across Cuyahoga County. Geographies included Cleveland’s neighborhoods and the county’s suburban municipalities. **Appendix A** lists the poverty rate for each geography as calculated by the 2000 Census as well as the 2005-2009 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates^{vi}. The percentage point change across time is also listed. **Figure 3** shows a geographical representation of both poverty density and poverty change.

The reasons this is occurring could include the following: First, the Akron MSA lacks the number of densely-populated, older manufacturing towns found in the other MSAs. With the exception of Barberton, the more populous towns in Greater Akron (> 25,000 residents) are more affluent (e.g., Cuyahoga Falls, Stow, Hudson). This could equate to less of a volume of individuals susceptible to poverty in Akron’s suburban metropolitan area. Second, migration patterns could also account for some of the difference. In Cleveland, the city’s population has been shrinking for decades, with a subsequent influx of traditionally vulnerable populations occurring in neighboring suburbs. Akron, however,

Table 1: Poverty Rate and Change for Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Central Cities, and Suburban Metropolitan Areas

	2000 Census			2010 ACS			MSA Change	City Change
	Total Popul.	Poverty Total	Rate	Total Popul.	Poverty Total	Rate		
Cleveland MSA	2,105,449	226,498	10.8%	2,031,170	306,822	15.1%	4.4%	
City of Cleveland	466,231	122,479	26.3%	386,935	131,624	34.0%		7.8%
Akron MSA	677,479	66,386	9.8%	687,098	106,378	15.5%	5.7%	
City of Akron	211,891	36,975	17.5%	195,076	57,312	29.4%		11.9%
Youngstown MSA	471,114	54,116	11.5%	437,805	75,172	17.2%	5.7%	
City of Youngstown	77,197	19,127	24.8%	61,619	19,594	31.8%		7.0%
		Poverty Total	Percentage of Poverty Outside City		Poverty Total	Percentage of Poverty Outside City	Suburban Metro Change	
Poverty of MSA (excluding City of Cleveland)		104,019	45.9%		175,198	57.1%	11.2%	
Poverty of MSA (excluding City of Akron)		29,411	44.3%		49,066	46.1%	1.8%	
Poverty of MSA (excluding City of Youngstown)		34,989	64.7%		55,578	73.9%	9.3%	

has not seen the same rate of shrinkage, nor was Akron’s 2000 poverty rate as high as the other urban areas. Perhaps Akron is playing “catch up” in this sense, meaning there was still a substantial middle class population in Akron pre-2007 that became economically vulnerable by the severity of the recession.

Notice the densest concentrations of poverty (> 40%) are limited to both the Near East and West Sides of Cleveland, with the neighborhoods of Central (73%) and Stockyards (52%) having the highest rate on the East and West sides respectively. Conversely, the lowest central-city poverty rate is in the western-edge neighborhood of Kamms Corners (7%).

Poverty in Northeast Ohio is spreading into suburban areas at a significant rate. For example, 75% of Cuyahoga County suburbs experienced an increased poverty rate, whereas no suburb experienced a notable decrease. Future policy must focus on directing safety net resources into areas not historically viewed as impoverished.

Extending outside the city limits, the first-ring suburbs are demonstrating elevated rates of poverty (rate shown in parentheses). Specifically, Cleveland Hts. (18%), Euclid (16%), Lakewood (14%), Berea (14%), Garfield Hts. (13%), and Brooklyn (12%) validate the reality of a spread of disadvantage that has echoed from the urban core. What’s more, there is the presence of a corridor of disadvantage positioned southeast from Cleveland to the border of Summit County. Suburbs in the path include Highland Hills (28%), North Randall (16%), Maple Hts. (13%), Bedford

(13%), Bedford Hts. (12%), and Glenwillow (12%).

Examining change across time, 80% of the Cleveland neighborhoods experienced growing poverty, with the highest rates of change being North Collinwood on the East (an 11% increase) and Stockyards on the West (16%). Other areas with significant increases include Edgewater (12%), Cudell (12%), and Glenville (8%). That said, some areas of the City saw a decrease in poverty rate, including Downtown (-7%), Tremont (-4%), and Union Miles (-4%). This decrease was possible not simply because of improving economic conditions as was the case with Downtown and Tremont (as shown below), but also because of rapid population decline in the case of Union Miles^{vii}.

For the suburban municipalities, the increase in poverty was as prevalent, with 75% of Cuyahoga County suburbs experiencing at least some increase. The suburbs with the largest spike included Berea (9%), Cleveland Hts. (7%), Maple Hts. (7%), Middleburg Hts. (7%), Euclid (6%), and Lakewood (6%). Also, no suburb experienced a noteworthy decrease in the poverty rate across time.

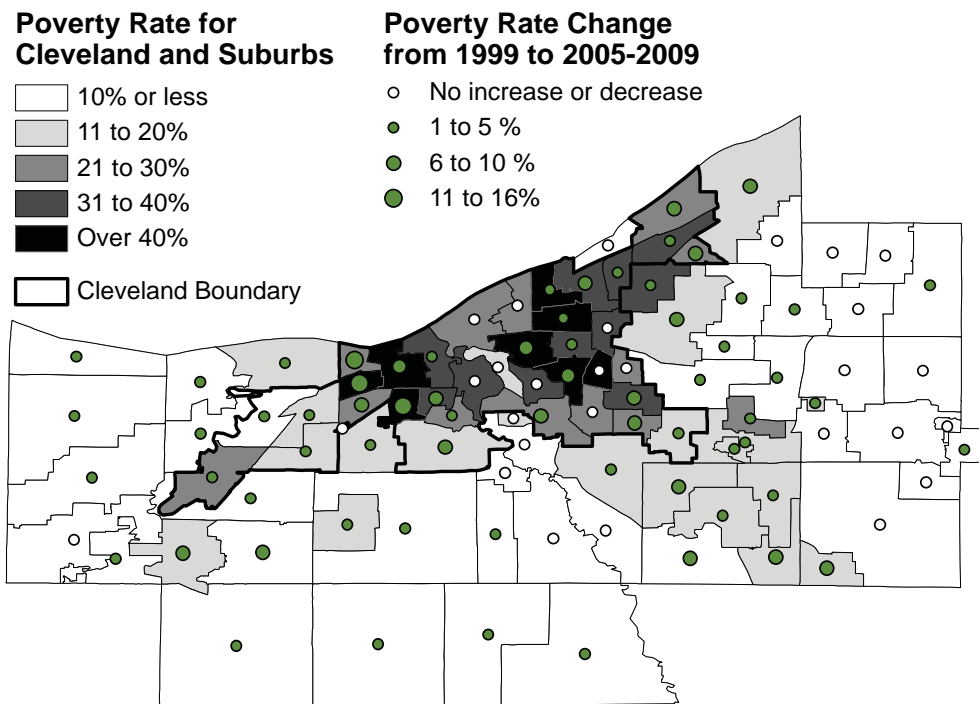
Drilling Down--Characteristics of an Increase or Decrease in Poverty in Selected Cuyahoga Areas:

Several neighborhoods and suburbs that have experienced either a demonstrable spike in poverty or a modest decrease in poverty were selected for further examination. The analysis is not meant to be definitive, but rather to scan selected demographic and socioeconomic indicators that may shed light on why a given geography experienced noticeable shifts. The areas selected include: North Collinwood, Edgewater, Downtown, and Tremont in the City of Cleveland; and Berea and Cleveland Hts. in the suburban metro area. See **Figure 4** for detailed geographic profiles.

Taken together, the profiles of the neighborhoods and suburbs exhibit several common threads. First, a decrease in an area's population tends to be associated with an increased poverty rate^{viii}, but it is not necessarily a prerequisite, as evidenced by the case of Tremont. Second, a "bump down" effect appears manifested in which previously lower-income families fall into extreme poverty and middle-class families drop below the poverty line. The suburbs of Cleveland Hts. and Berea demonstrate particular diminishing of the middle-

class ranks. Third, where a *decrease* in poverty exists, there occurs a positive shift in both the number of middle- and upper- middle-class families and in educational attainment, at least as evidenced by the Tremont and Downtown profiles. Lastly, the ranks of the affluent grew across the board, even for those geographic entities where poverty increased. This perhaps speaks to the nation's economic disparity figures at a neighborhood- and municipality-level. For instance, while Edgewater's extreme poverty ranks increased by 28%, the number of families making over \$100,000 increased at a rate of 126%^x.

Figure 3: Poverty Rate and Percent Change for City of Cleveland Suburbs

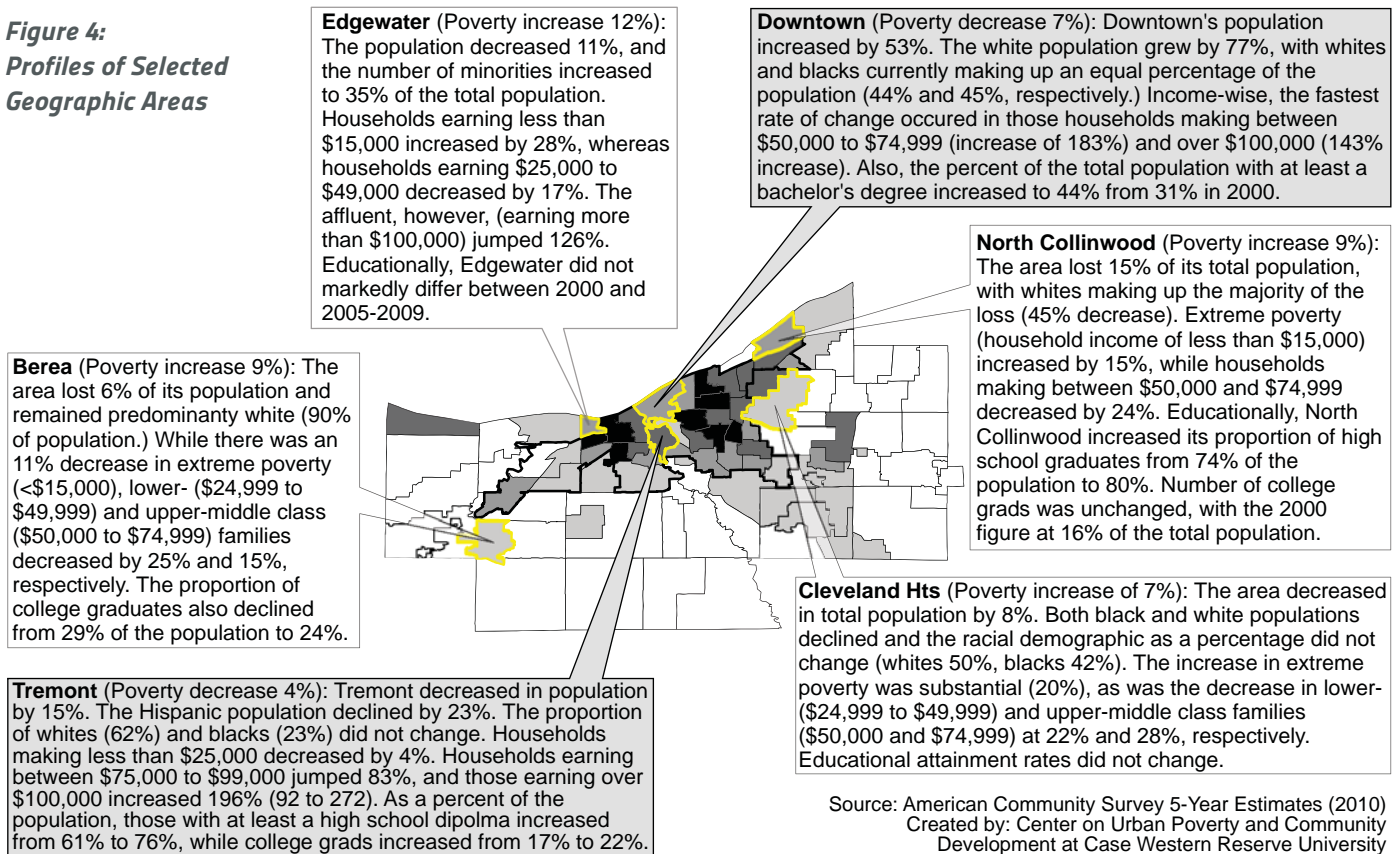


Data Source: American Community Survey 2005-2009 5-year estimate and 2000 Census
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CONCLUSION

We are at a watershed moment in America—with the number of disadvantaged and the gap between the disadvantaged and privileged at historic levels. Greater Cleveland is but one thread in the weave of economic hardship that has blanketed the country. Of course the operative word here is “blanketed,” as poverty and the need for a safety net is no longer the purview of the inner city, but rather has spread to that suburban doorstep once mythologized as an escape from inner city concerns.

Figure 4:
Profiles of Selected
Geographic Areas



NOTES

ⁱIncome, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2010, US Census Bureau

ⁱⁱOutside Cleveland, Snapshot's of Poverty's Surge in the Suburbs, New York Times Oct. 24, 2011. Data source : Elizabeth Kneebone, Brookings Institution

ⁱⁱⁱNote: Data for Ashland and Huron Counties came from the American Community Survey's 3-year Estimates for 2007 to 2010. This is due to both counties not meeting the minimum population limits to be included in the ACS 1 year analysis.

^{iv}Unemployment data from the U.S. Department of Labor. Income data from American Community Survey's 1-year Estimate for 2010

^vYoungstown MSA in this report excluded Mercer County in Pennsylvania.

^{vi}The most recent poverty rates for inner city tracts and municipal suburbs are available at the 5-year estimate only.

^{vii}The Union Miles' population below the poverty rate shrank from 4,856 to 3,168 from 2000 to 2005-2009. This rate of shrinkage was above the rate of shrinkage for those above the poverty level across the same time period, thus explaining the decrease in the area's overall poverty rate.

^{viii}Theoretically, population shrinkage may in itself account for an area's increased poverty rate without taking into account various economic and demographic changes. That is, a neighborhood or city's total number of poor could very well not increase, yet the rate would increase due to a decrease in the total population the rate is calculated from. However, in most cases rates of change are too large to be accounted for by population loss alone; therefore, extraneous variables such as a drop in household income must be considered.

^{ix}When examining an increase in the affluent (i.e., families making for than \$100,000), the 10-year increase does not take into account inflation. That is, families crossing the \$100,000 threshold in 2010 would not necessarily being doing so based on an increase in wealth as from the inflationary rate of change in salary. Still, it is just as important to note that middle class wages have stagnated—and in some areas have declined—from 2000 to 2010, meaning salary inflation alone would not account for the spike in affluent households.

APPENDIX A

Cleveland Neighborhood	Poverty Level, 2000		Poverty Level, 2005-2009 ACS		Error for ACS Data*	Difference Over Time
	People	Rate (%)	People	Rate (%)	MOE (%)	Percent Pt Change (%)
Brooklyn Centre	2,245	24.56	2,559	27.51	+/-7.48	2.95
Buckeye-Shaker	4,236	26.78	3,885	26.73	+/-4.04	-0.05
Central	7,419	65.07	8,152	73.22	+/-6.23	8.15
Clark-Fulton	3,806	28.77	4,199	35.62	+/-6.50	6.85
Corlett	2,964	19.48	3,454	27.00	+/-5.24	7.52
Cudell	3,111	29.03	4,049	40.58	+/-7.15	11.55
Detroit-Shoreway	6,161	35.61	6,780	43.17	+/-5.42	7.56
Downtown	1,334	35.18	1,541	28.32	+/-6.28	-6.86
Edgewater	1,497	18.33	2,590	29.83	+/-6.88	11.50
Euclid-Green	1,428	22.92	1,504	29.02	+/-8.24	6.10
Fairfax	2,321	33.14	2,119	36.07	+/-7.26	2.93
Forest Hills	4,677	29.87	3,604	31.21	+/-5.02	1.34
Glenville	7,328	31.41	7,461	39.31	+/-5.56	7.90
Goodrich-Kirtland Park	1,257	30.04	1,151	26.90	+/-8.38	-3.14
Hough	6,523	40.90	5,973	46.07	+/-5.51	5.17
Industrial Valley	131	28.85	43	14.83	+/-72.61	-14.02
Jefferson	2,064	10.49	2,957	14.96	+/-3.23	4.47
Kamms Corners	1,085	5.64	1,518	7.06	+/-1.67	1.42
Kinsman	3,238	56.96	3,206	62.83	+/-8.58	5.87
Lee-Miles	1,723	11.07	1,758	12.41	+/-3.30	1.34
Mt. Pleasant	5,645	24.56	5,586	30.49	+/-4.63	5.93
North Broadway	3,352	36.55	2,203	35.59	+/-6.93	-0.96
North Collinwood	3,446	17.81	4,971	26.92	+/-4.06	9.11
Ohio City	3,397	37.85	3,687	38.96	+/-6.96	1.11
Old Brooklyn	3,766	11.08	6,005	16.60	+/-2.69	5.52
Puritas-Longmead	2,094	13.88	2,925	19.25	+/-3.84	5.37
Riverside	815	16.66	1,115	20.69	+/-7.52	4.03
South Broadway	5,011	23.45	5,656	29.68	+/-4.45	6.23
South Collinwood	4,015	28.11	3,877	33.60	+/-7.01	5.49
St. Clair-Superior	4,615	40.54	3,754	42.01	+/-6.42	1.47
Stockyards	3,065	35.41	4,212	51.58	+/-9.17	16.17
Tremont	3,026	37.61	2,584	34.04	+/-7.03	-3.57
Union-Miles	4,856	31.72	3,168	28.24	+/-5.18	-3.48
University	2,721	41.71	2,414	39.60	+/-6.49	-2.11
West Boulevard	3,151	18.50	4,451	24.94	+/-4.37	6.44
Woodland Hills	4,956	43.05	4,122	43.36	+/-6.37	0.31
City of Cleveland	122,479	26.27	129,233	30.18	+/-0.87	3.91
Suburban City	People	Rate (%)	People	Rate (%)	MOE (%)	Percent Pt Change (%)
Bay Village	486	3.05	682	4.65	+/-1.94	1.60
Beachwood	477	4.28	585	5.70	+/-2.48	1.42
Bedford	1,082	7.64	1,694	13.00	+/-3.44	5.36
Bedford Hts.	857	7.59	1,261	12.17	+/-3.54	4.58
Bentleyville	9	0.95	8	0.90	+/-1.24	-0.05
Berea	934	5.51	2,195	14.27	+/-4.21	8.76
Bratenahl	57	4.27	26	2.13	+/-1.29	-2.14
Brecksville	327	2.54	764	5.95	+/-2.72	3.41
Broadview Hts.	504	3.19	924	5.41	+/-2.13	2.22
Brooklyn	762	6.61	1,193	11.38	+/-3.83	4.77

Suburban City	Poverty Level, 2000		Poverty Level, 2005-2009 ACS		Error for ACS Data*	Difference Over Time
	People	Rate (%)	People	Rate (%)	MOE (%)	Percent Pt Change (%)
Brooklyn Hts.	35	2.22	37	2.55	+/-1.14	0.33
Brookpark	982	4.65	1,349	6.98	+/-1.84	2.33
Chagrin Falls Twp.	0	0.00	0	0.00	+/- >100	0.00
Chagrin Falls Village	144	3.62	230	6.15	+/-2.62	2.53
Cleveland Hts.	5,276	10.64	8,142	17.96	+/-2.02	7.32
Cuyahoga Hts.	34	5.71	21	4.68	+/-2.96	-1.03
East Cleveland	8,519	31.97	9,095	37.13	+/-5.08	5.16
Euclid	5,055	9.70	7,298	15.46	+/-1.99	5.76
Fairview Park	714	4.07	1,113	6.99	+/-1.99	2.92
Garfield Hts.	2,586	8.54	3,590	12.96	+/-2.70	4.42
Gates Mills	27	1.11	46	2.17	+/-1.59	1.06
Glenwillow	22	4.98	84	10.57	+/-6.33	5.59
Highland Hills	147	22.90	158	27.57	+/-15.54	4.67
Highland Hts.	322	3.99	275	3.23	+/-2.04	-0.76
Hunting Valley	9	1.53	0	0.00	+/-21.88	-1.53
Independence	254	3.56	196	2.88	+/-1.23	-0.68
Lakewood	4,956	8.86	7,279	14.33	+/-1.67	5.47
Linndale	19	15.70	13	12.38	+/-8.21	-3.32
Lyndhurst	375	2.49	497	3.58	+/-1.31	1.09
Maple Hts.	1,531	5.92	3,107	13.18	+/-3.02	7.26
Mayfield Hts.	1,216	6.33	1,200	6.81	+/-1.67	0.48
Mayfield Village	88	2.56	39	1.25	+/-1.15	-1.31
Middleburg Hts.	443	2.96	1,460	9.94	+/-3.02	6.98
Moreland Hills	109	3.30	0	0.00	+/-3.85	-3.30
Newburgh Hts.	285	11.99	238	10.70	+/-4.99	-1.29
North Olmsted	1,376	4.07	1,934	6.16	+/-1.79	2.09
North Randall	104	11.38	120	16.26	+/-7.29	4.88
North Royalton	662	2.33	1,174	4.08	+/-1.44	1.75
Oakwood	217	6.31	493	14.28	+/-7.04	7.97
Olmsted Falls	166	2.13	386	5.49	+/-2.13	3.36
Olmsted Twp.	312	2.98	347	2.87	+/-1.26	-0.11
Orange	118	3.65	72	2.19	+/-2.44	-1.46
Parma	4,157	4.94	5,294	6.80	+/-0.96	1.86
Parma Hts.	1,620	7.56	1,991	10.07	+/-2.38	2.51
Pepper Pike	217	3.68	221	4.12	+/-3.55	0.44
Richmond Hts.	573	5.32	516	5.29	+/-2.46	-0.03
Rocky River	478	2.33	964	5.09	+/-1.56	2.76
Seven Hills	314	2.60	543	4.66	+/-1.70	2.06
Shaker Hts.	2,004	6.86	2,074	7.79	+/-1.86	0.93
Solon	553	2.54	664	3.03	+/-1.17	0.49
South Euclid	1,063	4.55	1,710	8.16	+/-1.97	3.61
Strongsville	947	2.17	1,709	4.01	+/-1.09	1.84
University Hts.	709	5.76	770	7.16	+/-2.39	1.40
Valley View	68	3.13	34	1.79	+/-0.93	-1.34
Walton Hills	47	2.06	190	9.19	+/-6.03	7.13
Warrensville Hts.	1,691	11.38	2,028	15.22	+/-3.90	3.84
Westlake	765	2.49	1,362	4.62	+/-1.35	2.13
Woodmere	89	10.72	102	12.35	+/-6.36	1.63
Suburban Total	56,893	6.32	79,497	9.46	--	3.13
Cuyahoga County Total	179,372	13.13	208,730	16.45	+/-0.40	3.32

*The Margin of Error (MOE) for the ACS 5-year estimates are provided for data at the neighborhood and suburban municipality level. Caution is warranted when inferring poverty trends at these geographic levels given—at times—substantial margin of errors. For instance, the Cuyahoga Hts. poverty rate of 4.68% has an MOE of nearly 3%, meaning their “true” poverty rate could be as high as 8% and as low as 2%. In general, areas with larger number of residents have smaller errors.

briefly **STATED**

***Research summaries from the
Center on Urban Poverty and
Community Development***

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The Center on Urban Poverty and Community Development seeks to address the problems of persistent and concentrated urban poverty and is dedicated to understanding how social and economic changes affect low-income communities and their residents. Based in Cleveland at Case Western Reserve University's Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, the Center views the city as both a laboratory for building communities and producing change locally, and as a representative urban center from which nationally relevant research and policy implications can be drawn.

A community resource for expertise and data analysis for over 20 years, the Center on Urban Poverty and Community Development created the groundbreaking community data system NEO CANDO (Northeast Ohio Community and Neighborhood Data for Organizing), a web-based tool that centralizes a broad array of indicators, making it easier to overlay and analyze disparate data. Community development corporations, foundation program officers, local governments, neighborhood activists and residents, students at the Mandel School and other institutions, the media, community reinvestment professionals and academic researchers are among those who have found NEO CANDO invaluable in their work. The Center conducts extensive training and maintains a listserv so NEO CANDO users can get the most out of its vast data collection. You can visit the NEO CANDO webpage at <http://neocando.case.edu>.



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