

About this Publication

The material in this publication, Land Use and Transportation Policy in Cuyahoga County: A Close Relationship, is based on a study done by the League of Women Voters of Cuyahoga County between September 1997 and March 1999.

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"It's so lovely out here you wonder why they have it so far from the city."

Several advisors and readers were very important to the success and accuracy of our study and of this publication. Bradley Flamm, Transportation Specialist, EcoCity Cleveland, deserves a special thank you because he was available as a resource for the committee throughout the project. We appreciate the comments and suggestions made to our final draft by Jan Devereaux, Shaker Heights City Council and First Suburbs Consortium; Kenneth Montlack, Cleveland Heights City Council and First Suburbs Consortium; Norman Robbins, Center for Environmental Studies, Case Western Reserve University; and Edith

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The cartoons were either designed and drawn by committee member Nancy Martt, or taken, with permission, from The New Yorker magazine.

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The League of Women Voters of Cuyahoga County intends this study as a reference tool for discussion of outmigration and land use in Greater Cleveland. In particular, the study focuses on transportation policy--an issue with ramifications for virtually every aspect of the outmigration debate. How we fund and locate highways, rail, transit and airports has everything to do with where we build our homes, where we go to work, where we raise our crops, and, ultimately, how much we choose to support community efforts as disparate as sewer expansion or funding of public education.

Our interviews with decision-makers across a broad spectrum of local and state officials, community activists and academics revealed enormous differences in understanding of transportation policy and its impact. Our hope is that this study will aid decision-makers and the public at large in creating a common frame of reference and opportunities for productive cooperation and change.

Much of the data in this study is peculiar to Cuyahoga County, yet it can only be understood within the larger context of state and federal laws and policies. We believe those who attempt similar studies for different localities will find many parallels between their situation and ours.

This report is posted on the League of Women Voters of Cuyahoga County web site: www.lwvcc.org.

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Transportation
policy is used as
a touchstone for
considering a
wide range of
seemingly
unrelated issues.

In the beginning of the malady it is easy to cure but difficult to detect, but in the course of time . . . it becomes easy to detect but difficult to cure.

Machiavelli

Land Use and Transportation Policy in Cuyahoga County: A Close Relationship

hat are the pressures, policies and attitudes that have created the inefficient use of land and resources — what many refer to as "urban sprawl?" The following report attempts to isolate the most important factors in order to examine their impact on each other. For clarity's sake, transportation policy is used as a touchstone for considering a wide range of seemingly unrelated issues. Only by reaching a clearer understanding of the dynamics that create inefficient land use can we begin developing solutions.

The following sections are designed to be used by the reader as a handy reference when questions arise about a particular aspect of public policy and its impact on how we are developing our land:

- The Impact of the Past and Present on the Future briefly gives information, graphs and charts that explain the assumptions and facts undergirding the report.
- Attitudes shows the reader a quick overview of the diverse opinions League interviewers encountered when talking with decision-makers on the subjects of land use and transportation policy.
- The Role Played by Tax Policy examines federal, state, and regional tax policies to discover their intentional and unintentional impacts on land use and transportation choices.
- The Role of Other Laws and Policies discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the 1998 federal transportation bill, the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21) and looks at two features in the Ohio constitution that are stumbling blocks in dealing with land use and alternative transportation funding. The impact of zoning codes on development is examined.

Only by reaching a clearer understanding of the dynamics that create inefficient land use can we begin developing solutions.

- The Role Played by Public Institutions and Agencies explains the missions, structures, actions, and interactions of the federal, state, regional and county authorities most concerned with transportation policy and services.
- The Impact of Law, Policy and Practice on Social Issues highlights how transportation policy impacts housing, land use, segregation and work.

The Impact of the Past and Present on the Future

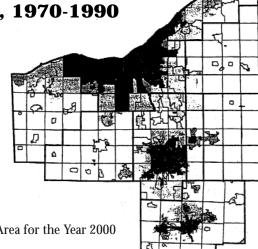
Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake, Lorain, and Medina, is expected to lose 3 percent of its population while occupying 30 percent more residential land. We are not only spreading out; we are living in smaller family units than we used to, units that increase the total households in the region even though our population is not growing. This phenomenon of spreading a stable population over more and more land is having an impact on regional economic health, social equity, and preservation of our natural areas and historic treasures.

"Movement of residents from Cuyahoga County to neighboring counties is increasing; if the present trend continues, in 20 years half of all Cuyahoga homesellers will move out of the county to purchase their next home." (*Tax Base Disparity: Development of Greater Cleveland's Sapphire Necklace,* Thomas Bier, PhD., Editor, The Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University).

Outmigration, 1970-1990

Our sprawling region: The map shows the projected growth of urbanized areas between 1950 and 2010 in the eight-county region (Cuyahoga, Lorain, Medina, Summit, Stark, Portage, Geauga and Lake counties). An "urbanized area" comprises one or more central places and the adjacent densely settled surrounding territory that together have a minimum of 50,000 people. Not included are surrounding suburban areas with low-density housing, even though such areas look and feel "developed."

Prepared for the Akron Regional Infrastructure Alliance, Build Up Greater Cleveland, and the Stark County Infrastructure Committee by the Center for Urban Studies, University of Akron.

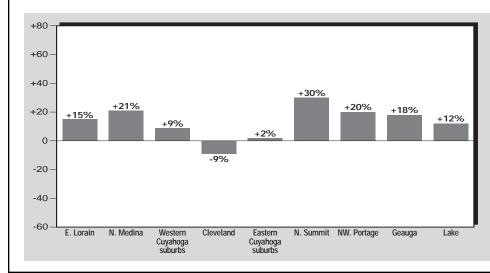


1950 Urbanized Area

Projected Urbanized Area for the Year 2000

Percent change in households, 1980-1990

Showing growth at the edges of the metropolitan area, contraction at the core



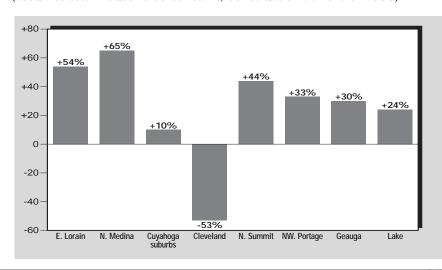
Household change

Moving to Corn Fields • EcoCity Cleveland

Percent change in households, 1990-2010

Projected growth if trends continue

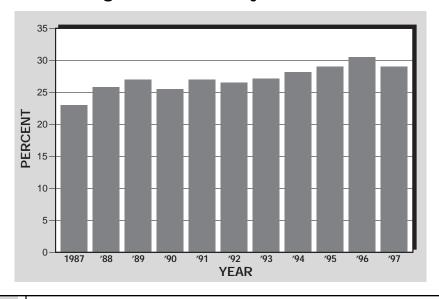
(assumes total households constant, construction at 75% of 1990)



Household change

Moving to Corn Fields • EcoCity Cleveland

Cuyahoga County Homesellers Moved to an Adjacent County, 1987-1997



Prepared by: Housing Policy Research Program, Cleveland State University

Hurt by the sprawl: Institutions with fixed investments in the city - churches, schools, hospitals, arts organizations, banks, utilities.

"For all units of government, tax base is lifeblood. Growth in tax base is life itself; decline . . . portends trouble — trouble in providing services, financing schools, and meeting special needs such as rebuilding deteriorating sewers" (Tax Base Disparity...).

By way of illustrating the ripple effect of outward movement, David Beach, Executive Director of EcoCity Cleveland, listed thirteen "Constituencies hurt by sprawl and urban abandonment" in *Moving to Corn Fields*:

- Residents of declining inner-city neighborhoods, with all their community development organizations whose hard work is being undermined by outmigration.
- Residents of older, inner-ring suburbs, who are also victimized by the spreading disinvestment (and who typically have fewer resources and amenities than the central city with which to stem decline).
- Everyone who can't drive children, senior citizens, people who can't afford a car.
- Institutions with fixed investments in the city churches, schools, hospitals, arts organizations, banks, utilities.
- Environmentalists working to protect natural areas . . . save energy and prevent pollution.

- Transit and bicycle advocates.
- Fair and affordable housing advocates.
- The many ad hoc groups fighting WalMarts, highway interchanges and road widenings in their communities.
- Historic preservationists.
- County residents who want their communities to remain rural.
- Farmers who want to keep farming without the threat of encroaching subdivisions.
- Business leaders who realize that their sprawling metropolitan areas will have a hard time competing with compact efficient cities
- Developers who are tired of fighting anti-development NIMBYs [not in my backyard] and would like to see a consensus on where development is appropriate.

Attitudes

hio is a state with many independent jurisdictions—cities, villages and townships. Cuyahoga County alone has 59 separate municipalities. This splintered structure is reflective of a strong sentiment in the state for home rule and individual property rights. Ohioans have a reputation for being suspicious of planning and tend to equate it with a loss of local control. By reading the following statements, one can get a sense of the conflicting rationales underlying opinions on the proper role of government.

"Outmigration is a force that can't be stopped by highway policies or other government action. People move where they want to even if there is no easy access. A successful policy that limits highway development will result in angry suburban residents. The choice about where to live belongs to the citizens, not the planners," claims Mayor Kevin Patton of Solon. "If people choose to move outward, it is the responsibility of officials they elect to make their commutes as painless as possible."

Madeline Cain, Mayor of Lakewood, thinks the public

Ohioans have a reputation for being suspicious of planning and tend to equate it with a loss of local control.

Without policy and regulation changes,
Medina County
will have no farmland left by 2035.

needs to be educated particularly about equity issues. "The attitude that one has the basic right to the 'freedom to move anywhere' is actually wrong. Instead, movement outward is heavily subsidized by societal costs, loss of farmland, and duplication of infrastructure." Rights must be weighed against responsibilities.

Carmine Torio, head of the Home Builders Association of Greater Akron says "... builders and developers continue to be labeled as bad guys." "In reality the culprit is the free market" (*The Plain Dealer*, December 13, 1998).

Mayor John Kocevar of South Euclid believes "The County Commissioners need additional authority, but we must keep an eye on checks and balances. Let the people vote on a very specific regional authoritative body. The referendum must suggest a narrow economic mandate in order to allay people's fears of distant, non-local government."

"Medina County is in a state of denial," laments, former Medina County Commissioner Sara Pavlovicz. "They don't realize that people are beginning to recognize and discuss the negative impact of sprawl development. The angels won't win in Medina. Other counties throughout the country are going to school on Medina . . . Seneca County is rural and is taking necessary steps before developers discover it . . . Without policy and regulation changes, Medina County will have no farmland left by 2035."

Thomas O'Leary, Executive Director of the Ohio Rail Development Commission, agrees with League interviewers that Europe has a well-planned rail network that is integrated systematically with air and other surface transportation. He contends, however, that it was built "in a more socialist oriented setting than is found in the United States. They are more accepting of federal plans and nationalized entities. It won't happen here."

"ODOT [Ohio Department of Transportation] has a history of pro-highway behavior and must undergo a change in attitude," states the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority's former General Manager, Ronald Tober.

Considering the diversity of strongly held opinions, only a vigorous public debate that includes all the stakeholders can begin to forge a public consensus on how to proceed. What are the rights of private citizens? How can they best be served by public policy? What is the appropriate function of planners, and what are the most important duties of local officials? What is the proper role for federal and state government? If citizens of Cuyahoga County do not engage in this difficult public dialogue, the forces of change, clearly shown in public records and demographic studies, will continue to change our region without input from its citizenry.

The Role Played by Tax Policy

ow we tax ourselves has a significant impact on public land-use policies, which in turn has an impact on the viability of public transportation (as well as the entire transportation system) and the choices private citizens and businesses make. A few examples of current federal, state and regional tax laws and policies and their impacts are discussed below.

Capital Gains

The 1997 federal-level change in the capital gains tax law allows home buyers to sell their homes and buy homes without suffering large tax losses. The law allows individuals up to \$250,000 and couples up to \$500,000 in tax-free gains when selling their residences. The 1986 Tax Reform Act specified that home sellers could defer tax liability on capital gains realized during ownership by purchasing another home priced at least equal to the one sold. An unintended consequence of the old law, according to a study conducted by the Ohio Housing Research Network, was that 80.5 percent of all sellers bought a house of greater or equal value. Of the 80.5 percent, only 15.8 percent moved inward toward the city center to purchase their next home. The others moved to the more expensive homes built farther out, many in new developments. Outlying areas, due to greater distances between destinations and lack of public transit, are more dependent on the automobile. The new law is expected to help level the playing field between urban and suburban locations by eliminating a penalty for buying a home less expensive than the one just sold.

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The city of Cleveland receives 50 percent of its operating budget from income taxes and only 10 percent from property taxes, so the city sees abatement as a way to keep jobs. This means more people paying income taxes. The schools, on the other hand, receive 40 percent of their funding from property taxes. Therefore, they feel the pinch from tax abated properties more acutely than the city.

Home Mortgages

The final version of the landmark federal Tax Reform Bill of 1986 did not reform how home mortgages were taxed. Mortgages continued to be exempt from taxation because politicians regarded the tax advantages of homeowners as untouchable. The retained deductions related to this issue were the interest on home mortgages and property taxes. Together these created huge tax breaks for middle America. One unintended result was to encourage people to buy bigger, more expensive homes which are more readily found in the outer suburbs. This tendency to buy big could be dampened if a smaller portion of the interest payments were deductible. Still more could be done at the federal level to give home buyers incentives to buy in urban areas by making low-interest home mortgage loans more readily available. In the meantime, Shaker Heights Mayor Judy Rawson is making housing maintenance the "number one priority" of her administration in order to keep Shaker Heights, an inner-ring suburb, as competitive as possible in the housing market in the region (Sun Press, "Upscale Shaker Homes..." February 17, 2000).

Tax Abatement

According to the League of Women Voters of Cleveland's study, *Solving the Tax Abatement Puzzle*, the State Legislature enacted the Impacted Cities Bill in 1973 to encourage companies to locate in high-unemployment and high poverty areas. In 1977 the legislature expanded upon the 1973 bill by creating the Community Reinvestment Area (CRA) program, allowing municipalities to identify sections of their communities as CRAs that granted tax exemptions of 10-15 years to all residential and business real estate construction or improvements there. Later legislation extended abatements into rural and suburban areas.

The Cleveland League's study explains how tax abatement is working in Cleveland: When a business takes advantage of Cleveland's tax abatement program, it pays little property tax. The City of Cleveland receives 50 percent of its operating budget from income taxes and only 10 percent from property taxes, so the city sees abatement as a way to keep jobs. This means more people paying income taxes. The schools, on the

other hand, receive 40 percent of their funding from property taxes. Therefore, they feel the pinch from tax abated properties more acutely than the city. This creates a major conflict between the city and the schools.

According to the First Suburbs Consortium, a group representing Cleveland's inner-ring suburbs, the tax abatement laws in Ohio and its municipalities need to be overhauled because they force communities to compete with each other over economic development. Most suburbs now offer tax abatement, which encourages new development. As companies move out, employees follow, green space and farmland are swallowed up and new roads and sewers must be built to accommodate the spread-out growth. The Cleveland League suggests that it is important for the State to find a way to set state-wide, uniform limits on tax abatement for all communities in order to reduce or eliminate counterproductive competition between cities. Even some of the communities experiencing boom times recognize the enervating effect of competing with Cleveland and other municipalities. The Mayor of Solon, Kevin Patton, points out that "Solon became involved in tax abatement to stay on a level playing field with other communities in the county, outside the county, and outside the state."

Enterprise Zones (a form of tax abatement)

The 1982 State of Ohio enterprise zone program, despite its original good intentions, has been little help for economically depressed cities, but a boon for prosperous suburbs. Originally designed to offer tax abatement to depressed areas to promote job creation and economic development, the Enterprise Zones have grown to include communities with nothing to recommend themselves to the program except vacant or undeveloped land. By 1989, any county with a population of less than 300,000 also qualified as a "rural enterprise zone." Under this criteria, all but seven of Ohio's 88 counties qualify. The number of zones has ballooned from the original 55 to the present 321 (*The Plain Dealer*, May 17, 1998). Therefore, Cleveland competes head-to-head with outlying cities like Solon for industry (and tax dollars). With improved access via new freeways and increased "greenfield" building

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Municipal officials are locked into competition with their neighbors for residents. commercial development and industry. The result is a steady movement outward by large and small businesses fueled by cheap, accessible land and tax breaks. space, outlying areas have become the predictable winners. The City of Cleveland and older suburbs, which find it hard to lure business without subsidized funding for redevelopment, lose. If the state legislature scaled back the legislation to its original wording, the law would have a chance to attain its potential for leveling the playing field between older urban communities and newer suburban ones.

Property and earnings taxes

"The tax base of a community depends on the value of its real estate and the income of the people who live and work in it (cities and villages, but not townships, can levy a tax on earnings). As the value of real estate and earnings change, so too does a community's capacity to produce tax revenues . . . the evolution of the urban region has shown that some have lost value, most notably the cities of Cleveland and Lorain, while other communities have grown, communities such as Solon, Beachwood, Independence and Avon. The unevenness is not accidental. Federal and state policy and practice have, for decades, promoted the development of new communities at the edges of the region, thus making them attractive places for people and employers to move to, while giving relatively modest support to the maintenance or redevelopment of older communities " (Tax Base Disparity:...). One example of the unintended disparity in taxing caused by policy was given by Thomas Bier, Director of Housing Research at the Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs at Cleveland State University: "Cleveland Heights has a two percent income tax. Rural communities have none."

Municipal officials are locked into competition with their neighbors for residents, commercial development and industry. The result is a steady movement outward by large and small businesses fueled by cheap, accessible land and tax breaks. To name just two examples of this region-wide trend, in 1997 Parker Hannifin moved from its Euclid Avenue location in Cleveland to Mayfield Heights, and Jaguar Cleveland moved from Lee Road in Cleveland Heights to a new expanded location in Solon at the edge of the county. The older urban communities become the unintentional losers. Targeted mandates and guidelines from the state might give local offi-

cials a needed framework and support in which to think long-term and regionally. This would reduce the intense pressures to "win" for their local constituents, and compete with neighboring towns. A possible place to begin could be with the enactment of a state requirement for the counties within the Greater Cleveland region to engage in mutual long-range planning that would include developing a plan to achieve a balanced tax-base growth across the region.

The Minneapolis-St.Paul metropolitan area in Minnesota, which includes several counties, initiated a way to share industrial and commercial tax growth over twenty years ago. For every \$1 increase in land value, a percentage goes into a pool of funds. From the pool, the captured percentage is distributed to older communities. This policy does not equalize, but it does lessen the stark differences and tax disparities. Without sharing, communities with the weakest tax bases lack the resources to strengthen their situation. In Minnesota, the policy permitted older communities to build parks that were at the same standard as parks in newer, richer communities. According to Myron Orfield, Minnesota State Representative and Director of a program operated by the American Land Institute, without tax sharing, older cities lose factories and people. Property values decrease while social service cases increase. More taxes are needed for social services, leaving less for investment. Orfield notes that as newer communities lure residents and employers with tax breaks, older communities must hike taxes to compete. As he states, "Tax sharing can help because all sorts of evidence is showing that when disparities between communities are reduced, economic activity beats a path to the door [of the region]." Bier, who has studied our region extensively, holds the same views as Orfield on tax sharing.

Local Taxes

The Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA) is largely funded by a one percent in perpetuity county sales tax passed in 1975 after the creation of the Authority in 1974. The County League of Women Voters was a primary player in campaigning for the referendum. Beyond this secure funding for public transit, the picture becomes less sanguine. Most

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Highways are funded with 100 percent grants from federal and state monies.

When a company provides free parking, it should also offer the option of a bus pass.

federal grants for transit require a 20 percent non-federal share. Historically the Ohio Department of Transportation (ODOT) has contributed up to 10 percent, although its contribution to the Regional Transit Authority's (RTA's) Euclid corridor project is 20 percent, explained RTA Director of Project Support, John Freilich.* Highways are funded with 100 percent grants from federal and state monies. The public sees them as free because of the remote funding while funding for transit seems more immediate to the public. This creates a bias in favor of projects completely funded without local money.

The Impact of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) on commuter choices parking, transit vouchers and van-pool service

The unequal tax treatment of different transportation fringe benefits offered to commuters has been a hidden bias in favor of driving for many years. Parking — mostly free parking — is among the most common of fringe benefits provided by employers. In 1998, the IRS allowed employees to receive free parking valued at up to \$175 per month without being taxed on the value received. For other transportation commute benefits, principally transit and van-pool service, employees can receive only \$65 per month in value before they start paying taxes. TEA-21 (Transportation Equity Act discussed below) narrows this gap by requiring the IRS to raise the transit cap to \$100 per month by the year 2002 (*TEA-21 User's Guide:..*). However, in 2002 drivers will still have a \$75 a month advantage over transit users.

Until the enactment of TEA-21 in 1998, the IRS taxed everyone in a given company for parking if just one person opted for a transit voucher. This was a very strong incentive for companies not to give employees a choice between a parking space and a transit voucher. A study of several companies that ignored or were ignorant of the IRS rule showed that when employees were allowed to decide how to use the money going into their parking space; walking, car pooling and transit

^{*}It should be noted that most of the so-called state funds for transit are really funds from the federal TEA-21 law that are administered by the state.

use increased by 50 percent (*User's Guide*).

"A transit pass is seen as additional cost. When a company provides free parking, it should also offer the option of a bus pass," says Bradley Flamm, Transportation Specialist for EcoCity Cleveland. RTA is attempting to drum up interest among Cleveland employers to offer unlimited rides to employees. In Greater Cleveland the cost would be \$54 per rider per month for an express pass. A *Plain Dealer* editorial observed that by "removing tax barriers to offer workers incentives to switch to public transit gives the RTA an opportunity to compete with subsidized parking schemes . . . " (*The Plain Dealer*, June 19, 1999).

THE ROLE OF OTHER LAWS AND POLICIES

must conform to federal and state laws and policies, as well as to those of regional agencies and local governments that have various goals and funding priorities. The short-term challenge is to find efficient and effective ways to deal with the multiplicity of laws and rules. The long-term challenge is to build a consensus among legislators, local officials and the public that land preservation and healthy urban areas are top priority; then to find ways through changes in laws and practices to make it happen.

The Transportation Equity Act (TEA-21) for the 21st Century

This 1998 legislation is a renewal and expansion of the landmark 1991 Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA). It is the legislation that provides federal funding to states for transportation. The two pieces of legislation passed by Congress in the '90s make a significant shift toward other means of travel than the highway. Housing expert Thomas Bier asserts, "the Federal government [has done] much more to contain sprawl [with recent legislation] than the state of Ohio." Public transit requires high-density development in order to provide adequate ridership. Adequate funding for public transportation is a key factor in slowing

TEA-21 takes a number of steps toward leveling the playing field between car travel and transit or commuter rail.

... a constitution should be a clearly stated body of fundamental principles. It should provide for the flexible operation of government and be logically organized and internally consistent.

down the increasingly low-density development which is occurring in our region. New highways provide ever expanding access to outlying areas, and are one major incentive for moving outward. TEA-21 takes a number of steps toward leveling the playing field between car travel and transit or commuter rail. Four hallmarks of TEA-21 and its 1991 predecessor are:

- Half of all federal funding is flexible for highways, transit or other uses:
- Decisions about how to use funds are made through inclusive planning at the state and metropolitan levels;
- Significant funding is reserved for maintenance of existing highway, bridge and transit systems;
- A small but important sum is set aside to support alternatives to the highway system and reduce its negative effects on society (*User's Guide*).

"There are strong indications that the structure of TEA-21 can support a continuation of this trend [toward using flexible funds for system preservation and other improvements categories]... Categories that mandate the construction of new roads will see a drop in funding of 38 percent — from nearly \$13 billion under ISTEA to just under \$8 billion in TEA-21. Flexible funds, which may or may not be used for new roads, will increase 42 percent. Categories that cannot fund new road construction will grow by 50 percent" (User's Guide). Although there are now fewer funds *mandated* for highway use, the reality of how money is allocated has not changed very much. Over 90 percent of our overall transportation dollars is still spent on highway maintenance and new construction. The difference made by the TEA-21 laws is that the *opportunity* to use a higher percentage of funding for alternative transportation is now available.

Constitutional Earmarking

The Constitution of the State of Ohio stipulates in section VIII, 2c and 2g that all monies raised through fees, excises, license taxes and fuel taxes must be used only for new highway construction or maintenance work. "Monies raised under the authority of this section shall be expended only to provide ade-

quate highways, including engineering and the acquisition of rights-of-way . . . [They] shall be made only for major thoroughfares of the state highway system and urban extension thereof."

A constitution should be a clearly stated body of fundamental principles. It should provide for the flexible operation of government and be logically organized and internally consistent. The power to levy state taxes and determine their uses resides in the General Assembly. Earmarking seems a funding 'solution' to those who do not look ahead to how restrictive and shortsighted these solutions may become as time and circumstances change.

The earmarking of funds for highways is seen as increasingly restrictive by a number of observers. Kenneth Prendergast, President of the Ohio Association of Railroad Passengers, explains the unfairness: "If a community or region doesn't want more highway capacity, or . . . is constrained by developed areas, then that area must forfeit that transportation funding to areas that can build . . . more highway capacity. Not only does this restrain the development and improvement of transportation alternatives, but it also puts developed regions, especially those having high densities, at a competitive disadvantage. High development densities render the automobile as a less convenient mode of transportation, and encourage walking, cycling, transit use, and telecommunications as a replacement for transportation."

The earmarking of taxes for highways gives them dedicated funding while transit and trains are left to compete for general funds. It would require a constitutional amendment to remove the earmarking so the tax revenue could be used to serve comprehensive transportation planning in the most flexible way. A second option is outlined in the state's transportation plan, Access Ohio, which suggests several ways the state could create a dedicated tax for transit assistance. Based on a survey conducted for ODOT by the University of Cincinnati's Institute for Policy Research, Ohio residents appeared to support a well-chosen source of funding for alternative transportation (Eco-City Cleveland, *Ohio Smart Growth Agenda*, fall 1998).

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Using gas taxes only to build and maintain highways is like dedicating sin taxes to build more bars.

Some observers find it illogical to restrict the use of state gas taxes to highway use. Kenneth Prendergast quipped, "Using gas taxes only to build and maintain highways is like dedicating sin taxes to build more bars."

On the other hand, Senator Scott Oeslager, Chairman of the Highways and Transportation Committee in the State Senate, defends the earmarking precisely because it guarantees funds for highways: "The state constitution earmarks state transportation dollars for highways to protect the funding."

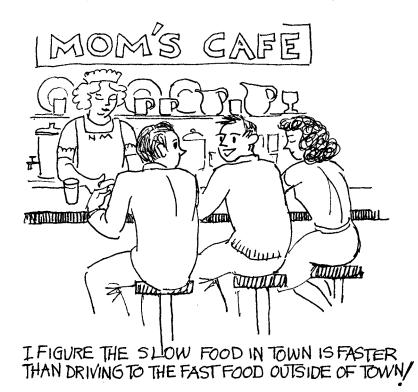
Home Rule

In 1912 the Ohio legislature adopted a Home Rule amendment to the state constitution: "Any municipality may frame and adopt or amend a charter for its government and may . . . exercise . . . all powers of local self-government." These new powers did not preclude state law and regulation. In recent history this latter point tends to get lost. "To some degree, that purpose — to provide flexibility to cities and villages in selfgovernance and to allow municipalities to perform their own internal housekeeping without involvement or permission has taken a back seat to a prevalent 'don't tread on me' attitude when it comes to formulating new programs that would require cooperative action among counties, townships, and municipalities along with the state itself" (Ohio Smart Growth Agenda). Perhaps some legislators reinforce these attitudes. A transportation official said, "Legislators love to say that Ohio is a home-rule state, as though they are barred from making land-use policy. This is not so because they . . . can repeal statutes and make policies " In 1933 a constitutional Home Rule amendment was added to give counties the option of creating county-wide charters, accruing to counties the same options enjoyed by municipalities since 1912 (townships are still excluded). Although there have been many attempts to achieve a charter home rule in Cuyahoga County, it has always been defeated. (See pages 21 and 22 for more information on charters.)

Zoning

"The only way to redo zoning is to demonstrate that it's in the public interest. Comprehensive Planning *is the definition* of what IS the public interest . . . Comprehensive Planning becomes the basis for all regulations, including zoning . . . One [Comprehensive Planning] is policy and the other [regulations/zoning] is law" (C. Gregory Dale, AICP, speaker at the Cleveland Section Ohio Planning Conference: Basics of Zoning, October 30, 1998).

"Cities all over the country have discovered that their comprehensive zoning codes, many of them created in the 1920s and updated in the 1950s and '60s, long ago became more of a problem than a solution . . . Zoning has been rigid where it needs to be flexible . . . It has sought to separate the residential, commercial and industrial lives of American cities, when it ought to have been looking for ways to mix them together . . . In seeking to replace the rigidities of the 1960s with an almost diametrically different approach to urban planning, cities are



borrowing heavily from Andres Duany, Peter Calthorpe and the other prominent New Urbanists, the dissident architects and planners who preach a gospel of mixed uses, transit-oriented development, pedestrian-friendly streets and sustainable use of resources" (*Governing*, February 1998).

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After the Second World War . . . Zoning ... began to overshadow all the historic elements of civic art and civic life. This tended to destroy age-old physical relationships between shopping and living ... As the street's importance as a public place declined, townspeople ceased to care what happened in

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Kenneth Prendergast, a supporter of New Urbanist city planning, declares, "Any trip that must begin in a car gets completed in a car. But if a trip can begin by walking, the options become more numerous." The fact that large-lot zoning creates distance between homes, and between homes and anywhere else the inhabitants wish to go, suggests that large-lot zoning encourages car travel.

"After the Second World War . . . Zoning . . . began to overshadow all the historic elements of civic art and civic life. For instance, because the democratic masses of people used their cars to shop, and masses of cars required parking lots, shopping was declared an obnoxious industrial activity around which people shouldn't be allowed to live. This tended to destroy age-old physical relationships between shopping and living . . . As the street's importance as a public place declined, townspeople ceased to care what happened in it" (*The Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 1996).

Peter Snavely, President of Snavely Development Company, told the League, "We optioned a 100 acre parcel of land recently and approached a municipality with a proposal to build a cluster of 50 homes, leaving 60 acres untouched. About 200 people appeared at a planning meeting and all were opposed. They preferred single houses on large lots throughout the 100 acres . . . Cluster housing is desirable I think. We have put condos and clustered houses in Chagrin Falls and the community is better for the mix. The concept needs more people lobbying for change in codes to allow diversity."

According to Robert Brown, Cleveland's Assistant Director for City Planning, Cleveland hired a consultant in the 80s to completely redo its code. "The current zoning codes in many cities have been amended to the point of incoherence. Many cities are now engaged in the painful process of writing a new code from scratch" (*Governing*). Brown said that Cleveland's consultant recommended that the city should not attempt to redo everything at once, but to make continuous evaluations and changes a part of the planning department's routine. The city chose to accept this recommendation. Brown pointed out that because the planning department receives hundreds of zoning applications a month the staff has become very discerning as to what projects they recommend. City Council has

passed all of the department's suggested changes to the code. Townhouse and Planned Urban Development districts (PUDs) are in place. The latter "made standards more flexible" because PUDs are open to mixed use and varied lot sizes.

The Role Played By Public Institutions And Agencies

wo factors in particular make it difficult to change the structure of governance in the United States. First, the American public is conservative about making structural changes, which has created our bewildering array of townships, villages, cities and counties. This conservatism has also left us without any governmental bodies with regional powers. Secondly, vested political interests make change difficult to achieve.

Cuyahoga County Government

Local leaders and politicians in the region give the impression that they lack confidence in the ability of the state or county to support them in solving local problems. Seeing themselves as going-it-alone usually translates into intensive competition with neighboring municipalities. Yet some officials feel that trying to cooperate with neighboring municipalities is the only acceptable approach to solving problems that transcend borders:

"Because of the advantages of having the Rockside Road business, Independence can manage its own problems. Seven Hills, next to us, doesn't have that luxury," admits the former mayor of Independence, Gregory Kurtz. Mayor James Roberts of Medina adds, "There are so many fragmented policies that various communities have no impact on policy. Since each community cares only about itself, there is a lot of effort to upstage one another and make contacts behind the scene."

David Bentkowski, a former member of City Council in Seven Hills, believes that communities should enter into discussions with each other to work out problems. "Working partnerships are needed but the process should not be mandated. Unfunded mandates should be especially avoided, but there should be no mandates of any kind. Each situation is There are so many fragmented policies that various communities have no impact on policy.

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Cuyahoga County Commissioner Jimmy Dimora also believes it's very important for communities to work together. He pointed out that The Mayors and Managers Association fosters cooperation among municipal decision-makers. A waste consortium and a jail facility were two examples of municipal cooperation he recalled from his tenure as Mayor of Bedford Heights. He said when transportation issues came up, the Association would invite an RTA official to a meeting to help resolve the problem.

Most local officials, however, do not see cooperation among county agencies or municipalities as any match for free market forces. Highway building illustrates the problem, says Mayor Roberts: "People decide where to live first and the roads and development follow." Mayor Bruce Akers of Pepper Pike adds, "Transportation follows where people want to live and there isn't much that can be done about it."

Although both the free market and official cooperation are seen as inadequately serving the common good, strengthening county or regional government is not seen as an easy task: "Because of Cuyahoga County's 59 municipalities, our region will not move to embrace regionalism until things get so bad economically that we are forced to find new ways of operating," says John Kocevar, Mayor of S. Euclid, and board member of NOACA - Northeast Ohio Areawide Coordinating Agency. Virginia Aveni, Director of the County Planning Commission's Brownfields program, claims that "politics guides the decisions. The new Harvard Road intersection was a political deal before it came to NOACA. The county does not speak with one voice."

There have been efforts for decades to reform Cuyahoga County government, but it has always failed. "Its structure just gets in the way. The business of government is carried on by quasi-government agencies like the sewer district," says David Goss, Senior Director of Infrastructure and Transportation for the Greater Cleveland Growth Association. "The need for regional priority setting for the wider area is ignored," says Leonard Calabrese of the Diocese of Cleveland. Jerry Hruby, Mayor of Brecksville and President of NOACA, uses the widening of I-71 and I-90 to illustrate the point that

"no one looked at what was good for the region . . . Cleveland was concerned about the traffic problems at the I-480 and I-71 interchanges; Medina was interested in an interchange for the development of an office park; Brook Park was interested in its industrial park; Cuyahoga County did not have a strategy . . . The I-90 widening issue seemed to take the county by surprise — it didn't know how to react [but] Lorain County knew what it wanted — easy access to Cleveland jobs."

The Cuyahoga County League of Women Voters has observed and studied county government for many years. In 1998 it published a brochure, *Government of Cuyahoga County: What it is, and a History of Efforts to Change It.* In the brochure, seven inadequacies of the current county government are listed:

- Governing is essentially by committee
- No distinction is made between policy-making and administrative function
- No legislative body represents the voter constituencies
- Coordinating areawide services is difficult
- Financing functions at lowest possible cost is difficult
- Power is diffused so widely among separately elected officials, boards and commissions that voters cannot hold officials accountable
- The Commissioners have only budgetary control over the separately elected officials and their departments

In the League's view, creating and adopting a county charter could go a long way toward correcting these inadequacies. Hruby is making many of the same recommendations: "The structure of our government needs to be reformed, streamlined. There is too much redundancy and duplication; too many officials, too many employees, too much waste."

Cuyahoga County Commissioner Timothy McCormack says, "There is receptivity right now for getting into charter issues among officials. The discussion is going on." He suggests that an incremental approach should be considered. "Transportation might be the place to start. There's an opportunity here to create change."

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The way the system works now leaves the commissioners out of the design and planning phases for highway and interchange projects.

The plans were all about money. The other piece that needed to be factored into the decision was, what's the impact going to be twelve miles back? . . . The interchange will open up the entire Chagrin Valley for development.

One of the problems the county suffers from because of the lack of a charter is the lack of power to set its own standards for candidates for elected office. Without a charter, the county must follow state laws. These laws require a candidate for County Engineer, for example, to be a certified surveyor. This out-of-date requirement drastically limits the field because few engineers today have the necessary certification. On the other hand, the state does not require candidates to have knowledge and experience in dealing with intermodal systems — attributes that most observers feel are critical for the future.

Mayor Akers states flatly that the charter issue is dead: "The very reason it is needed so badly is what makes it impossible to achieve — the separate and autonomous municipalities in the county." He said he was very disappointed that the commissioners did not put the issue on the ballot in 1996 when he had supported it publicly.

The way the system works now leaves the commissioners out of the design and planning phases for highway and interchange projects. Commissioner McCormack relates: "ODOT had a five-lane, total-concrete design ready to build at the Harvard Road interchange off I-271 when they came to the commissioners for funding." Without required early input from the commissioners, only narrow interests were considered. "The plans were all about money. The other piece that needed to be factored into the decision was, what's the impact going to be twelve miles back? ... The interchange will open up the entire Chagrin Valley for development." In defense of the decision to go ahead with the interchange, Commissioner Jane Campbell points out, "Once Orange decided over ten years ago to be a part of the Chagrin Highlands project, [the highway interchange] plans were in place. It was always known that there would be an interchange at Harvard Road."

The lack of focused leadership and strong institutions at the state and county level creates a climate for new forces to grow up around special interest groups. An example of this phenomenon, Transportation Investment Districts (TIDs), is described by former medina county commissioner, Sara Pavlovicz: "They are special interest groups functioning as public entities. They use issues of health, welfare and safety to sell proposals, but the real focus is economic development. Their reason for existing is to build road and highway projects completely with local money through referenda, thereby not being accountable to the local Metropolitan Planning Organization (NOACA), the state, or federal regulations concerning where they build. If TIDs get a foothold with funding, they will operate quite autonomously just like the Turnpike Commission." TIDs' boards consist of members appointed by County Commissioners, and they have the power to assess and tax. They are also exempt from bidding requirements. In the Greater Cleveland area, TIDs exist in Lorain and Medina counties.

The Federal Administration's Plan

The Clinton administration's Transportation Strategic Plan for Fiscal Years 1997-2002 sets forth five general goals: Safety, Mobility, Economic Growth and Trade, Human and Natural Environment, and National Security.

The plan explains that "The strategic goals represent the shared interests of the Department's component organizations As the Department moves toward achievement of these goals, it will realize the synergistic advantage that results from all parts of the organization [various modes] working together toward a shared purpose." Within the plan, the U.S. Department of Transportation (USDOT) states that its "greatest challenge is to build a transportation system that is international in reach; intermodal in form; intelligent in character; and inclusive in nature."

The plan is consistently forward looking and progressive, but the follow through to policy changes is never that simple. In reality the transportation community is fragmented, partly because it is divided into the different modes. Common goals tend not to be considered. "The technologies involved in the modes are different from one another, the industries and interest groups tend not to cut across modes, and the jurisdictions of both the administrative agencies and the congressional committees are defined by mode. Thus there are communities of specialists in rail, highways, aviation, urban transit, and waterways, but very few people are concerned with issues that involve two or more of these modes" (*Agendas, Alternatives*,

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and Public Policies, John Kingdon, 1995). NOACA's Jerry Hruby is also an advocate for making intermodal systems a high priority; he believes this needs to be done at the state and regional levels: "National transportation policy should be restricted to planning for national emergencies."

The passage of TEA-21 begins to put teeth into the policy goals in the federal administration's plan, but much more will be needed before a truly balanced and efficient intermodal system is functioning in the United States. One example of lingering unfairness at the federal level: "The FTA (Federal Transportation Administration) requires that RTA include maintenance in proposals for new construction for public transit, but the FHWA (Federal Highway Administration) does not require proposals for state highway building grants to include maintenance figures," says Transportation Specialist, Bradley Flamm. Another remaining problem is federal investment choices. Richard Moe, President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Washington, points out that "although sprawl was often portrayed as the natural free-market consequence of normal and desirable growth, the reality was that government action at all levels had effectively subsidized it for years, by actions as simple as building Federal office buildings on the outer edges of cities instead of downtown" (The New York Times, February 6, 1999).

Ohio Department of Transportation (ODOT) Planning Document

The priority the State of Ohio places on highways is communicated through its planning document, *Access Ohio*. Key legislators and ODOT officials tend to see this priority as essential to Ohio's economic welfare and its citizens' traveling needs.

[ODOT's] mission, as stated in *Access Ohio*, " is to serve the people of Ohio by planning, building and maintaining a safe, efficient, accessible transportation system that integrates highway, rail, air and water networks to foster economic growth and personal travel." Critics of *Access Ohio* could not take issue with this statement. The difficulties for critics come in how the document sets its priorities.

A major feature of *Access Ohio* is the identification of the

state's "macro-corridors, those corridors of statewide significance upon which rests the economic vitality of Ohio." Rail and air travel are explicitly less served by the State Plan than are highways:

"The rail-related initiatives in *Access Ohio* are more modest than are the highway initiatives because of the fundamental differences in how the two modes have developed. From their earliest days, railroads have been privately built, owned and operated. The initiatives in *Access Ohio* reflect that tradition. To an even greater extent than with rail, major air service in Ohio is controlled by the private sector. The state assists county and local airports [by paving runways] but the major airlines and the major urban areas are the lead players in developing national and international air routes and air facilities."

There is no consensus in the public conversation about the role or merit of the state's planning document, but criticism is

LEMMINGS? JERS!

Implementation of Access Ohio will let sprawl explode.

Before 1991 Ohio did not have a comprehensive transportation plan of any kind.

wide-spread among public officials and policy observers:

Senator Oeslager, Chairman of the Highway and Transportation Committee, sees the document as the framework that a good plan is meant to provide: "Access Ohio (the state's comprehensive plan) means that planning no longer is hostage to the whim of the governor."

Other observers find the document fundamentally flawed because, if implemented, it would encourage inefficient land use: "Access Ohio calls for 76 of Ohio's 88 counties to have a 'macro' highway running through them. The remaining 12 counties would be within 10 miles of a 'macro.' EcoCity Cleveland's Transportation Specialist Flamm reminds us, "the resulting defacto policy is to develop the entire state with little regard for farms, habitat, eco-systems or aesthetics." "Implementation of Access Ohio will let sprawl explode," agrees Virginia Aveni, Director of the Brownfields program for the Cuyahoga County Planning Commission.

Others object on the basis of its perceived ineffectiveness: "Access Ohio is a joke. It is not utilized as a working document," says former State Representative Sally Perz from Toledo, and a former member of the Turnpike Commission. Ronald Tober, RTA's former head, concurs, "Access Ohio is just a bunch of words. I have not seen anything substantial as a result of it."

ODOT staff does not seem to agree on what the document purports to do: "Access Ohio is like the Bible; you can use it to justify anything . . . Access Ohio is less a plan than a policy summary," says Gordon Proctor, former ODOT Chief of Staff and current director. "One problem with Access Ohio is that it should have more emphasis on policy and less on concrete projects," counters Carla Cefaratti, ODOT Deputy Director for Planning and Program. Cefaratti does, however, point out that, despite its flaws, it's a good beginning. Before 1991 Ohio did not have a comprehensive transportation plan of any kind.

ODOT's Administrative Organization

"There has been no change in focus and organization since the 1950s. The legislative committee chairs are usually rural and tend to retain control forever. Urban legislators don't seek these positions because they don't recognize the value of them. With term limits pushing some of the long-time leadership out of office, there is an opportunity for some urban leadership. So far no one has "taken on the state," says David Goss of the Growth Association.

The Transportation Review Advisory Council (TRAC), which met for the first time in January 1998, is a newly functioning arm of the state. Its role is to review all of the proposed Major New Capacity projects on the state's STIP list (State Transportation Improvement Program), and help ODOT rank the order in which they will go forward with the projects. TRAC divides the projects up into three tiers: Projects become eligible for Tier 1 when the engineering designs are finished and the environmental review completed. Tier 2 is for planned projects with less completed design and review status. All other projects are grouped into Tier 3 which, in effect, means they are dropped from the STIP. The TRAC travels around the state to hold hearings on Tier 1 and 2 projects before making its recommendations to ODOT.

TRAC member Jerry Hruby says that TRAC policy requires new interchanges be justified and paid for by the community or developer rather than with federal or state funds. "TRAC now has the power of the purse for any project over \$2,000,000." Policy observers contend, however, that the scoring system for major new capacity projects needs to be revised in order to make urban redevelopment count as much as new development. As of this publication's printing, TRAC supports the macro-corridor concept emphasized in *Access Ohio* by awarding extra points for completion of a segment of the corridor.

Members of TRAC are appointed by the Governor. It's an attempt to create a non-political process that will focus on state economic and transportation needs. Howard Maier, the Executive Director of NOACA, said the formation of the TRAC inspired an excellent process of priority setting internally. "They worked very well with us. We got everything we asked for [in the 1998 round of project funding]."

Of the 64 projects recommended by the TRAC in 1998 for funding out of the 175 considered, only five were transit-relat-

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ed. The total amount of money allocated to transit is around 5 percent. "This is roughly in keeping with ODOT's record of funding non-highway-related projects. [However,] one reason the TRAC's decisions were so heavily weighted toward highway and interchange projects is that the TRAC members were given little choice," explains Flamm. "Transportation planners in almost all of Ohio's counties, Metropolitan Planning Organizations and ODOT district offices simply don't consider non-highway projects . . . Of the five transit projects that received funding, four will be constructed in the NOACA region, setting Northeast Ohio decidedly apart from the rest of the state. Most transportation planners in Ohio see highway expansions and interchanges not only as the preferred solution to Ohioans' mobility needs, but as the only solution." Thus, representatives from the NOACA region, says Flamm, "distinguished themselves by requesting a mix of highway and transit projects."

ODOT's Policy Priorities

Cleveland State University housing expert, Thomas Bier, points out, "It's costing taxpayers 25-30 million dollars to widen I-90. This subsidizes sprawl. ODOT's rationale for the widening is 70 percent for safety and 30 percent for economic development. When development occurs, its long-range impact on the state isn't factored in. ODOT does not consider the impact on existing communities when roads are altered . . . The focus is on widening roads and putting in new interchanges." Hruby sees some encouraging signs in state policy: "ODOT's new state road maintenance policy will reward cities that demonstrate good maintenance. This is a policy change. In the past, if a city maintained a state road well, ODOT did not help until major resurfacing was needed."

State Representative Sean Logan, Co-Chair of the Farmland Preservation Task Force, says he is ready to deal with mass transit aspects in the Farmland Preservation bill in the spirit that everything is connected, but he says it will never happen. "Actually there is no transportation policy. In fact it's development via driveways." (A "driveway" is a cut in the curb for streets, interchanges, etc.) Mayor Thomas Longo of

Garfield Heights agrees: "The key to understanding the results of transportation policy [or lack thereof] is to follow the interstates and observe all the development at the interchanges."

Pavlovicz of Medina County believes: "Policy focus is on economic development, and it should be on economic prosperity. Prosperity for everyone should be the goal of state policy. This view would require the state to take a much more careful look at where, what and how development takes place. The attending expenses of growth are glossed over until it's too late."

ODOT's Funding

Cuyahoga County Commissioner and former State Representative, Jane Campbell, says that ODOT currently has little oversight: "[ODOT] is reined in only by the legislative budget process. The Finance Committee determines transportation policy through general operating budget allocations, however, large amounts of transportation dollars are earmarked. Term limits will change the legislature . . . as people leave, institutional memory leaves with them. [Legislators] need to know how to influence ODOT — how to make decisions through the legislative process." That learning takes time and experience.

Senator Oeslager sees current oversight practices as adequate: "ODOT presents a budget request to the Highways and Transportation Committee that is broken down into general categories of spending, but never delves into specific projects. The committee's responsibility is for overall budgeting. We would not have cooperative long-term projects if the legislative committee tried to micro-manage ODOT project by project."

Ohioans pay about 40 cents tax per gallon of gas. About 18 cents goes to the federal government. A small portion of the 18 cents goes into a trust fund for national debt reduction; the rest is redistributed to states. "The new TEA-21 law provides that no state gets back less than 90 percent of what it paid out." That improved Ohio's situation from 70 percent to 90 percent, explains Thomas O'Leary, Executive Director of the Ohio Rail Development Commission. "Ohio lawmakers do

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[Ohio] is one of ten states that has no annual allocation from motor-fuel tax for mass transit purposes. not accept, however, that the same 90 percent principle applies when distributing money on a county by county basis," points out Transportation Specialist, Flamm. Urban counties get back much less than 90 percent of what they pay out in gas taxes to the state, says Flamm.

Most of the remaining 22 cents of the 40 cent tax per gallon is retained by the state to reduce ODOT's debt (for building highways). The state constitution mandates that the state's share of gas taxes must go for highway construction and maintenance. All borrowed monies, raised through bond issues and paid back with gas tax revenues, must go into new highway construction.

"Ohio is the seventh most populated state and has the tenth highest motor-fuel tax rate at 22 cents per gallon (the 50 state average is 18.67). It ranks third in terms of receipts available for distribution at \$1.34 billion (only California and Texas are higher) and is one of ten states that has no annual allocation from motor-fuel tax for mass transit purposes," explains former RTA head, Ronald Tober.

While the Transportation bill was still being hammered out in the House and had not yet been taken back to the Senate, a New York Times editorial opined that giving 90 percent of the Federal tax revenue each state contributed to the mass transit account of the Highway Trust Fund back to the state regardless of need, "would divert money from vital projects to secondary ones . . . the Senate should insure that it does not undermine the transportation networks of the nation's metropolises. Reliable rapid transit remains an effective tool for cutting congestion." As part of the political maneuvering during Congressional debate on the TEA-21 legislation, the Senate did include the clause that returned 90 percent of the federal gas revenue to the contributing states. Commissioner Campbell stated, "TEA-21 is primarily investment in highways. It is called transportation but is certainly not a balanced system and it won't get any better in the short term."

Nonetheless, public transit advocates see the new bill as a significant step toward sharing the tax pie with non-highway transportation alternatives. Legislation for FY 2000 removed a threatened cap of 12.5 percent for each state's transit share; as

of this printing a bill is under consideration in the U.S. Senate that would not allow federal dollars to be used for highways in areas out of conformance with national air quality standards. Senator George Voinovich introduced a bill (S. 1144), The Surface Transportation Act of 1999, to allow states to use federal highway funds for rail projects. That seems to be movement toward a more equitable distribution of transportation dollars.

In the present, however, local officials do not find ODOT responsive to their needs. Cleveland Heights lost around \$500,000 in state funds for repairing Cedar Hill because the city refused to agree to ODOT's demand that the width of each lane be increased. The Mayor of Solon, Kevin Patton, commented, "those projects that move ahead are the ones that receive ODOT funding." James Trakas, Chairman of the Republican Party in Cuyahoga County, believes: "The power of the purse is in the Governor's office. Legislators and mayors have less to say."

ODOT officials tell a different story: "It is a myth," says ODOT Director Proctor, "that [TEA-21] is not flexible. Even if a local MPO (Metropolitan Planning Organization) rejects a project, the dollars usually stay in the district, depending on the category. Pavement and bridge monies stay within the district even if an ODOT-proposed project is rejected. 'Use it or lose it' is a myth. ODOT will not expand where the region doesn't want it." "We can't do anything that locals don't ask for" concurs Cefaratti, ODOT Deputy Director

The Northeast Ohio Areawide Coordinating Agency (NOACA)

NOACA's mission is to conduct transportation, air quality and water quality planning for the Northeast Ohio counties of Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake, Lorain and Medina. The most important pieces of federal legislation to which NOACA must comply are: The 1998 Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21), and the 1991 Clean Air Act. The Governing Board consists of thirty-seven local officials who make decisions about transportation that affect the entire five-county region.

The TIP (Transportation Improvement Program) is NOACA's priority listing of requested projects. No highway

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Foster intergovernmental and private sector relationships to strengthen the regional community.

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The NOACA board members have the power to set transportation project priorities in the region. They have complete decision-making power over approximately \$30 million dollars through the TEA-21 federal program. The NOACA board can veto any projects funded in part or whole with federal dollars. Once vetoed, they lose control of where the money goes. The state might decide to use that money somewhere else in the state; NOACA has zero power over transportation projects funded without any federal funds such as the Turnpike Commission or Transportation Investment Districts (TIDs).

NOACA's Transportation Plan Goals are:

- 1) Advance the region's economic competitiveness based upon a sustainable development approach, integrating environmental, social equity and economic perspectives.
- 2) Enhance the natural environment and ecology of the region by improving air, land, and water quality, and by identifying and preserving existing critical natural resources and environmentally sensitive areas.
- 3) Preserve and improve the efficiency of the existing transportation system, prioritizing elements of the system identified as significant.
- 4) Establish a more balanced transportation system by prioritizing goods movement, transit, rail, pedestrian and bicycle travel instead of just single occupancy vehicle movement and highways.
- 5) Improve the transportation mobility of the transit-dependent to jobs, housing and other trip purposes and provide mode choice for the general population.
- 6) Provide additional transportation system capacity to move people and goods only when such capacity improvements promote the NOACA principles, minimizing the adverse impacts of investments on existing communities within the region.
- 7) Foster reinvestment in existing urban core areas throughout the region, and work to target and manage transportation investments to implement Plan goals.
- 8) Foster intergovernmental and private sector relationships

- to strengthen the regional community and assist in Plan implementation.
- 9) Direct the Plan and its investments toward efficient, compact land use development/redevelopment that facilitates accessibility, saves infrastructure costs, preserves and enhances farmland, forest and open space and enhances the economic viability of existing communities within the region.
- 10) Foster improvement in the quality of life of residents in the region through attention to aesthetics in the planning of the transportation system.

As important as goals are, they take the agency only part way. Since the scandals in the 1980s surrounding NOACA's former director, Fred Pizzedaz, NOACA has concentrated on becoming a responsible, well-run organization, says Commissioner Campbell. "NOACA has taken the time it needed to fix its problems and develop procedures and rules, but now is the time to move forward. NOACA did the long-range plan [Framework for Action 2025] because it was required; it should look at the development of the plan as an opportunity, and it needs to do it now. We know where we want to go, but we haven't decided how to get there." Hruby says that his goal as President of the NOACA Board "is to initiate a comprehensive Cuyahoga County plan."

Public policy observers recognize the organizational chaos in the region, but few solutions are floated: "Regional coordination is a big mess," says Flamm. "MPOs, ODOT, NEORSD (Northeast Ohio Regional Sewer District), NEFCO (Northeast Ohio Four County Regional Development and Planning Organization for water), all have different boundaries and areas of inclusion." Kenneth Montlack of the First Suburbs Consortium elaborates on the point: "ODOT districts do not match metro regions. It is ridiculous for ODOT-3 in Ashland [covering Lorain and Medina counties in the NOACA region] to be setting policy for Northeast Ohio."

Effective leadership seems to be held hostage by organizational and political pressures: "NOACA would be more effective if board members were required to show up for meetings

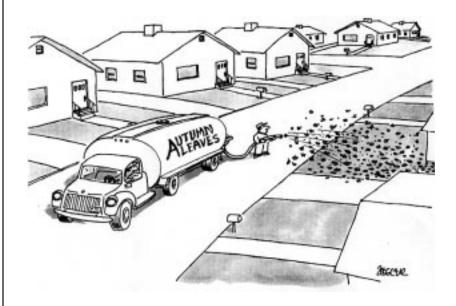
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instead of sending substitutes. If that happened, the people around the table would be decision makers. More could be accomplished, [but] local officials consider it a low priority because their constituents are not very aware or concerned with what it does," says Mayor Kocevar, a member of the NOACA board. "In order for this to change, a small component of an issue needs to be brought into focus for the public... Only then will NOACA become a priority for board members. The Intelligent Transportation System [ITS] used by Columbus . . . could be such a focus," suggests Ronald Eckner, NOACA Director of Transportation. ITS refers to any technology used to improve communication and controls. Timing red lights is a simple example. Using satellites to coordinate traffic is a more complex one.

NOACA's Director, Howard Maier, explains: "Mayor 'X' is the center of the universe. Nobody gets elected for the region, but we ask [NOACA Board Members] once a month to be regionalists." Montlack, Chair of the First Suburbs Consortium says, "There is supposed to be regional cooperation. In fact, there is a lot of log rolling among officials. 'I want something now and I'll support your project next time' is the way it works." An attitude not uncommon in the current political and policy environment is embodied in the statement of former Mayor Kurtz of Independence: "I've decided that it is important for me, in order to get what Independence needs,



to sit at NOACA's table as a board member."

Because of the organizational and political challenges facing umbrella organizations like NOACA and the County Commissioners, "The real work of government in the region is done by the many independent districts — Sewer, Health, Tax, Schools, RTA, Metroparks, RITA, Soil & Conservation, the 59 municipalities, etc.," asserts Maier.

The Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA)

The Authority was created in 1975 after the citizens of Cuyahoga County voted to fund the transit proposal with an in-perpetuity one percent sales tax. Although hindsight might make one wish that the referendum had asked for more, the fact that it is not necessary to hold renewal referenda is significant. A number of old transit systems were consolidated, transforming them into a countywide system. In 1997 RTA served almost 61 million riders.

The RTA board consists of ten members, four of whom are appointed by the City of Cleveland; three by the Suburban Mayors and Managers Association; and the remaining seats are appointed by the Cuyahoga County Commissioners.

In an effort to serve riders better, RTA has initiated programs such as the Community Circulators, which are small buses that give frequent neighborhood service and tie into the regular RTA schedules. The feasibility of commuter trains from Cleveland to outlying areas is currently under study by NOACA. Joel Freilich, Director of Project Support at RTA, assessed High Occupancy Vehicle (HOV) lanes: "For such lanes to be successful requires a policy commitment to efficient transportation at the state and metropolitan levels. It has not been tried in Ohio, but is being used very successfully in Houston, Los Angles, Seattle and Ottawa." Freilich cautioned, "Promoting efficient transportation isn't done through the use of just one tool. There is not one solution to all problems." All transportation agencies and all levels of government must work together.

Ohio Turnpike Commission

The Turnpike Commission consists of four voting mem-

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bers who are appointed by the Governor, no more than two of whom can be from the same political party. A fifth ex officio, voting member is the Director of ODOT. Two more non-voting members, a State Senator and a State Representative, are appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House.

League observers have learned a number of things about the Commission by monitoring its monthly meetings. The goals often mentioned at Commission board meetings are safety, access and economic development. Unless the Governor chooses to assert authority, the commission operates quite autonomously. It has control of its own funds, and the power to take property for interchanges when negotiations with other public entities or individual property owners fail. The Commission tells NOACA and ODOT what it plans to do, but there is no mutual planning. Also, there is no opportunity for public input, e.g., the decision to widen the Turnpike to three lanes each way for the entire length.

State ODOT officials are acutely aware of the difference in funding between the state's transportation agency (ODOT), and the Turnpike Commission. Carla Cefaratti, ODOT's Director of Multi-modal Planning and Program, explains: "The Turnpike Commission and ODOT go their own ways. They spend three times what ODOT does on maintenance per mile. ODOT has 13,000 miles to maintain versus 230 miles that the Turnpike Commission maintains." Alan Plain, the recently retired Executive Director of the Turnpike Commission, agrees, but goes on to point out that the Turnpike does better planning, better engineering, better inspection and better maintenance. He sees ODOT as too dependent on politics: "State legislators are too influenced by campaign contributions."

Ohio Rail Development Commission (ORDC)

There are ten voting appointees on the Commission representing various constituencies and agencies. The governor appoints five, no more than three of whom can be from one political party. "The organization is similar to the Turnpike Commission structure in its independence; yet it is within

ODOT," explains ORDC Director O'Leary. Another difference between the Turnpike Commission and the Rail Commission is that the Turnpike is entirely financed by tolls while the ORDC is dependent on ODOT for funds. Consequently, there is no real comparison between the well-heeled, independent Turnpike and the cash-poor, dependent Rail Commission, says Flamm.

Intermodal Transportation

Opinion is divided on what is the best balance for Cleveland's future between airplanes and trains. Proponents of expanded air capacity lament past mistakes. In the 1970s, six years and nearly \$5 million were spent studying building a super-hub airport in Lake Erie. By 1978, the grandiose idea was dead. "If we had gotten ahead of the curve like [the Lake Erie proponents] were trying to get us," laments John Habat, former Vice President of The Greater Cleveland Growth Association, "we wouldn't be where we are today." (*Plain Dealer*, November 8, 1998).

"Choices made at one point in time can result in lasting, unwelcome consequences well into the future. The city of Cleveland and its neighbors must be mindful of the impact their choices of today will have on the region's long-term ability to meet the transportation needs of the businesses that employ their residents.

"We were reminded of the continuing repercussions of decisions made many moons ago with last week's announcement that package shipper DHL Worldwide Express had chosen Cincinnati/Northern Kentucky International Airport as the site of a new \$170 million airline hub and sorting center . . . Cleveland can look at the airport near the Queen City [Cincinnati] and wistfully think of what could have been," (*Crain's Cleveland Business*, editorial, Feb. 23, 1998).

There is strong support for maintaining and expanding Hopkins International Airport: "It is imperative that Hopkins Airport be upgraded and expanded now. We need to support a long term commitment to the airport," says Independence's Kurtz, "a commitment to meet the growth needs of the next fifty years."

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"We must do whatever it takes to keep the airport at Hopkins," agrees David Beach, Director of EcoCity, Cleveland, "— move some households, tear down the IX center. The important thing is not to have the airport move farther out. That's what Denver did, and it's been a disaster for sprawl containment and for Denver itself."

The Growth Association's *Analysis of Air Service Demand* and Capacity for the Cleveland Region recommends that long-term planning should immediately "begin an examination of the feasibility of providing all needed capacity at Hopkins . . . If it is determined that the recommended improvements cannot be provided at Hopkins and Burke in a timely manner, investigation of the feasibility of a new regional facility to service Northeast Ohio after 2015 should be undertaken before year-end 2000." The report gives several reasons why Hopkins is clearly the preferred site: "Because airports have a major impact on land use, there would be no major disruptions to the urban growth dynamic, as would be the case in developing a new site."

Some observers are puzzled by the lack of study and consideration for using rail travel to relieve demand at the airport: "Airport planners apparently never considered the possibility that high-speed rail might mitigate the need for the Hopkins Airport expansion. High-speed rail is not mentioned in the Growth Association study" (The *Cleveland Free Times*, "Flying Blind," November 18-24, 1998).

Prendergast of the Ohio Association of Railroad
Passengers points out that Hopkins Airport is unique in the nation in that it has well-maintained railways adjacent to it that could be used for short hauls (connecting Detroit, Cincinnati, etc.). "The high-speed trains being envisioned for the American Midwest are considered high-speed only in comparison to what is running there today. Existing speeds of 79 mph on routes like Cleveland-Chicago would be increased to 110 mph, enabled by newer, more powerful diesel . . . trains, smoother tracks, and more sophisticated signal systems . . . It would . . . cut rail time . . . to the point where trains would be competitive with airlines, to say nothing of driving," says Prendergast. Paul Alsenas, Director of the Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, says that sharing rail between passen-

ger and freight trains will not work, "Passenger rail systems must control their capital; otherwise they remain at the whim of the freight carriers . . . The federal Surface Transportation Board (STB) regulates only freight travel."

Thomas O'Leary, Director of the Ohio Rail Development Commission, takes a pragmatic view of rail development in Ohio: "Rail is unique in that it's the only mode which owns its right-of-ways and tracks. Highways, air strips, airways, ports and waterways are all publicly owned . . . It costs \$1 million a mile to build rail and \$10-15 million a mile for highways. There is no way to correct this inequity . . . Subsidizing trains in Ohio is a political non-starter. My advice to the governor is to follow the lead of the federal government by phasing out all operating subsidies to Amtrak. The feds are phasing out their \$7 million operating subsidy by 2002. Amtrak isn't entrepreneurial enough. Let's help them sell their business instead of giving them subsidies."

"Rail is cheaper for long distances," says O'Leary. Because of this fact, O'Leary explains, it would make more sense to create a route running from Boston to St. Louis before considering a run between Cleveland and Columbus. Once the long route becomes viable, then add a "leg" between the two Ohio cities. "We must integrate the development of freight and passenger trains, and make long-distance trains a priority over short hauls in order to develop a rail system that doesn't require subsidies. The Pennsylvanian, the new Amtrak train between Philadelphia and Chicago, pays its way with a combination of passenger fares and express mail contracts." A critical question remaining is how to integrate service and commercial uses without placing service (passengers) at the "whim" of the commercial freight carriers.

David Beach challenged a *Plain Dealer* editorial on the subject of transportation subsidies: "[*The Plain Dealer*] held passenger rail service to a double standard by saying it will require long-term public 'subsidies.' In reality, cars are the big subsidy hogs. Taxpayers pay billions of dollars every year for roads, parking, the impact of air pollution from vehicles, traffic accidents and military actions in the Middle East to defend cheap oil" (*The Plain Dealer*, letter to the editor, December 3, 1998).

It costs \$1 million a mile to build rail and \$10-15 million a mile for high-ways.

In reality, cars are the big subsidy hogs. The big question is, can we plan alternative modes of transportation [to automobiles] in a competitive way?

Carla Cefaratti, in her position as Deputy Director for Planning and Program with ODOT, would like to see the state agencies for surface, air, and rail engage in more out-of-the-box thinking: "I would like to see a plan for multimodal development emerge . . . The consultants for various modes [who wrote the original *Access Ohio* in 1991] didn't communicate with one another so they never looked at synthesizing their reports. Jerry Hruby, president of the NOACA Board, describes ODOT as an agency now spending more on restoration and maintenance and less on major new projects. "It needs to be encouraged to spend on intermodal projects — including rail, HOV [high occupancy vehicle] lanes, and mass transit."

An opportunity for creating efficient, convenient intermodal transportation was mentioned by David Beach: "We could avoid expanding many smaller airports if the states in our Midwest region worked together to create a high-speed train alternative. The money is there. If we don't spend it on trains, we'll spend it on highways or expanding airports."

Paul Alsenas, Director of the Cuyahoga County Planning Department, says, "The big question is, can we plan alternative modes of transportation [to automobiles] in a competitive way? It needs to be high speed, first class and cost competitive [with cars] . . . Magnetic levitation high-speed trains are the answer. They break through to an entirely new scenario."

Mag-lev trains are electrical and can run at speeds as high as 300 miles an hour. The cars wrap around the tracks which are built thirty feet above the surface. They were invented by an American and are running in northwest Germany. Under the leadership of Arlen Specter, a U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, a mag-lev is being planned to run between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. "Wouldn't it be nice," says Alsenas, "to continue that train from Pittsburgh to Cleveland? ... Martin-Marietta is looking for a region to partner with in the construction of a prototype mag-lev train." The New Technology section of the TEA-21 legislation, "is ready to give us millions of dollars for a mag-lev system." However, Prendergast claims that, "there are still numerous technical, health, and environmental concerns involving the guideway's strong electro-magnetic currents." The magnetic-levitation trains were not a part of the recent commuter feasibility study done by

The Influence of Social-Issues Law and Policy on Transportation

portation choices by agencies and by private citizens.

Housing

People need decent, affordable housing, either near good transportation, or in the communities where the jobs are located. The 1998 federal Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act begins to address some of these problems. For example, each agency's plan must provide for mixed-income populations, and Public Housing agencies such as Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority-CMHA, are prohibited from concentrating very low-income families in certain projects or buildings. New incentives for all communities to zone for mixed use areas, and to build low-income housing could be implemented, especially at the state-level. Another possibility would be low-interest home mortgage loans.

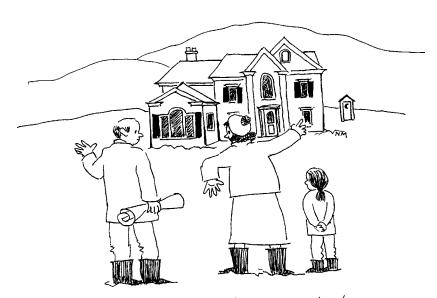
George Fragapane, a builder who builds homes in Cleveland neighborhoods, has experienced improved relationships between himself and the city in recent years, "They're making it easier for builders to work in Cleveland." By way of example, he pointed to the new hotline for builders to use in order to get timely answers to regulation questions. Where laws and common practices make it easier and cheaper to build housing, more is built. That is beginning to happen in Cleveland. Nonetheless, says Fragapane, most builders would still rather work outside of Cleveland.

Until laws and policies make it an attractive alternative to live in more densely built communities, agriculture land and natural areas will continue to disappear into suburban lawn. Highways will continue to be the transportation system of choice.

Land Use — Urban and Suburban

New incentives for all communities to zone for mixed use areas, and to build low-income housing could be implemented, especially at the state-level.

Enterprise Zones need to be pared down from the present bloated 321 to the original 55 so they will once again serve the purpose of the 1982 legislation to be "a development tool to help distressed cities retain and create jobs by offering tax abatement to business."



IT'S NEW, BUT WHERE'S THE ROAD? WHERE'S THE SCHOOL?

AND WHAT'S THAT LITTLE BUILDING OVER THERE?

A level playing field can be built to allow cities to compete on an equal footing with out-lying areas for industry and business. To accomplish this, urban centers need to be compensated by the state for the difficulty of assembling large areas of buildable land due to such factors as polluted industrial sites (brownfields), deteriorating buildings and scattered sites. The "Plain Dealer" built its sprawling production facilities outside of Cleveland because of its inability to acquire adequate land within Cleveland. Enterprise Zones need to be pared down from the present bloated 321 to the original 55 so they will once again serve the purpose of the 1982 legislation to be "a development tool to help distressed cities retain and create jobs by offering tax abatement to businesses . . ." (Plain Dealer, May 17, 1998).

"People choose how they want to live, but the inner ring suburbs have a large investment. We need to start to add up the cost of moving to and creating suburbs and that cost should include services — sewers, roads, bridges, schools. Perhaps it is less expensive to redevelop a brownfield," speculates Commissioner Campbell, "than to move outward."

Thomas Bier points out, "The state gives money outright to regions for highway development, but lends it to cities for redevelopment of existing infrastructure. There is no balanced position in Ohio policy with which to fund inner

cities."

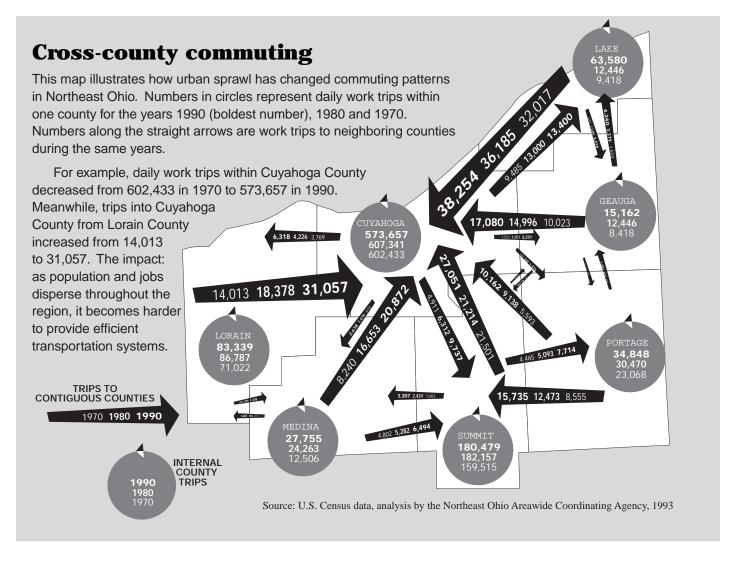
Commissioner McCormack reports that the Weatherhead School of Management did a study that shows downtown Cleveland, University Circle and the area around Middleburg Heights and Parma as future hot-spots for industrial development. The south side of Cleveland has an excellent confluence of vacant land, highways and railroads. "Can we turn the key to major industrial development?" wonders McCormack.

Segregation

"The Cleveland region is among the most segregated of U.S. metropolitan areas both economically, and racially. These forces tend to influence the locations of welfare recipients, housing and jobs" (Leete et al, Assessment of the Geographic Distribution and Skill Requirements of Jobs in the Cleveland-Akron Area, 1995). The "social distance" fostered by the geographic distance causes the continuation of racial discrimination in housing and labor markets. These circumstances of history encourage community and racial stereotyping that in turn can cause apprehension and fear.

Planners, politicians and grassroot organizations must acknowledge these historical demographic dynamics — and how they still bleed into present-day policy — in order to effect change. Our federal housing policies, e.g., mortgage tax exemptions, tax laws, local zoning codes and private and governmental investment policies, all have had — and still have profound influences on keeping the poor (mainly minority) segregated into urban ghettos, while encouraging more affluent, car-owning citizens to live in distant suburbs. A good example of a well-intentioned program going badly awry is the U.S. Small Business Administration's lending record. Its mission is to award low-interest loans to fledgling companies that can't obtain credit elsewhere, but three quarters of such loans are going to upper income areas. "'SBA is contributing to the erosion of inner cities and the growth of urban sprawl,' said Kurt Metzger, a demographer who did the computer analysis of SBA loans" (The Portland Oregonian, Feb. 28, 1999).

John Kasich, U.S. House of Representative's Budget Committee Chairman, declares, "If we're going to reform welfare for poor people in America, we must reform welfare Excellent public transportation could knit communities together, breaking the isolation between groups; access our urban centers to business and industry; and take people to training and jobs.



for rich people in America . . . Government subsidies distort the marketplace and result in the government of the United States picking winners and losers. Bill Gates didn't need the advanced technology program" (*The Plain Dealer*, July 1, 1999).

Work

Excellent public transportation could knit communities together, breaking the isolation between groups; connecting our urban centers to business and industry; and taking people to training and jobs. At present "Less than four percent of employment in the suburban areas is held by individuals commuting by car *from* Cleveland. Only 0.2% of total employment (209 individuals out of a total of 120,405) is accounted for by individuals commuting by bus from Cleveland" (Claudia Coulton, *Housing, Transportation and Access to*

Suburban Jobs by Welfare Recipients in the Cleveland Area, 1997).

TEA-21 (The Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century) is moving the Ohio Department of Transportation (ODOT) in the direction of integrated systems and inclusivity. It embodies policies that federal and state government must consider when making grants — the percentage of the population to be served that receives welfare; the need for additional services to transport eligible persons to jobs, training and other employment support services; the extent to which the applicant demonstrates coordination with existing transportation providers and coordination with the state agency that administers welfare programs; the maximum utilization of existing transportation services; innovative approaches by the applicant; the extent to which an applicant presented a regional plan for addressing the transportation needs of welfare recipients and identified long-term financing strategies; consultation with the community to be served; and demonstrated need to transport individuals to suburban employment opportunities.

The new TEA-21 policies create incentives for transportation agencies to not simply follow the jobs, but to be leaders—play a major role in helping regions make more efficient use of land and labor. Without intending to, public transportation agencies can alter the potential size of the labor market by how their route structures are planned and developed. Traditional government policy and practice has led the way to low-density development. The extension of I-90 into Lorain was followed by shopping malls, businesses and housing development. The same thing is happening on the east side of the county since the extension of Rte. 422 was finished. Commissioner McCormack revealed that, "Engineering studies showed that Rte. 422 didn't need widening."

Architects in the New Urbanism movement promote building Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) which consciously plans the creation of "a dense, tightly woven community that mixes stores, housing and offices in a compact, walkable area surrounding a transit station . . . each neighborhood is accessible to others and to existing communities through a network of light-rail and bus routes" (Katz, *The New Urbanism*, p. xxxi & xxxii).

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Parma Heights is recycling this notion of urban planning. It is the first inner-ring Cleveland suburb to adopt a "new urbanism" approach to redeveloping its commercial corridors.

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A prime example of this kind of neighborhood in Cuyahoga County is Shaker Square. When the VanSweringen brothers built the Shaker Rapid in 1911 the population within a five-mile square was two hundred souls. By 1920 sixteen hundred people lived in the same area. By 1980 32,000 people populated the area. The key to its success and longevity can be found in its high-density population, its fine architecture, convenient public transit line, and its variety of shops, coffee houses, offices and apartments. Shaker Square is currently undergoing extensive renewal.

Parma Heights is recycling this notion of urban planning. It is the first inner-ring Cleveland suburb to adopt a "new urbanism" approach to redeveloping its commercial corridors. Strip malls will be torn down to make way for mixed-use high-density housing, commercial and retail development. Planner and architect Paul Volpe and developer Peter Rubin aim to build a pedestrian-friendly environment (*The Cleveland Free Times*, December 8, 1999). As more and more communities redevelop by using the concepts of the New Urbanist movement, the harsh disconnection between work and living might diminish.

Land Use — Farmland and Natural Areas

The Farmland Task Force created by Governor Voinovich issued its final report in 1997. Many of its recommendations indirectly support a transportation policy that focuses less on highways and more on public transportation: The plan encourages county governments to prepare comprehensive land-use plans. "Farmland preservation, efficient use of public infrastructure investments, agriculturally supported zoning, and the managed expansion of urban and suburban areas (urban service areas) would be a part of such planning," (EcoCity Cleveland, Ohio Smart Growth Agenda, Fall 1998). NOACA President Hruby advocates passage of the Farmland Task Force's recommendations because without it ODOT's priority will continue to be building highways for interstate commerce. "Highways bypass rural communities and shopping centers develop at interchanges. This policy is killing small town retail."



EcoCity Cleveland's study, *Ohio Smart Growth Agenda*, concludes that, "State departments have no overall vision regarding growth and development in Ohio and tend to pursue their missions narrowly. Indeed, one state department, the Ohio Environmental Protection Agency, has pointedly recommended that another, the Ohio Department of Transportation, needs to rethink its current program of road construction to address localized congestion issues and pursue a long-term plan for achieving and maintaining environmental sustainability within Ohio's transportation system."

In an effort to encourage states to plan more carefully and comprehensively, the federal government requires a Major Investment Study (MIS) whenever a large-scale, high-cost investment in a region's transportation infrastructure is proposed. The primary purpose is to define the transportation

Ohio Department of Transportation, needs to rethink its current program of road construction to address localized congestion issues and pursue a longterm plan for achieving and maintaining environmental sustainability within Ohio's transportation system.

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needs clearly, examine various alternatives for meeting those needs, and forecast the likely impacts of each option on transportation, the environment, the economy and other factors (*Getting Where We Want to Be*, January 19, 1999). MISs are required in order to receive federal grant monies for transportation projects.

Less obviously related to transportation policy than Major Investment Studies, but equally important in impact, are state programs to preserve agricultural land. Agriculture Security Areas (ASAs), recommended by the state farmland bill, deal with county wide comprehensive land use. They are zoned for agriculture. They look at Current Agricultural Use Value (CAUV) and require the definition of a workable farm to change from ten to forty acres. The increased acreage would take away the incentive for landowners to claim to have a small farm while holding the land cheaply as an ASA until they wish to sell, e.g., when a new interchange makes their land suddenly valuable to developers.

The Purchase of Development Rights (PDRs) offers another way to preserve land. If a farm's agricultural worth is \$3,000 per acre, and its market value \$6,000, a PDR would pay the farmer \$3,000 per acre - the difference between the agricultural price and the market value; then the farmer, in exchange, would sign a binding agreement to keep the land in farming, and to sell it only for agricultural use. The hitch is that communities need to tax themselves in order to create a pool of money from which to pay farmers. Representative Sean Logan, Co-Chair of the Farmland Task Force, thinks PDRs are too expensive. "Pennsylvania has a \$100 million a year program which isn't preserving nearly enough land." On January 4, 1999 a bill was passed by the Ohio legislature and signed by the Governor which enables local governments to pay farmers the difference between the agriculture value and the development value of their land. "This clears the way for the establishment of Purchase of Development Rights (PDR) programs, but does not provide any funds for that purpose" (Getting to Where We Want to Be, January 19, 1999). On January 10, 1999, the federal administration made a budget request which includes \$1 billion in new spending "to local governments and communities for programs that preserve

open space, ease traffic congestion and promote economic development in a way that some states are calling 'smart growth'" (*The New York Times*, January 11, 1999).

Currently, growth pressures dwarf protection efforts when certain conditions converge: "Greater Cleveland is growing mainly along Interstate 71 toward the southwest and along Interstate 271 and Interstate 480 toward the southeast. [The] Macedonia-Twinsburg corridor, [and] the Strongsville-to-Medina market [are] running . . . hot. What developers see there, says retail leaser Anthony T. Visconsi, is available land, highway interchanges to dump shoppers at a project's front door, appealing demographics, steady population growth rates and a stable of retailers dazzled by all of the above" (*The Plain Dealer*, December 13, 1998).

Last year Hudson enacted a growth cap, declaring that no more than 100 new homes will be built annually in the city. Other fast-growing towns are considering doing the same, but local officials feel a great deal of pride in the prosperity of their towns. Industries as well as residents are moving in and real estate values are soaring. All this makes officials reluctant to curtail the boom. However, some residents are starting to complain: "With all the new development and new residents, it's like you invited company to your home for dinner and they rearranged all the furniture" (*Plain Dealer*, December 13, 1998).

What can Ohioans do to better control where and how growth occurs? Ten of Cleveland's inner ring suburbs came together in 1996 to form The First Suburbs Consortium with the intention of lobbying state officials and legislators about issues impacting older suburbs. Interest in the organization has spread throughout Ohio's urban areas. Other interests such as those of homebuilders, developers and highway advocates have had organized lobbies in Columbus for a long time. The Consortium is attempting to bring the concerns of matured communities to the legislature's attention.

EcoCity Cleveland undertook to offer some answers as to how Ohio should grow in its recent study, *Ohio Smart Growth Agenda*. The study lists some special characteristics of Ohio that must be considered when contemplating land use

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in Ohio:

- Growth pressures are not intense overall in the state. The city of Hudson, which is experiencing intense growth, is the only city in the state that has adopted a formal growth management program
- Ohio has not developed the same degree of heightened and well-organized political awareness of the need to protect and conserve natural resources as in some other states
- For the past several decades, the priority of the state has clearly been narrowly focused on economic development instead of emphasizing the broader need for local comprehensive planning
- Ohio's approach has been to stress vertical functional responsibilities by state departments or commissions with minimal formal horizontal integration among agency efforts or some type of unifying vision for the state. Not surprisingly, each state agency "sticks to its knitting"
- The political tradition of home rule discourages cooperation and comprehensive planning. The original intention was to provide flexibility in self-governing for cities and villages, but it has developed into a "don't tread on me" attitude when it comes to formulating new programs that would require cooperation
- There are no strong organizational infrastructures to facilitate and mandate statewide land-use planning such as are found in Oregon, Washington and Rhode Island

With these conditions in mind, *Ohio Smart Growth Agenda* suggests some criteria as the bases for smart growth in Ohio:

- not dramatically expand existing state agencies
- provide for integration among state programs with respect to their effects on development, redevelopment, and resource conservation
- create or support a continuing constituency for cooperative planning efforts
- be primarily incentive-based, rather than regulatory

 Three components considered critical by *Ohio Smart Growth Agenda* are:

- The creation of a high-level planning organization in state government to coordinate among state departments and promote sound planning at all levels
- the drafting of a cross-cutting development, redevelopment, and resource conservation goals document for the state
- Development of an incentive-based state investment program that targets state growth-related expenditures to locally designated compact growth areas

A Smart Growth Agenda for Ohio would have its work cut out for it: "The real difficulty for Farmland Preservation," says Representative Logan, "is that there are contradictory policy and attitude pressures. The Township Association wants Farmland Preservation to mandate planning because township officials' powers are very limited. Their constituents, on the other hand, view state planning as unfunded mandates. Counties are worried about road maintenance, but they run up against home-rule attitudes." Not all officials and leaders in Ohio agree with the assumptions underlying Smart Growth recommendations. Alan Plain, the recently retired Executive Director of the Turnpike Commission, takes strong exception to the opinion that highways encourage sprawl: "New roads are not the reason we have outmigration." He sees the quality of inner-city schools as a fundamental factor. However, he does agree with the Smart Growth position that expanded water and sewer lines are followed by roads.

A different perspective is offered by First Suburbs' Montlack: "There has been an attempt to express the view that a loss of green space and farms means a disinvestment in inner-ring suburbs. They are related in many ways." This relationship is presented statistically in *Tax Base Disparity...*: "Cuyahoga's population declined by 11,000 between 1990-1996 while the six other counties [in the region] increased by 62,000 — a direct result of movement outward from Cuyahoga."

"Transportation is the key element as to where real estate development takes place," declares Bier. "Leadership from the state is critical for meaningful change to occur." Transportation is the key element as to where real estate development takes place.
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"The state is oblivious to sprawl and [local] economies. They spend, not aware of . . . the land-use impacts of their policies," laments Mayor Paul Oyaski of Euclid.

Conclusion

Timing may not be everything as the old saying claims, but it is important. The problems created by unmanaged growth are becoming apparent to more and more people. Proposals for highway widenings and new interchanges are challenged by local people; the media are featuring articles and editorials on development patterns, conservation and transportation decisions; over 200 referenda to protect land were passed in the November 1998 elections; the federal transportation bill, TEA-21, introduced a new conversation of cooperation and planning into state and regional transportation agencies.

There is a paradox in the situation that people are beginning to appreciate: In order to retain our freedom we have to give up some. If we intend to sustain our farmland and natural areas — important parts of our heritage and our future — we have to plan collectively, which means limiting where and what we can build. To be effective, laws and regulations supporting regional and state planning must be enacted and enforced at the federal, state and regional levels of government. Without these uniform requirements, local public officials have little incentive to think and plan beyond their own borders. This leads to redundancy of infrastructures and waste of land and tax dollars.

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The Lone Ranger's Creed

I believe:

- . . . That men should live by the rule of what is best for the greatest number.
- . . . That sooner or later, somewhere, somehow, we must settle with the world and make payment for what we have taken.

excerpted from the *Lone Ranger Creed*, written by actor Clayton Moore (*Plain Dealer*; December 29, 1999)

Transportation in Germany: A Different Approach

by Amy Dreger

An Overview

ith its innovative transportation policies, multiple levels of cooperation and diverse methods of public transit, Germany exhibits one of the most progressive transportation systems in the world.

Despite a decline in the use of public transportation in many countries, Germany's usage has actually grown due to policies that have curbed auto use, and the ease and convenience of the public transportation system. Germany has had comprehensive land-use planning for decades, and most of its suburbs are really old villages with new growth surrounding the older towns. Growth boundaries are enforced. Headed in any direction when leaving Frankfurt, one travels through open space, forests or farms, which is typical of how urban areas are contained in Germany. A part of its land preservation plan is the well-organized and coordinated multimodal transportation system.

However, Germany is not without its problems. Its famous autobahn, which inspired President Dwight Eisenhower to fund and build the United States interstate highway system in the 1950s, has no speed limits, which exacts a high death toll and causes pollution. The Greens party, an environmentalist political party, has for years pointed out the connection between auto exhaust and the worrisome death of Black Forest trees growing near the autobahn. Germans tend to view urban sprawl and suburbanization as problems in their country, but they have a much lower tolerance for loss of green space and a much higher tolerance for comprehensive planning than Americans.

A big difference between Germany and the United States is that public transportation remains a popular option even for those Germans living outside of the city limits because transportation systems encompass more than just the central city Despite a decline in the use of public transportation in many countries, Germany's usage has actually grown due to policies that have curbed auto use, and the ease and convenience of the public transportation system.

In German communities, public transportation is not viewed as a social service for people who are unable to buy a car. Instead. it is regarded as a solution to protect and preserve the environment, to decrease auto use and traffic congestion and improve mobility for the overall population. and offer excellent and reliable service. Because of these factors, building a home in the suburbs (small towns) does not automatically mean an increase in highway travel.

A Closer Look: What Makes Their Approach Effective?

After a recent trip to Europe to study the livability of several cities, Sherry Burford, a transportation manager from Frederick County, Maryland, noted that, "In German communities, public transportation is not viewed as a social service for people who are unable to buy a car. Instead, it is regarded as a solution to protect and preserve the environment, to decrease auto use and traffic congestion and improve mobility for the overall population. [These attitudes are strongly supported by laws and public policies that encourage the use of public transportation.] Parking is limited and parking rates are high, while transit fares are discounted for the purchase of annual transit passes and there is service and fare coordination and integration for regional transit service."

Those wishing to use public transportation in German cities generally have a wide variety of options, including some innovative methods of mass transit. Most cities maintain a system of busses, trams/trolleys and subways, complemented by railways and bike paths. Trains have top priority in terms of traffic, and travel anywhere between 75 and 120 miles per hour. Germany's rail system operates on a network of 25,000 miles of track serving more than 6,000 destinations. Unlike Americans, who view trains as cargo-shipping vehicles with moderate passenger use, Germans utilize the country's diverse rail system to travel within a city, from suburb to city, from region to region, and to other European countries. The density of Germany's population is many times that of the United States, which makes it easier for Germans to economically build public transportation. As density in the States decreases, the challenge of building viable mass transit increases.

In 1991, the Deutsche Bundesbahn (German Federal Railway) introduced the first high-speed services in western Germany. Known as the ICE trains, the vehicles travel up to 150 miles per hour and became an attractive means of transportation for business people traveling from city to city. In 1994, continuing its commitment to developing innovative transportation methods, the German government vowed to build the Transrapid, a magnetic levitation train traveling from Berlin to Hamburg, which utilizes technology developed by an American engineer. The new train, to be completed in 2004, will travel up to 300 miles per hour and provide service six times per hour.

Germany's coordination of transit service and fares, as noted by Burford, is perhaps one of its most impressive characteristics. Customer information, available at all bus, rail, tram and subway stops, is consistent, as are the fares. There is little competition for passengers since all systems seem to work together to form a comprehensive transportation network. Special "transit passes" applicable to all forms of transportation are offered. In Munich, employers can purchase a "Job Ticket" for their employees making all public transit systems available to them with just one pass. The city has also adopted the "Combi Ticket" that includes use of transit in the ticket to a show or concert. Some universities offer special transit passes for their students, which are automatically included in their fees, regardless of whether or not they use public transportation.

An example of transit cooperation can be seen in the relationship between the country's extensive bicycle system and other forms of transportation. Accounting for more than 10 percent of all urban trips in Germany, bicycle use is on the rise. The German government regulates this method, enforcing traffic rules and special bike requirements. Various levels of government throughout the country have also devised an extensive system of bikeways and bike lanes with completely separate rights of way — most bicyclists are given the right of way over automobiles.

Germans take their bike riding quite seriously. Special lanes have been developed that allow bicyclists to pass waiting cars and proceed to the front, while cars must stop at a considerable distance from the intersection. To fit bicycles into the integrated transportation network mentioned earlier, city planners in most urban areas have expanded bike parking at transit

Germany's coordination of transit service and fares...is perhaps one of its most impressive characteristics.

German planners and the government, working together, have not only made the public transit system far superior to auto travel, but have also, curbed auto usage by implementing "traffic calming" mechanisms that virtually discourage people from driving their cars.

stations and city centers. Many cities have adopted bike "park and rides" and some transit stations even offer bike rental and repair on the premises along with options to transport the bike on the bus, train, tram or subway. The city of Muenster alone has an unprecedented 6,226 bike racks in the city center and a 3,000 bike parking facility under ground.

Germany recently developed two transportation plans to maintain and expand the country's transportation network. The "German Unity" transport scheme, slated to have been completed by 2000, supports 17 important road, water and rail projects. "The Federal Transport Plan," the first transport plan for the whole of Germany, provides for maintenance, modernization, renewal and expansion of the rail, road and water networks and is slated to be completed by 2012. Fifty-four percent of this investment has been earmarked for environment-friendly rail and water transportation. For the first time in German history, road repair and building have received a smaller share of the funding.

Where the Rubber Hits the Road

Any country can offer extensive, innovative transportation systems, but if its citizens find auto travel more convenient, inexpensive and reliable, they will be unlikely to try alternatives. Likewise, if driving a car were expensive, and inconvenient, yet no alternatives were available, people would be forced to drive their cars. German planners and the government, working together, have not only made the public transit system far superior to auto travel, but have also curbed auto usage by implementing "traffic calming" mechanisms that virtually discourage people from driving their cars. Thus, public transportation can be a welcome alternative for the weary commuters.

Just what does traffic calming entail? Its basic function is to make auto use more expensive, more difficult, less convenient and slow, thus encouraging use of public transportation, bicycles and walking. In order to fulfill this purpose, city and federal governments establish strict policies. Examples of "traffic calming" measures include the following:

- Autos speeds have been reduced to 30 kph (19 mph) in most residential areas.
- Most cities have discouraged auto traffic by intentionally narrowing streets, increasing curves, setting up bottlenecks and installing speed bumps, ornamental posts, concrete planters, wider sidewalks and bike lanes.
- Urban areas, especially older ones, have pedestrian zones in the city center that keep cars at a distance, forcing them to park in fringe garages and lots.
- Cities in Germany have decreased the supply of parking and increased the price. On-street metered parking prices increase with proximity to the city center. The average cost to park in the center, per hour, is \$3, equal to a round trip by bus, train or metro.
- Special downtown meters prevent long-term parking by commuters.
- Most free non-metered parking has been eliminated, except for that in residential areas where most residents must buy a parking decal entitling them to park in the neighborhood (a practice common in many Chicago neighborhoods).
- Germany imposes weighty taxes on cars, and heavily taxes gasoline. Each gallon of gas is taxed the equivalent of \$3, making the total price of a gallon of gasoline three times that of a U.S. gallon.
- Most cities now have a moratorium on new road construction, especially where the Greens and Social Democrats rule.
- Although congestion is a problem in many regions, most officials don't try to fix the problem, but let it discourage drivers.
- Buses and streetcars benefit from priority traffic signaling at shared intersections so lights automatically turn green for oncoming transit vehicles and red for cars.

Most cities have discouraged auto traffic by intentionally narrowing streets, increasing curves, setting up bottlenecks and installing speed bumps. ornamental posts, concrete planters, wider sidewalks and bike lanes.

Freiburg's outlying areas are facilitated by three commuter rails, five urban light rails and 77 bus lines, a 2000 kilometer network that can be used with one transferable transit pass.

Success Stories: Three German Cities

Several German cities have been shining examples of successful public transportation implementation, among them Munich, Freiburg and Muenster. Below is a brief description of some of each city's innovative practices.

Munich

Munich, a city 1.2 million, houses a two-square-mile pedestrian zone, one of the oldest and largest in Europe. This is a car free zone, but buses and people are allowed. Suburban commuter rails (S-Bahn) stops are accessible from many pedestrian malls, while the subway system (U-Bahn) has been extended to many new locations. Along with frequent and dependable service, the system encourages interaction between downtown and outlying areas while blending with the environment.

Bicycles move people on tidy lanes throughout the city. Even in the birthplace of the BMW, access by car is being more and more restricted. Bike use has tripled since 1976, and the length of the bike network has more than doubled.

Freiburg

This small city of 191,000 has implemented an enviable transit network. A light rail system bisecting the city is easily accessible and blends with the environment (the railbed is cobblestone, brick or grass depending on where it crosses). The city's new Supertram broke most size and capacity records. The vehicles are 108 ft. long, can carry 160 people and have 8 powered axles, breaking most size and capacity records.

Like Munich and many other German cities, Freiburg's downtown has an auto-free zone, and efforts have been made to preserve the historical feel of the city. Commutes to Freiburg's outlying areas are facilitated by three commuter rails, five urban light rails and 77 bus lines, a 2000 kilometer network that can be used with one transferable transit pass. Along with mass transit, the town offers over 410 kilometers of bike paths. The system's combined bus and tram services

aim to provide 90 percent of the population with a walking distance of less than 200 yards to a stop.

The Freiburg transportation association offers passengers in Freiburg and those traveling into the city from surrounding regions, a simple and cheaper system, which takes cars off the roads.

Muenster

Bicycle advocates have praised Muenster, a city of 270,000, as being a model city for the promotion of bike use over use of the automobile. Central to the city's bike-system, is a tree-lined bike expressway that encircles the city center along the route of the city wall. The path offers direct connections with 16 major bike routes going to the suburbs and the countryside. It also connects with 26 paths leading into the city.

The streets in Muenster have been specially designed to enhance bicycle transit. Streets that are normally one way for cars are often two-way for bicycles. Likewise, reserved bus lanes can also be utilized by bicyclists, and bikes are permitted to make left and right turns where they are prohibited for automobiles. Similarly, street networks with deliberate dead ends and circuitous routing for cars offer direct fast routing for bike riders.

All free parking has been eliminated in Muenster's city core, and the total number of auto spaces has been decreased, thus forcing auto drivers to park in peripheral lots and walk, bike or take public transit to the city center.

Summary

Germany's progressive transportation system, the envy of other countries, has been a tremendous success throughout the country due to passenger-friendly transit stops, easy access to public transportation from pedestrian zones, user-friendly schedules, traffic calming, environmental protection considerations, positive media response, faster service and well-maintained, modern vehicles. A tradition of comprehensive planning and the density of population patterns also play important roles.

All free parking has been eliminated in Muenster's city core, and the total number of auto spaces has been decreased, thus forcing auto drivers to park in peripheral lots and walk, bike or take public transit to the city center.

Interviews

Bruce Akers, Mayor of Pepper Pike

Paul Alsenas, Director of the Cuyahoga County Planning Commission

Virginia Aveni, Director of the Brownfields Program for the Cuyahoga County Planning Commission

David Beach, Director of EcoCity Cleveland

Jane-ann Bell, former President of Cleveland Board of Realtors

Leo Bender, Mayor of Broadview Heights

David Bentkowski, City Council Member for Seven Hills through 1999.

Thomas Bier, Director of Housing Research Program at the Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University

Gerald Boldt, Mayor of Parma

Robert Brown, Assistant Director for Cleveland City Planning (and Scott Frantz)

Madeline Cain, Mayor of Lakewood

Leonard M. Calabrese, Executive Director of the Diocese of Cleveland

Jane L. Campbell, Cuyahoga County Commissioner

Carla L. Cefaratti, Deputy Director, Division of Multimodal Planning and Program for the Ohio Department of Transportation (ODOT)

Patti Choby, Project Consultant for Third Federal Savings and Loan

Dennis Clough, Mayor of Westlake

Jimmy Dimora, Chairman of the Cuyahoga County Democratic Party and Cuyahoga County Commissioner

Ronald Eckner, Director of Transportation for the Northeast Ohio Areawide Coordinating Agency (NOACA)

Bradley Flamm, Transportation Specialist for EcoCity Cleveland and Editor of the transportation newsletter, *Getting to Where We Want to Be*

George Fragapane, builder

Joel Freilich, Director of Project Support at the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA, through 1998)

David Goss, Senior Director of Infrastructure and Transportation for the Greater Cleveland Growth Association

Jerry Hruby, Mayor of Brecksville and President of NOACA Board

Thomas L. Jelepis, Mayor of Bay Village

Edward Kelley, Mayor of Cleveland Heights

John Kocevar, Mayor of South Euclid; NOACA Board Member Norman Krumholz, professor, College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University

Gregory Kurtz, Mayor of Independence through 1999

Sue Lacy, Regional Director of Faith Based Organizing in Northeast Ohio (United WE-CAN!, Cuyahoga County; BOLD, Lorain County; SCCOPE, Summit County)

Sean Logan, State Representative, Democrat from Columbiana County, 3rd District; Farmland Task Force Co-chair

Thomas J. Longo, Mayor of Garfield Heights

Howard Maier, Director of The Northeast Ohio Areawide Coordinating Agency (NOACA)

J. Timothy McCormack, Cuyahoga County Commissioner

Patricia Mearns, Mayor of Shaker Heights through 1999 Kenneth Montlack, City Council Member for Cleveland Heights; First Suburbs Consortium

Kathy Mulcahy, Mayor of Orange Village

Thomas O'Leary, Executive Director of the Ohio Rail Development Commission

Emmanuel W. Onunwor, Mayor of East Cleveland

Scott W. Oeslager, State Senator, Republican from Canton, Chair of the Highways and Transportation Committee

Paul Oyaski, Mayor of Euclid

Kevin Patton, Mayor of Solon

Sara Pavlovicz, Medina County Commissioner through 1998

Sally Perz, State Representative, Republican from Toledo, 52nd District; former member of Turnpike Commission Board

Alan Plain, Executive Director of the Turnpike Commission through August 1999

Kenneth Prendergast, President of Ohio Association of Railroad Passengers (OARP)

Gordon Proctor, Chief of Staff, Ohio Department of Transportation (ODOT, now the Executive Director)

James Roberts, Mayor of Medina

Peter Snavely, President of Snavely Development Company

Ronald Tober, General Manager of Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA) through October 1999

Jim Trakas, Chairperson of Cuyahoga County Republican Organization and State Representative, 15th District

Stanley Trupo, Mayor of Berea through 1999

Donald Umerley, Mayor of Rocky River

Jay Westbrook, President of Cleveland City Council through 1999, now a member of Council

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Coordinating Agency)

ODOT (Ohio Department of Transportation)

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Federal Transportation Administration

Surface Transportation Policy Project (STPP)

Environmental Law Policy Center

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Notes



