

# briefly STATED

Research Summary

February 2013

No. 13-02

## Mapping Human Capital: Where Northeast Ohio's Young and Middle-Age Adults Are Locating

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*While Cleveland's overall population has declined 17% from 2000 to 2010, past research by the Center on Urban Poverty and Community Development has demonstrated population gains for certain age demographics in certain regional localities. Namely, the study<sup>1</sup>, originally completed for the Urban Institute, showed a gain of young adults moving into the urban core. While the gains are recent, they should not be ignored. Rather, the influx of human capital should be understood so strategy can increase the immigrating flow.*

*This report expands on the initial report by examining the mobility of young and middle-age adults in Northeastern Ohio. The study maps the inferred immigration and outmigration of the 25-34 and 35-44 year old age cohorts between 2000 and 2010. Geographic areas of analysis will be the 5-county region of Northeast Ohio, with detailed analysis performed on the neighborhoods of Cleveland and the suburban municipalities of Cuyahoga County. Also, race-by-age breakdowns will be undertaken to more fully explain a gain or decline in an area's population of young and/or middle-age adults. Lastly, policy implications based on the findings will be discussed.*

### METHOD

The research method employed is called a simplified cohort analysis. Using 2000 and 2010 Census data, the methodology entails comparing the number of people in an age cohort in 2000 with the number in an age cohort that is 10 years older. For example, if there are 100 people in a given area in the 25 to 34 age range in 2000, we would expect 100 people in the 35 to 44 age range in 2010, as they have aged 10 years. If, however, there are 500 people in the 35 to 44 age range in 2010, a positive difference of 400 would lend empirical support that there was an inflow of new residents that cannot be explained by births.

### RESULTS

**Migration of Young Adults (25 to 34) in Northeast Ohio:** The Top 15 growth areas for the 25- to 34-year old cohort are shown in **Table 1 on page 2**. (see the online Appendix A<sup>2</sup> for a complete list of results). Generally, growth largely occurs in three geographic areas: (1) Cleveland's inner core, specifically Downtown, Ohio City, and Tremont; (2)

certain second-tier neighborhoods in Cleveland (e.g., Kamms Corner and Old Brooklyn); and (3) select inner-ring suburbs (e.g., Lakewood and Cleveland Hts.). Alternatively, areas losing the young adult cohort included much of Cleveland's East Side, as well the suburban fringes of Cuyahoga County and most of the surrounding 5-county region (see **Table 2 on the next page** for County results).

In examining "the why" of such mobility patterns, a number of factors are likely at work. First, Cleveland's immigration into the urban core mirrors national trends in which urban settings are increasingly appealing to younger generations. This psychogeographic attraction also informs part of the immigration to second-tier neighborhoods and inner-ring suburbs. For instance, areas like Kamms Corner, Old Brooklyn, Lakewood, and Cleveland Hts.—much like their urban core counterparts—exhibit walkability, a

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distinct food and culture scene, and access to public transit.

Second, other forces involving racial demographic shifts are at play. As was made clear in Alan Ehrenhalt's book *The Great Inversion and the Future of the American City*, longstanding racial patterns of residential location are changing nationwide, with an outmigration of minorities into outer reaches of the city and the suburbs. For instance, in Cleveland, the number of young Hispanics has declined over the last decade

in historically Hispanic urban-core communities of Tremont, Stockyards, and Clark Fulton, with a parallel influx occurring in Parma, Lakewood, and Old Brooklyn.

Similar patterns exist in other communities. For example, while young African American residents are immigrating largely toward eastern inner-ring areas like South Broadway and Euclid, the demographic is diversifying Lakewood as well, with African American 25- to 34-year olds making up 15% of Lakewood's burgeoning youth movement. Conversely, Cleveland Hts. and Mayfield Hts. are bolstered by large inflows of 25- to 34-year old Asians.

**Table 1: Top 15 Growth Areas by Total Population of 25 to 34 Year Olds in Cuyahoga County\***

	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
<i>Lakewood</i>	3148	2561	474	156	225
Downtown	1842	1346	168	270	49
<i>Parma</i>	1379	971	171	118	202
<i>Mayfield Hts.</i>	1259	400	367	454	46
Kamms Corners	968	809	78	26	75
Old Brooklyn	960	478	283	5	379
<i>Olmsted Twp.</i>	736	599	59	56	41
<i>Cleveland Hts.</i>	724	965	-818	557	61
<i>Lyndhurst</i>	704	584	77	25	19
Ohio City	595	512	118	48	-129
Edgewater	554	341	195	14	38
Tremont	533	548	102	7	-141
<i>Parma Hts.</i>	498	291	75	108	80
<i>Fairview Park</i>	485	415	39	22	36
<i>Broadview Hts.</i>	473	307	61	92	21

Source: Census, 2000, 2010. See Appendix A<sup>2</sup> for full list of neighborhoods/municipalities. Italics designates suburban municipality

\*Note: The White and Black totals include Hispanics; that is, they are not "Non-Hispanic" totals. The Hispanic totals include all races. Omitted from the table are racial categories "Other" and "2 or more Races".

**Table 2: Population Gain and Loss by Race and Ethnicity for 25 to 34 Year Olds in Northeast Ohio Counties\***

	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
Medina County	286	43	66	136	109
Lake County	-333	-1427	397	263	592
Summit County	-2179	-1844	-1545	1008	648
Geauga County	-3119	-3072	-21	10	17
Lorain County	-3444	-2514	-247	52	-273
Cuyahoga County	-9487	-5094	-7040	3104	1479

Source: Census, 2000, 2010

\*Note: The White and Black totals include Hispanics; that is, they are not "Non-Hispanic" totals. The Hispanic totals include all races. Omitted from the table are racial categories "Other" and "2 or more Races".

**Migration of Middle-Age Adults (35 to 44) in**

**Northeast Ohio:** The Top 15 growth areas for adults aged 35 to 44 are shown in **Table 3 on page 3**. In contrast to the younger cohort's migration movement, this age cohort's migration is primarily defined by outmigration from inner areas to suburban and exurban fringes. For example, Solon, Olmsted Township, Strongsville, Broadview Hts. and Brecksville exhibited large influxes of the family-rearing cohort, as did exurban counties of Medina and Lorain (see **Table 4 on page 3**). Moreover, outside of Shaker Hts., no inner-ring geography showed substantial gains of the 35- to 44-year old cohort.

These results are consistent with past demographic research by the East Cleveland Partnership at Case Western Reserve University involving the concept of "family flight"<sup>3</sup>. For instance, the number of families with children under 18 declined by 24% in the City of Cleveland from 2000 to 2006-2010<sup>4</sup>. The primary reasons for this commonly relate to concerns about school quality and neighborhood safety<sup>5</sup>.

**POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

The identification of areas that are attracting young and middle-age residents is crucial to economic development in Northeast Ohio. Particularly, by identifying where "green flows" are occurring one can infer on "the why" behind the migration, with policy subsequently crafted to increase the immigrating flow.

By strategically targeting reinvestment into areas experiencing population growth in an otherwise shrinking region, decision makers

can shift their focus from managing decline to fostering growth, with the hope that “green flow” areas expand so as to spark a broader, citywide change. In this sense, one can, according to Jane Jacobs in the classic book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, imagine the city as “a large field in darkness”. In this darkness, Jacobs writes<sup>6</sup>:

*“[M]any fires are burning. They are of many sizes, some great, others small; some far apart, others dotted close together; some are brightening, some are slowly going out. Each fire, large or small, extends its radiance into the surrounding murk, and thus it carves out a space. But the space and the shape of that space exist only to the extent that the light from the fire creates it.”*

Where are these “fires” in Greater Cleveland? Notice **Map 1 on page 4**. The high growth areas (gains of 25 to 34 year olds over 200) include the Downtown core, as well as three “green flow” corridors heading southwest, south, and east.

Inferring as to the attraction that may be behind these migration patterns, the southwest corridor encompasses areas ranging from Ohio City to Lakewood to Kamms Corner that are known for their authentic, walkable neighborhood feel. Policy makers should employ strategies that emphasize the quality of the built form, while refraining from strategies that disqualify it.

While this authentic urban feel is found in certain neighborhoods along the south and east “green flow” corridors as well, there is another important dynamic relating to minority migration. Specifically, as was touched on previously, much of the young immigration into the high-growth areas of Old Brooklyn, Jefferson, and Parma are due to the growth of young Hispanics. Speculating, these gains are perhaps occurring due to outmigration from traditionally Hispanic inner-core neighborhoods of Tremont, Stockyards, and Clark Fulton into areas

**Table 3: Top 15 Growth Areas by Total Population of 35 to 44 Year Olds in Cuyahoga County\***

	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
<i>Solon</i>	1600	904	236	434	41
<i>Olmsted Twp.</i>	1135	992	48	61	47
<i>Strongsville</i>	1043	892	18	98	52
<i>Broadview Hts.</i>	700	549	32	106	31
<i>Brecksville</i>	658	579	17	44	13
<i>Westlake</i>	568	459	14	86	35
<i>Bay Village</i>	563	528	9	12	12
<i>Highland Hts.</i>	385	312	7	60	19
<i>Beachwood</i>	381	154	107	125	19
<i>Pepper Pike</i>	334	268	21	51	7
<i>Shaker Hts.</i>	312	86	188	49	45
<i>Independence</i>	290	274	3	6	8
<i>Rocky River</i>	284	243	6	30	15
<i>Orange</i>	237	180	29	24	4
<i>Seven Hills</i>	186	153	13	22	6

Source: Census, 2000, 2010. See Appendix A<sup>2</sup> for full list of neighborhoods/municipalities.

Italics designates suburban municipality

\*Note: The White and Black totals include Hispanics; that is, they are not “Non-Hispanic” totals. The Hispanic totals include all races. Omitted from the table are racial categories “Other” and “2 or more Races”.

**Table 4: Population Gain and Loss by Race and Ethnicity for 35 to 44 Year Olds in Northeast Ohio Counties\***

	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
Medina County	5941	5519	113	190	145
Lorain County	3856	4079	-154	226	271
Geauga County	2623	2539	26	37	74
Lake County	582	45	352	47	163
Summit County	-3296	-4003	271	400	277
Cuyahoga County	-30001	-24063	-4286	-424	40

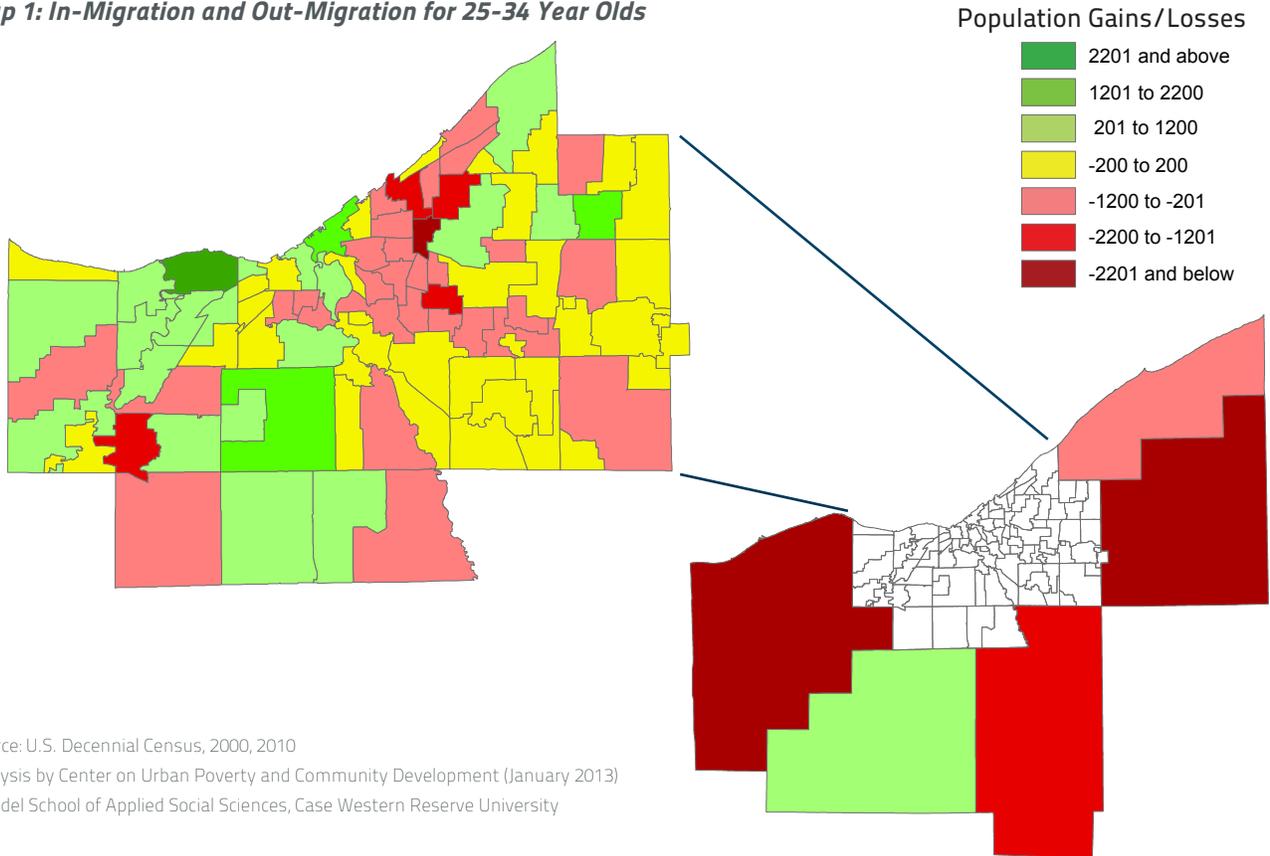
Source: Census, 2000, 2010

\*Note: The White and Black totals include Hispanics; that is, they are not “Non-Hispanic” totals. The Hispanic totals include all races. Omitted from the table are racial categories “Other” and “2 or more Races”.

heading south. This migration pattern has been termed “upward mobility”, and in this case refers to minorities dispersing from the core into areas seen as “aspirational geographies”. Policy implications could involve strengthening the Hispanic cultural component along the spatial corridor to further enhance the “green flow”.

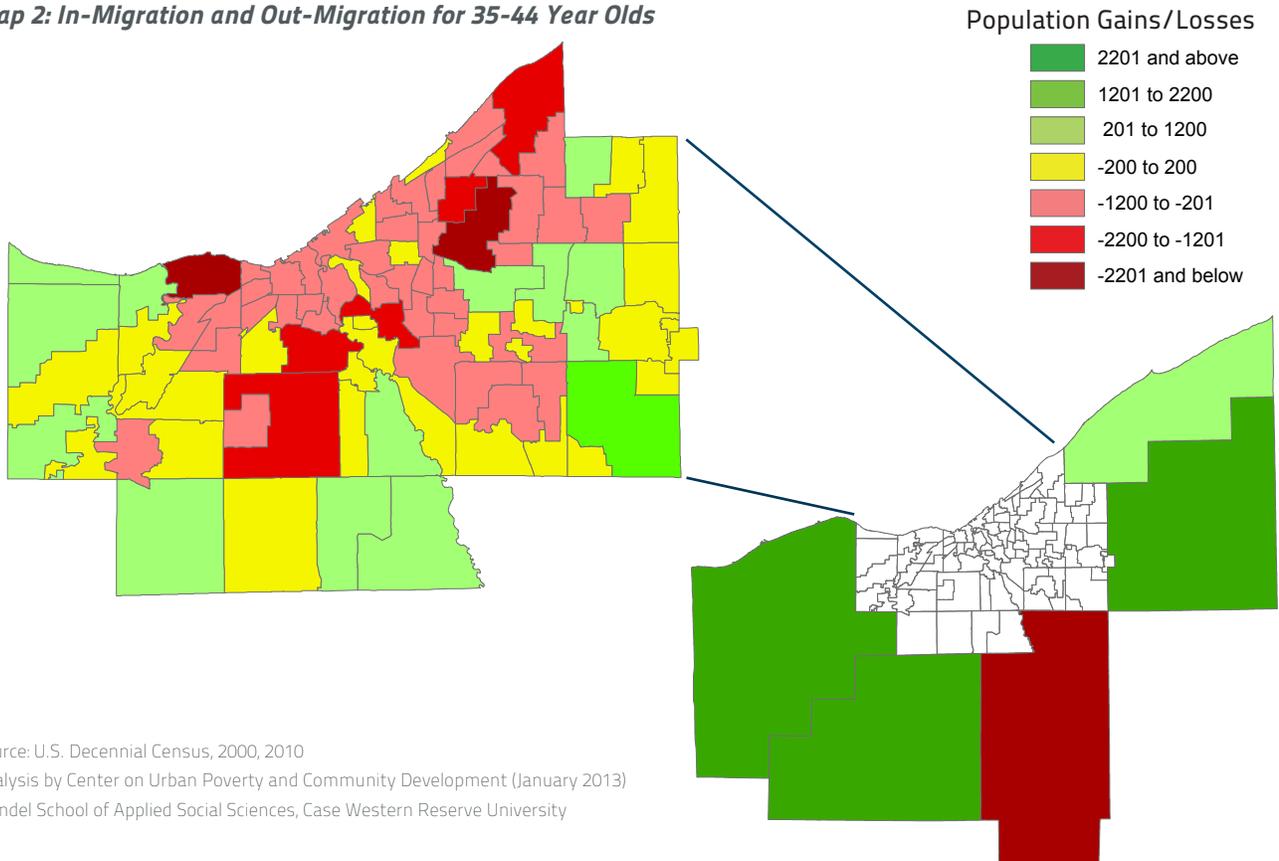
Likewise, the influx of young adults along the east “green flow” corridor is partially represented by migration of Asian 25 to 34 year olds. This growth

**Map 1: In-Migration and Out-Migration for 25-34 Year Olds**



Source: U.S. Decennial Census, 2000, 2010  
 Analysis by Center on Urban Poverty and Community Development (January 2013)  
 Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University

**Map 2: In-Migration and Out-Migration for 35-44 Year Olds**



Source: U.S. Decennial Census, 2000, 2010  
 Analysis by Center on Urban Poverty and Community Development (January 2013)  
 Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University

largely occurs in the eastern suburbs of Cleveland Hts., Mayfield Hts. and Shaker Hts. Again, the gains could partly be due to outmigration from Cleveland's Asia Town location into areas heading east. If so, this represents a local chain migration through severely disinvested parts of Cleveland's East Side. Given that Asians represent the fastest growing immigrant population in the United States<sup>8</sup>, policy implications could involve immigrant attraction strategies whereby vacant housing and land along the eastern "green flow" corridor is utilized to jumpstart a burgeoning Asian community.

Other policy implications relate to the fact that the younger cohort immigration is paralleled with an

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outmigration of the family-rearing cohort. Before discussing such implications, some interpretation of this finding is in order.

While the young immigrating generation of today may be an outmigrating generation of tomorrow, this does not necessarily mean development is not occurring, or that gains in human capital are ultimately neutralized. In fact, many of the nation's cities exhibit similar migration patterns found in Northeast

Ohio<sup>9</sup> relating to family flight, with the primary difference being Cleveland and other post-industrial cities have struggled to maintain a significant inflow of young residents to stem population decline. As such, encouraging a constant churn of young adults via an

understanding of various psychogeographic attractions is integral for local policy leaders.

Also, while past is often precedent, predicting a generational cohort's lifestyle patterns from the behaviors of a different generational cohort can prove problematic. In particular, perhaps the Millennial generation is different from past generations in that their "aspirational geographies" have shifted from the suburban landscape to the urban environment. If this proves to be the case, one can envision a quickening pace of re-densification as future immigration of the young will be supplemented by the retention of the family-rearing age cohort.

To that end, the concerns of the family-rearing age cohort related to school quality need to be addressed. The recent support of Issue 107—the Cleveland school tax levy—is one traditional avenue for improved school quality. Still, many leading scholars believe municipal school systems cannot be improved solely through institutionally-driven, top-down initiatives. Here, school quality is bi-directional, with the re-creation of middle class neighborhoods seen as a precondition to the success of inner-city schools. Writes Alan Ehrenhalt<sup>10</sup>:

*"The more middle-class students populate a school, whatever their ethnic background happens to be, the higher the test scores rise. An increase in middle-class students is a magnet that draws more middle-class families to the neighborhood, changing the performance of the school further, in what amounts to a virtuous cycle."*

This, then, speaks to the importance of cities not simply appealing to the "young and the restless", but also to families seeking a viable alternative to suburban and exurban living.

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## References

1. See: *Briefly Stated No. 12-02: Not Dead Yet: The Infill of Cleveland's Urban Core*
2. See: Appendices at [http://povertycenter.case.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Briefly\\_Stated\\_13-02\\_-\\_Appendices.pdf](http://povertycenter.case.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Briefly_Stated_13-02_-_Appendices.pdf)
3. From a presentation by Mark Chupp, Director East Cleveland Partnership, entitled: "The Role of Social Work in the Revitalization of Urban Neighborhoods—East Cleveland, Ohio: A Case Study"
4. Source: 2000 Census, American Community Survey 2006-2010
5. See: [http://blog.cleveland.com/metro/2011/03/census\\_data\\_reveals\\_new\\_migrat.html](http://blog.cleveland.com/metro/2011/03/census_data_reveals_new_migrat.html)
6. See Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*
7. See [http://www1.cuny.edu/portal\\_ur/content/nationofimmigrants/upward.php](http://www1.cuny.edu/portal_ur/content/nationofimmigrants/upward.php)
8. See: <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/06/19/the-rise-of-asian-americans/>
9. See: <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2012/12/03/american-cities-to-millennials-dont-leave-us/1744357/>
10. Ehrenhalt, A. (2012) *The Great Inversion and the Future of the American City*

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Richey Piiparinen is a former researcher at the Center. He is an independent consultant, writer, and urban policy researcher focusing on urban redevelopment, working on a research project with the Thriving Communities Institute. Richey is co-editor of the book *Rust Belt Chic: The Cleveland Anthology*, and he is currently co-writing a book called *Rust Belt Nation*, which focuses on economic redevelopment in the new economy.

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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