

## Chapter 6

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### The Shape of the Sub-Cities

What would be the shape of the new sub-cities within the existing City of Cleveland? Let us again examine the suburban experience. Suburban boundaries have been largely determined by three factors—physical barriers such as main streets, rivers or ravines; the political boundaries of other cities; and the boundaries of the farms, country estates or other large land parcels that once existed at the peripheries of the intended suburbs. They create realistic limitations for cohesive management of the financial, physical and political ingredients of effective local government.

Boundaries for sub-cities within a city would take into account similar considerations. Many of those features inside the City of Cleveland now represent almost insurmountable barriers to continuity of municipal service. At Cleveland's beginning, natural barriers were the lake, rivers, ravines and hillsides. Some sections of Cleveland, such as Old Brooklyn (south of Brookside Park and Riverside Cemetery) and Old Newburgh (the Broadway area) developed unique feelings of separateness because of physical barriers.

In the late 1800's, railroads were placed near the shore of Lake Erie and along all the major river beds and ravines. Industry was given priority for development along those rights of way. A few connecting rail lines were added to create new manmade barriers of track and industry. In the intervening years, we have added freeways and cemeteries adjacent to those same barriers.

The suburbs have grown around Cleveland, and industry has filled the valleys in such a way that the residential area of Cleveland is like a four fingered hand. The Cuyahoga River divides those fingers in two, and railroad tracks and freeways sub-divide each group further. Cleveland's residential areas have been largely separated on the north from the region's major natural asset—Lake Erie. Cleveland is quite unlike the adjacent suburbs of Euclid, Bratenahl, and Lakewood, which have exquisite residential areas along the lake. Only small sections to the east off Neff Road and on the west along Edgewater Drive are enhanced by the lake. The rest

of Cleveland's residents are separated from the lake by freeways, railroads, an airport, and industry. Even Gordon Park and Edgewater Park have not been integrated with residential areas to enhance the beauty or serenity of the homes closest to those parks. Residential Cleveland is essentially land-locked, although the political boundary on the north is mostly a lakefront.

A map of Cleveland, with only railroads, freeways, rivers, industrial belts and adjacent suburbs apparent, reveals the many internal barriers to delivery of municipal services. The Cuyahoga River bisects the city. On the west side of the Cuyahoga River various other barriers mark off seven land areas the size of suburbs such as Shaker Heights which can be entered by road from only a few disparate points. They are virtually self-contained service areas. The east side of the river has eleven such areas, including downtown. The barriers to residential development provided by downtown, Hopkins Airport, railroads and freeways have divided Cleveland into numerous land-locked residential enclaves, each surrounded by commerce and industry.

With only a few exceptions, then, any sub-city would be bounded by barriers of freeways, rail lines, industry, parks, cemeteries, waterfronts, and adjacent suburbs. Within those boundaries would be the residential areas of the new sub-cities. The commercial and industrial uses that adjoin the barriers virtually assure that no residential area within a sub-city would be far removed from places of employment. The focus of the sub-city's government, however, would be to utilize the natural barriers to enhance the residential core.

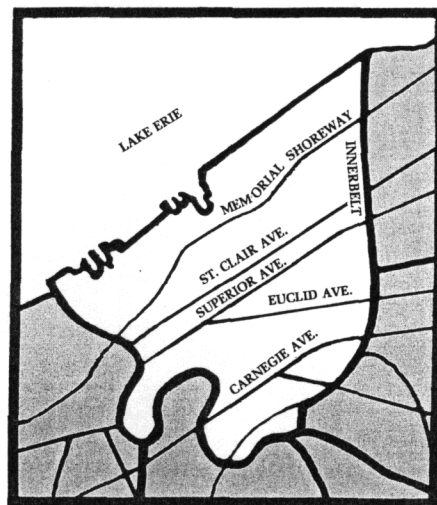
The suburb of Brooklyn on Cleveland's southwest side is, in fact, an example of how a residential community surrounded by commerce and industry can use business areas on the periphery to create an attractive residential core. It is distinctly a blue-collar suburb. In 1970, Brooklyn had slightly more than 13,000 residents. Its northern, western, and southern boundaries are commercial-industrial strips. Its eastern boundaries are Ridge Road and a few residential blocks east of Ridge. Memphis and Biddulph Roads run east and west dividing the residential center of Brooklyn into thirds. Brooklyn contains fewer than 100 residential blocks. Because of the industrial and commercial uses that ring its residential core and line Memphis and Biddulph Roads, few travelers-through are aware of its residential quality.

No grand-planner would have deliberately created such a suburb; but its reputation in 1980 was as a city that was a model for providing high quality services and an attractive environment for its residents. In 1976, Brooklyn accomplished that with lower per capita expenditures for basic city services than the City of Cleveland. The lesson of Brooklyn is that a small suburb bounded by industrial belts can support a high quality of residential amenities without the wealthy residents of green-belt suburbs.

#### Possible Cities Within A City

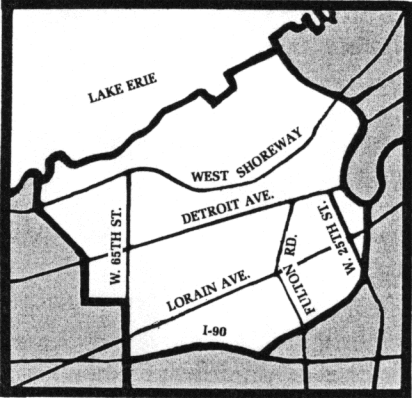
Using rail lines, freeways, waterways, industrial and commercial belts, and parkland as factors of political subdivision, some obvious boundaries for sub-cities appear within the City of Cleveland. The downtown, bounded by the lake, the Cuyahoga River, and the inner belt, is now the natural core of the entire City of Cleveland. On the west side, at least six cities seem to have natural boundaries of water, rail, freeway, lake or other municipalities and are sufficiently populous to justify separate administration. Ten such natural sub-divisions seem apparent on the east side of Cleveland outside of the downtown area. Within those sub-city areas, populations range from 10,000 to 60,000 people. Most are in the 20,000 to 40,000 range. They are:

1. *Downtown*: Follow east bank of the Cuyahoga River from Lake Erie to Minkon Street on the south; follow northeast from that point in a direct line to East 22nd Street at Orange Avenue; then follow East 22nd Street north to innerbelt; and follow innerbelt north to the lake.

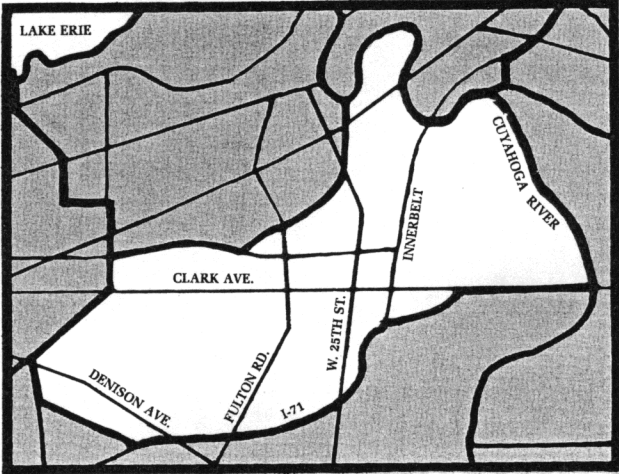


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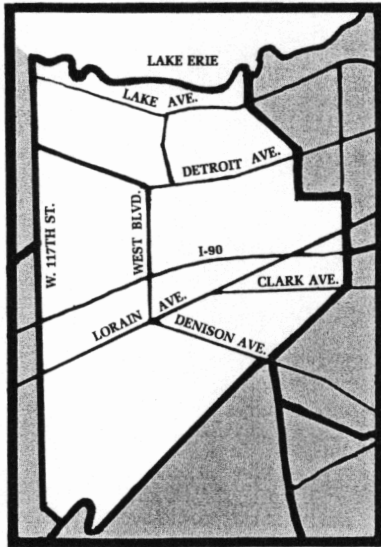
2. *Near West Side*: West bank of Cuyahoga River from Lake Erie south to west side rapid; west side rapid transit tracks west to I-90; I-90 west to West 65th Street; West 65th Street north to RTA tracks; RTA tracks west to west 74th Street; West 74th Street north to Detroit Avenue; Detroit Avenue west to Lake Avenue; Lake Avenue north to Edgewater Park.



3. *Tremont-Clark Fulton*: West bank of Cuyahoga River at west side rapid transit tracks south to Clark Avenue; Clark Avenue west to Holmden Avenue; Holmden Avenue west to I-71; I-71 west to first railroad underpass; railroad lines west to Ridge Road; Ridge Road north to CCC & St. Louis Railway tracks; tracks east to West 65th Street; West 65th Street north to south boundary of Near West Side.

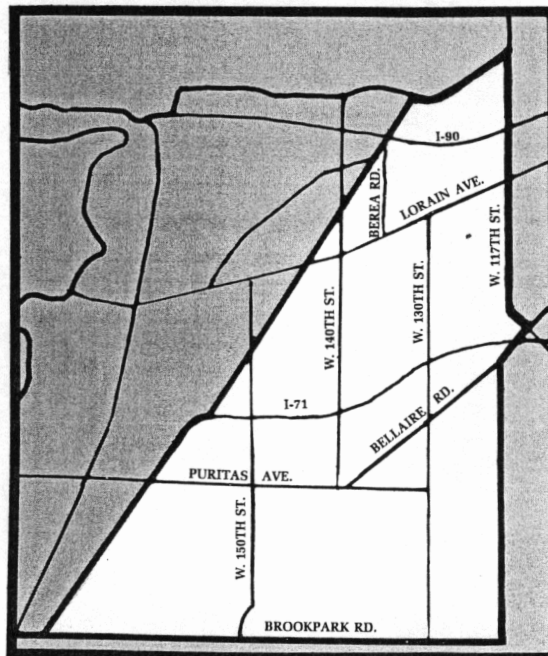


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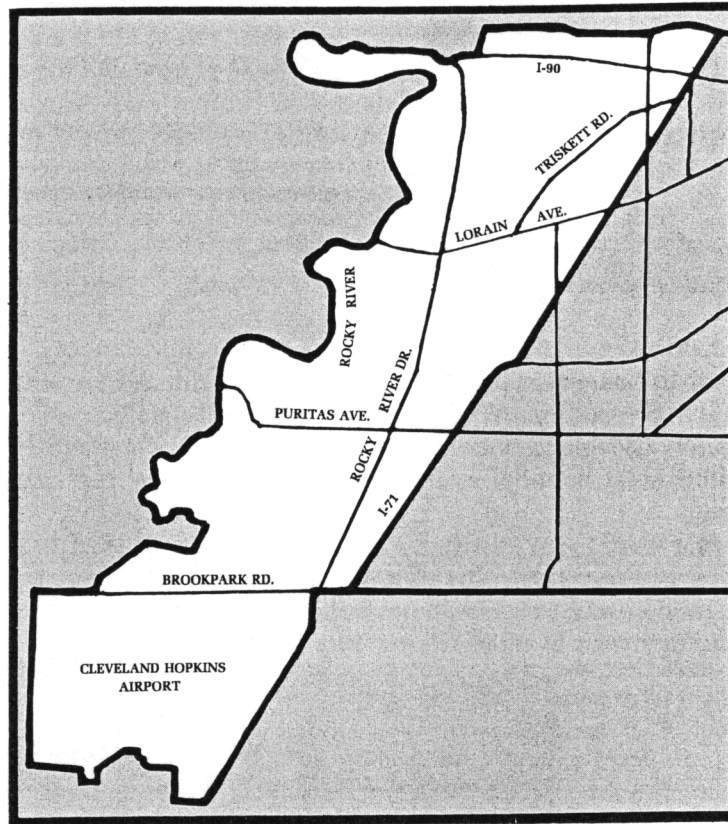


4. North West: West boundary of Near West Side along Lake Erie west to Lakewood at West 117th Street; south Lake Erie at West 117th Street along West 117th Street to Linndale boundary; then follow Cleveland boundary east to West 65th Street and return along west boundaries of Tremont-Clark Fulton and Near West Side.

5. Mid West: From RTA station at Brookpark Road north along RTA line to West 117th Street station; West 117th Street south along Linndale and Brooklyn boundaries to Parma boundary; Parma boundary west to rapid transit line.

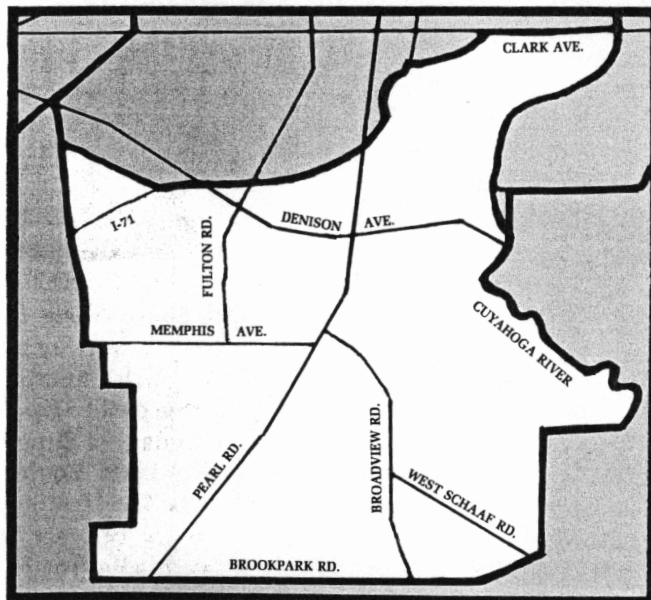


80 Cities Within A City



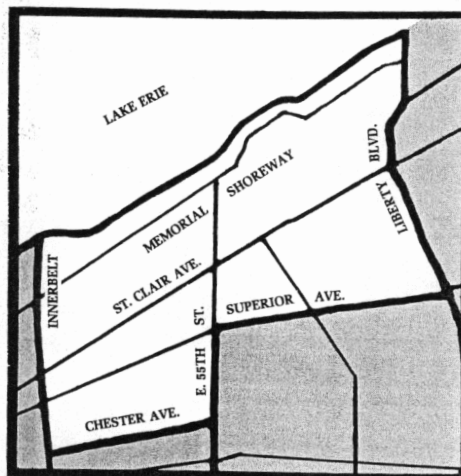
6. *West Park*: From east boundary of North West Side follow the Lakewood boundary west to the Rocky River; Rocky River south to Brookpark Road; Brookpark Road east to I-71; I-71 and west side rapid north to the Lakewood boundary.

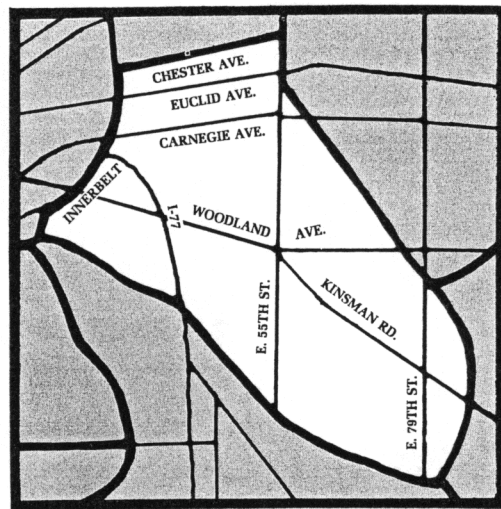
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7. *Old Brooklyn*: Along Cuyahoga River from south boundary of Tremont-Clark Fulton area to Brooklyn Heights boundary; west along Brooklyn Heights boundary to Brookpark Road; Brookpark Road and south boundary of Cleveland west to east boundary of Brooklyn; east boundary of Brooklyn north to I-71; I-71 east along Tremont-Clark Fulton boundary to Cuyahoga River.

8. *Superior-St. Clair*: Lake Erie from the innerbelt to Liberty Boulevard; Liberty Boulevard south to Superior Avenue; Superior Avenue west to East 55th Street; East 55th Street south to Chester Avenue; Chester Avenue west to innerbelt.

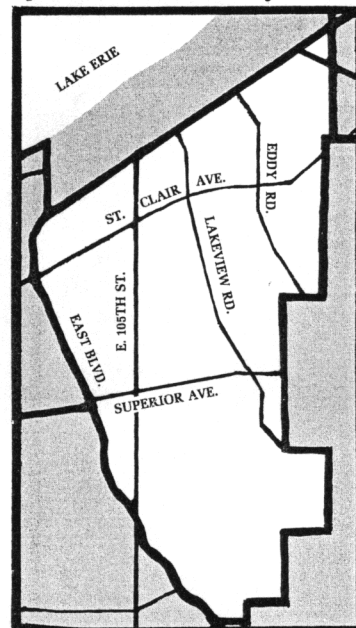
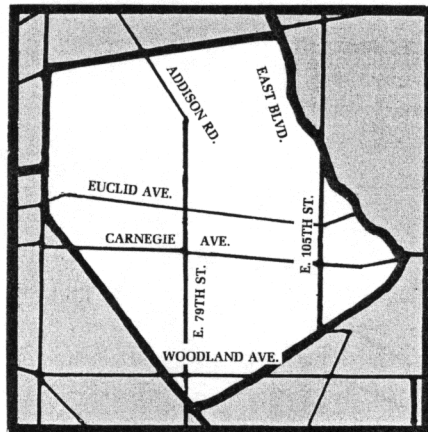




9. *Near East Side*: East 55th Street south from Chester Avenue to old Pennsylvania Railroad tracks; south along Pennsylvania Railroad tracks to Erie Railway tracks; Erie Railway tracks west to East 22nd Street; north on East 22nd Street to innerbelt; innerbelt north to Chester Avenue; Chester Avenue east to East 55th Street.

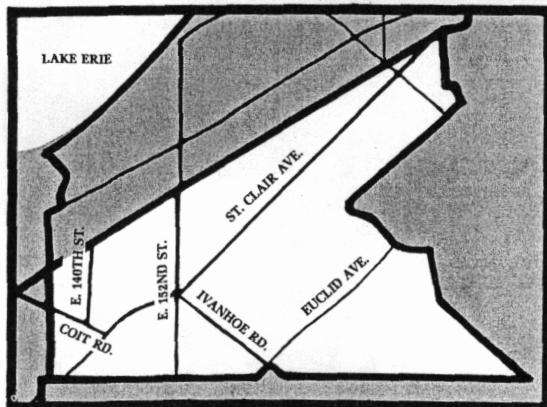
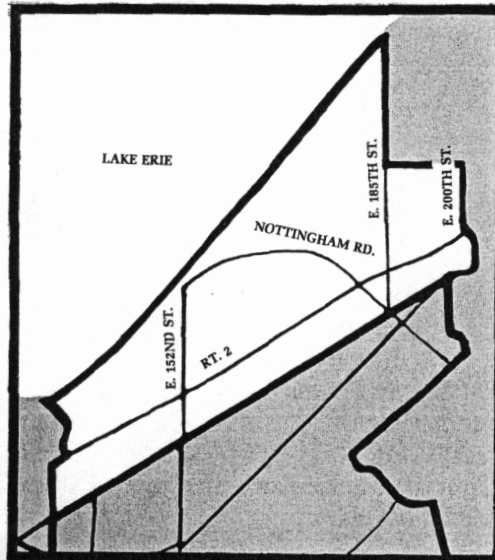
10. *Hough-Fairfax*: From south boundary of Superior-St. Clair area at Liberty Boulevard south along Liberty Boulevard to East Boulevard; East Boulevard to University Circle rapid transit station; west along RTA tracks to boundary of Near East Side at Pennsylvania Railroad tracks; Pennsylvania Railroad Tracks north to south boundary of Superior-St. Clair area.

11. *Glenville*: From Liberty Boulevard at Bratenahl line follow Bratenahl boundary east to the railroad tracks east of East 131st Street; railroad tracks south to East Cleveland boundary; East Cleveland boundary and Cleveland Heights boundary south to RTA intersection with Cedar Road; Cedar Road west to East Boulevard; East Boulevard North to Liberty Boulevard; Liberty Boulevard north to Lake Erie.

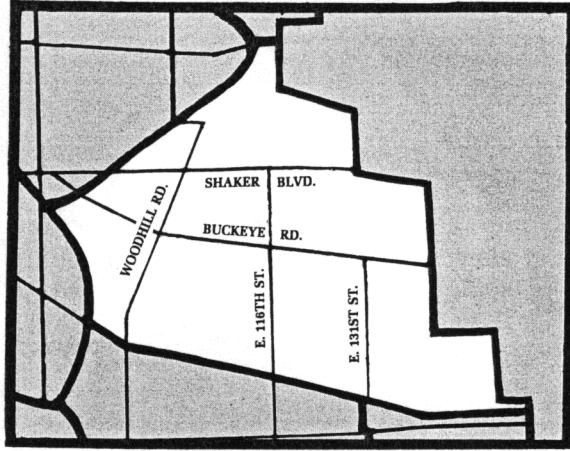




12. *Waterloo Beach*: From east Bratenahl boundary follow along Lake to west boundary of Euclid; west boundary of Euclid south to Conrail tracks; Conrail tracks west to east boundary of Bratenahl; east boundary of Bratenahl to Lake Erie.

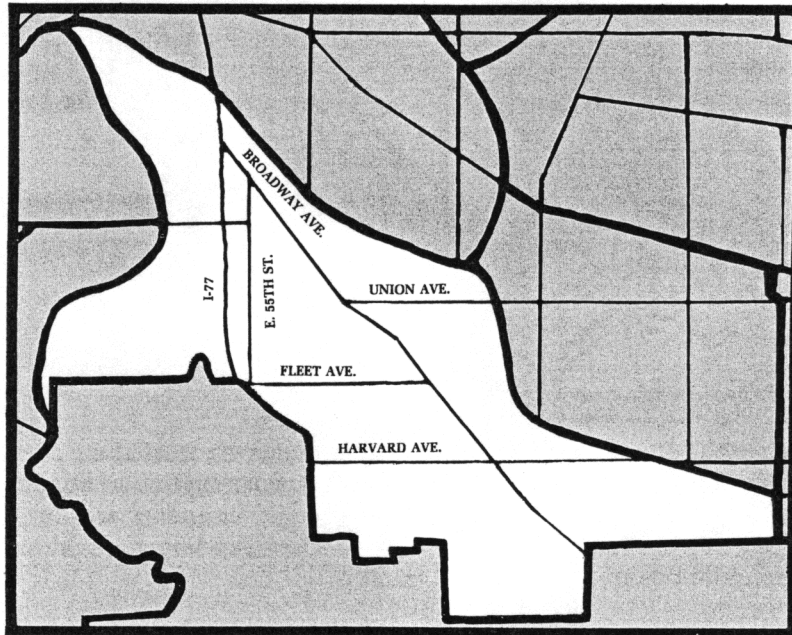


13. *Collinwood*: From Glenville boundary on west along Conrail tracks to City of Euclid boundary; south along Euclid boundary to South Euclid boundary; South Euclid boundary west and along East Cleveland boundary to Glenville boundary; north along Glenville boundary to Conrail tracks.

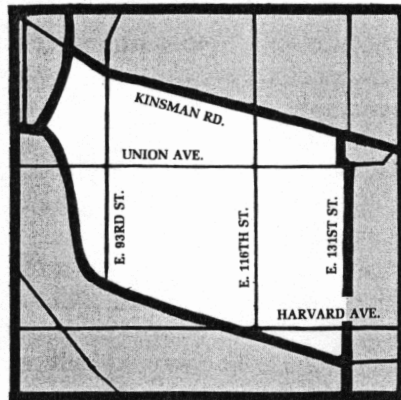


14. *Buckeye-Woodland*: From University Circle rapid station east on Cedar Road to Cleveland Heights boundary; south east along Cleveland Heights boundary to Shaker Heights boundary; Shaker Heights boundary south to Kinsman Road; Kinsman Road west to Conrail tracks; Conrail tracks north to RTA tracks; RTA tracks northeast to University Circle rapid transit station.

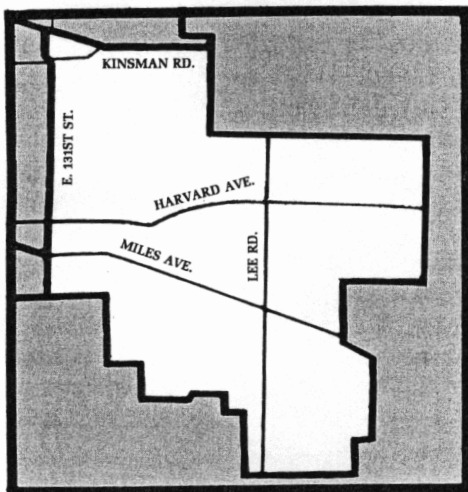
15. *Broadway-Miles*: Follow east bank of Cuyahoga River south from Bower Road to Newburgh Heights; boundaries of Newburgh Heights, Cuyahoga Heights, and Garfield Heights east to East 131st Street; East 131st Street north to old Erie Railroad (Conrail) tracks; Conrail tracks west to border of Downtown for north boundary.



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16. Mt. Pleasant: From intersection of Kinsman Road and Conrail tracks south and east to East 131st Street; East 131st Street north to Kinsman Road; Kinsman Road west to Conrail tracks.



17. Southeast Cleveland: Along Kinsman from East 131st Street to Shaker Heights boundary; Shaker Heights and Warrensville Heights boundaries south to Maple Heights boundary; Maple Heights and Garfield Heights boundary lines to East 131st Street; East 131st Street north to Kinsman Road.

The shared interest of the residents within each of those sub-cities is not too difficult to discern. The Near West Side, predominantly white, is characterized by 70-year-old houses built before the auto age. Homes are encroached upon by factories and lack play space for children. The Near East Side is dominated by massive public housing projects. Much of Old Brooklyn, Superior-St. Clair, Collinwood, Broadway-Miles, and Tremont-Clark Fulton are areas that have maintained the nearly century-old strength of their ethnic churches and nationality institutions. Waterloo Beach, West Park, and Southeast Cleveland are communities built between 1920 and 1960 which have strong middle-income orientations.

Many of the suggested boundaries are, in fact, recognized by the people who live within them today even though they are not recognized politically. The New York Central tracks created and the Lakeland Freeway has preserved the Waterloo Beach area as a heavily Slovenian community. Similar barriers have created a Polish haven in the Broadway area, an Italian enclave in Collinwood, black neighborhoods in Glenville and Hough-Fairfax, and an Irish bastion in West Park. The proposed sub-city boundaries would, thus, recognize what are actually the natural divisions for planning, public administration, economic activity, and leadership that already exist within the City of Cleveland.

Although 17 sub-cities are postulated in this proposal, the number is not immutable, and some boundaries might be disputed. The Mid West Area, for example, is bisected by I-71. It might be divided into two sub-cities. A persuasive case can be made for separating from Broadway-Miles the area east of East 93rd Street which is north of Broadway. All or most of the Tremont-Clark Fulton Area east of West 25th Street might be its own sub-city. But even if such alterations were made, the basis for boundaries would still be real topographic features that affect city management.

#### **Leadership in the Sub-Cities**

Whether or not any sub-city can administer itself depends in large measure on the quality of its local leaders. The leadership needed for a sub-city would be different from that now needed for mayor of Cleveland or president of city council. Those offices demand men or women who can rule disparate personalities from

greatly different backgrounds and serve very divergent constituencies. The mayor and council president must have command of power more than of detail. The leaders of the sub-cities will be less concerned with welding together people of divergent backgrounds. Their mastery must be more over the details of city services and city needs.

Affluence is not a prerequisite to effective local leadership. Strong resident leaders exist today in every one of the possible sub-cities. Some neighborhood leaders now hold political office. Many do not. Waterloo Beach (the home of Mayor Voinovich), Buckeye-Woodland (containing Shaker Square), the West Park area (long a base for Irish politicians), and the North West Side (containing Edgewater Drive) would not lack for talented personnel to serve in both elected and appointed positions.

Even areas without noticeable sections of upper middle income prosperity have substantial leadership bases. The Tremont-Clark Fulton area, for example, contains St. Rocco's Parish—a pillar of cultural strength known to every politician who has coveted a citywide job. Recently, one of the area's council representatives was elected to Congress. Lawyers and others with substantial business or academic backgrounds have been candidates for council from that community. Although some have made their records as relentless critics of the so-called establishment, it is reasonable to expect that, with real power and the actual responsibility for local problem solving, many of those same individuals or their supporters would turn their enormous energies from protest to the less strident task of building a better neighborhood.

In the very poorest neighborhoods, Hough-Fairfax and Near East Side, a different base of leadership potential exists. Each has a few strong resident leaders. Some have been nurses or graduate students, and a greater number are experienced in business. Others gained prominence in the anti-poverty programs of the 60s and 70s. But even those areas, with their vast aggregations of subsidized housing can point to resident professionals who lead public and private agencies.

Amidst the poverty of Hough-Fairfax and the Near East Side are some of the strongest institutions in the City of Cleveland—St. Vincent's Charity Hospital, Cuyahoga Community College, Warner & Swasey, Premier Industries, International Ladies Garment Workers, Olivet Institutional Baptist Church, Karamu House, Cleveland

Clinic, Mt. Sinai Hospital, The Temple, University Hospitals, Case Western Reserve University. The talent that is capable of being recruited from those institutions in the interests of neighborhood betterment and effective sub-city government for those very poorest of communities is immense. None of those talents are now utilized in any substantial respect by the existing city government of Cleveland.

#### **Sub-Cities and Neighborhoods**

Sub-cities are not neighborhoods. Sub-cities are groups of neighborhoods which have geographic interdependence and which, over a long period, have demonstrated that they recognize that interdependence.

Neighborhoods are smaller than sub-cities. They are areas in which residents have a walking relationship with each other. Until recently, some Cleveland neighborhoods were areas in which residents shared a local public elementary school or church. Today in Cleveland, Catholic parishes and church schools still define neighborhoods.

In parts of Cleveland, neighborhoods are often much smaller than elementary school districts or parishes. What has established them as neighborhoods are such barriers as transit lines, industrial belts, main commercial arteries, or parks which separate one cluster of residential streets from another. Cleveland is dotted with such clusters.

#### **Broadway-Miles: An Example of Neighborhoods Within a Sub-City**

The proposed sub-city of Broadway-Miles typifies how neighborhoods inter-relate in order to have a sense of common interests. Historically, the major cultural center of the Broadway-Miles area has been St. Stanislaus Catholic Church on Foreman Avenue near East 65th and Broadway. Broadway and Fleet Avenues have been the commercial centers of that sub-city. Around those two axes, separated by other thoroughfares, and focused upon churches and elementary schools, have evolved at least a dozen neighborhoods north of the Broadway-Miles intersection. Another six or more can be identified to the south and the east of that intersection. Four of these neighborhoods serve to illustrate the diversity of interests and range of demands that exist even within a sub-city. They are

the Forest City Park neighborhood, the Willow School neighborhood, the St. Hyacinth Church neighborhood, and the St. Stanislaus neighborhood.

*Forest City Park.* Heavy industry is the dominant factor on the western side of Broadway-Miles. The smoke from heavy industry in the Cuyahoga Valley is a well-known sight to every suburban commuter or occupant of a downtown office building. The prevailing winds carry that smoke daily through the northern part of the Broadway-Miles area. It first strikes a few streets between the valley and Interstate 77. This area is called Forest City Park.

In the 1930s, residents of that area closest to the Cuyahoga Valley organized Cleveland's first incorporated neighborhood association, the Forest City Park Civic Association. It still meets monthly in a small Protestant church on Kimmel Avenue. For years, the Association's primary objective has been to reduce air pollution and to fight other incursions from industry in the Cuyahoga Valley. Through all of those years, the City of Cleveland has never had a reliable policy of protecting those residents from the adjacent industry. Indeed, in the 1970's, City Hall permitted Republic Steel to destroy substantially a wooded valley adjacent to the homes by filling it with slag.

The commercial and cultural focus of the residents in Forest City Park is along Fleet Avenue and onto Broadway. For recreation, they use a park, Washington Park, that is partly in Newburgh Heights. Many residents attend St. Stanislaus Church. Their biggest demand upon Cleveland City Hall is for protection from industry.

*Willow Neighborhood.* At the northern-most end of the proposed sub-city of Broadway-Miles is a different neighborhood with less than fifteen streets centered around Willow Elementary School. It would be difficult to find a neighborhood in Cleveland with older or lower cost housing. Lots are thirty feet wide. There are almost no driveways or garages. Homes are one or two stories. Some lots have two houses. Only a few brick structures exist. Some of the houses have been there for over a hundred years. Nonetheless, there are few vacant or abandoned units.

The area is a triangle. Broadway Avenue borders it from north to south on its west side. One short block to the east are the Erie-Lackawanna tracks and Track Avenue, which form the other long leg of the triangle. To the south is Pershing Avenue, forming



*A Willow neighborhood meeting place.*

the base of this triangular neighborhood. The neighborhood was larger a few decades ago before a massive interchange from I-77 to East 55th Street destroyed many streets.

When the trains are not operating, this is a quiet neighborhood. The residential streets are too obscure for any except those who live there. Although the industry that dominates the area is in the heart of a big city, the Willow School neighborhood reminds one of the working class life-style along a railroad track in a country town.

At Victory and Track Avenue is John's Track Inn. It is the neighborhood tavern both for residents and the industrial workers along Track Avenue near the south end of the neighborhood. Young children play on the front step of John's Track Inn.

Next to the tavern is one of the few houses with a front yard. One of its residents keeps two geese in the front yard where she also hangs her laundry to dry. The residents of Track Avenue have a magnificent vista of steel, stone and concrete along the tracks to downtown and the Terminal Tower. But the Tower is not part of their neighborhood. Their neighborhood is Willow School, John's Track Inn, St. Alexis Hospital, the railroad tracks, and the commercial establishments extending south on Broadway.



In walking through the Willow Elementary School neighborhood near Track Avenue, it is difficult to discern what special costs this relatively poor neighborhood imposes on city government or what benefits the city has given it. Shaker Heights planted trees along its rapid transit tracks to shield its wealthy residents from the sight of the trolleys. Not even a fence has been erected by the City of Cleveland to protect the children in the Willow neighborhood from railroad trains.

None of the streets has a tree lawn that is maintained by the city. There is no city playground, church yard, or other public grassy area for children. Yet most of the homes are carefully maintained. Many of the residents have lived there over twenty years and at least one has been there a half century. Though quite poor, this neighborhood would contradict the assertion that poverty makes city government more expensive. Its residents can ask instead, what the city gives them for their taxes.

*St. Hyacinth Neighborhood.* To the south and east of the Willow School neighborhood is the St. Hyacinth neighborhood. The homes in St. Hyacinth appear slightly more substantial than those near Willow School. The St. Hyacinth neighborhood gets its name from St. Hyacinth's Church at 6114 Frances Avenue. Its commercial focus, like the Forest City Park and Willow School neighborhood is on Broadway.

The St. Hyacinth neighborhood extends from west to east between East 55th and East 65th. The Erie-Lackawanna tracks are its southern boundary. Conrail and RTA are on the north. Part of the Conrail and RTA property form a green ravine which could be a source of beauty and recreation. Instead, the City of Cleveland has allowed it to become an unlicensed dumping ground for industrial debris and residential trash.

*St. Stanislaus Neighborhood.* Still farther south and west, the neighborhood around St. Stanislaus Church is at the cultural heart of the Broadway-Miles sub-city. Although always a Polish parish, St. Stanislaus Church was designed and built in 1883 by an Irish architect and an Irish contractor. Church property now occupies an entire city block from East 65th to East 66th between Foreman and Baxter. On church property are an elementary school and a branch of Central Catholic High School.

At one time the streets near the parish property abounded with retail business. Typically, the merchants also lived in



*The Slavic Village renovation on Fleet Avenue.*

the buildings. Much of the retailing has disappeared; but rather than vacate the buildings, the commercial portion has often been included in the residential parts of the structures. This is an area with a century-long history of private investment and reinvestment.

The most recent example of local reinvestment may be seen three blocks south of St. Stan's along Fleet Avenue. There the initiative of local merchants and professionals has led to renaming the area Slavic Village. Without federal or city funds, the merchants are remodeling their storefronts in an Old World motif and planting trees and flowers in sidewalk beds.

The contrast between city and private investment in the St. Stanislaus neighborhood is striking. For example, yards abound with flowers, shrubs, trees, and neatly kept grass. On Osmond Court, a homeowner has taken over a vacant lot owned by the city and has planted it with attractive shrubs and trees. The city's property is being preserved by a neighborhood resident.

The most significant city investment is Morgana Playfield. Morgana has four play areas situated between the St. Stanislaus residential area and the commercial uses on Broadway Avenue. The playground was a ravine in the early 1930's. Since then city government has turned it into a lighted baseball diamond with bleachers, two softball fields, and a play area for small children.

It is immediately clear from a visit to Morgana Playfield that this property belongs to the residents although it is owned by the city. Regular softball leagues composed mostly of Broadway-Miles residents have made semi-permanent postings of their current standings on attractive plaques that they have placed on the fences separating the fields from the parking area. Broadway and Fleet Avenue merchants who sponsor the teams have added their own signs to the outfield fences.

Although the city has responsibility for maintaining the Morgana playfields, its employees lack the care that the rest of the neighborhood exhibits. On the day that the photographs were taken that accompany this chapter, the two Morgana softball fields were strewn with beer cans, broken glass, and waste paper. A city service department truck, loaded with trash but without a visible worker, was parked nearby at the hardball field. One of the softball spectators pointed to a press box high above the hardball diamond. There, enjoying an unobtrusive siesta, was the recreation department's work crew. Meanwhile, two teams of young girls were obliged to practice softball on a littered field.

The spectator commented that the incident was a common occurrence—that maintenance of the Morgana Playfields fell by default as much on the residents as on the paid city employees.

Littering of playfields is an operational risk in every community. The difference between the litter at Morgana fields and litter at a typical suburban play area is that a typical suburb would not tolerate a work crew's persistently neglecting its responsibilities. Politically, suburban leaders could not long endure a reputation of neglect at a municipal facility if the facility were a frequently used, valuable part of a neighborhood.

The common interests of Forest City Park, Willow, St. Hyacinth, and St. Stanislaus neighborhoods are shopping on Broadway and Fleet Avenues, playing at Washington Park and Morgana Playfield, attending the Catholic high schools, South High and the churches, the Polish and Czech Nationality associations, and

working in the nearby mills. An entire world separates them from West Park or Waterloo Beach. Their greatest sources of pride are in institutions which they privately support.

The Broadway-Miles area has a reputation in City of Cleveland elections for voting consistently against tax increases. Its record also is for placing low demands on the city for services, and it has received relatively small amounts of capital investment from City Hall over the years. Yet Broadway-Miles needs recreational open spaces, it needs buffer zones from industry, and it needs enforcement of pollution and litter laws. All of these have taken low priority for years in Cleveland's City Hall.

Would a structure of sub-cities be an improvement for Broadway-Miles in meeting the needs of the Forest City Park, Willow School, St. Hyacinth and Morgana areas? There is reason to believe that Morgana Playfield would not have a reputation of neglect if Broadway-Miles had its own mayor. Such a mayor would also be inclined to enforce the litter laws and to clean the trash from the St. Hyacinth area. The contrast between the high levels of maintenance in privately owned property and the low levels of public investment and maintenance in Broadway-Miles suggest that Broadway-Miles residents would be willing to raise taxes for capital improvements if they knew the funds would be used in their neighborhoods and were confident that the improvements would be well-maintained.

#### **Neighborhood Clout in a Big City**

Cleveland has hundreds of small neighborhoods such as those in the Broadway-Miles sub-city. Many are remarkable in the care residents take of their homes compared to the decay along the commercial streets, the debris left by some heavy industries, and the neglect of city property. The contrast between the tidy residential streets and the blight of adjacent commercial, industrial, and public property is part of what evokes conflict among the residents, the businesses, and City Hall.

Typically, these small residential neighborhoods in Cleveland are ignored by the downtown civil servants. A playground, once built for the neighborhood, may be neglected by the downtown administration when the neighborhood undergoes racial change. Even stable neighborhoods with strong ties to downtown have difficulty being heard.

In the Shaker Square area, for example, there is a one square block neighborhood bounded by North Moreland, Larchmere, Coventry, and Shaker Boulevard. Within these boundaries are four streets with single family residences. For more than twenty years, residents of the four interior streets fought a battle against commuter traffic from Shaker Heights to downtown and parking by patrons of Stouffer's restaurant on Shaker Square. Even though the affected residential streets had been occupied for years by city judges and cabinet level administrators, the residents were unable to solve their traffic problem through the city bureaucracy. Their only success came in blocking expansion of Stouffer restaurant parking.

A solution came only when one of the city's lesser civil servants, then a member of the city planning commission staff, moved into the neighborhood. The planning staff member devised a one-way street plan to stop through traffic and suggested that Stouffer's might gain its desired parking space by building a wall around the parking lot. Cars could not enter the lot through the residential streets, and auto lights would not disturb the homeowners at night. As a final benefit to the residents, the planning staff resident suggested that a pedestrian walkway be created through the walled Stouffer parking lot for homeowners who needed walking access to Shaker Square. The plan was implemented, and the twenty-year conflict ended.

It is essential to understand that success did not come to the Shaker Square neighbors simply because powerful politicians lived there. Even the politicians were impotent until a properly placed civil servant moved into the neighborhood. Although he provided technical skill, it was the coalition of neighbors, politicians, and the civil servant that produced the solution.

A sub-city structure, with properly drawn boundaries, can make it possible for all neighborhoods to use their politicians effectively so that the City of Cleveland can control its bureaucracy. A properly structured sub-city should function so that the civil servants work for even the smallest neighborhood. With residents, council members, and the sub-city mayor more closely linked to common goals, the frustration experienced by the residents of East 176th Street should not occur. A civil servant's plan for a one-way street should not be over-ruled by a political official who knows neither the street nor the residents who seek help.

The strength of the suburbs has been the ability of those smaller units to respond quickly to small problems. The City of Cleveland has big problems, most of which started small. If sub-cities are, themselves, not made too large, the sub-cities should be able to prevent the small problems from reaching a dimension that requires major surgery.

At the same time, the sub-cities should be able to tackle the more massive problems in their midst. Many of those massive problems can only be corrected by chipping away at them in a sustained manner over many years. With the prospect of the same kind of stable, long-term executive leadership that suburbs enjoy, sub-cities of proper size could develop such a strategy.

If the large problems required large doses of capital, the sub-cities need not fail because of their size. Now and in the future, the federal government must be a primary source of major municipal capital investments. There is no practical reason why such capital cannot be provided to the smaller sub-cities to the same extent that the City of Cleveland would receive it. Moreover, the bonding authority of the overall city would not be lost simply because sub-cities were created, for the sub-cities would remain a part of a still existing City of Cleveland.

The ultimate task in creating sub-cities is to select natural boundaries which in fact encompass commercial, cultural, educational, and religious institutions that establish common bonds among the diverse neighborhoods and ever-changing population within each sub-city. Although size, itself, is a factor to be considered in selecting boundaries, sizes can vary substantially, as existing suburbs indicate, without establishing units that are either too unwieldy or too small. Within those limits of size and using boundaries that have natural validity, the determining factors will be non-governmental institutions that contribute to a greater sense of unity.

Out of those private institutions, in most instances, will come the resident leaders who will hold political office in the sub-cities. Through their ties to the various constituencies within the sub-city will come the co-operation between government and private citizens that is essential to a sound political environment. Only through such a sound political environment is it possible to secure effective political leadership and sensitive, efficient government.