

# Exclusionary Zoning in Cuyahoga County

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**Fair Housing Center**  
for Rights & Research

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### About Fair Housing Center for Rights & Research

Fair Housing Center for Rights & Research (The Fair Housing Center) is a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization whose mission is to protect and expand fair housing rights, eliminate housing discrimination, and promote integrated communities. The Fair Housing Center works to achieve its mission through work in three primary areas: research and mapping; education and outreach; and enforcement of fair housing laws through testing, complaint investigation and resolution, and litigation.

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## Imposing “A Moral Geography on Our Cities:” A Brief Introduction to Zoning in America

Zoning is a mechanism used by municipalities to regulate land use and density of the built environment. Modern zoning, on its face, is a race-neutral policy. From its inception and throughout its use in the United States, zoning has generated and perpetuated racial segregation.

Typically, a municipal zoning code creates a set of “use districts,” wherein each district allows a set of building types and uses of those buildings to the exclusion of all other uses and building types. Zoning codes can regulate land use intensity within a district through a number of density-controlling mechanisms. These often include the dimensions of the built environment; i.e. minimum lot sizes, minimum or maximum lot coverage (the footprint of buildings in relation to the size of the lot), minimum or maximum floor space square footage, proximity restrictions, height restrictions, and setback distances (distance from the lot border to the wall of a building). Zoning codes also regulate density by restricting the number of people who can use a space (occupancy restrictions, defining which or how many people are included in a “family”). Prescribed uses within districts can be broad (residential, commercial) or specific (attached single-family houses, hospitals).

In Ohio, state law enabled municipalities to implement zoning ordinances starting in 1920. It spread quickly. By 1930, most Americans lived in municipalities that zone.<sup>1</sup> In the United States, citywide zoning evolved from two earlier forms of land-use regulation: *nuisance law*, in which noxious uses could be excluded or removed from proximity to residential use and *deed restrictions*, in which an owner of a parcel could ban future ownership based on the characteristics of a buyer, commonly their race and religion. Citywide zoning promised to be more effective. Some of the first zoning ordinances were explicitly racist and segregatory. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down racial zoning in 1916 (*Buchanan v. Warley*) and racial deed restrictions in 1948 (*Shelley v. Kraemer*). It is within this context that white Americans came to identify apartments as a noxious use and renters as a proxy for race and class. Their solution would be the exclusive single-family use district.

Countries throughout the world use zoning, but it has taken on a unique character in the United States. Across the U.S., zoning codes give primacy to one type of use in one type of building, the detached, single-family home. This is achieved through the exclusive, residential, single-family use district.<sup>2</sup> From its inception, zoning proponents understood the single-family home to be synonymous with ownership, those who have the right to and can afford to own their own home, but the problem is not the single-family house itself. The problem lies in the exclusive single-family use district. Zoning codes often ban any use deemed harmful to the single-family home and its occupants, which ends up including all other residential and nonresidential uses as well as the people who need them.<sup>3</sup>

In Cuyahoga County, the race and class implications of zoning were apparent from the beginning. U.S. cities already segregated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century were more likely to adopt zoning as a tool to reinforce racial hierarchy.<sup>4</sup> Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Cleveland was experiencing an influx of immigrants from Eastern and

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<sup>1</sup> Norman Krumholz, “Zoning,” *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, Case Western Reserve University. Accessed November 11, 2019: <https://case.edu/ech/articles/z/zoning>

<sup>2</sup> Sonia Hirt, *Zoned in the USA: The Origins and Implications of American Land-Use Regulation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 178-185.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 111-132.

<sup>4</sup> Jessica Trounstein, *Segregation by Design: Local Politics and Inequality in American Cities* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 91.

Southern Europe and African American refugees from the Jim Crow South, and Cleveland's Black population was concentrating in the east side of the city.<sup>5</sup> It was a region expanding outwards and experimenting with exclusion and zoning.

In 1923, a local developer challenged the constitutionality of the Village of Euclid's new zoning code. Federal District Judge and Cleveland, D.C. Westenhaver found that Euclid violated the *Buchanan* decision with its single-family use district. Westenhaver believed and opined the racist sentiment that immigrants and African Americans created nuisance conditions. He also understood that *Buchanan* prohibited municipalities from segregating based on race and class and predicted the segregatory nature of the single-family use district:

[I]t is equally apparent that the next step in the exercise of this police power would be to apply similar restrictions for the purpose of segregating in like manner various groups of newly arrived immigrants. The blighting of property values and the congesting of population, whenever the colored or certain foreign races invade a residential section, are so well known to be with the judicial cognizance.

[T]he result to be accomplished is to classify the population and segregate them according to their income and situation in life. The true reason why some persons live in a mansion and others in a shack, why some live in a single-family dwelling and others in a double-family dwelling and others in an apartment, is primarily economic. It is a matter of income and wealth [...] Aside from contributing to these results [this ordinance] further[s] such class tendencies. (*Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co.*, 1924)

The Supreme Court overturned the Westenhaver decision and upheld the suburb's ordinance dubbing single-use zoning, *Euclidean Zoning*. In the majority opinion, Justice Southerland described apartments as parasitic nuisances.<sup>6</sup>

As cities spread out in the post-war period, single-family zoning went on to rule the American urban landscape, particularly the suburbs, and to alter the social structures of urban regions. In the American suburb, the ascendancy of exclusive single-family zoning gives cartel power to the home owning class. The zoning code enables class-based collective action.<sup>7</sup> Homeowners, the majority class in many suburban municipalities, dominate municipal politics and suburban development with it.

Homeowners tend to vote for and lobby their local officials based on their perceived property values. They exclude anything and anyone that they believe will threaten their property values, and they use the zoning code to achieve their goal.<sup>8</sup> The single-family use district is the primary tool for maintaining exclusion and political supremacy, but density restrictions can also control for class by decreasing affordability. Zoning restrictions, such as large minimum lot sizes, increase the cost of land by creating a false land scarcity.

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<sup>5</sup> Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 159-165.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Allan Wolf, *The Zoning of America: Euclid v. Ambler* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 54-55, 110.

<sup>7</sup> William A. Fischel, *Zoning Rules!: The Economics of Land Use Regulation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2015), 274-283.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 163-164, 312.

Codes that mandate larger houses through large lot coverage requirements or square footage requirements increase the cost of building a house, limiting who can live in a community.

Americans have long internalized that renting is a noxious use and that renters, as a proxy for race and class, reduce property values when in proximity to the single-family home. *Property values* became another proxy for race and class in ideological maintenance of the single-family use district and racial exclusion.<sup>9</sup> In the U.S., home ownership is primarily the historical privilege of the white middle and upper classes.<sup>10</sup> Most Black families rent, and in 2019, Black homeownership has fallen to historic lows.<sup>11</sup> The single-family use district empowers whites to maintain white-only communities as a form of wealth hoarding and rent seeking and it achieves exactly that.<sup>12</sup> Homeowners reap an undo monopoly profit through an artificially depressed housing and land supply and reduced access to property-enhancing public goods provided by an exclusively zoned municipality and school district. Zoning and segregation perpetuate regional inequality by separating the rich and poor, causing unequal provision of public services and amenities.<sup>13</sup>

Zoning is one part of the apparatus that creates and enforces racial segregation. Regions that implemented zoning the earliest became the most segregated.<sup>14</sup> Greater Cleveland communities implemented zoning early enough to name it. The Cleveland region now has the distinction of being one of the few hyper-segregated metro-areas in the U.S.<sup>15</sup> Zoning has codified the moral order of racial segregation.

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<sup>9</sup> Trounstine, *Segregation by Design*, 46, 123.

<sup>10</sup> Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), 59-76.

<sup>11</sup> James H. Carr, Michela Zonta, Steven P. Hornburg, and William Spriggs, 2019 *State of Housing in Black America* (National Association of Real Estate Brokers BOARD OF DIRECTORS).

<sup>12</sup> Jonathan Levine, *Zoned Out: Regulation, Markets, and Choices in Transportation and Metropolitan Land Use* (Washington, D.C: Resources for Our Future, 2006), 78-82.

<sup>13</sup> Levine, *Zoned Out*, 94-95.

Trounstine, *Segregation by Design*, 92-96, 207.

Fischel, *Zoning Rules!*, 237.

<sup>14</sup> Trounstine, *Segregation by Design*, 94.

<sup>15</sup> Douglas S. Massey and Jonathan Tannen, "A Research Note on Trends in Black Hypersegregation," *Demography* vol. 52 issue 3 (2015), 1025-1034.

## Zoning in Cuyahoga County

The Fair Housing Center for Rights & Research analyzed zoning codes of every municipality in Cuyahoga County. Fifty-eight of fifty-nine municipalities in Cuyahoga County zone. Only the Village of Linndale does not use zoning.

The exclusive, single-family, residential use district dominates the geography of Cuyahoga County; 58.1% of all land in Cuyahoga County is zoned to allow single-family homes as the exclusive residential use. Only 16.9% of all land in Cuyahoga County is zoned to allow two-family buildings or larger. The zoning regulations of eleven municipalities currently ban rentals altogether. These are the Cities of Highland Heights and Independence; the Villages of Bentleyville, Bratenahl, Brooklyn Heights, Gates Mills, Glenwillow, Hunting Valley, Moreland Hills, and Walton Hills; and Chagrin Falls Township. Further, land regulated to permit multifamily housing in Cuyahoga County is concentrated in the City of Cleveland and several eastside suburbs.

The presence of use districts that permit multifamily housing corresponds, imperfectly, to the presence of people of color (see page 5). High median single-family lot size strengthens zoning's relationship to racial exclusion. Three municipalities do not fit this analysis. The City of Lakewood, more than 90% white, is densely built and zoned primarily for multifamily. The City of Bedford Heights and the Village of Woodmere, both majority Black, are zoned primarily for single-family with lots larger than the county average of .18 acres.

While single-family districts are exclusive to single-family houses, districts that permit multifamily residential use are often cumulative zoning, or hierarchical zoning, or are influenced by cumulative zoning. Cumulative zoning permits preferential, low-density uses in districts zoned for high-density, i.e. single-family homes are permitted in apartment districts.<sup>16</sup> Forms of cumulative zoning are prevalent in Cuyahoga County. More than a quarter of land *available* for multifamily-use in Cuyahoga County is currently occupied by single-family houses, further reducing space for renters in some municipalities.

Zoning is not the sole explanatory factor of racial segregation in Cuyahoga County, but one of many tools that caused racial segregation. Explicit refusal to rent or sell based on race, blockbusting, and racial steering by real estate agents caused segregation.<sup>17</sup> Redlining, strategic municipal disinvestment, and urban renewal caused segregation. Highway construction and white flight to the suburbs caused segregation,<sup>18</sup> as did municipal fragmentation paired with exclusionary zoning. What makes zoning different is that it codifies racially segregated living patterns, and while many of the other factors listed have been discredited or made illegal, zoning persists. Zoning is part of the structure of racism that maintains racial segregation and racial inequality.

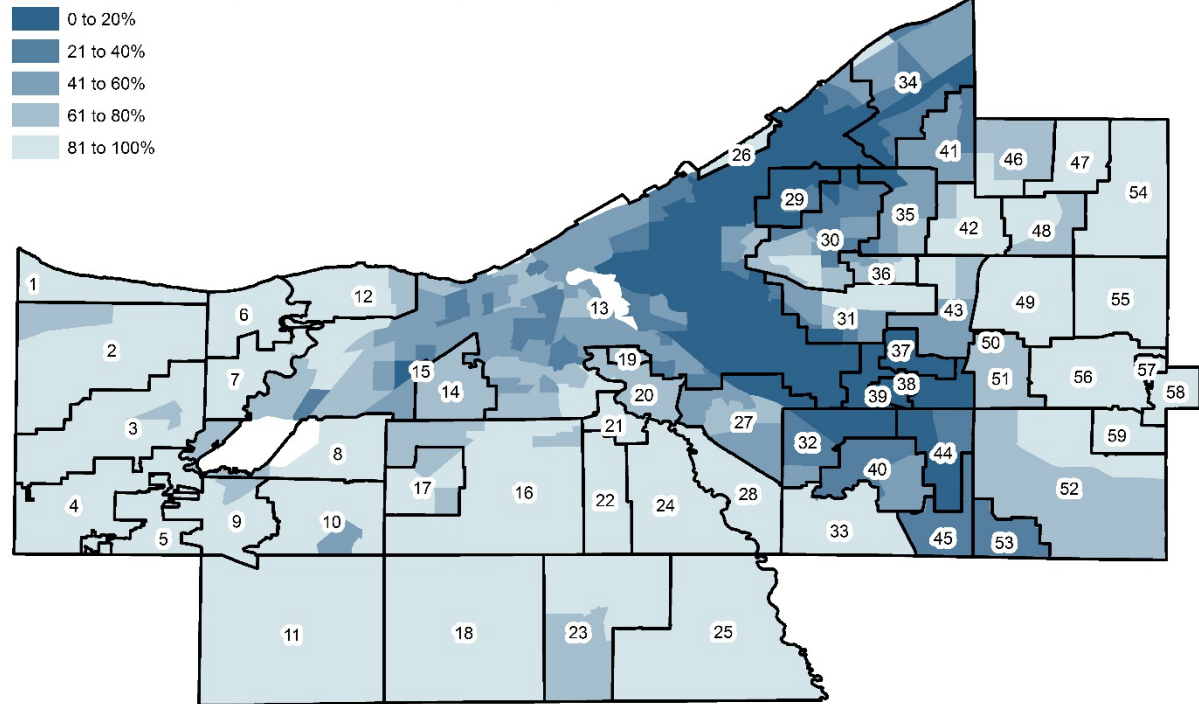
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<sup>16</sup> Sonia Hirt, *Zoned in the USA*, 36-43.

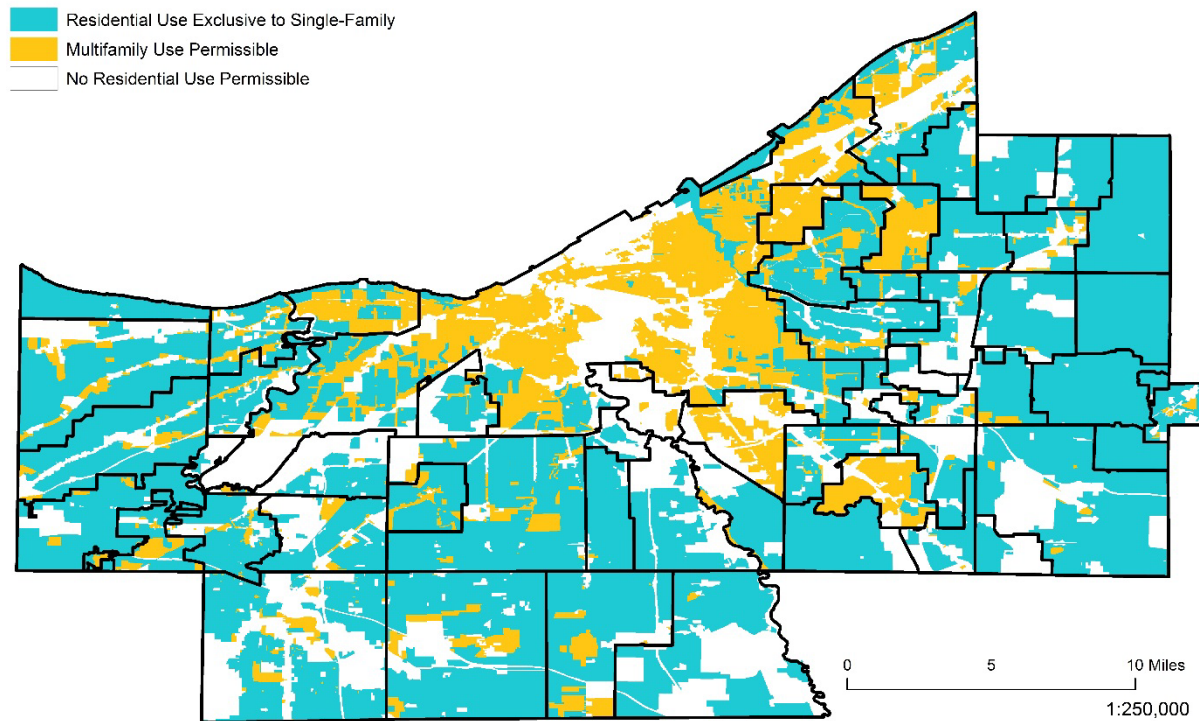
<sup>17</sup> W. Dennis Keating, *The Suburban Racial Dilemma: Housing and Neighborhoods* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1994).

<sup>18</sup> Daniel R. Kerr, *Derelict Paradise: Homelessness and Urban Development in Cleveland, Ohio* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 128-199.

Percentage of the Population that is White, Non-Hispanic



(Source: American Community Survey 2017 5-Year Estimates; see page 71 for a key of Cuyahoga County municipalities)



## Recommendations:

1. **Amend Ohio law to prohibit municipalities and townships from regulating residential use to exclude or to limit renters.** Zoning creates a power dynamic where the zoned-for majority influence local policy to exclude people they do not wish to live with, resulting in racial segregation. It is the power structure that must be broken by removing a municipality's prerogative to regulate for residential type. The prerogative must be removed. Even so-called Inclusionary Zoning (a regulatory strategy that permits or sometimes mandates affordable housing) maintains the exclusive power structure.
2. **Stop publically funding economic development, schools, roads, highways, and other infrastructure in exclusionary jurisdictions from regional sources (county, state, federal).** When a regional governmental entity subsidizes public goods provision or enhances the tax base of exclusively zoned municipalities through public subsidy, they exacerbate the effects of racial segregation and racial inequality in Cuyahoga County.

When a regional governmental entity subsidizes road and highway construction and maintenance to an exclusively zoned municipality, they facilitate its residents' ability to profit from a regional economy without sharing the benefits. They enable and perpetuate segregative municipal land use regulations.

3. **Implement regional property tax-base sharing.** An exclusively zoned municipality derives part of the value of its tax base from its residents' ability to participate in a regional economy while maximizing the tax liability that they recapture through exclusionary, property-enhancing service provision. For those who live in wealthy enclaves, segregation is lucrative.

Regional property tax-base sharing would reduce the influence of zoning and segregation on unequal municipal service provision and possibly even reduce the incentive for living in an exclusively zoned municipality.

## Notes on the Data

The Fair Housing Center analyzed the zoning codes for every municipality in Cuyahoga County (excluding the Village of Linndale, which does not zone). The Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office and the Department of Information Technology maintain two GIS files that include municipal zoning codes: a parcel file and a zoning file. The Fair Housing Center relied on both files for the analysis below. Both files are incomplete. The zoning file contains a column titled “MUNI\_ZONE,” and for most cities its categories correspond directly with a municipality’s zoning code. When The Fair Housing Center encountered errors with the MUNI\_ZONE column, it used the Fiscal Office’s generalized land use categories in column “ZONE\_USE” in conjunction with the municipality’s published zoning code. The cities analyzed using the ZONE\_USE summary category are noted on their respective pages. The Fair Housing Center reached out to most of the Cuyahoga County municipalities to obtain zoning GIS data, and most do not maintain their own digitized zoning maps. For those that do, their data was not used in this report.

There are hundreds of unique use districts in Cuyahoga County. In the below analysis, the reader will not find an examination of individual use districts for each municipality. Most zoning codes are available online should the reader wish to analyze them.

The Fair Housing Center summarized each use district into three categories: “residential use exclusive to single-family,” “multifamily use permissible,” and “no residential use permissible.”

- The **residential use exclusive to single-family** category includes use districts that only permit attached and detached single-family homes as residential structures. In most districts of this type, residential use is the sole use allowed. In some municipalities, nonresidential use is permitted in this type of district, but usually limited to libraries, parks, and schools. In Cuyahoga County, single-family homes are often available for rent, but the purpose of this category is to highlight use districts where the original regulatory intent was to isolate homeowners.
- The **multifamily use permissible** category includes use districts that permit 2-family structures and greater, multistory condominium buildings (The Fair Housing Center finds a significant condo-to-rental market in Greater Cleveland), and mixed commercial and residential structures. These districts often permit single-family homes as well as commercial and light industrial uses. The purpose of this category is to highlight use districts where the original regulatory intent was to allow renters.
- The **no residential use permissible** category includes use districts where current regulations do not allow residential use.

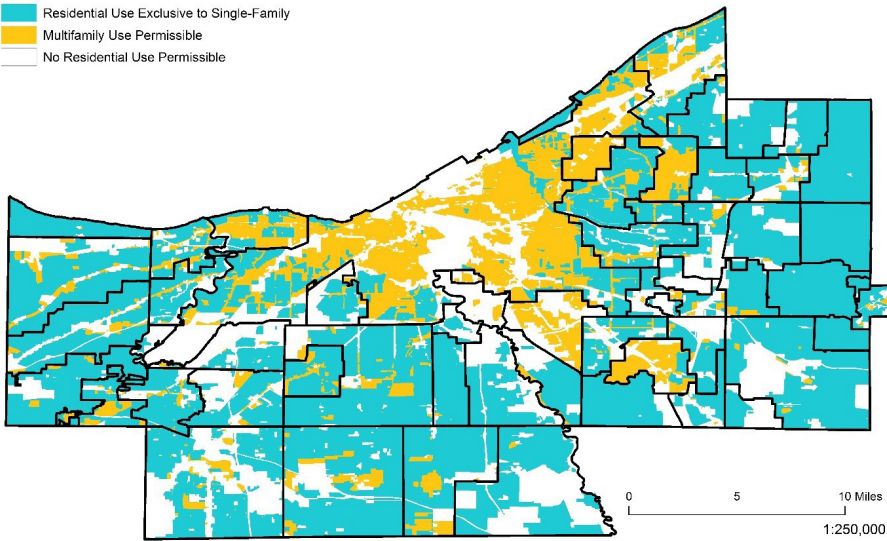
A reader of this report might notice that the real-world use in specific locations does not correspond with summarized regulations depicted in this report. In zoning, grandfathering and exemptions are common and will not be reflected in the below analysis. This report examines land use regulations, not current land use. Typically, regulation and actual use coincide.

In this report, there are several analyses of **single-family lot size distribution**. These analyses include all lots currently occupied by single-family housing in a municipality and are not restricted to the **residential use exclusive to single-family** use districts. These analyses are meant to provide an estimate of zoning’s effect on land consumption and density in comparison to exclusion.



# HOW TO READ THIS DOCUMENT

■ Residential Use Exclusive to Single-Family  
■ Multifamily Use Permissible  
■ No Residential Use Permissible



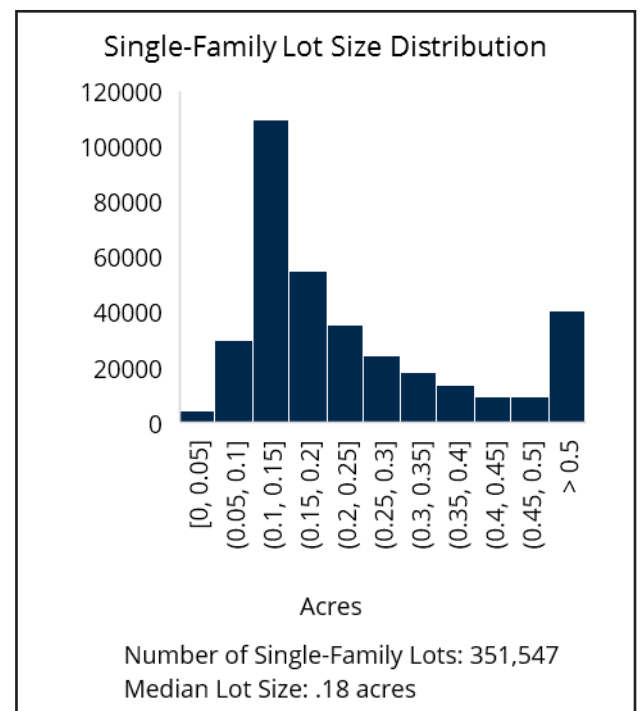
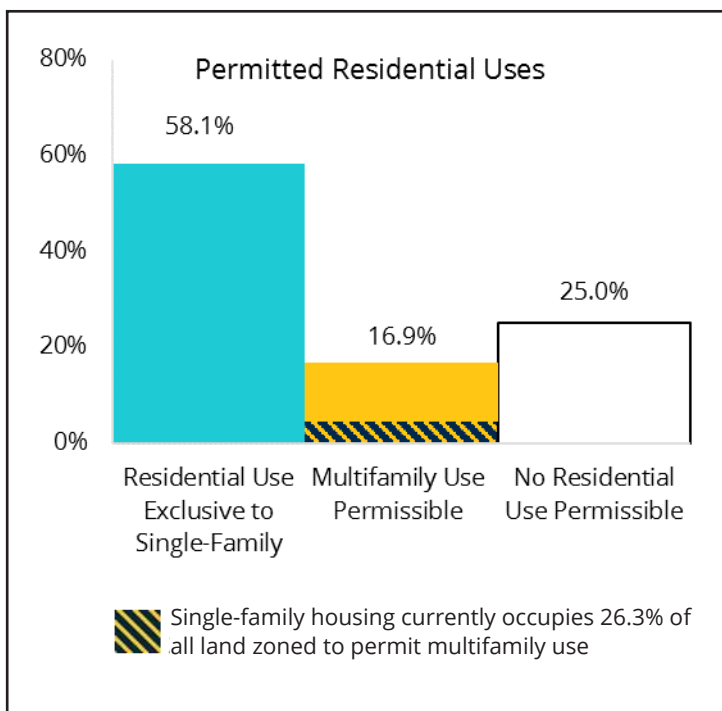
⬅ This map shows how residential use is currently regulated.

■ **Light blue** shows zoning use districts where residential use is exclusive to single-family houses, both attached and detached. Light blue shows areas where regulation favors home-ownership.

■ **Yellow** shows zoning use districts where multifamily use is permissible. Multifamily includes two-family buildings and higher. Yellow shows areas where regulation permits apartments.

■ **White** shows zoning use districts that currently do not permit residential use.

⬆ This map **does not** show how a space might currently be being used. In zoning exemptions and grandfathering are common.



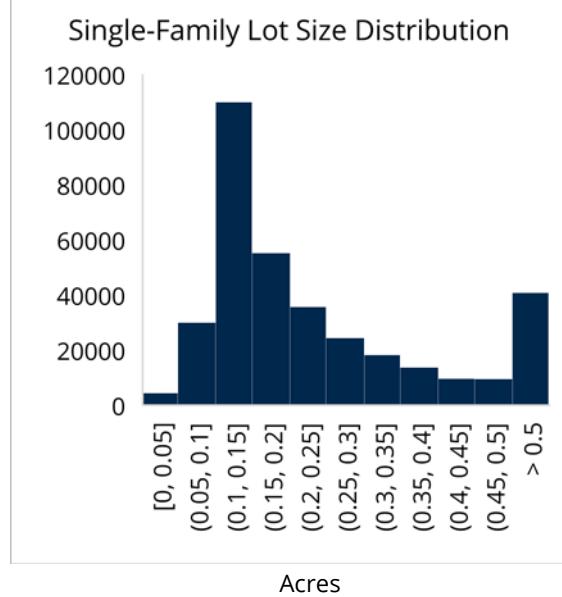
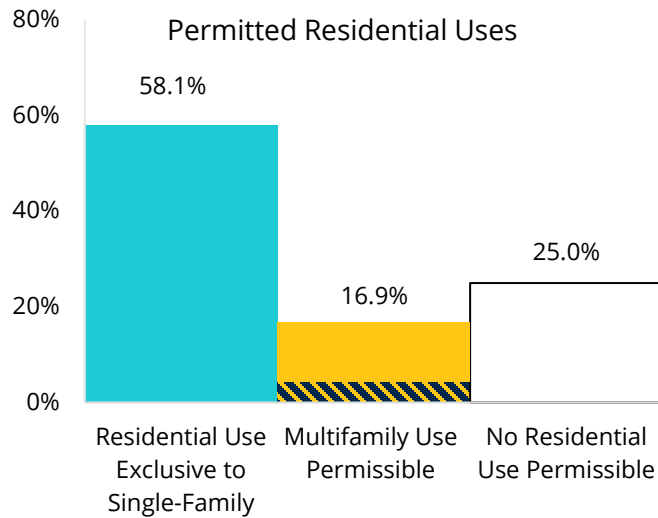
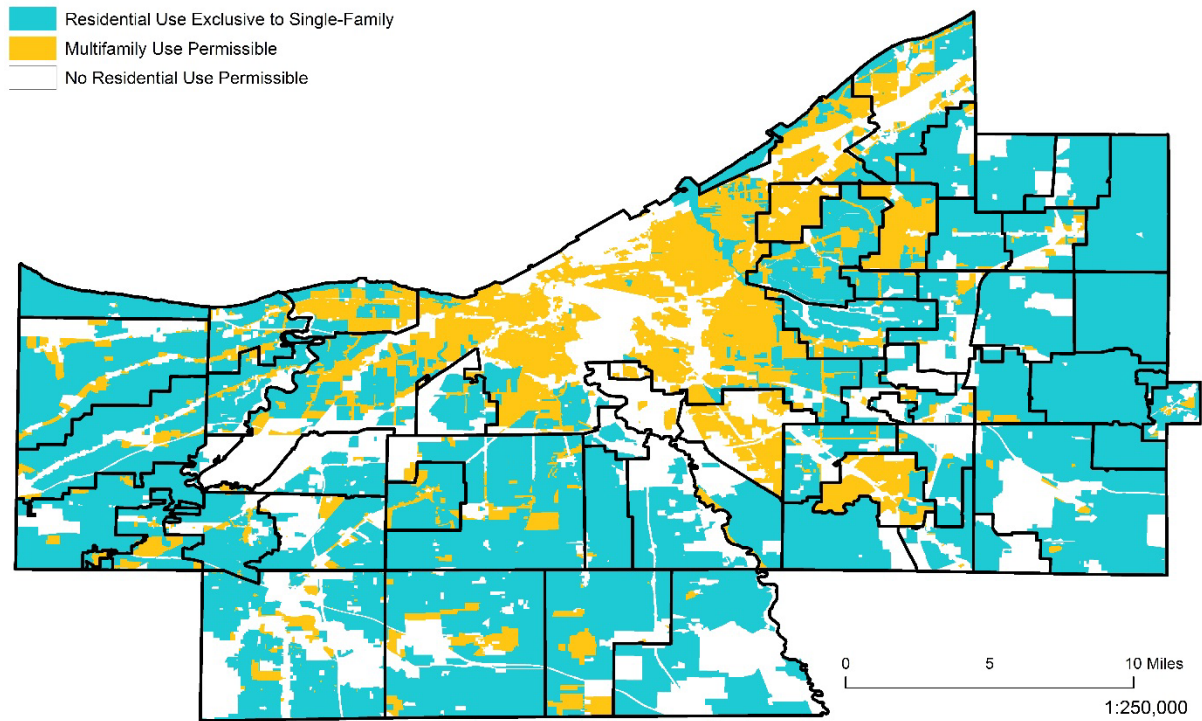
⬆ This chart directly corresponds to the map above.

■ **Yellow and dark-blue cross hatching** shows how much of the land available for multifamily use (yellow) is currently occupied by single-family houses, further reducing land-availability for multifamily use.

⬆ This chart shows the distribution of single-family lot sizes as an estimate of zoning's effect on land use intensity. This chart includes all single family lots, not just those within a district where single-family houses are the exclusive residential use.

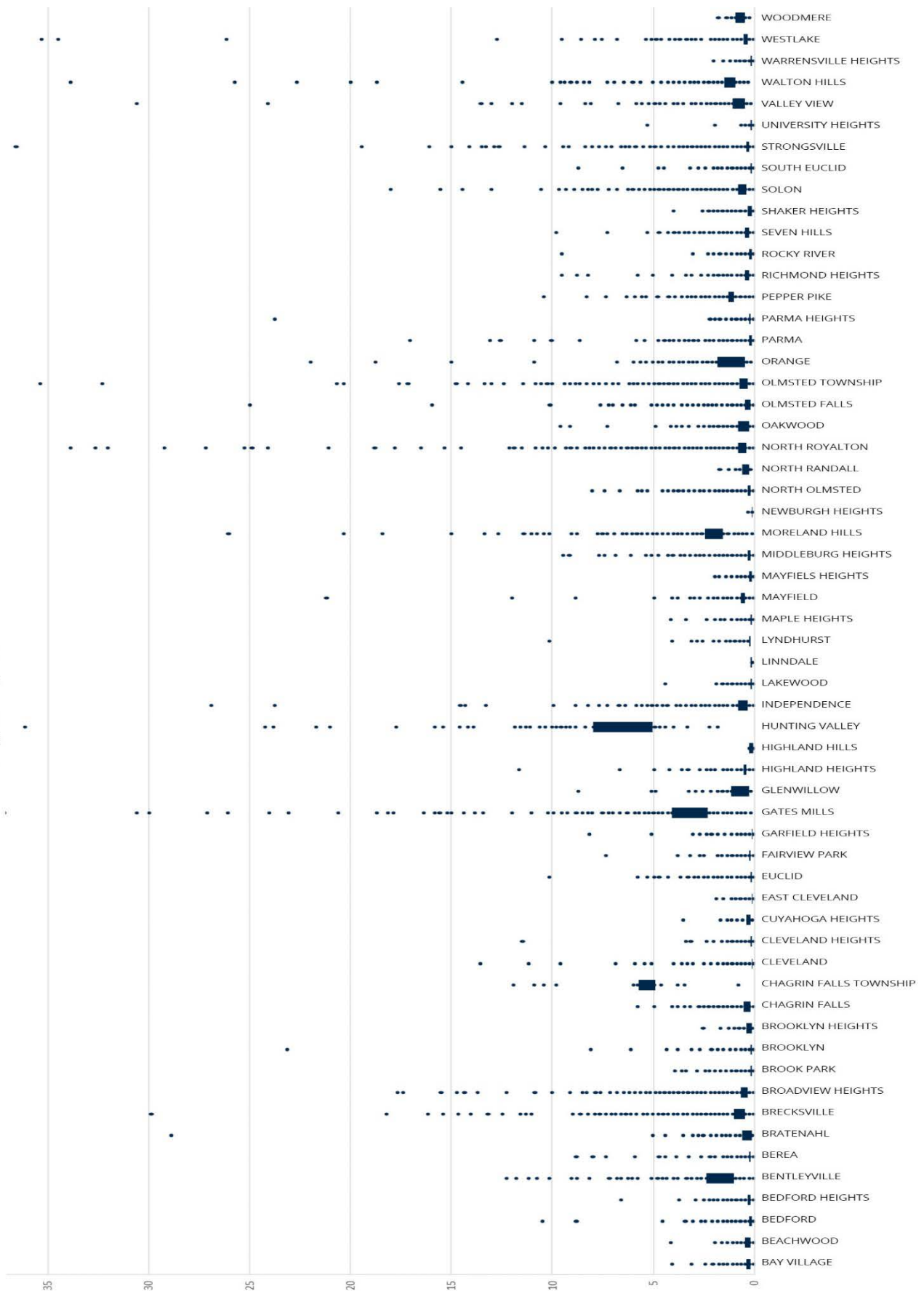


## Cuyahoga County

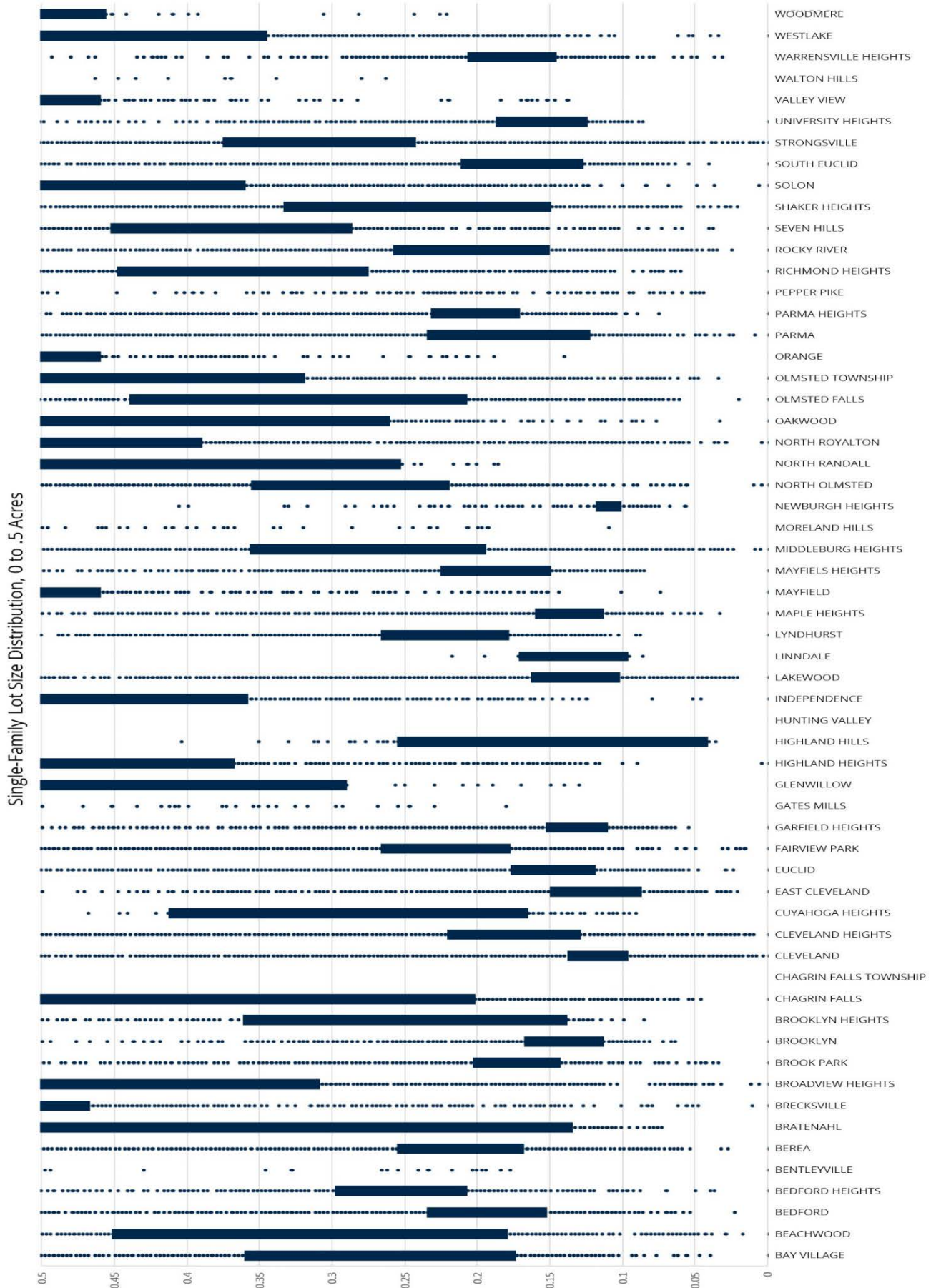


Number of Single-Family Lots: 351,547  
Median Lot Size: .18 acres

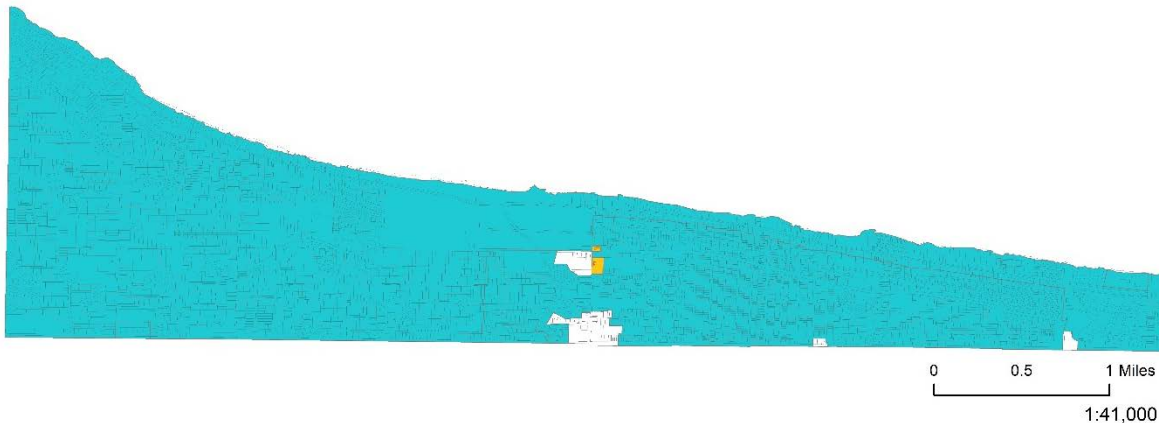
Single-Family Lot Size Distribution



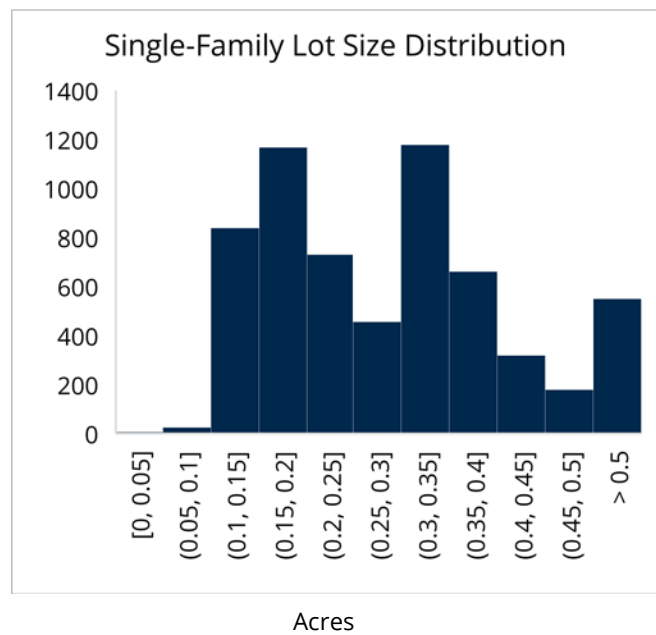
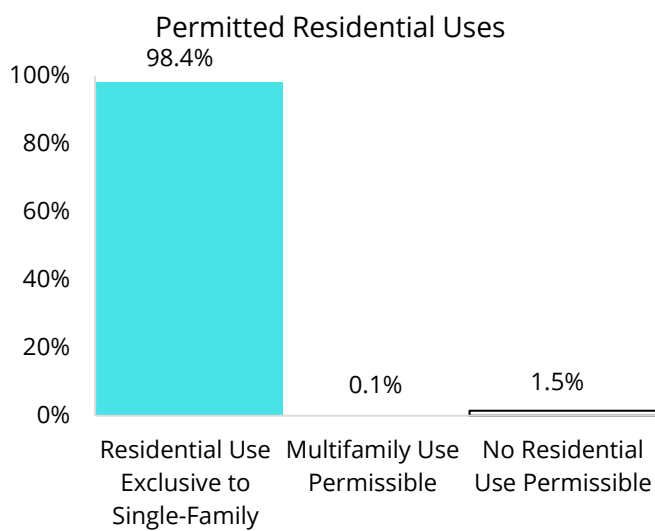
## Exclusionary Zoning in Cuyahoga County



# Bay Village



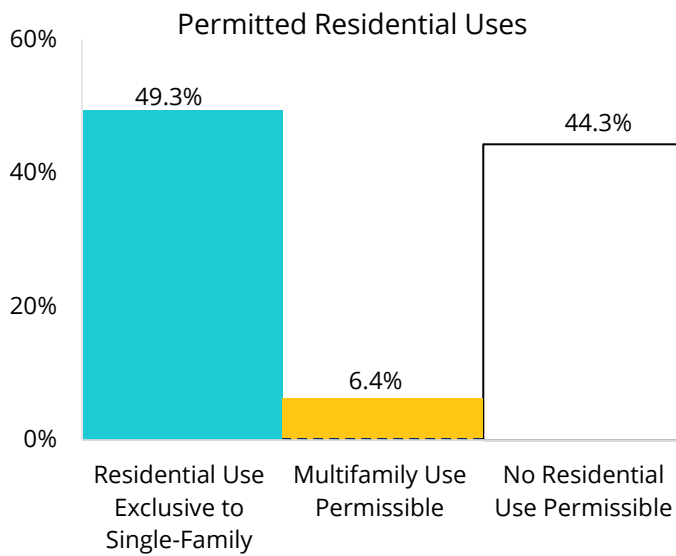
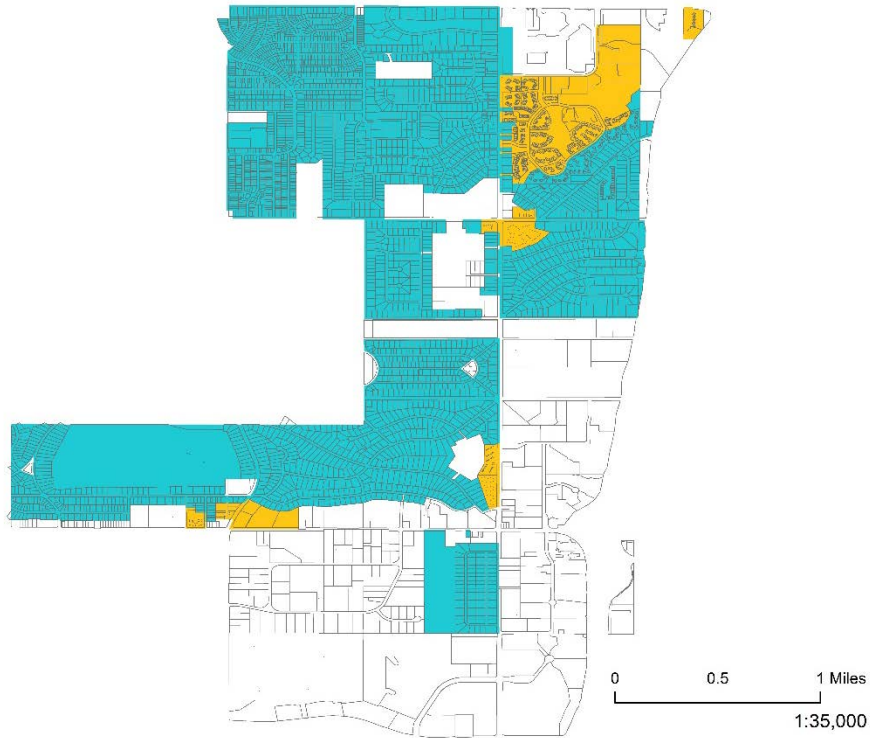
\*Zoning analysis for Bay Village relies on Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office's "zoning use" summary category, not the municipal zoning code.



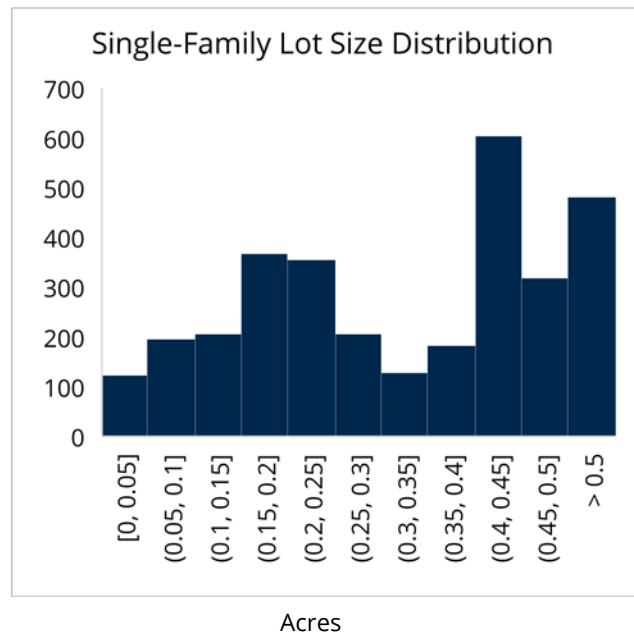
Number of Single-Family Lots: 6110  
Median Lot Size: .28 acres



## Beachwood

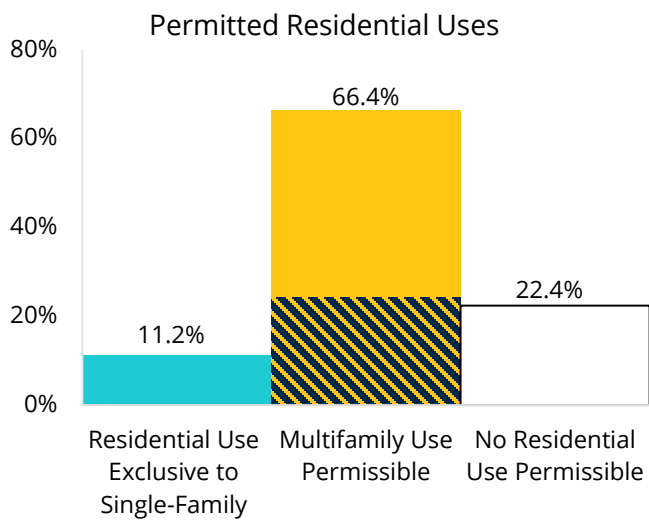
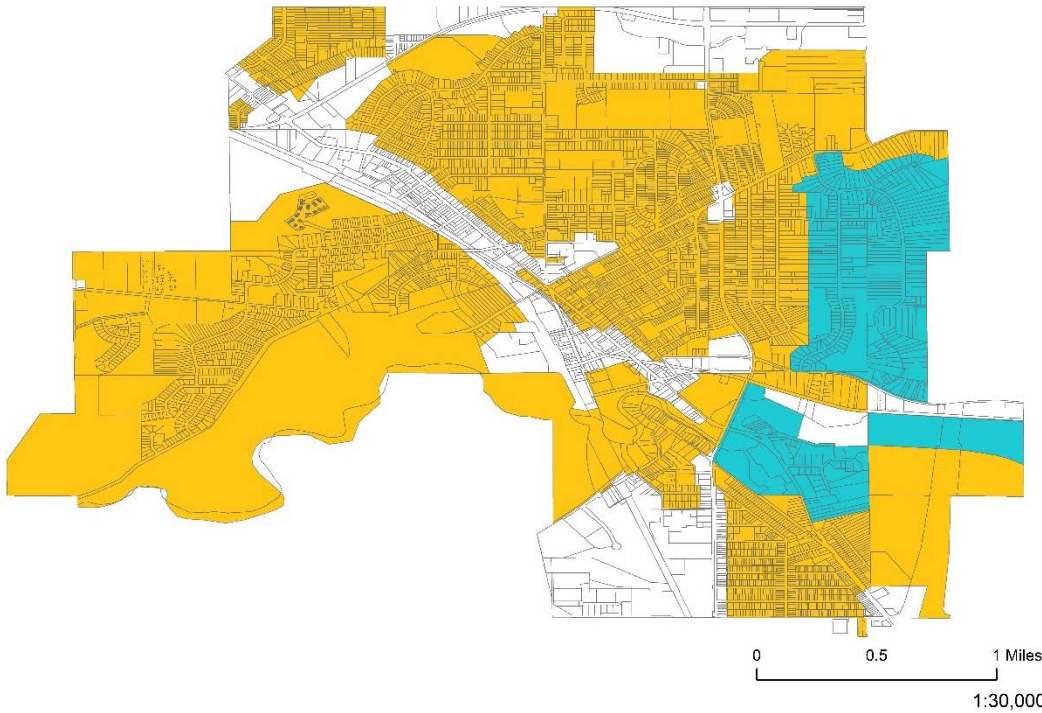



Single-family housing currently occupies 6.8% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

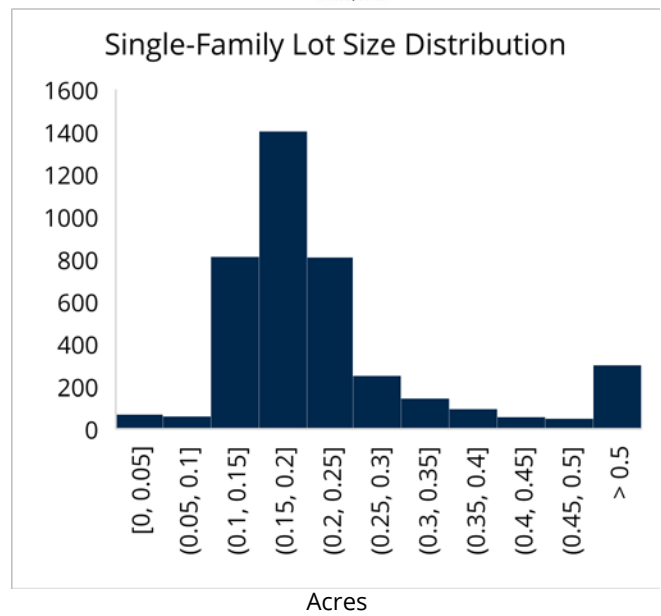


Number of Single-Family Lots: 3167  
Median Lot Size: .35 acres

# Bedford

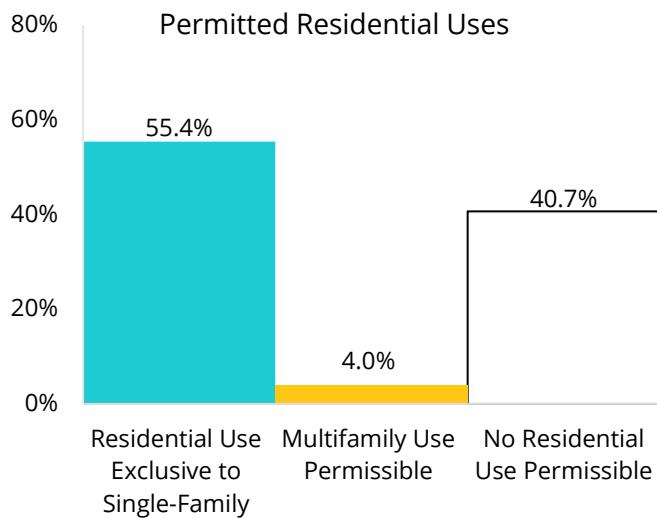
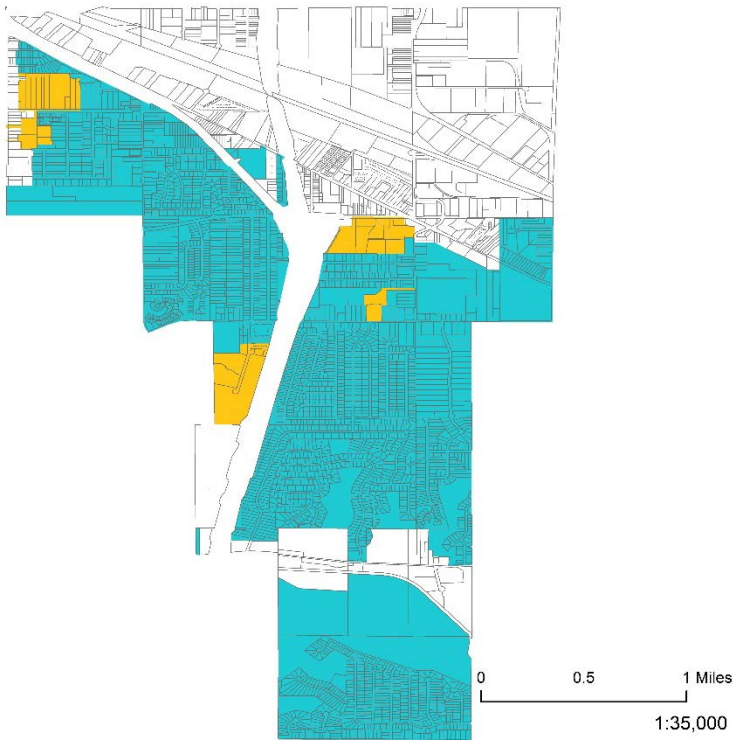


 Single-family housing currently occupies 36.8% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

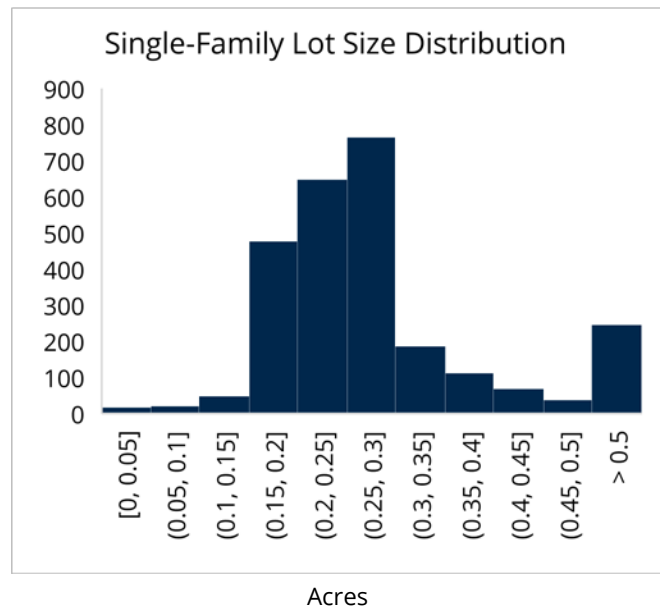


Number of Single-Family Lots: 4037  
Median Lot Size: .19 acres

## Bedford Heights

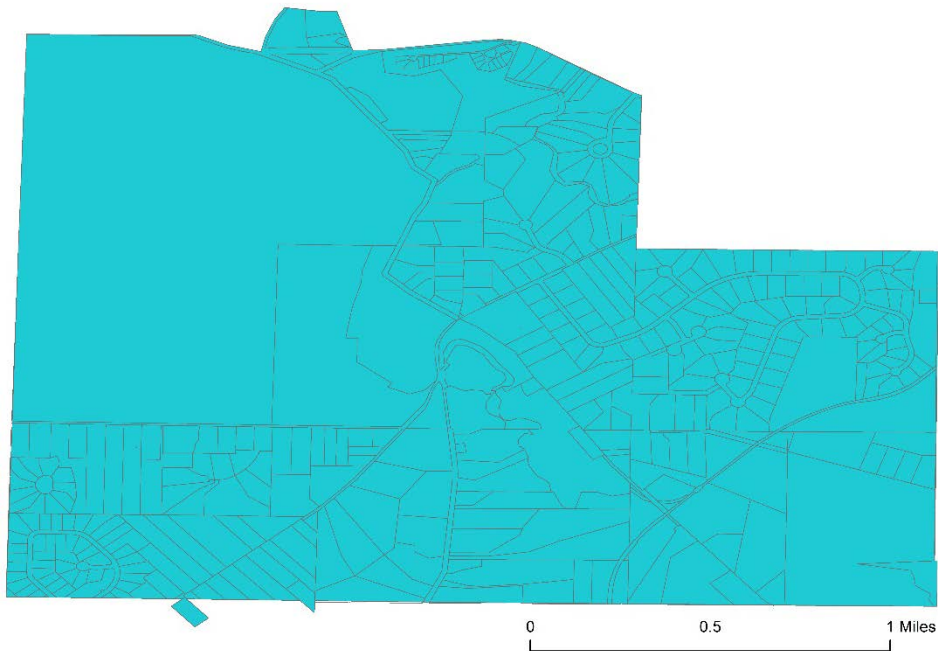


Single-family housing currently occupies 1.7% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

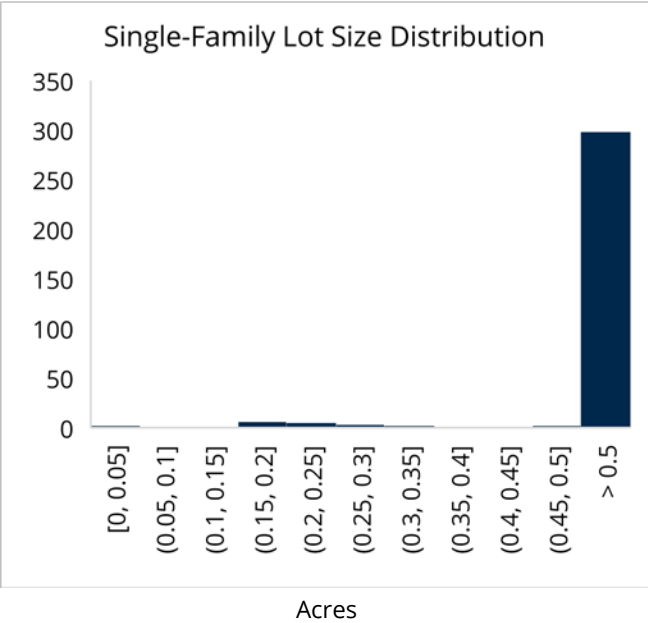
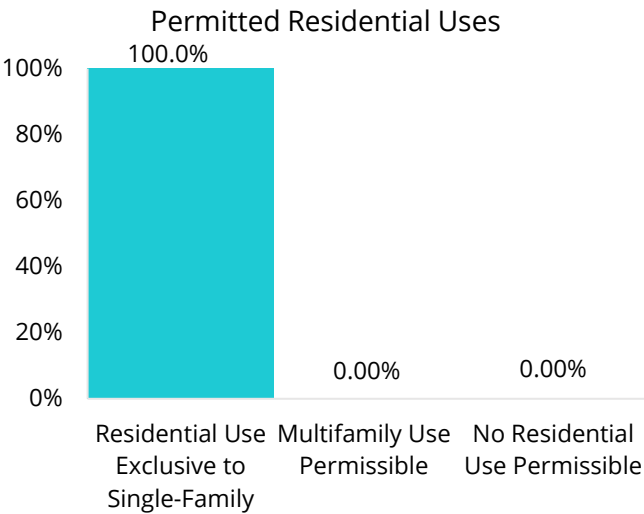


Number of Single-Family Lots: 2623  
Median Lot Size: .26 acres

# Bentleyville



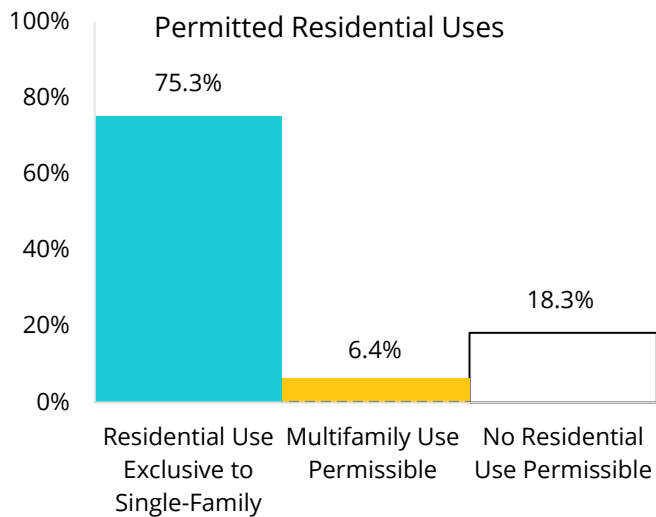
\*Zoning analysis for Bentleyville relies on Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office's "zoning use" summary category, not the municipal zoning code.




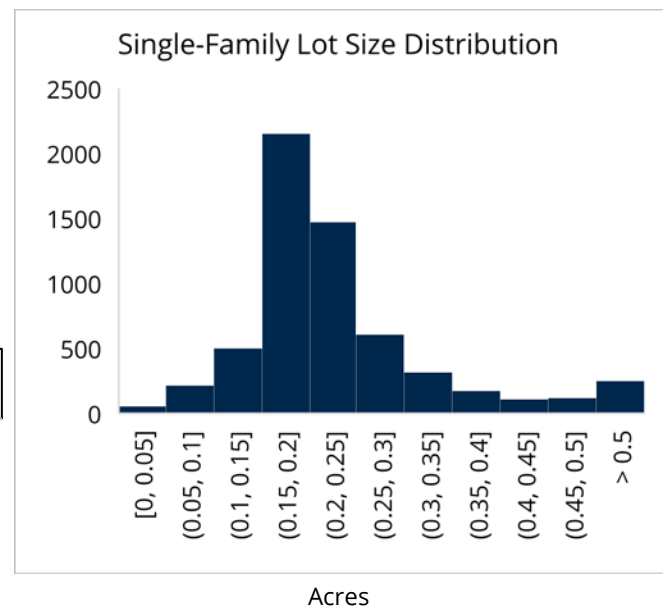
Number of Single-Family Lots: 319  
 Median Lot Size: 1.5 acres



## Berea

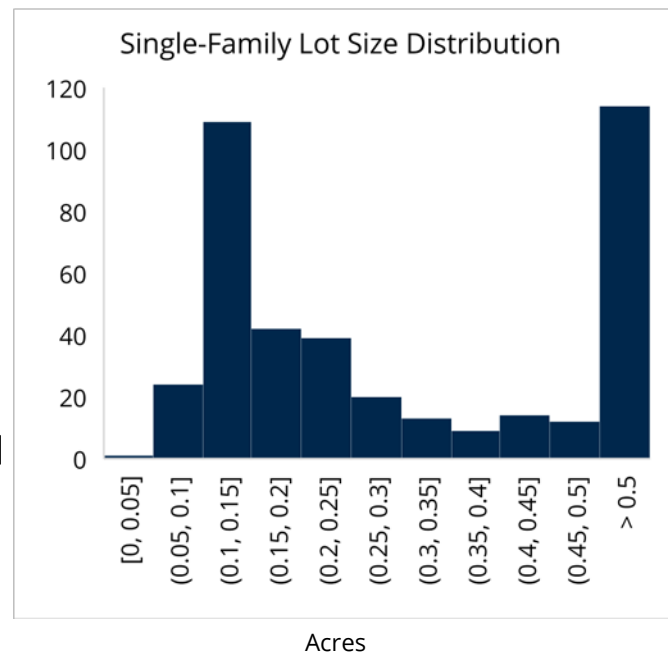
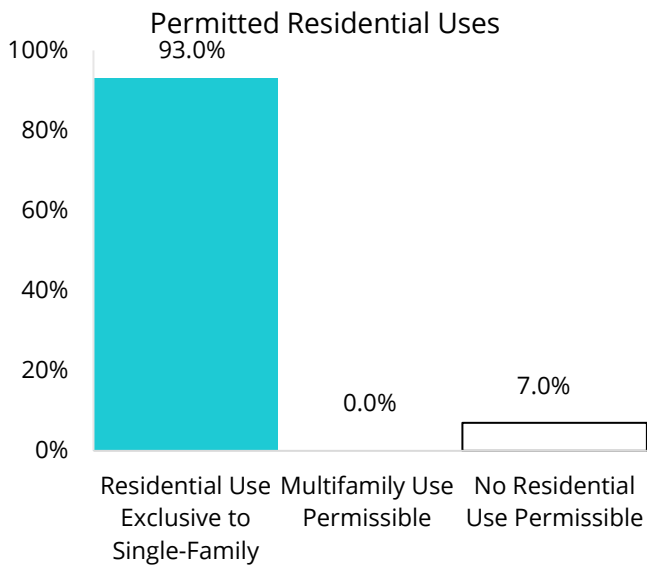
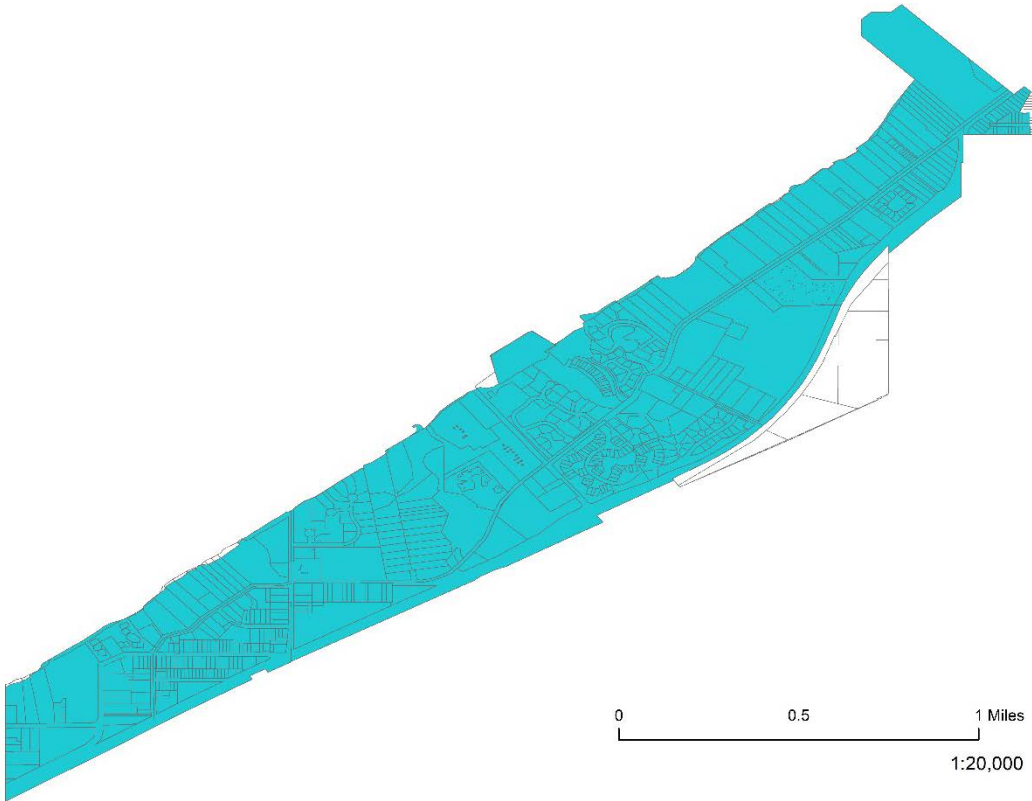


 Single-family housing currently occupies 7.9% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



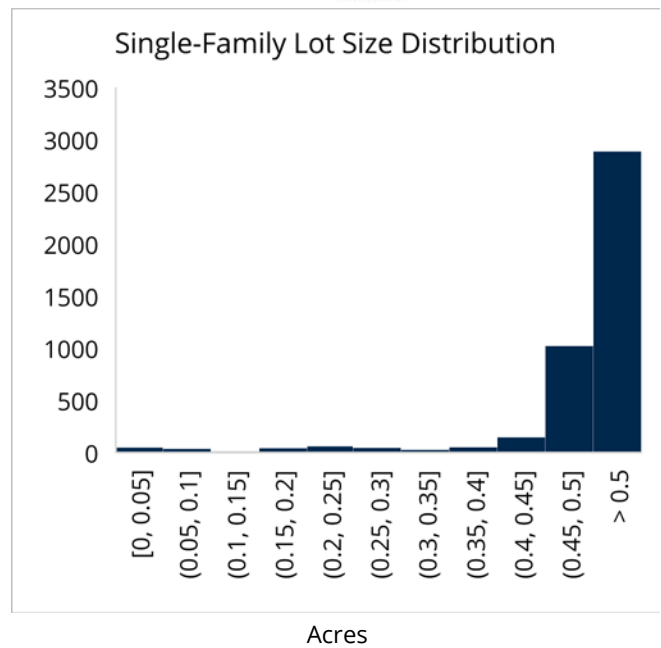
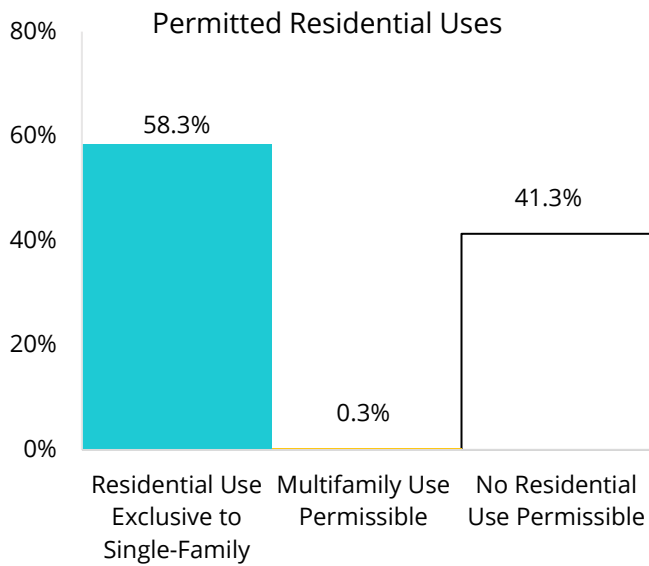
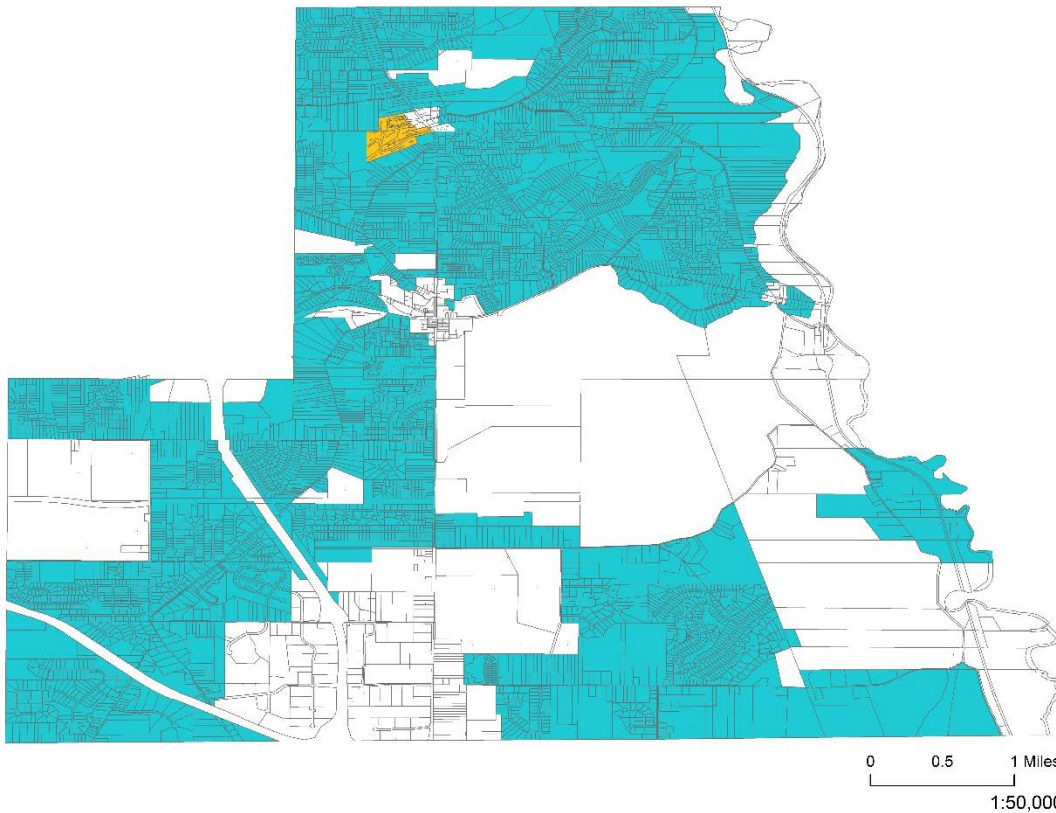
Number of Single-Family Lots: 5961  
Median Lot Size: .2 acres

# Bratenahl



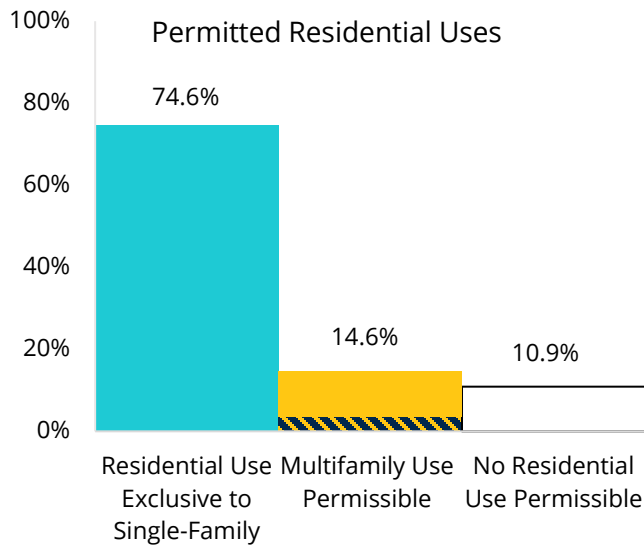
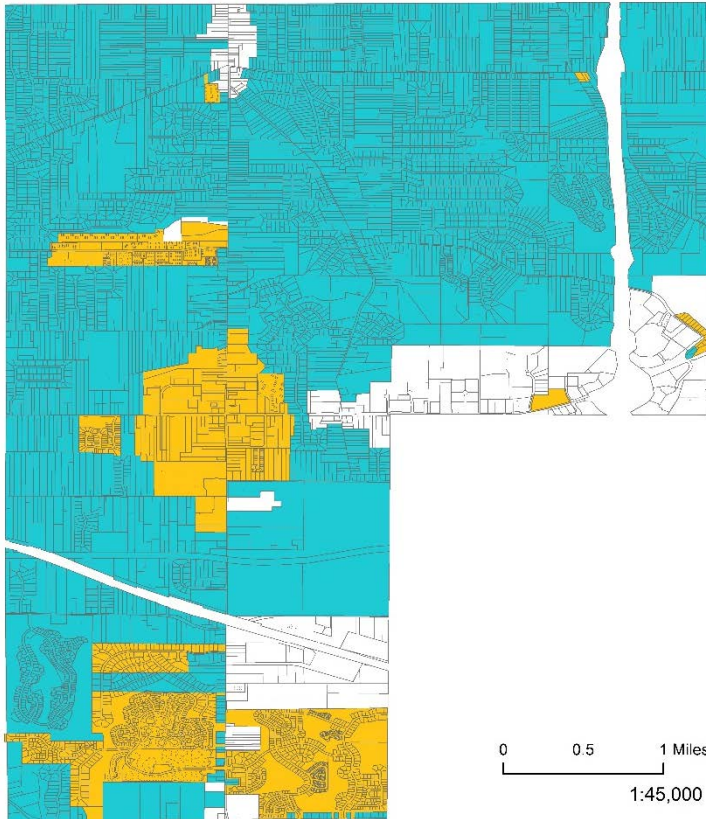
Number of Single-Family Lots: 397  
Median Lot Size: .23 acres

# Brecksville

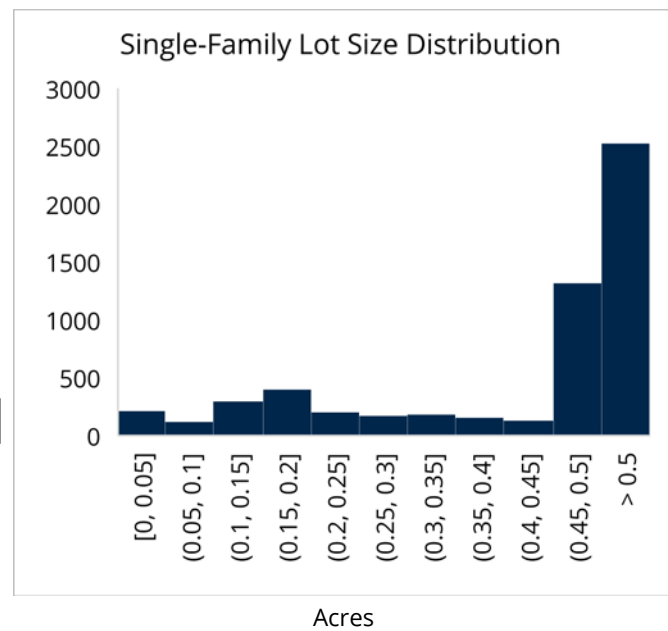


Number of Single-Family Lots: 4378  
Median Lot Size: .6 acres

# Broadview Heights

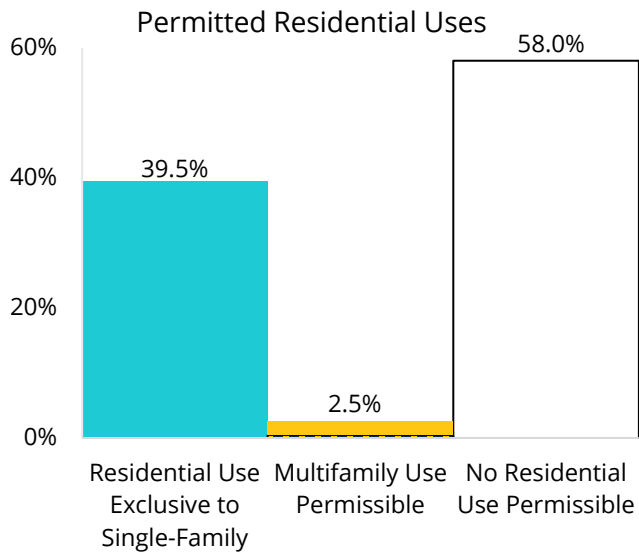
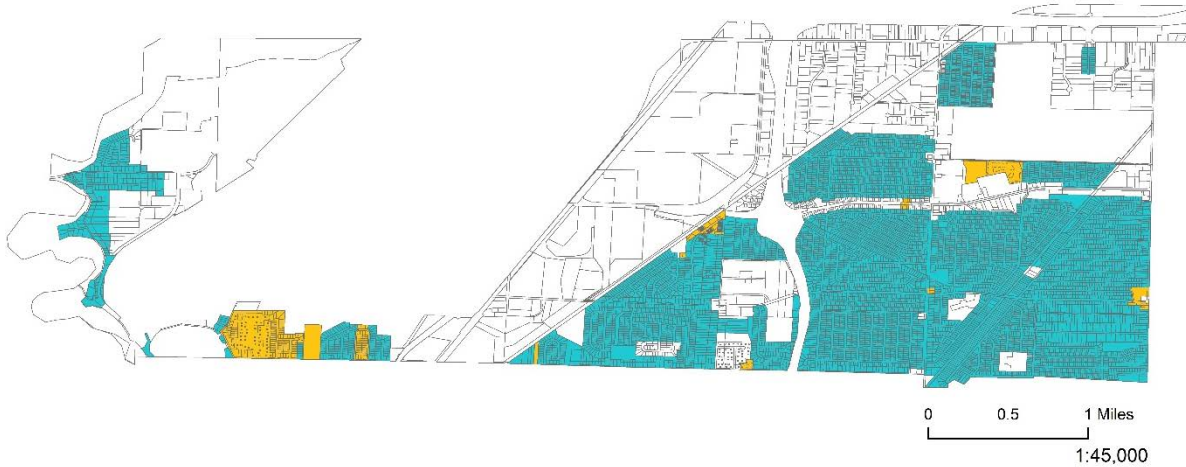


Single-family housing currently occupies 24.3% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

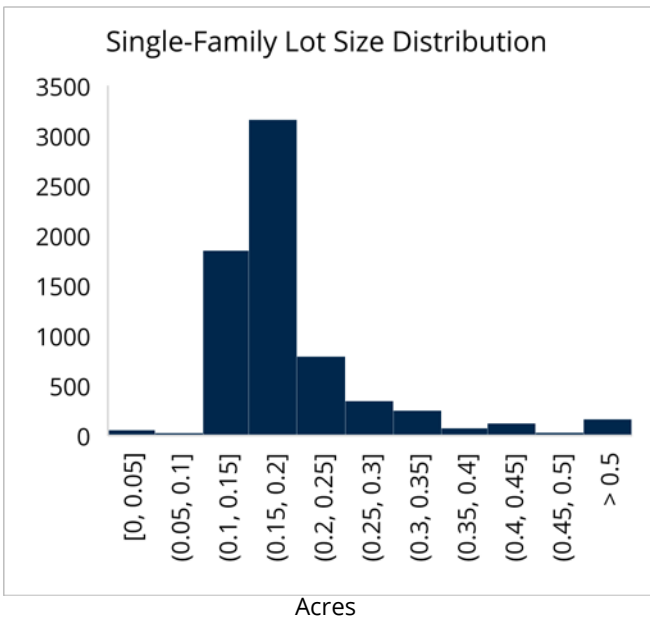


Number of Single-Family Lots: 5700  
Median Lot Size: .48 acres

## Brook Park



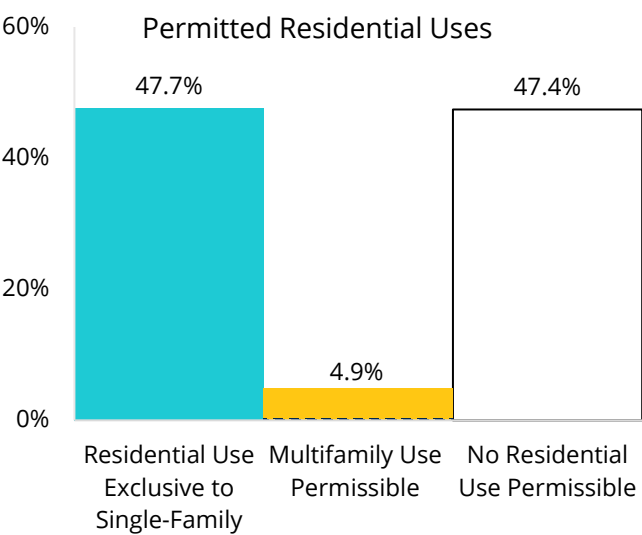
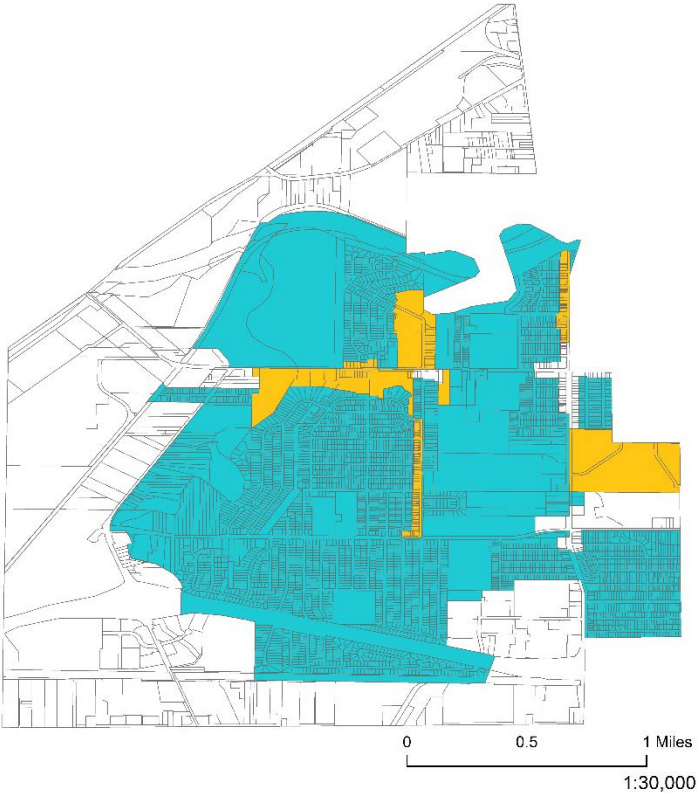
Single-family housing currently occupies 18.4% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



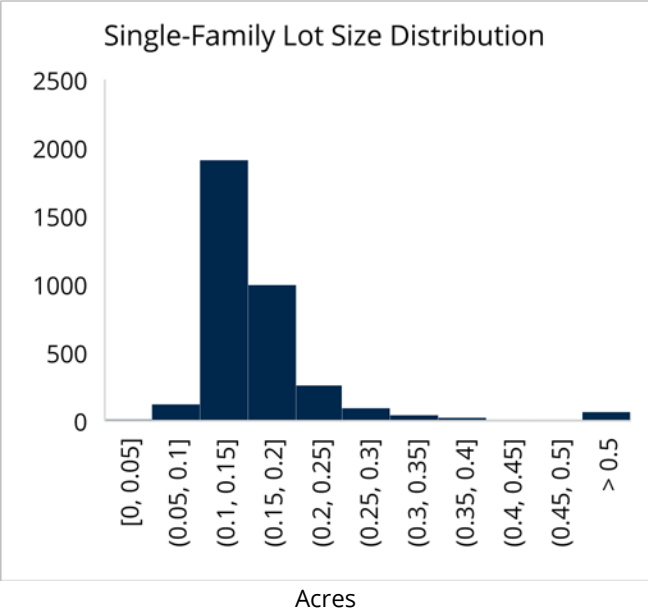
Number of Single-Family Lots: 6863  
Median Lot Size: .17 acres



# Brooklyn

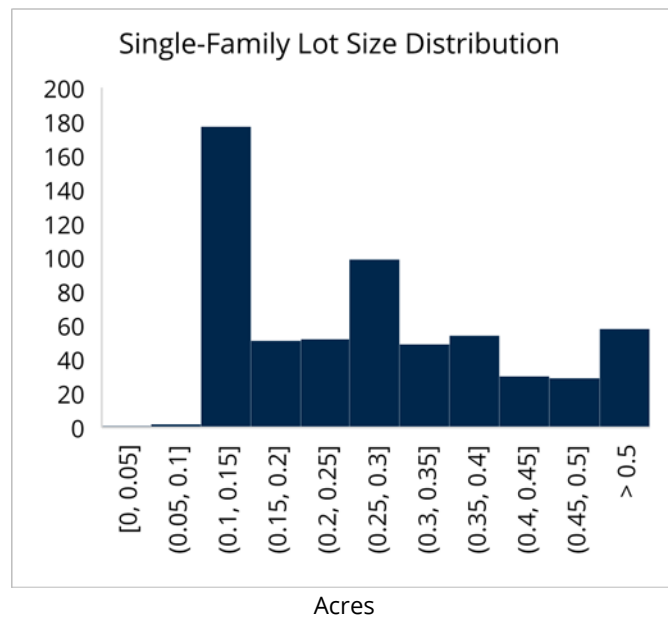
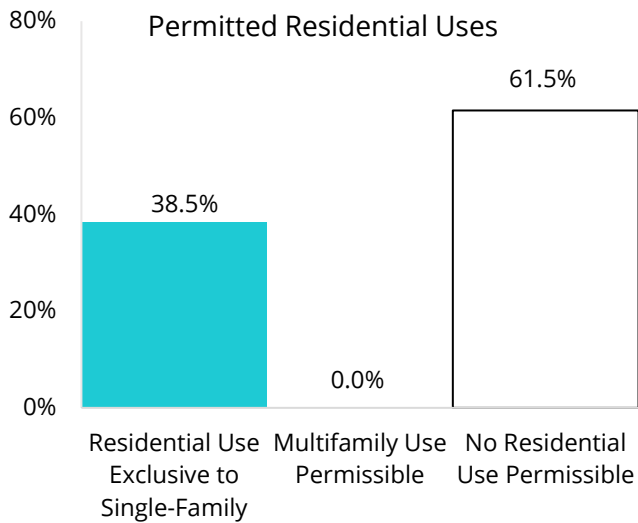
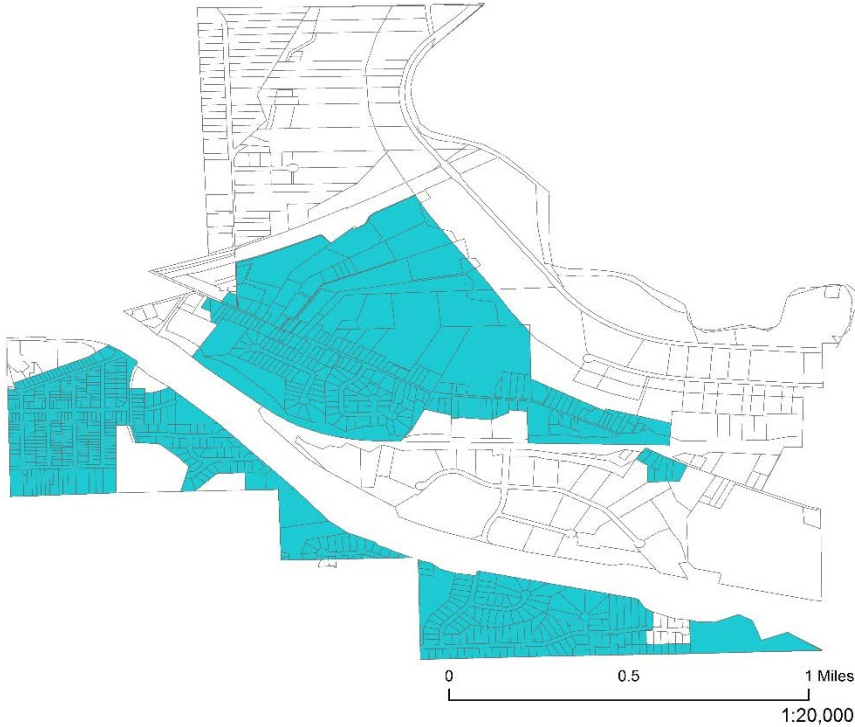


Single-family housing currently occupies 8.1% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



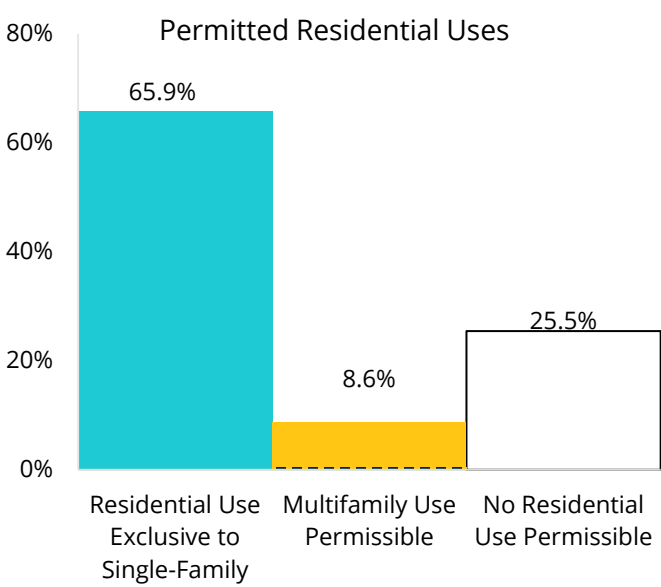
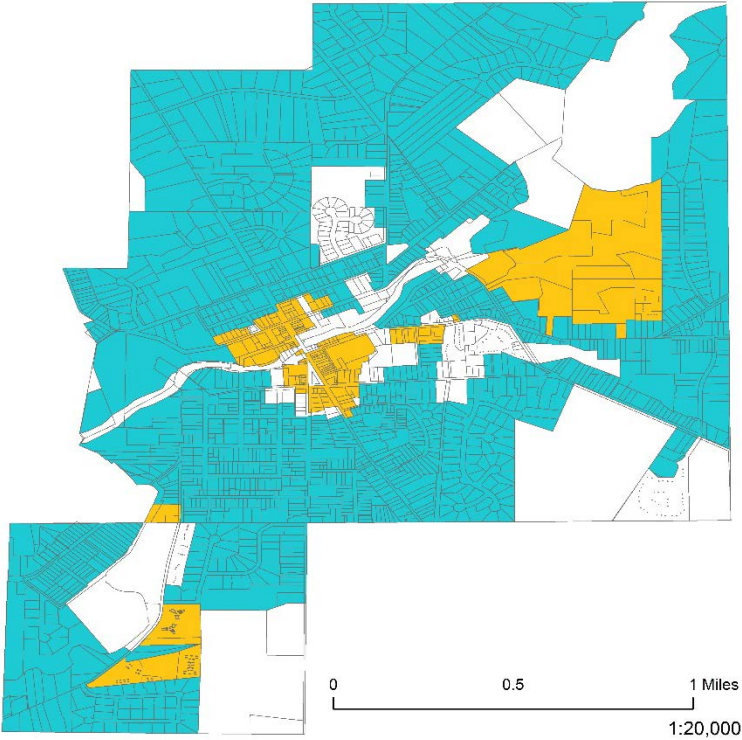
Number of Single-Family Lots: 3544  
Median Lot Size: .14 acres

## Brooklyn Heights

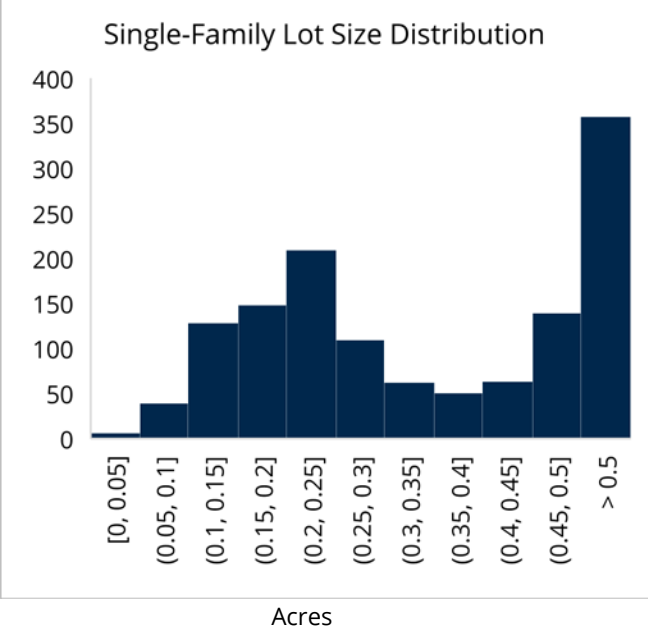


Number of Single-Family Lots: 602  
Median Lot Size: .26 acres

# Chagrin Falls



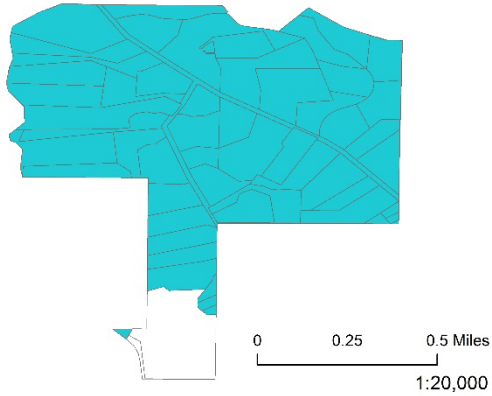
Single-family housing currently occupies 5.3% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



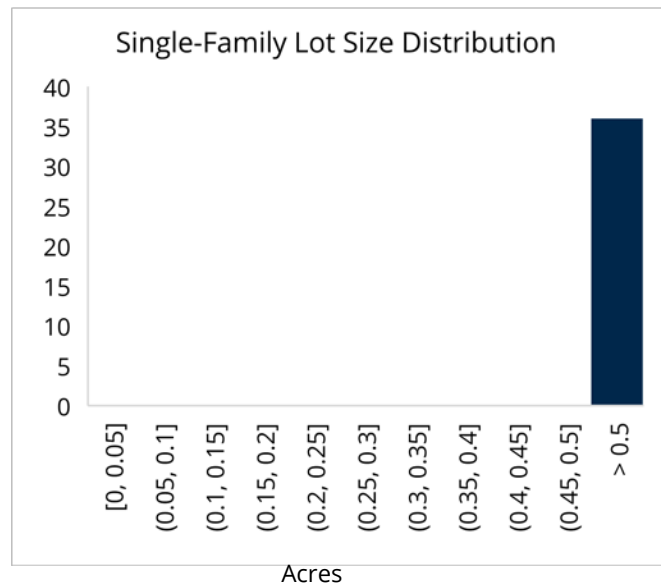
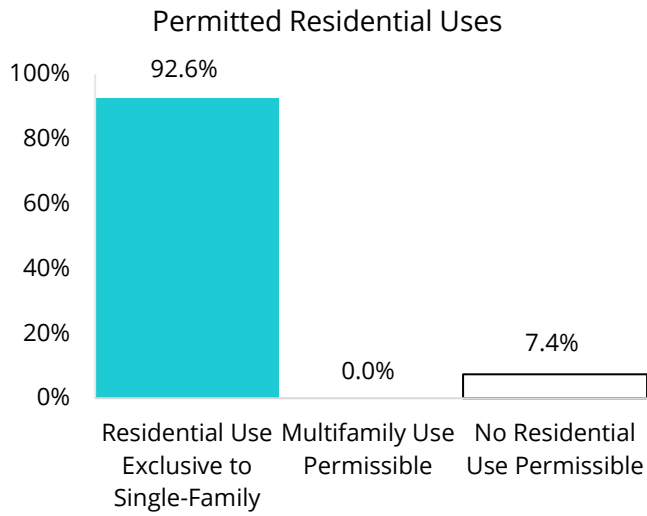
Number of Single-Family Lots: 1310  
Median Lot Size: .32 acres



## Chagrin Falls Township

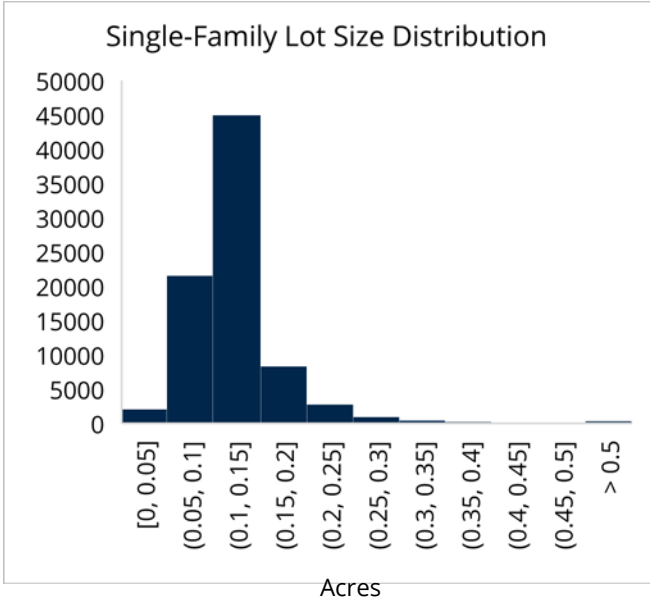
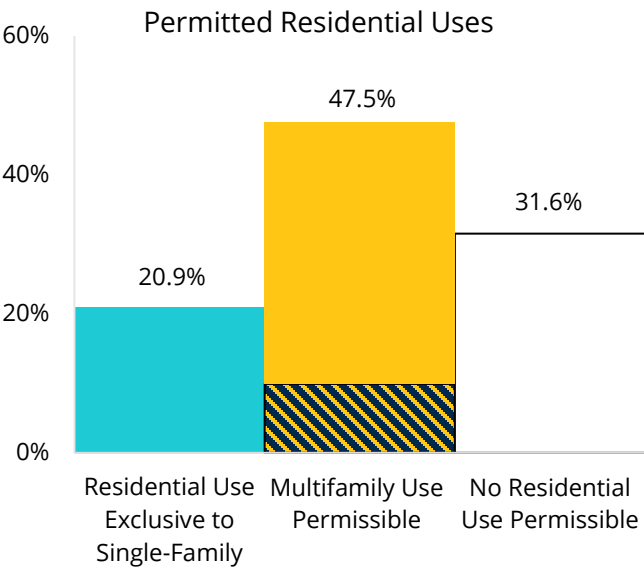
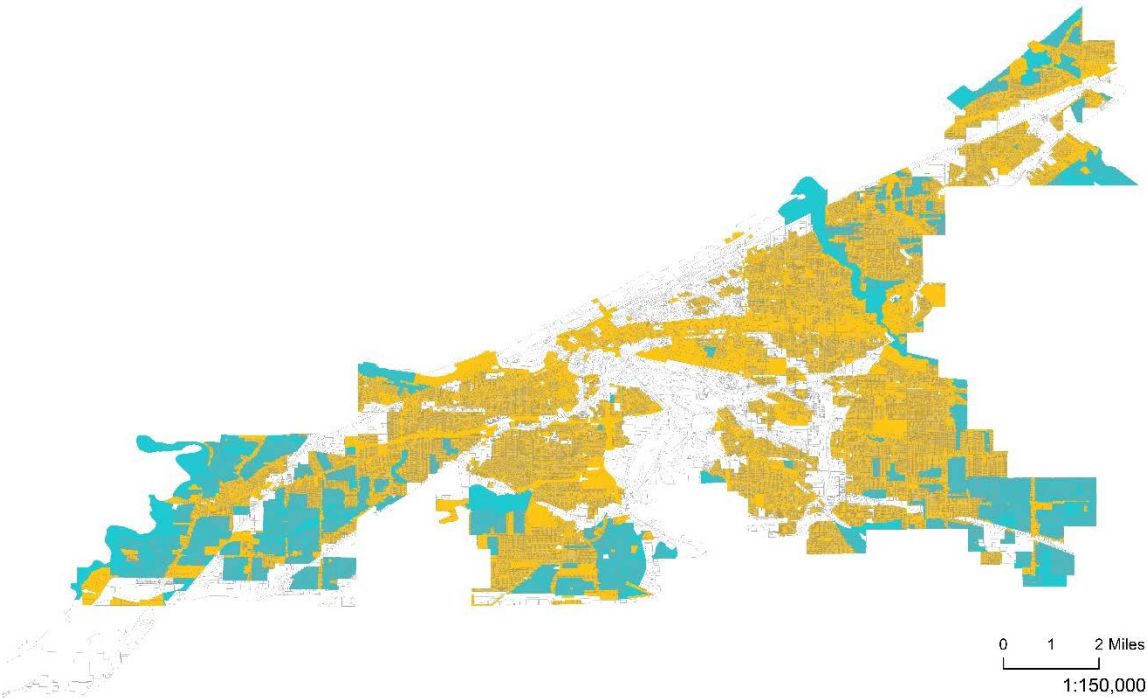


\*Zoning analysis for Chagrin Falls Township relies on Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office's "zoning use" summary category, not the municipal zoning code.



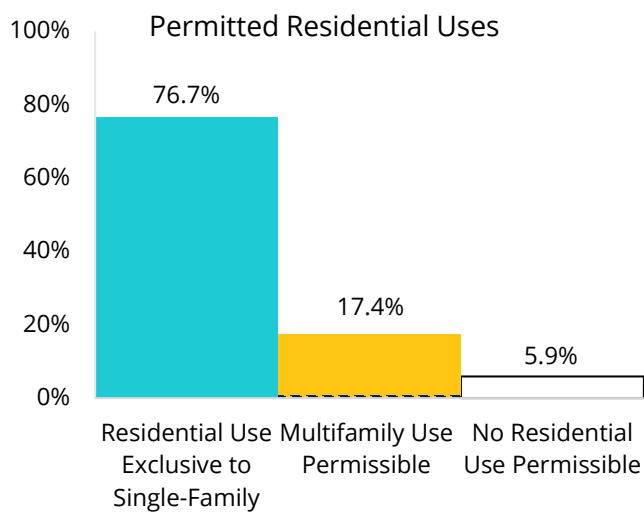
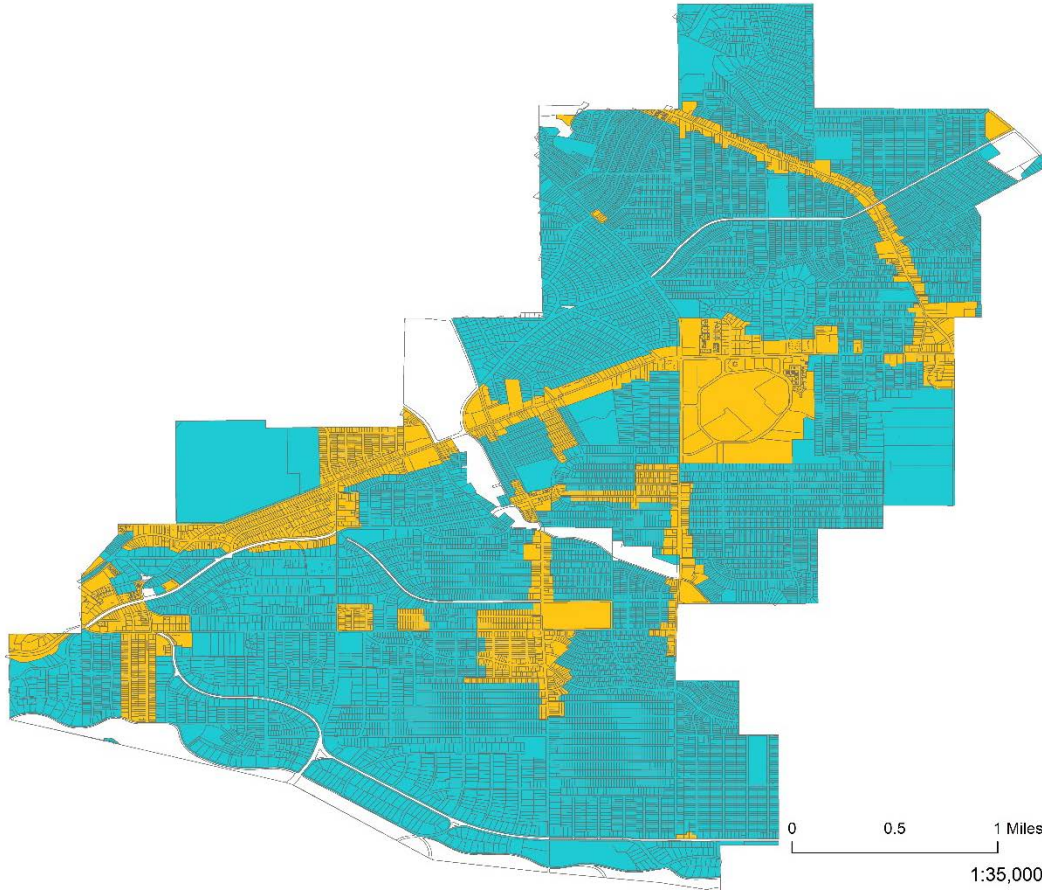
Number of Single-Family Lots: 36  
Median Lot Size: 5.19 acres

# Cleveland



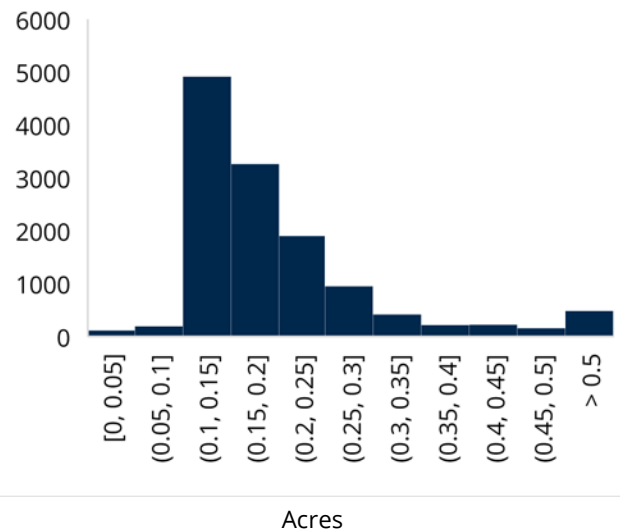
Number of Single-Family Lots: 81,688  
Median Lot Size: .12 acres

# Cleveland Heights



Single-family housing currently occupies 6.0% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

**Single-Family Lot Size Distribution**



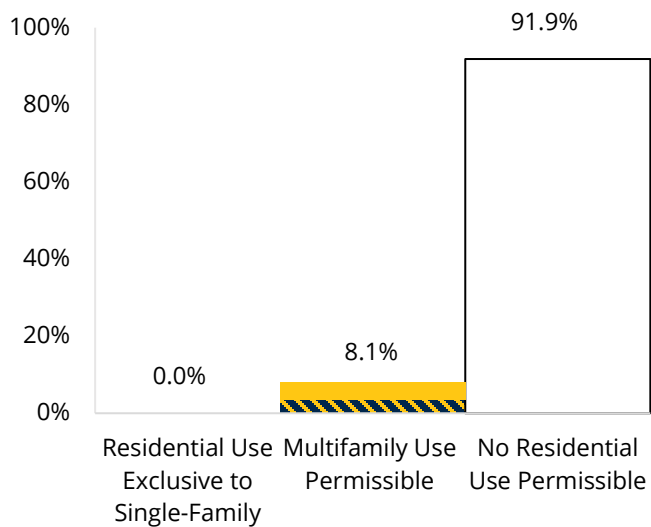
Number of Single-Family Lots: 12,866  
Median Lot Size: .17 acres

# Cuyahoga Heights



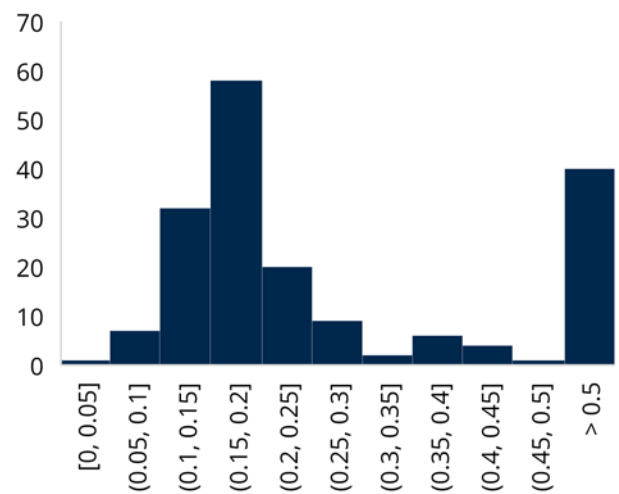
\*Zoning analysis for Cuyahoga Heights relies on Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office's "zoning use" summary category, not the municipal zoning code.

## Permitted Residential Uses



Single-family housing currently occupies 43.8% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

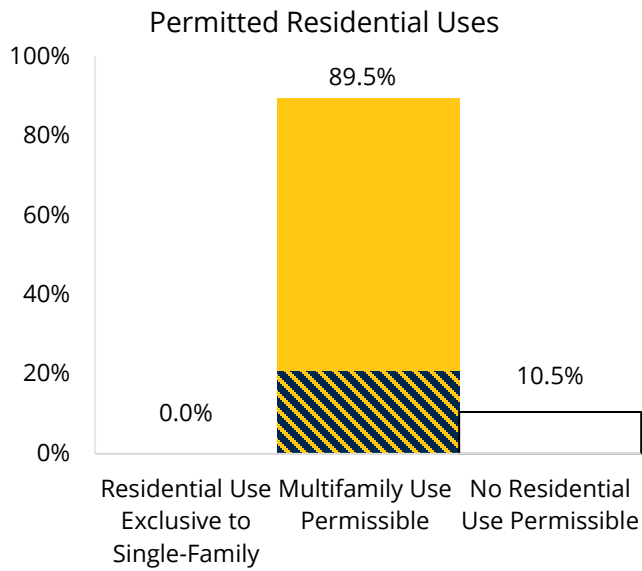
## Single-Family Lot Size Distribution



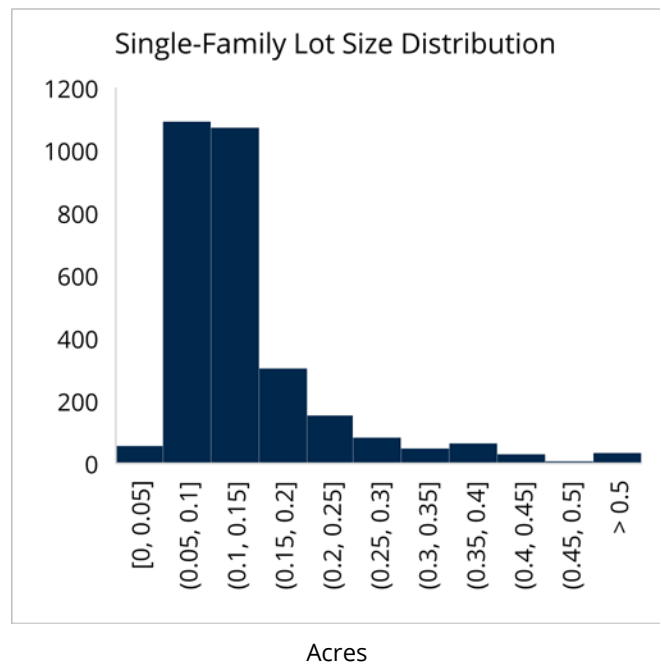
Acres

Number of Single-Family Lots: 179  
Median Lot Size: .19 acres

## East Cleveland



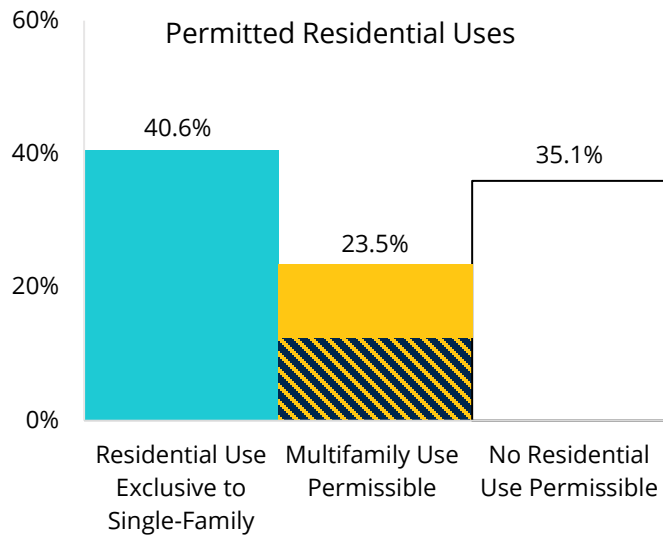
Single-family housing currently occupies 23.3% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use




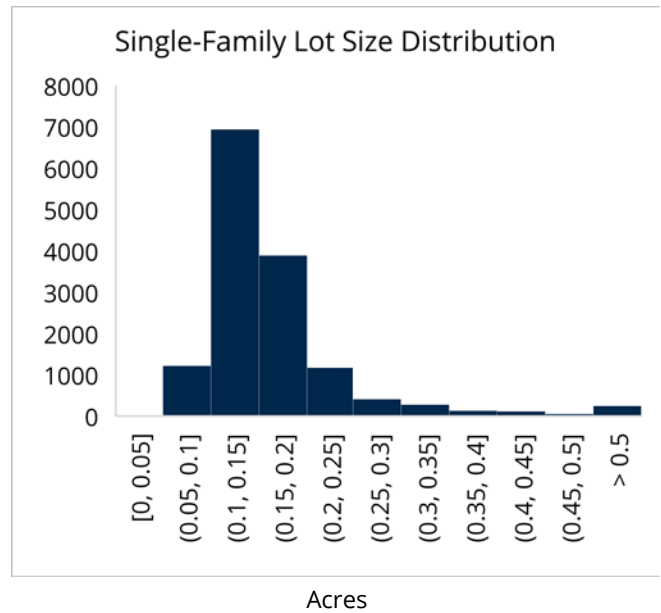
Number of Single-Family Lots: 2944  
Median Lot Size: .11 acres



# Euclid

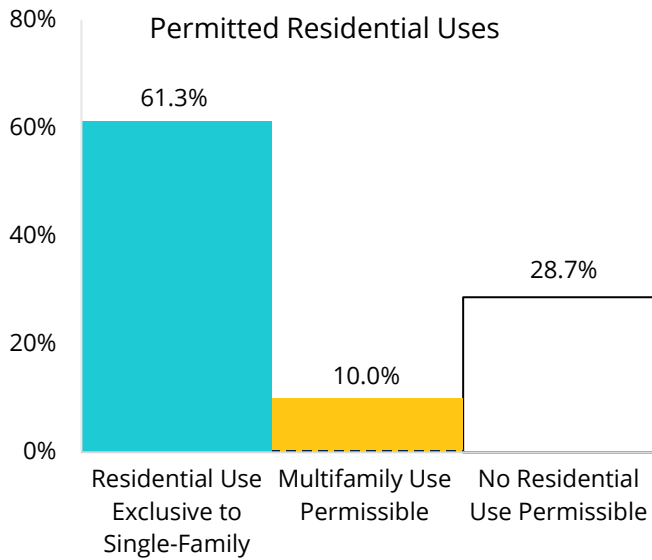
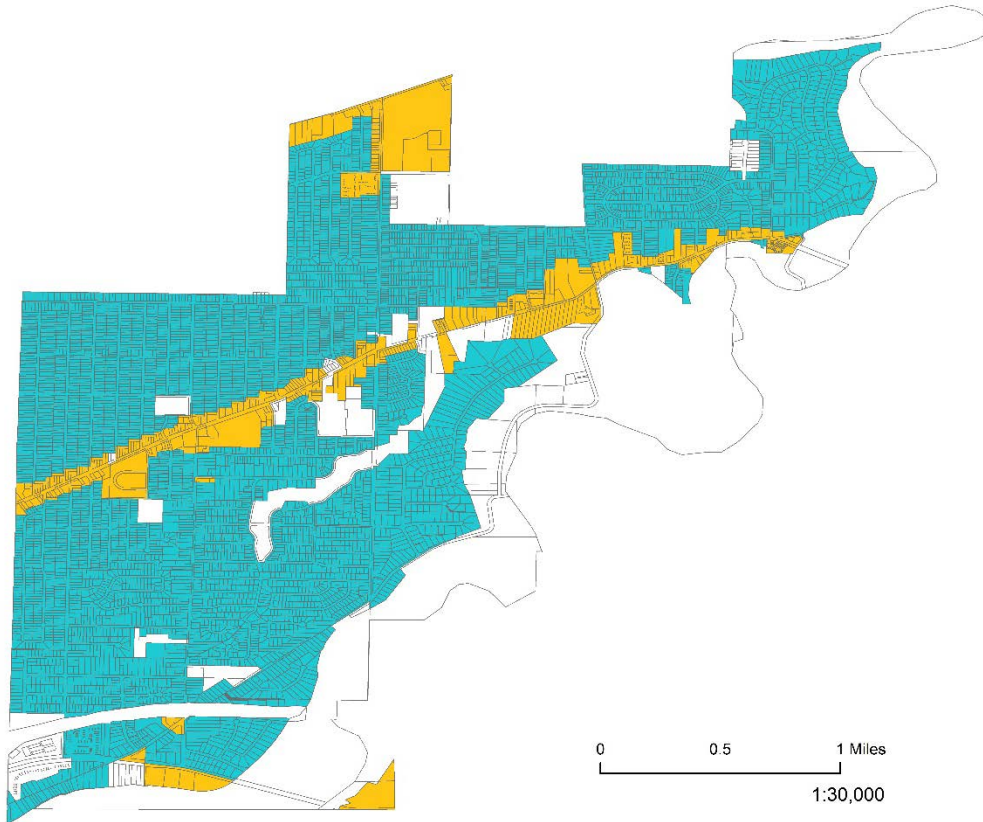


 Single-family housing currently occupies 46.9% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

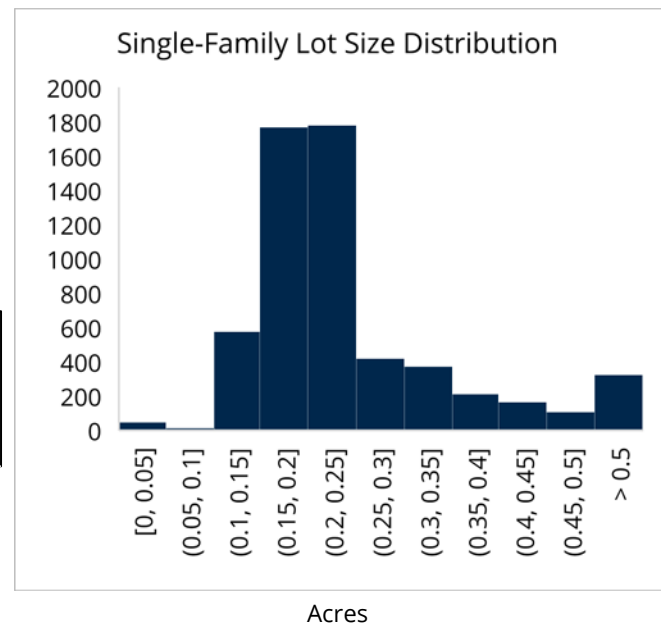


Number of Single-Family Lots: 14,488  
Median Lot Size: .16 acres

## Fairview Park

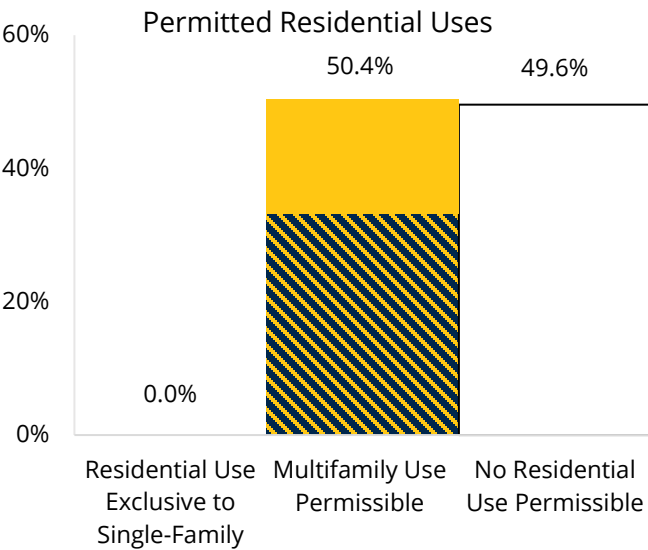



Single-family housing currently occupies 4.6% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

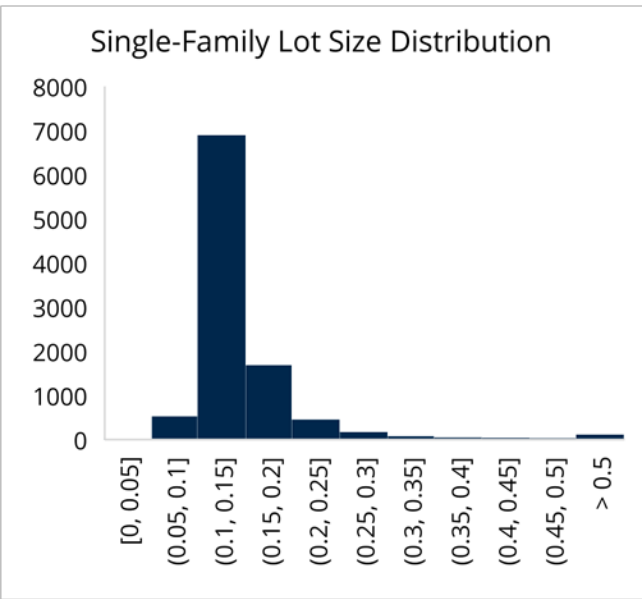


Number of Single-Family Lots: 5779  
Median Lot Size: .21 acres

# Garfield Heights



 Single-family housing currently occupies 65.8% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

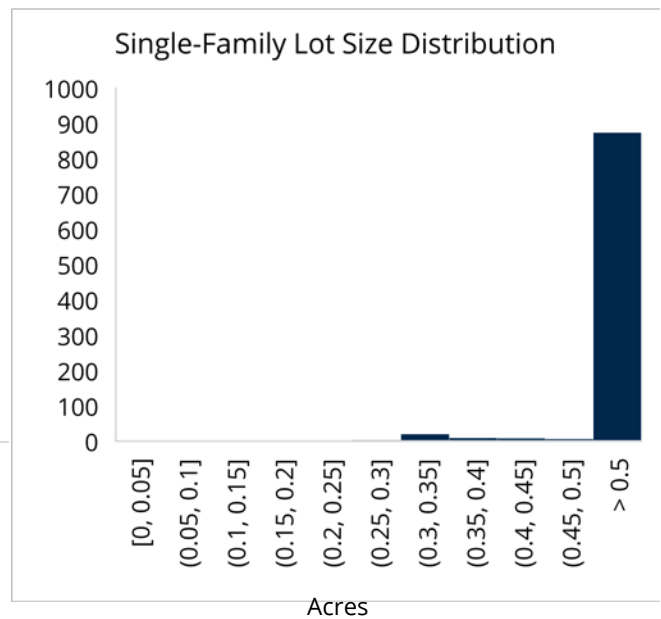
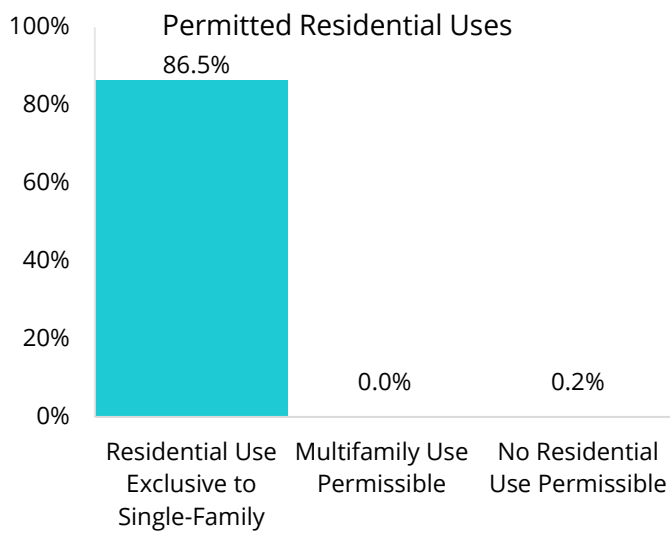
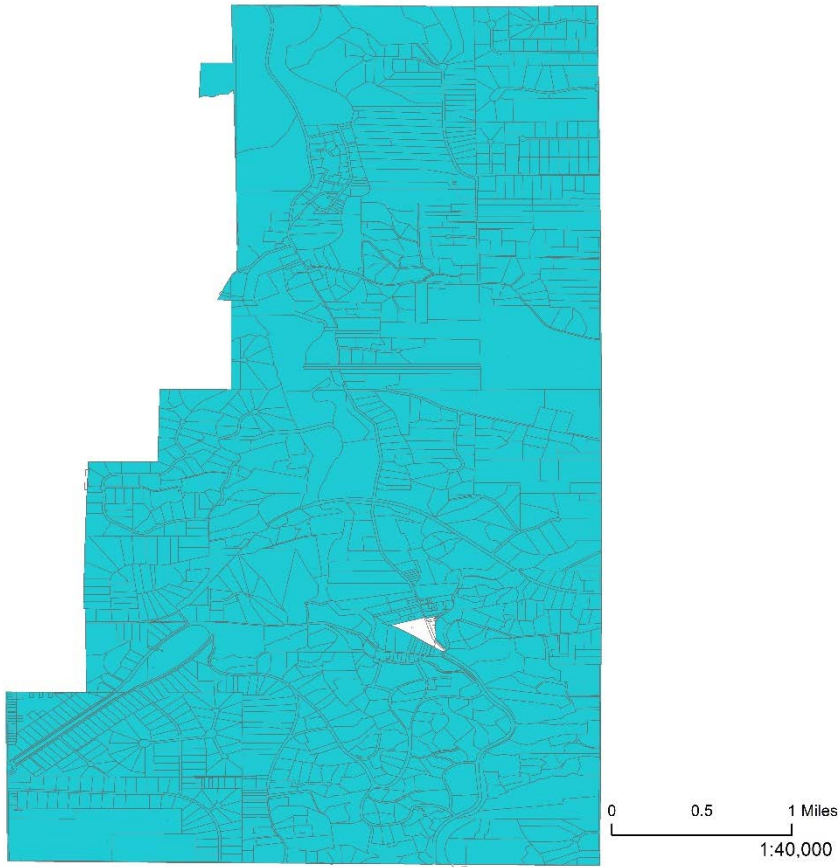


Acres

Number of Single-Family Lots: 10,048  
Median Lot Size: .13 acres

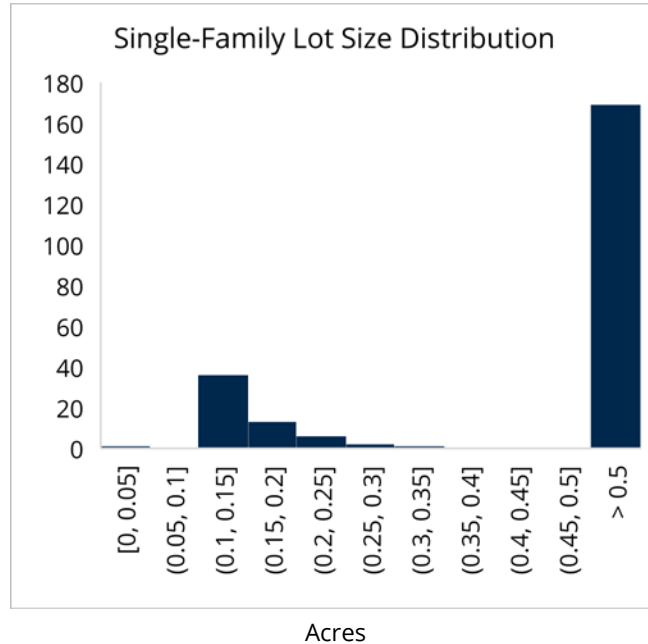
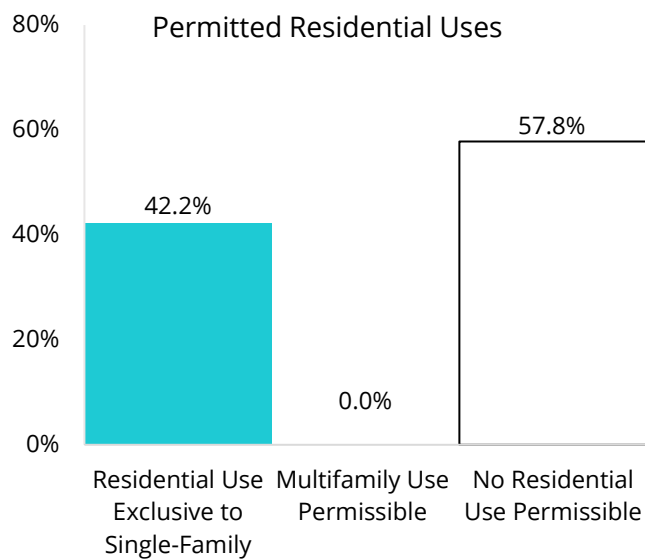
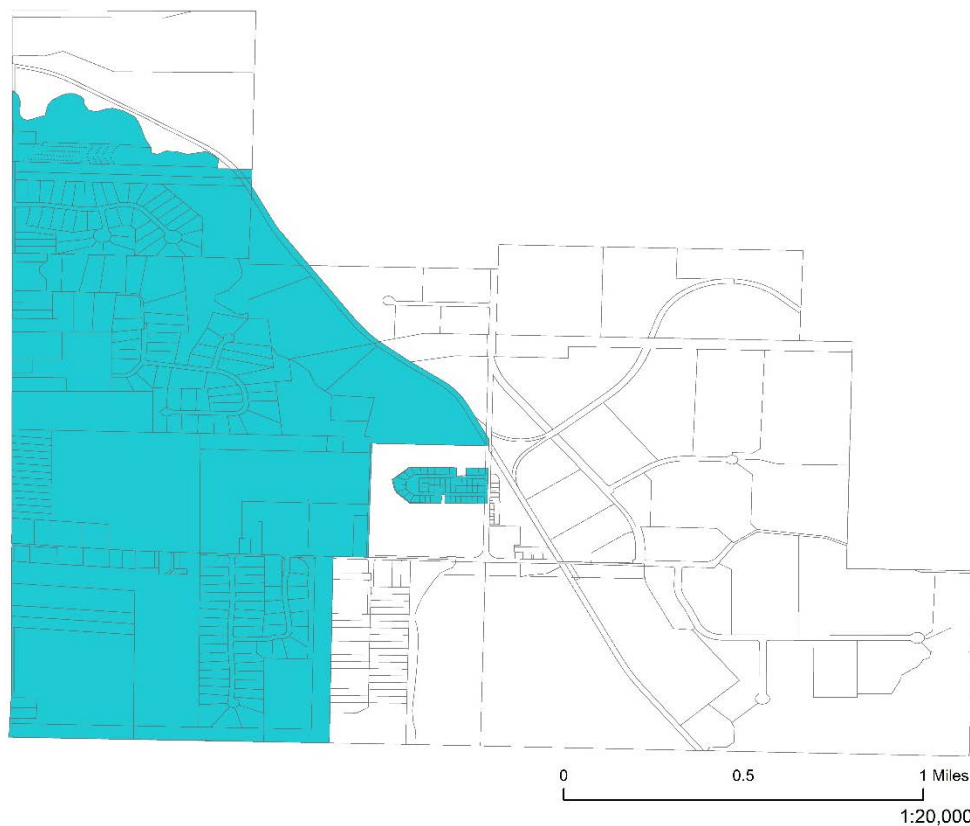


## Gates Mills



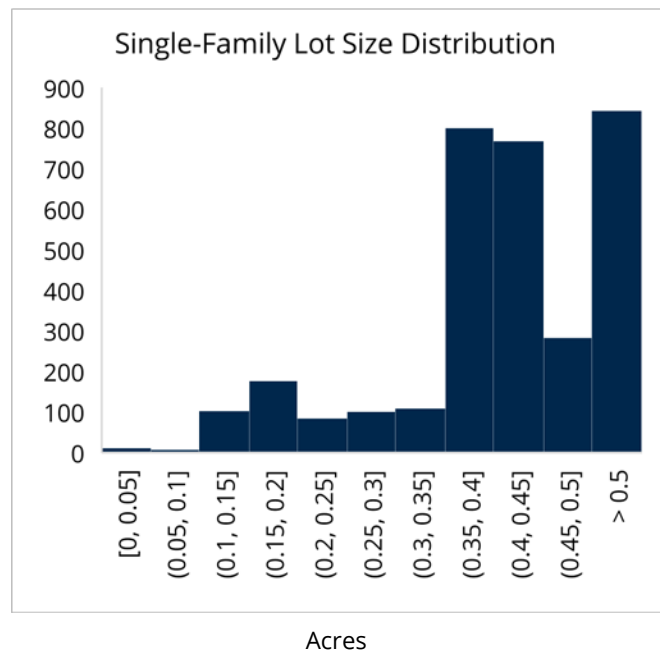
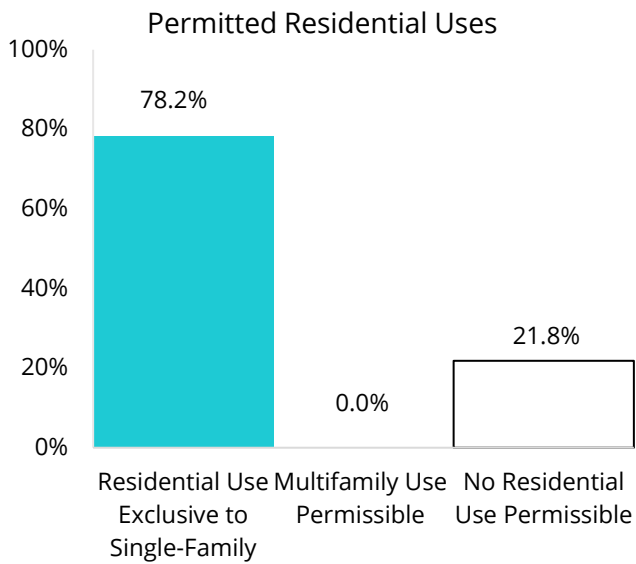
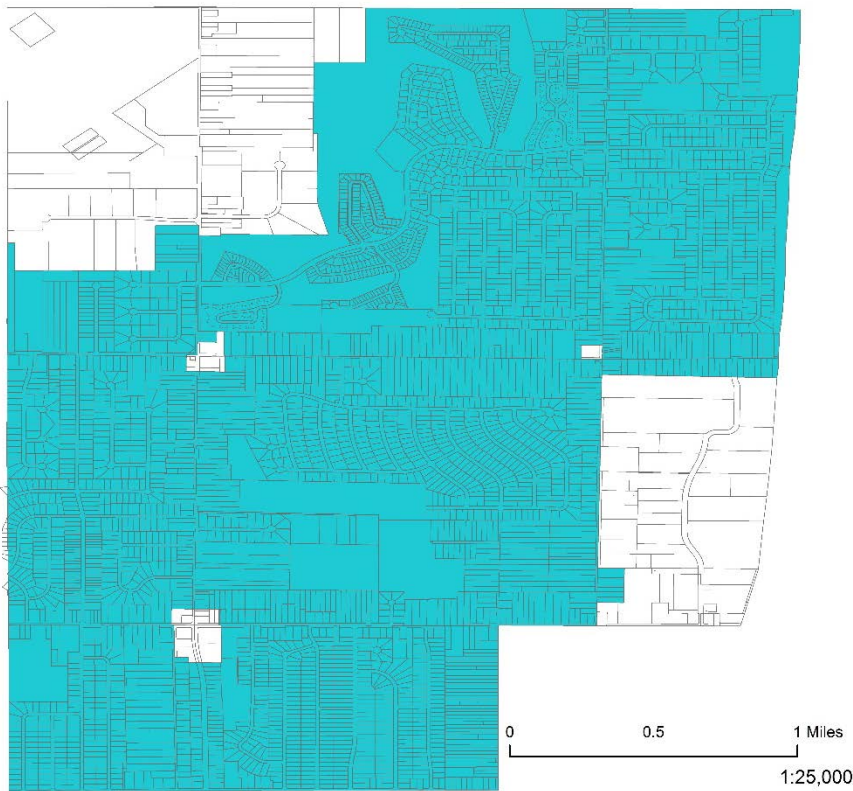
Number of Single-Family Lots: 924  
Median Lot Size: 2.65 acres

# Glenwillow



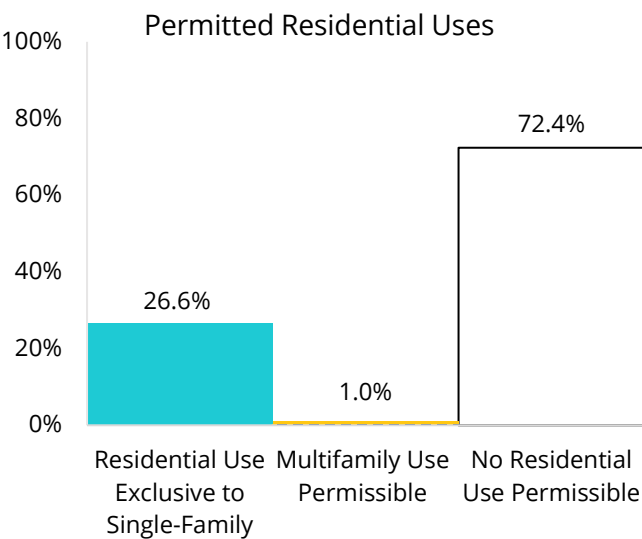
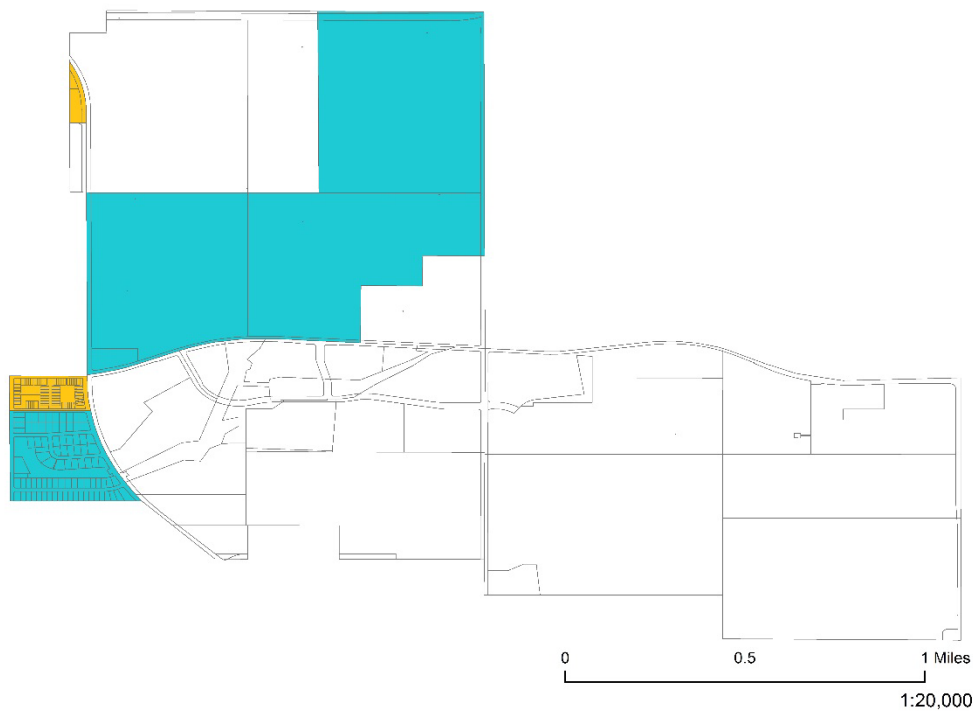
Number of Single-Family Lots: 227  
Median Lot Size: .94 acres

## Highland Heights

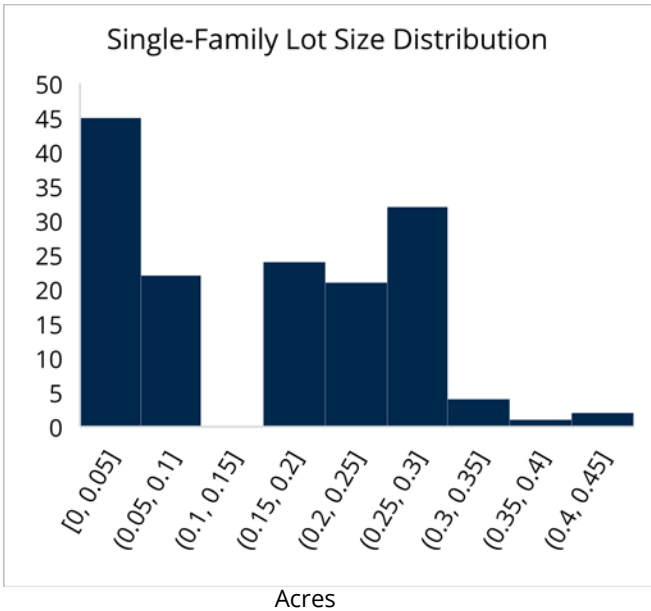


Number of Single-Family Lots: 3283  
Median Lot Size: .4 acres

# Highland Hills

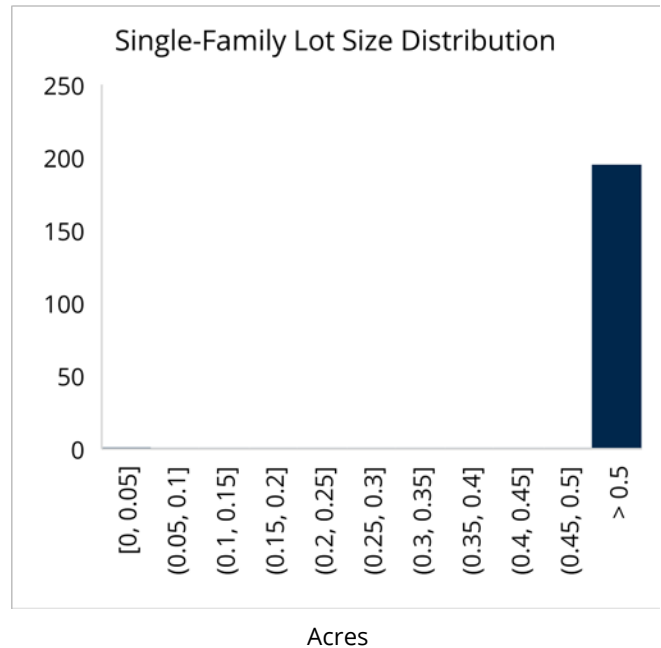
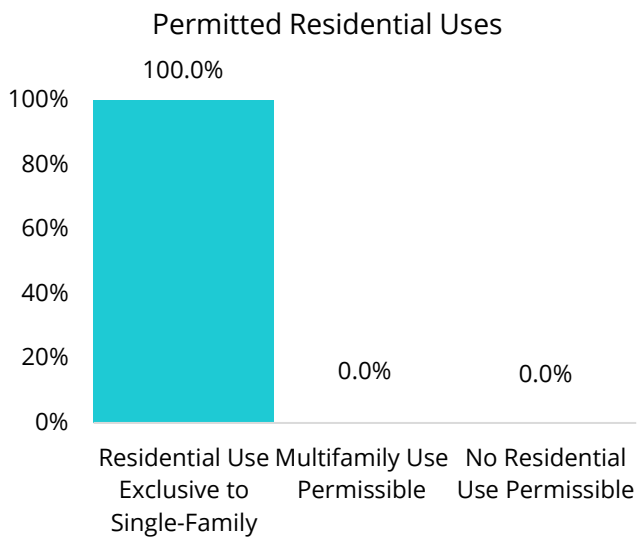
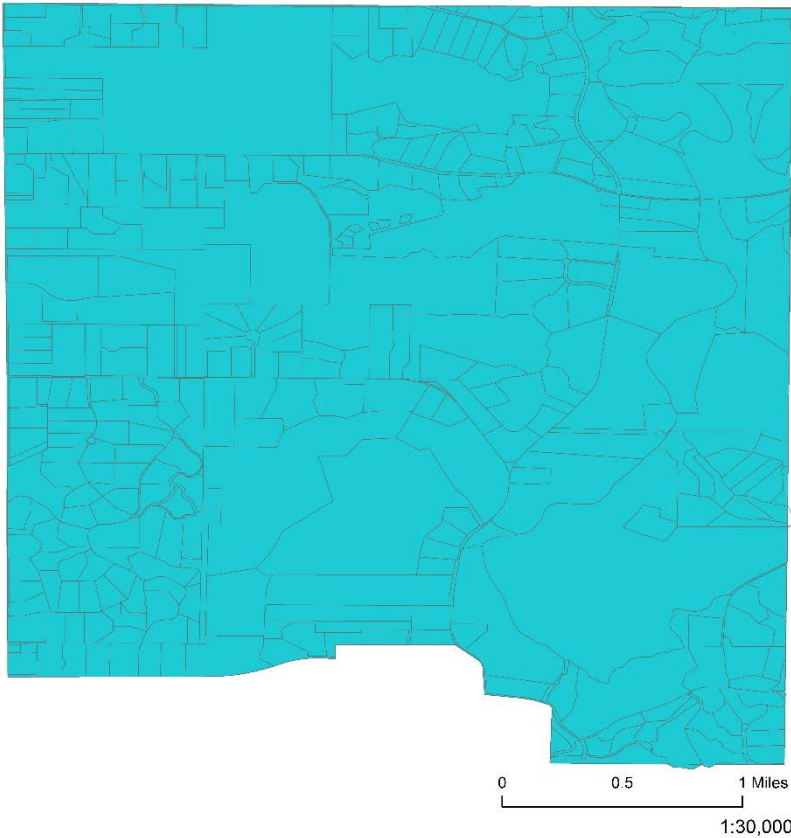


Single-family housing currently occupies 25.6% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



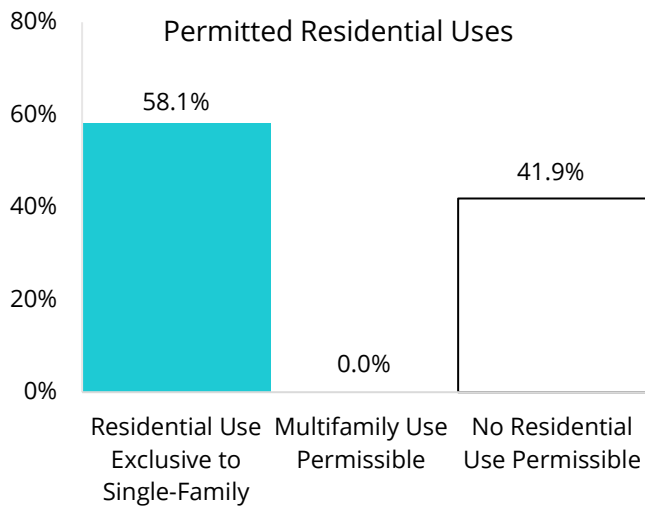
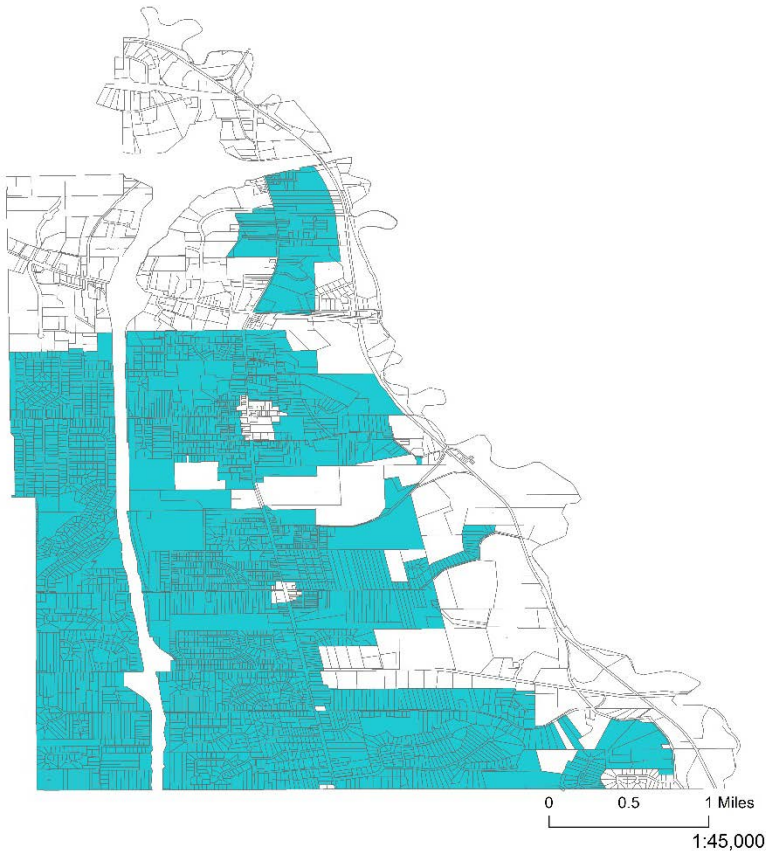
Number of Single-Family Lots: 150  
Median Lot Size: .19 acres

## Hunting Valley

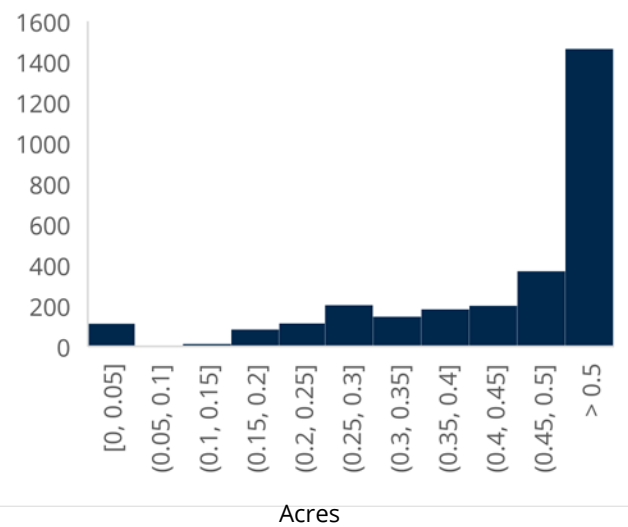


Number of Single-Family Lots: 195  
Median Lot Size: 5.8 acres

# Independence



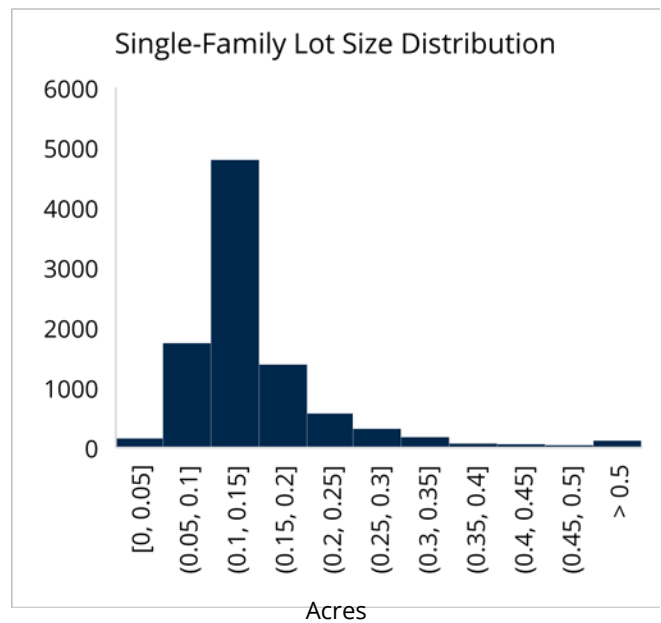
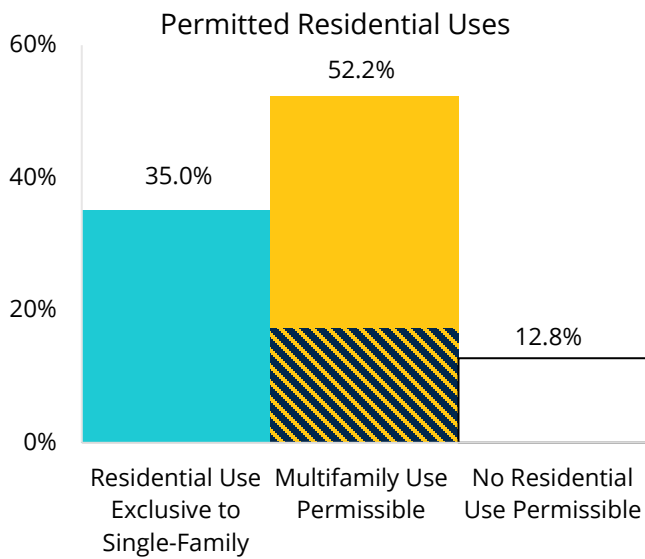
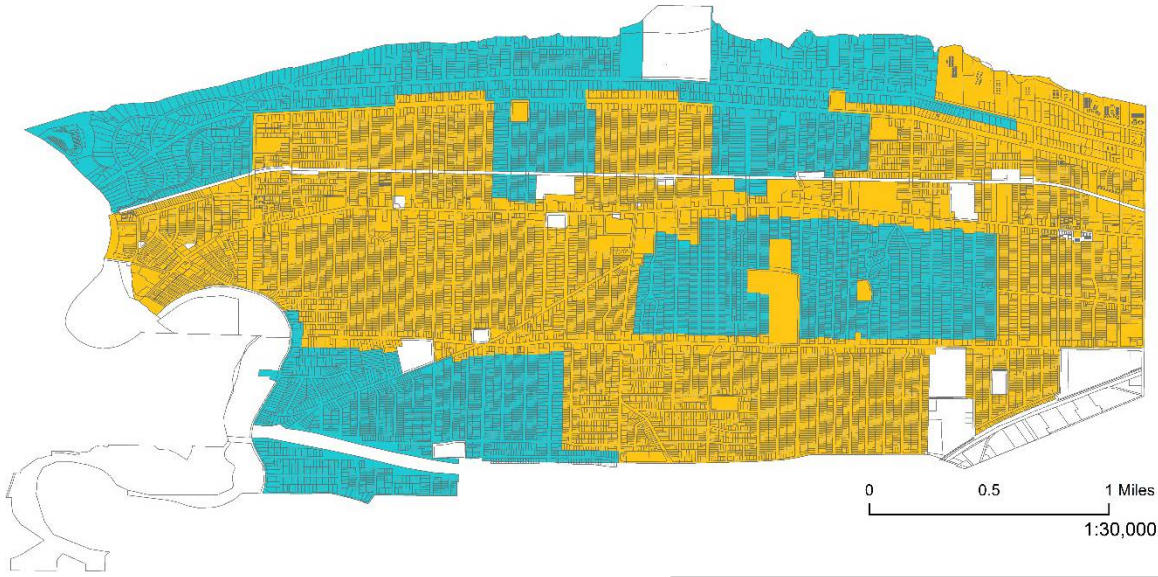
**Single-Family Lot Size Distribution**



Number of Single-Family Lots: 2901  
Median Lot Size: .51 acres

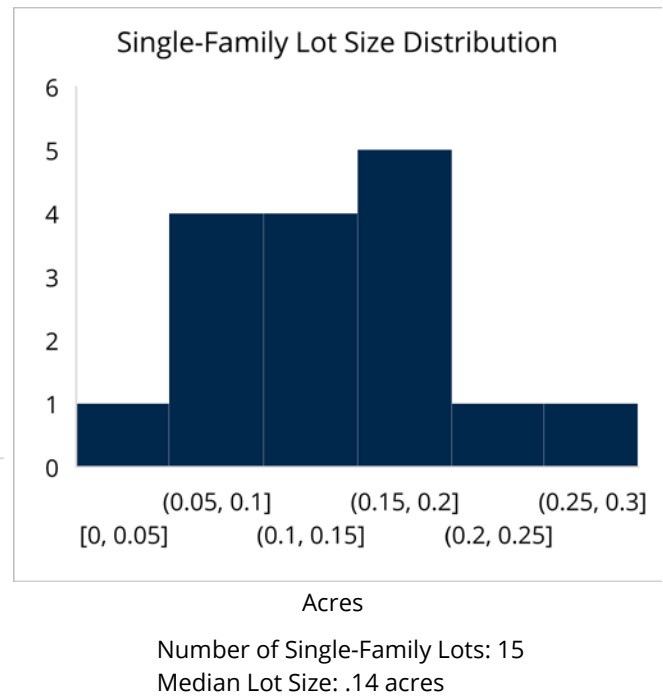
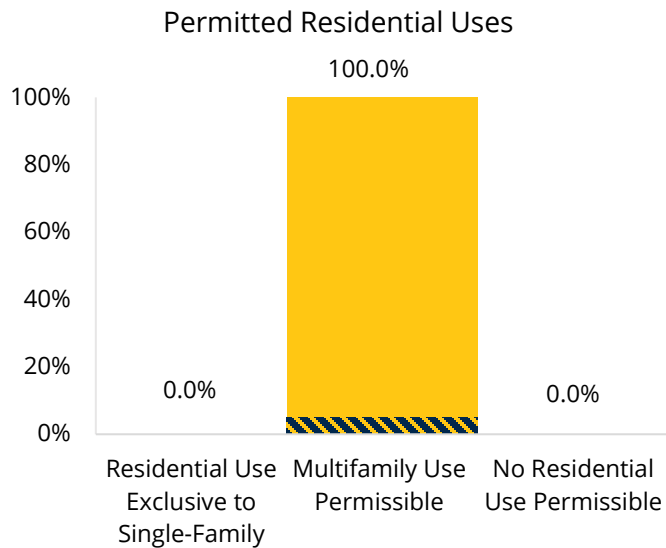
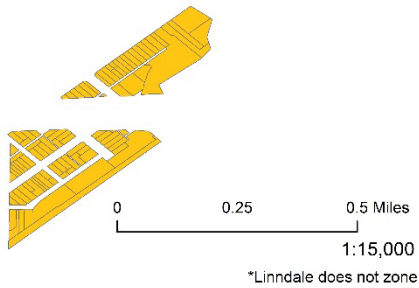


# Lakewood

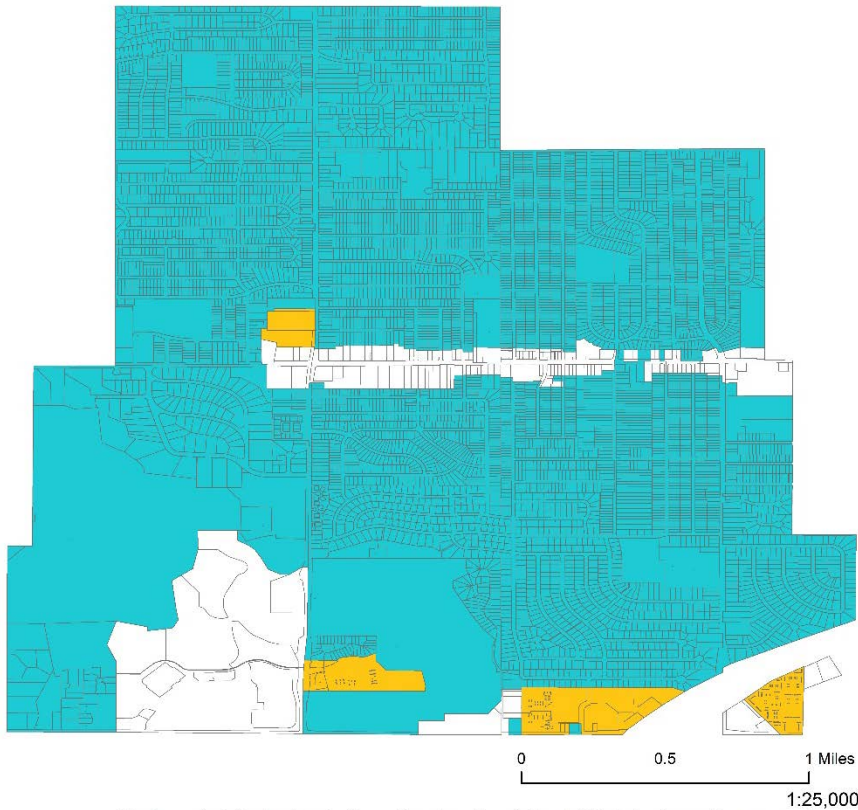


Number of Single-Family Lots: 9451  
Median Lot Size: .12 acres

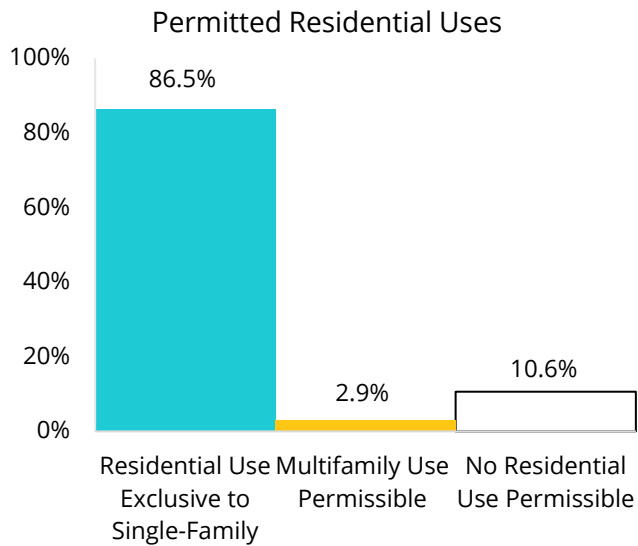
# Linndale



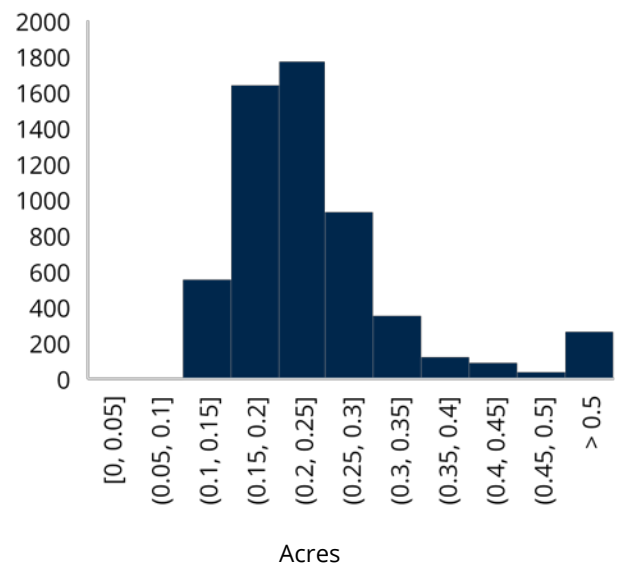
# Lyndhurst



\*Zoning analysis for Lyndhurst relies on Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office's "zoning use" summary category, not the municipal zoning code.

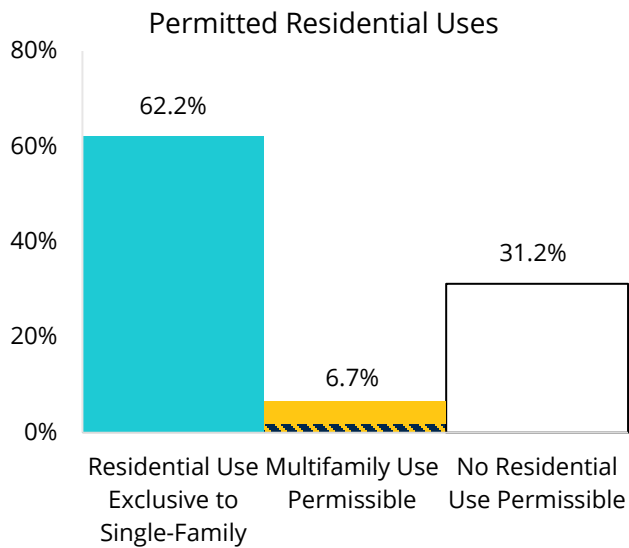
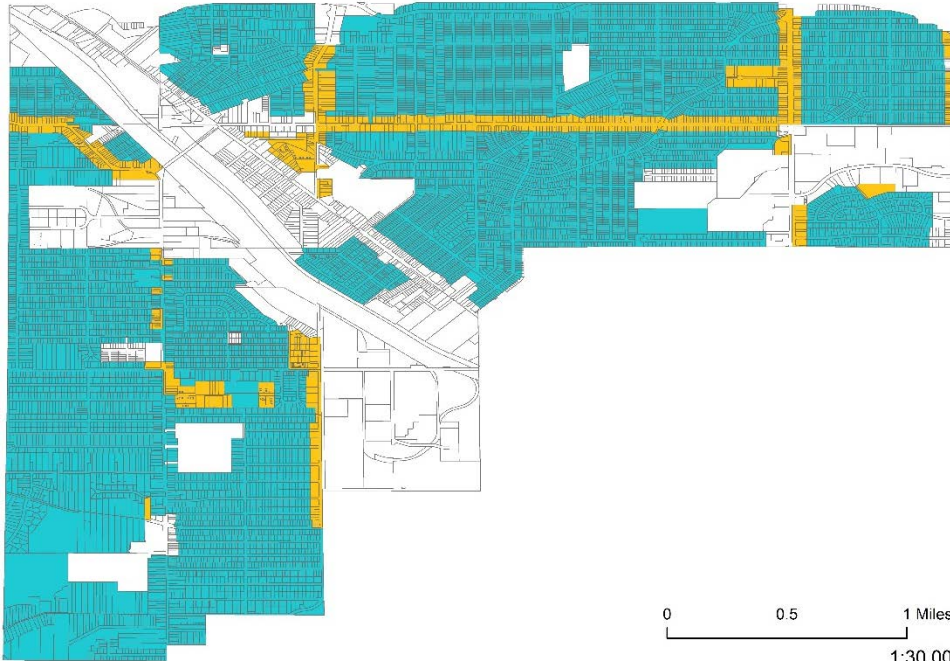


### Single-Family Lot Size Distribution

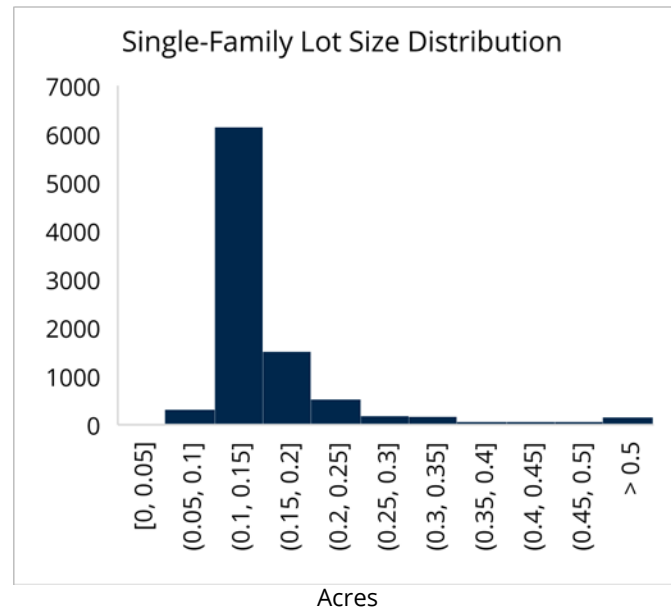


Number of Single-Family Lots: 5763  
Median Lot Size: .22 acres

# Maple Heights

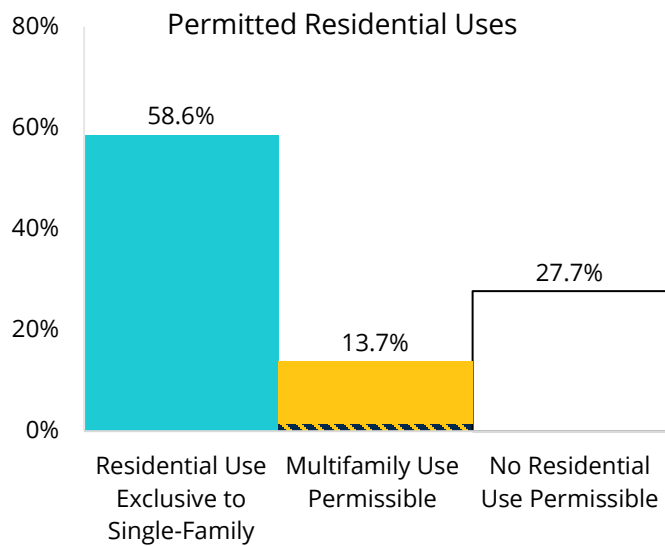


Single-family housing currently occupies 27.5% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

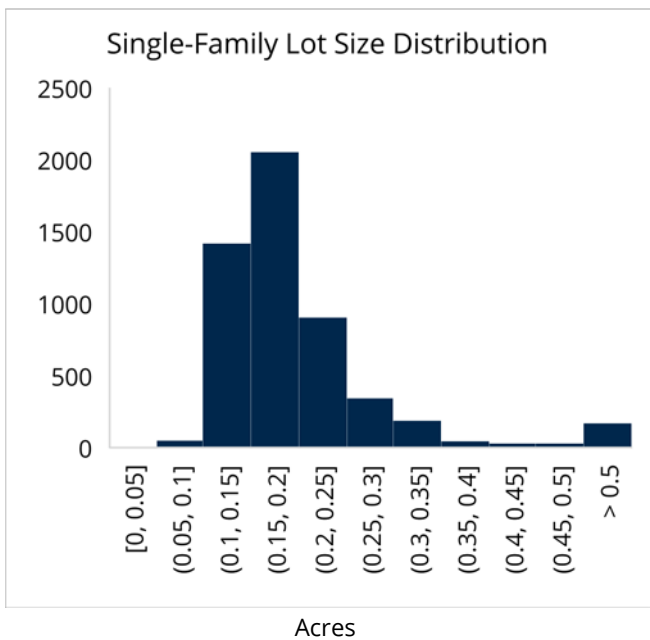


Number of Single-Family Lots: 9151  
Median Lot Size: .13 acres

## Mayfield Heights



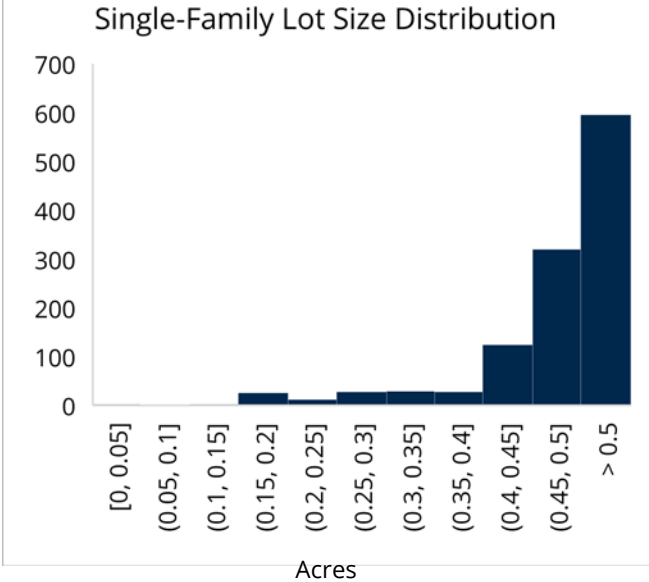
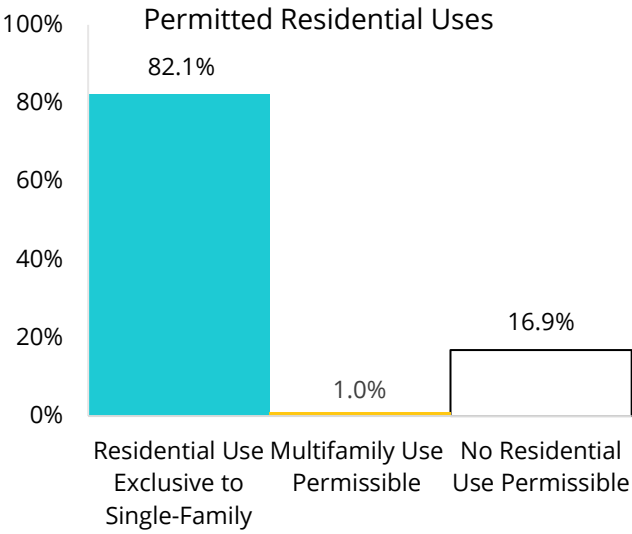
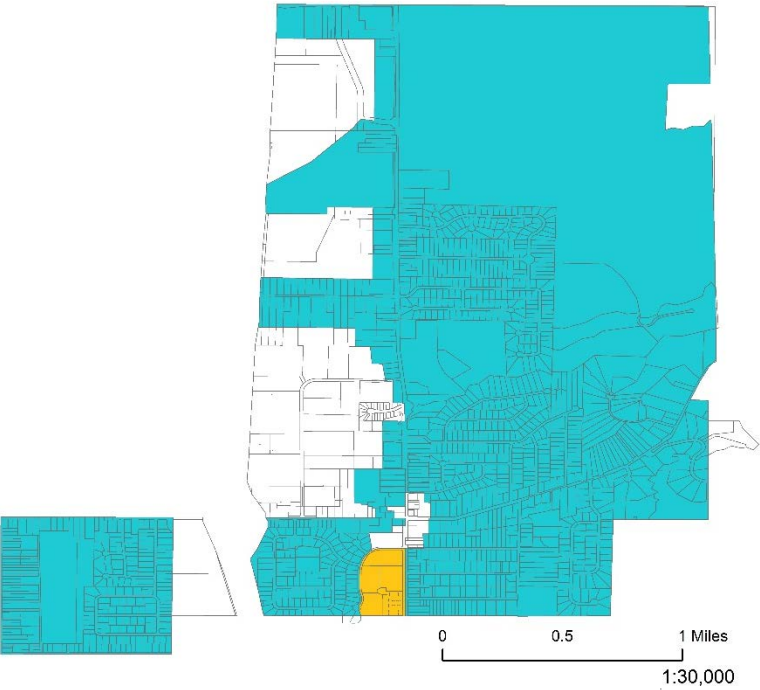
Single-family housing currently occupies 10.7% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



Number of Single-Family Lots: 5228  
Median Lot Size: .18 acres



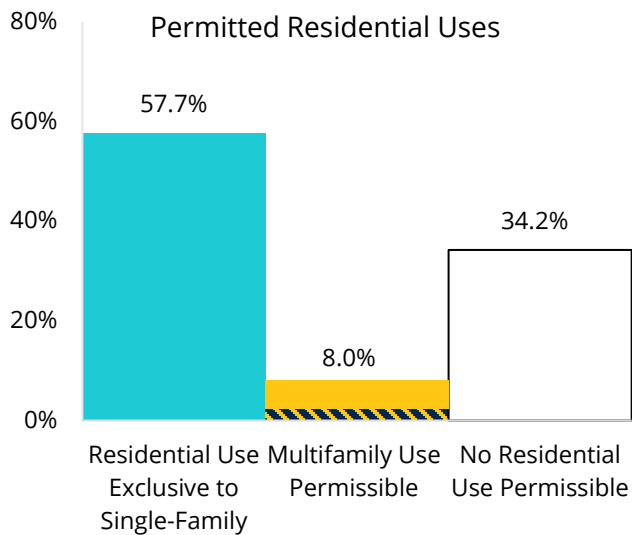
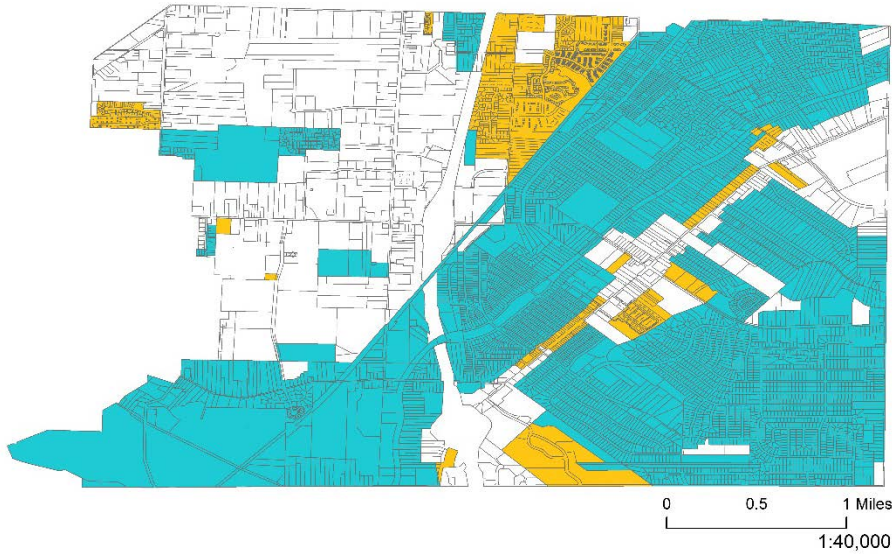
# Mayfield Village



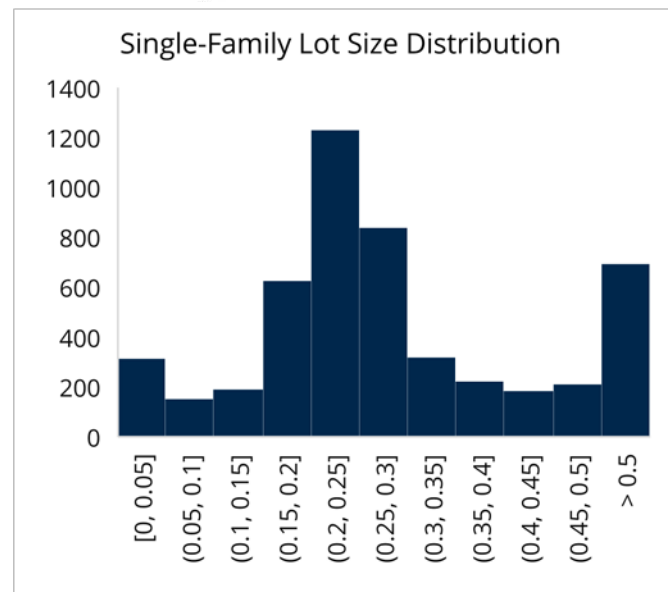
Number of Single-Family Lots: 1170  
 Median Lot Size: .51 acres



## Middleburg Heights



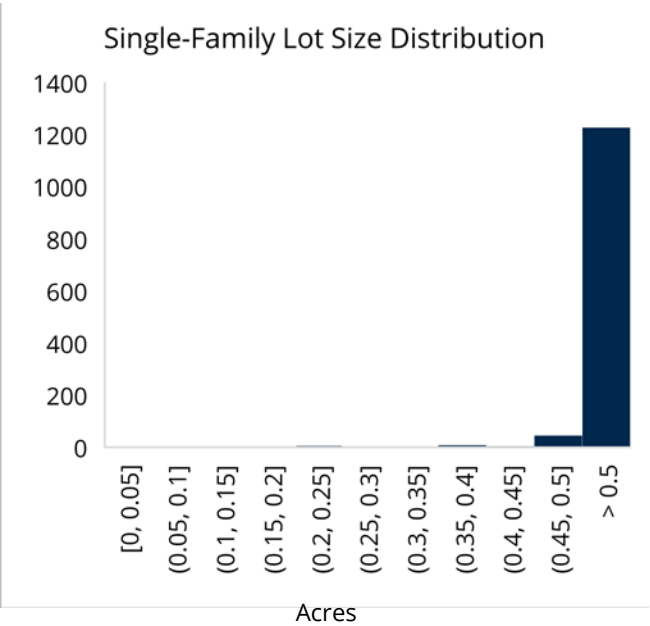
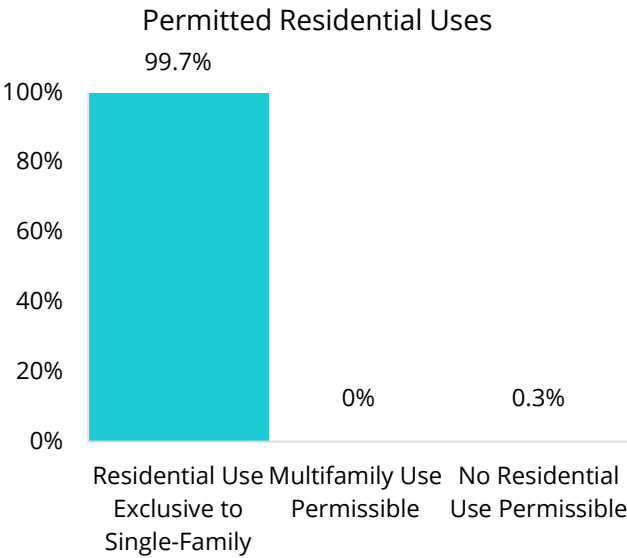
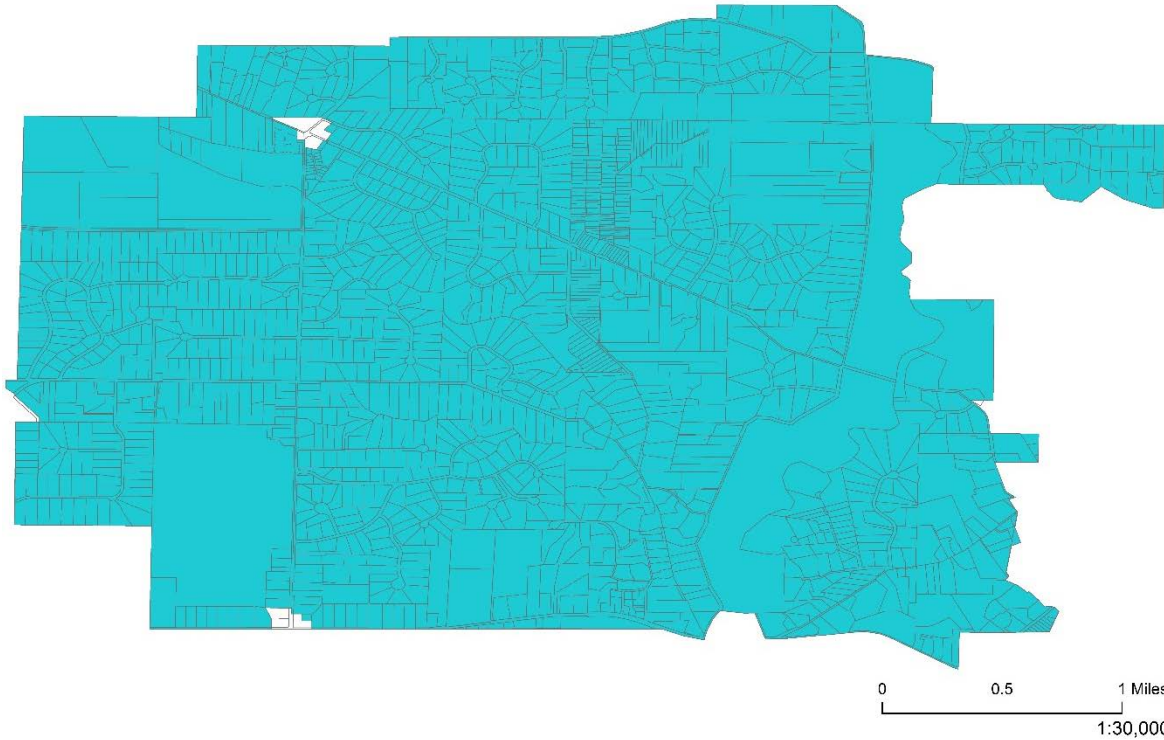
Single-family housing currently occupies 28.9% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



Acres

Number of Single-Family Lots: 4972  
Median Lot Size: .25 acres

# Moreland Hills

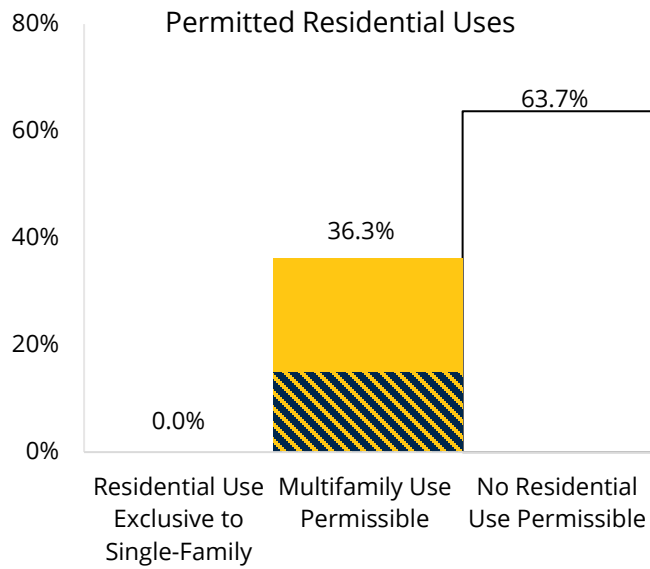



Number of Single-Family Lots: 1303  
 Median Lot Size: 1.92 acres

## Newburgh Heights

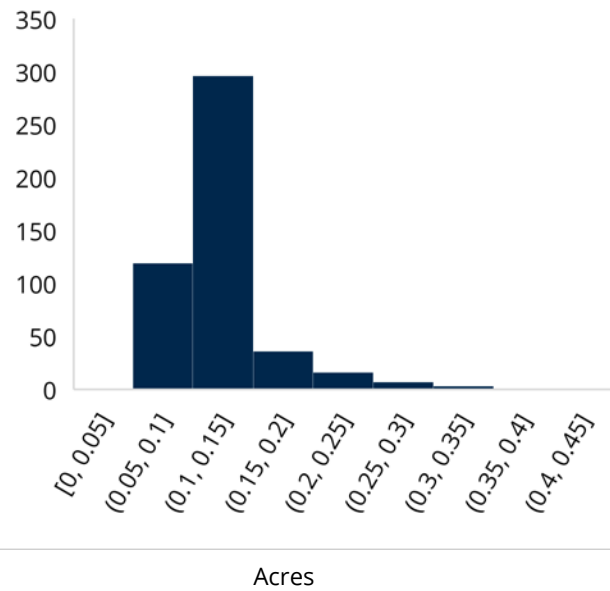


\*Zoning analysis for Newburgh Heights relies on Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office's "zoning use" summary category, not the municipal zoning code.



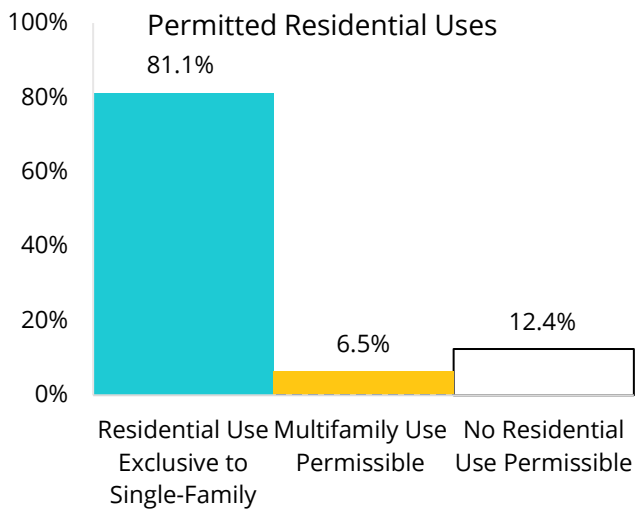
 Single-family housing currently occupies 41.5% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use


### Single-Family Lot Size Distribution

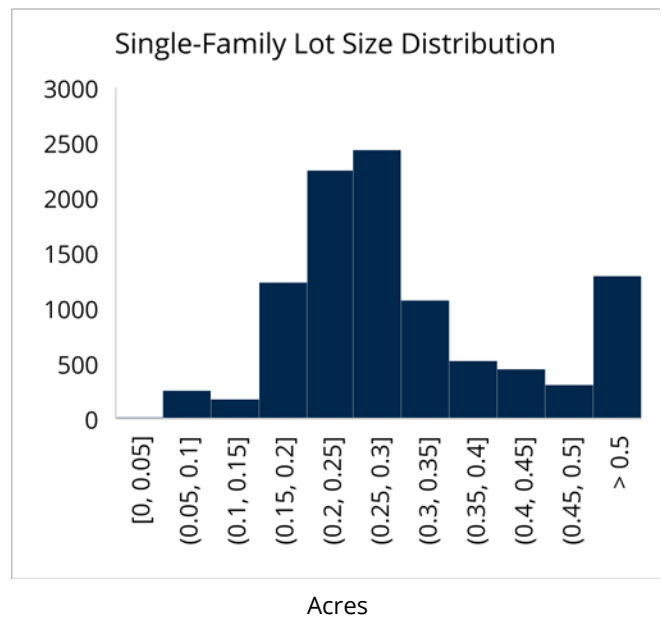


Number of Single-Family Lots: 479  
Median Lot Size: .11 acres

# North Olmsted

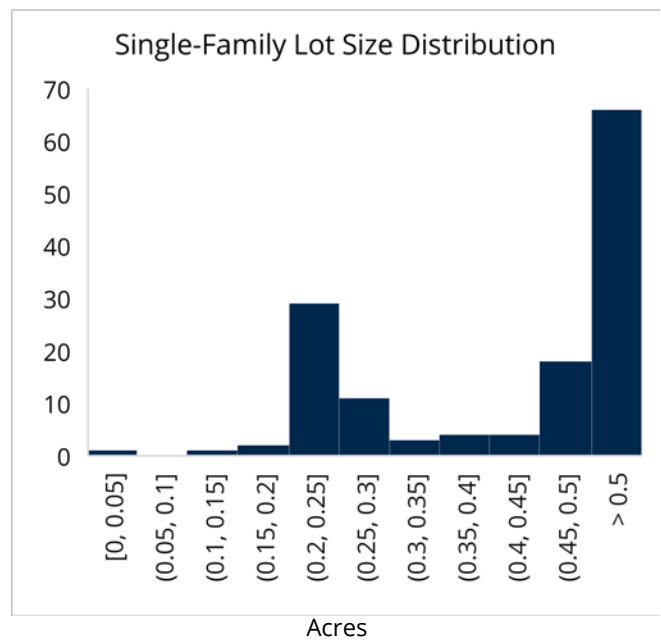
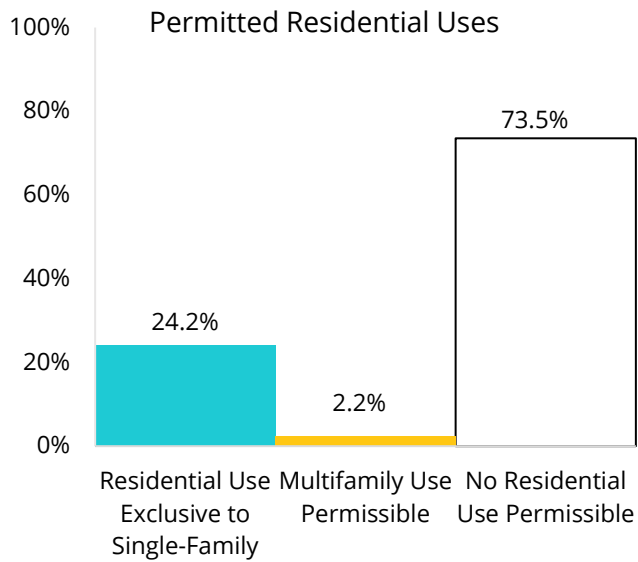


 Single-family housing currently occupies 6.7% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



Number of Single-Family Lots: 9998  
Median Lot Size: .26 acres

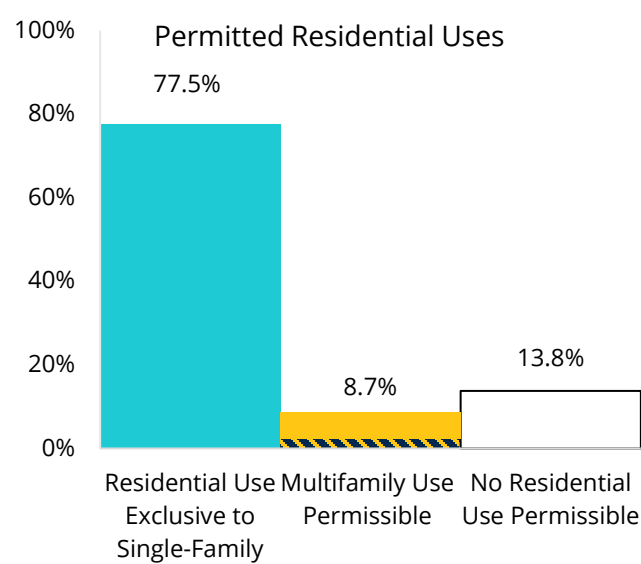
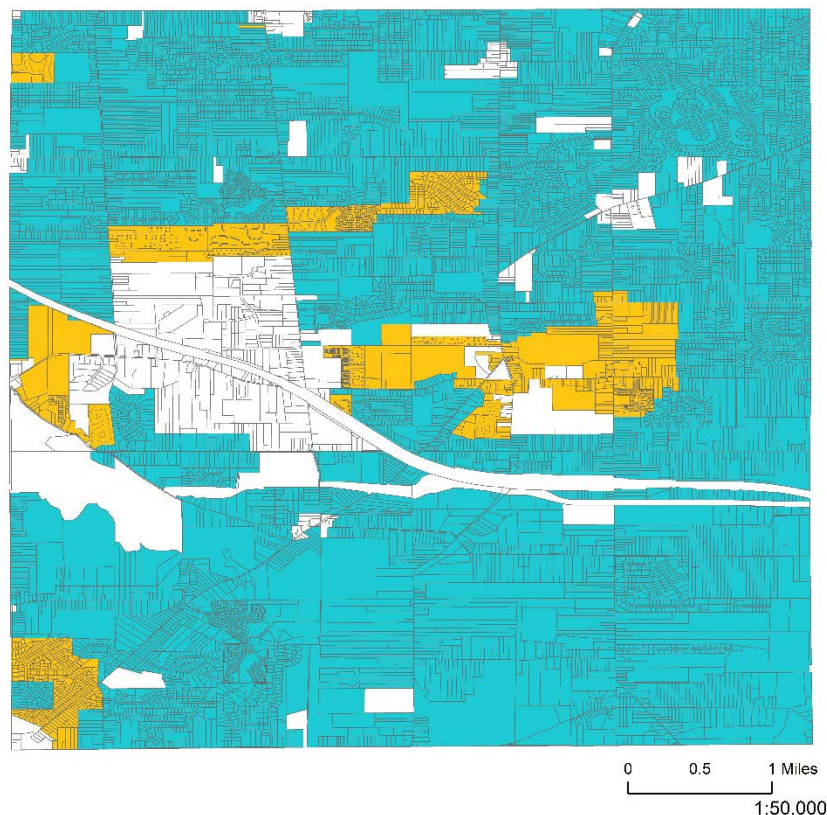
## North Randall



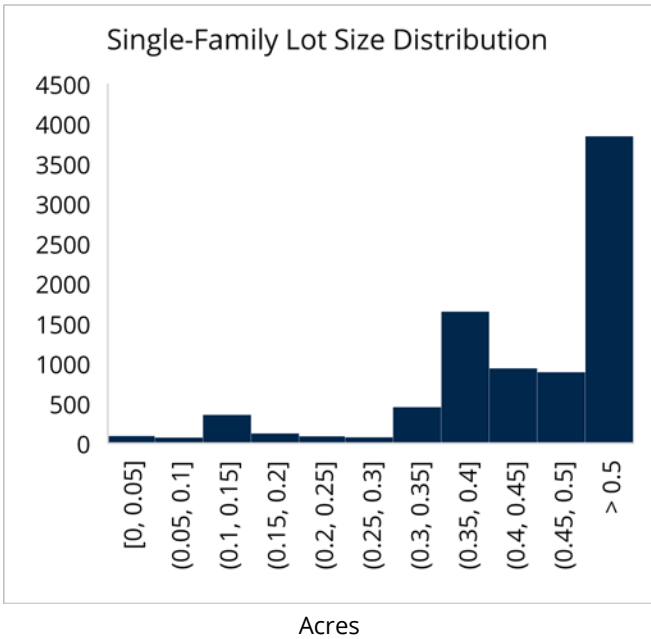
Number of Single-Family Lots: 138  
Median Lot Size: .49 acres



# North Royalton



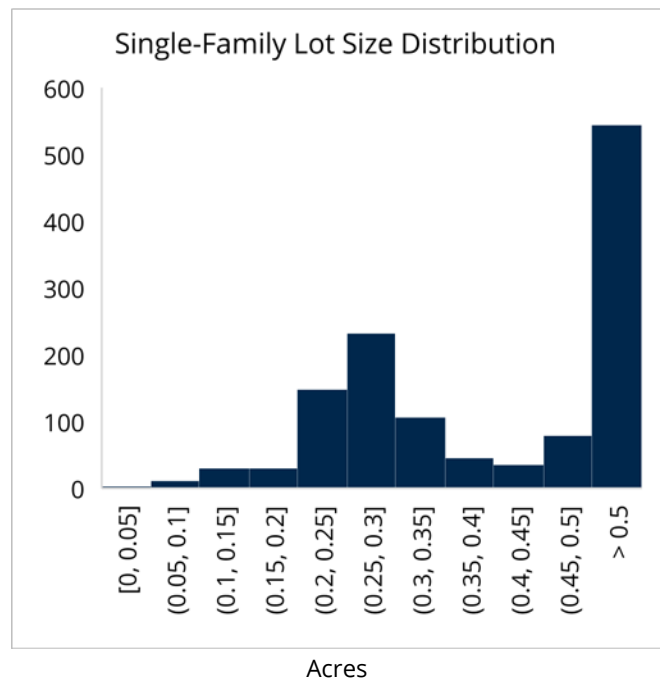
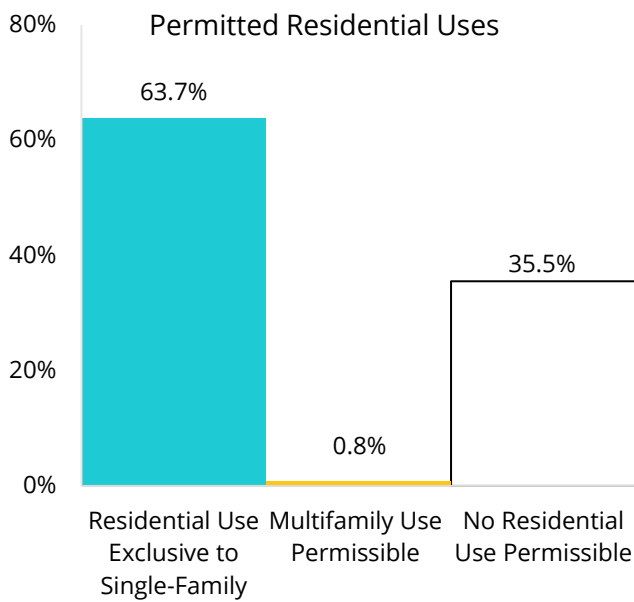
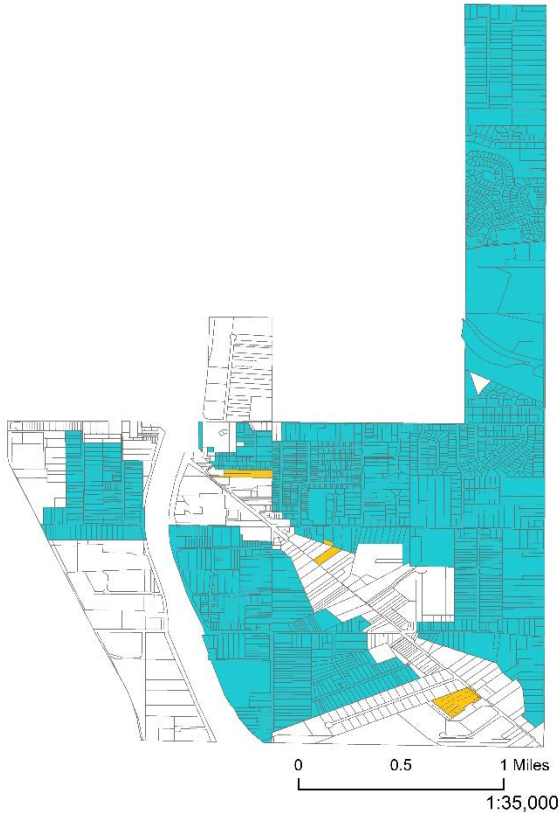
Single-family housing currently occupies 26.7% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



Number of Single-Family Lots: 8596  
Median Lot Size: .46 acres

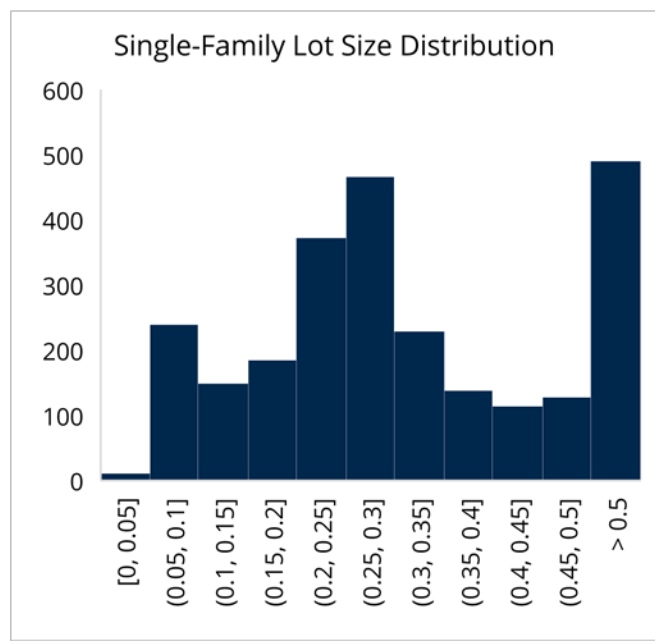
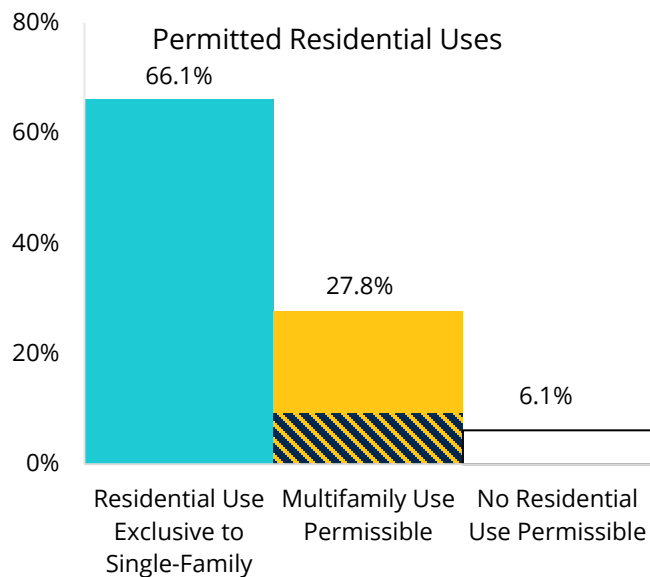
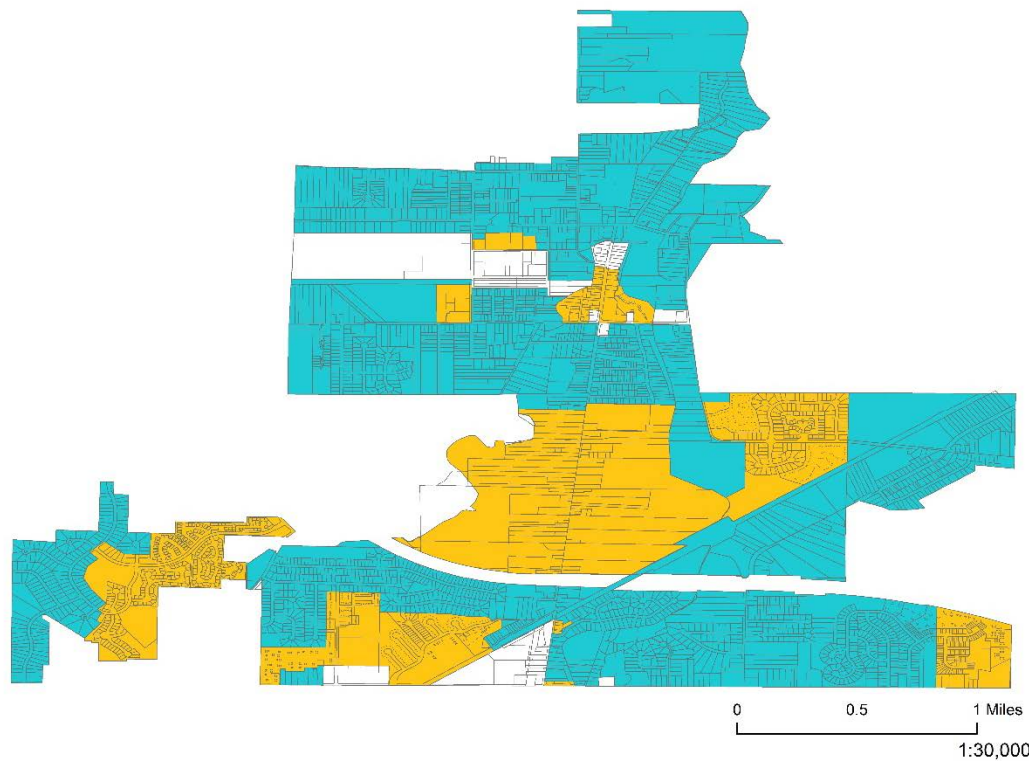


# Oakwood



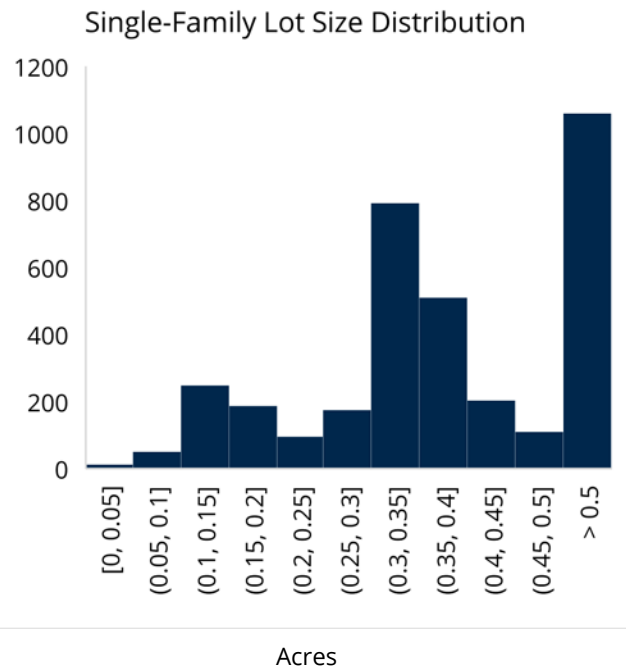
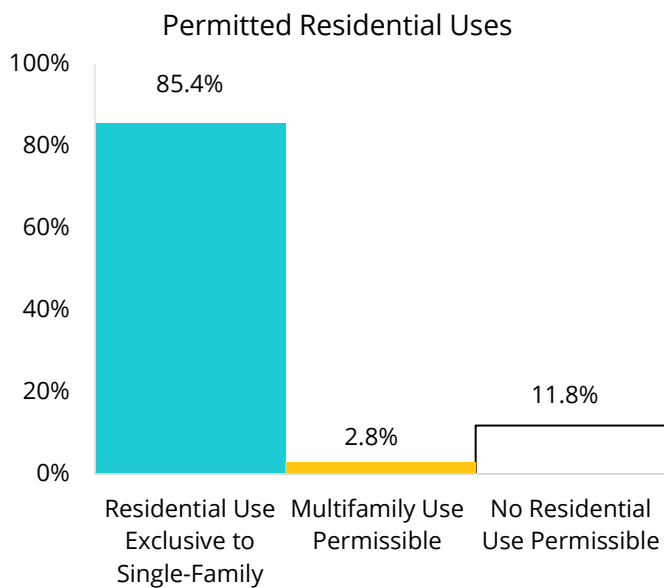
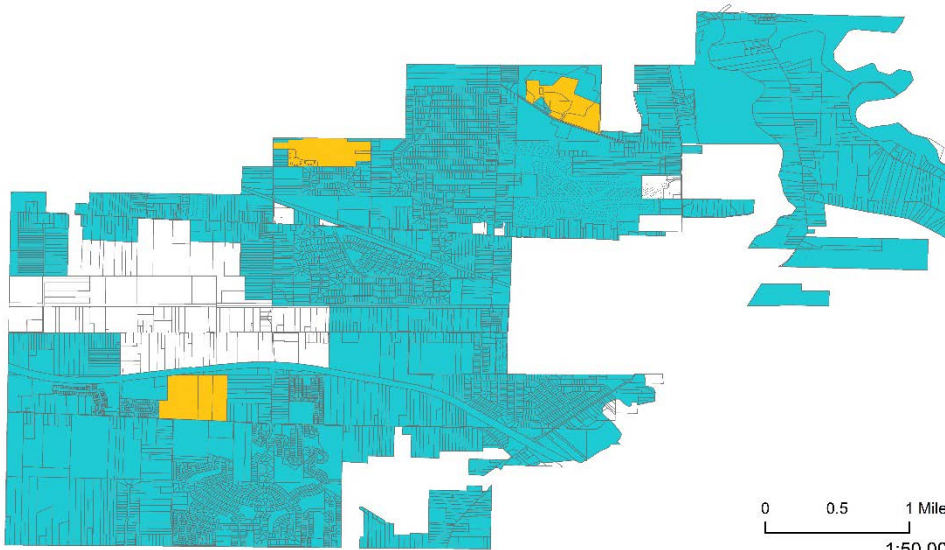
Number of Single-Family Lots: 1263  
Median Lot Size: .45 acres

# Olmsted Falls



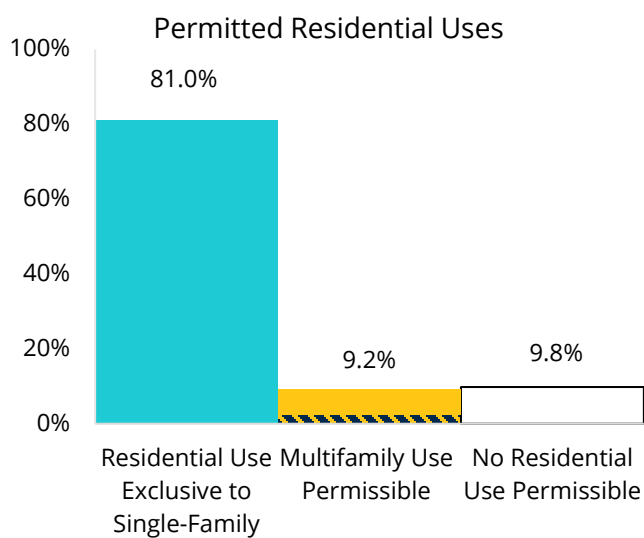
Number of Single-Family Lots: 2521  
Median Lot Size: .28 acres

# Olmsted Township



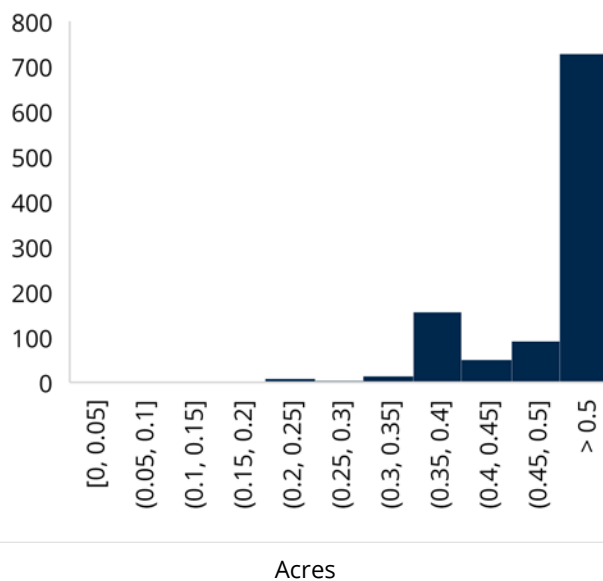
Number of Single-Family Lots: 3442  
Median Lot Size: .36 acres

# Orange



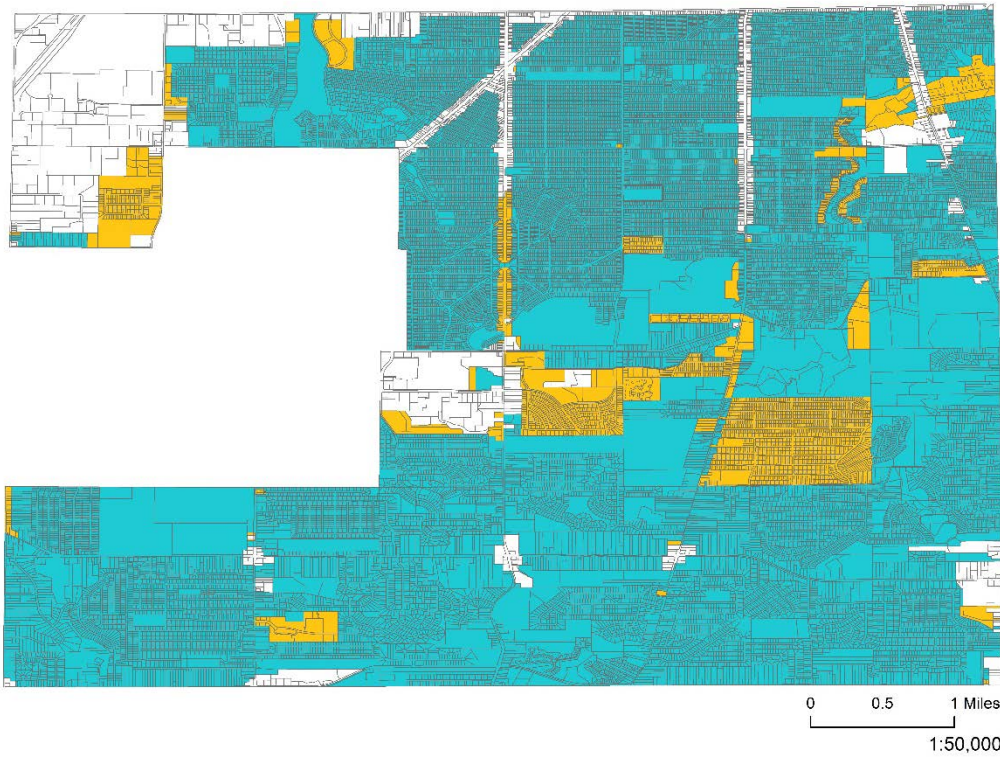
Single-family housing currently occupies 27.2% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

### Single-Family Lot Size Distribution

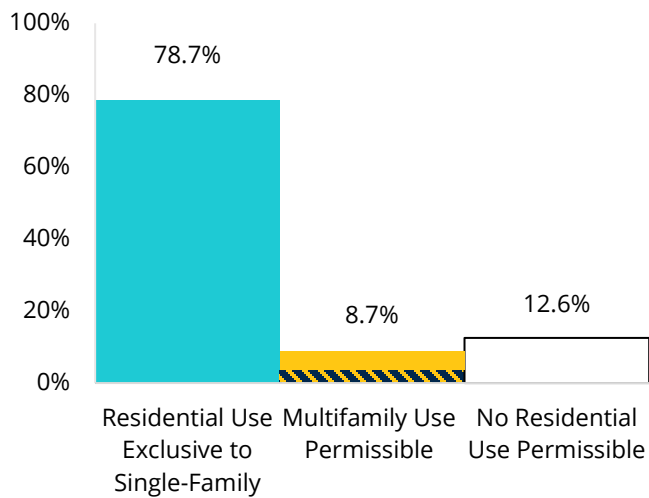


Number of Single-Family Lots: 1055  
Median Lot Size: 1.32 acres

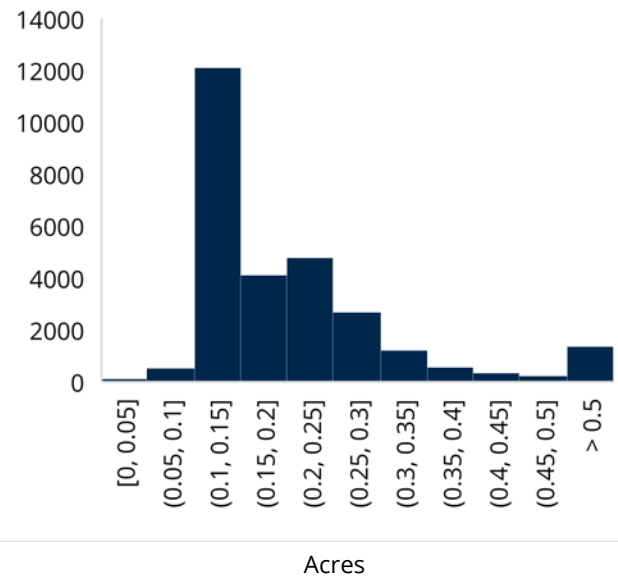
## Parma



Permitted Residential Uses



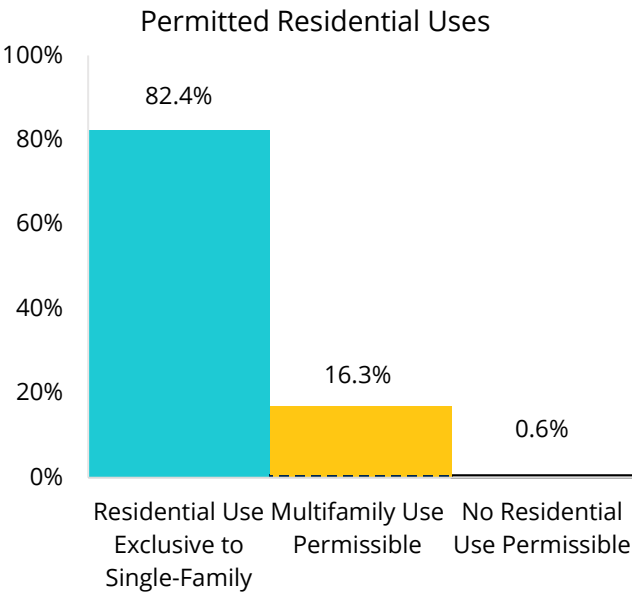
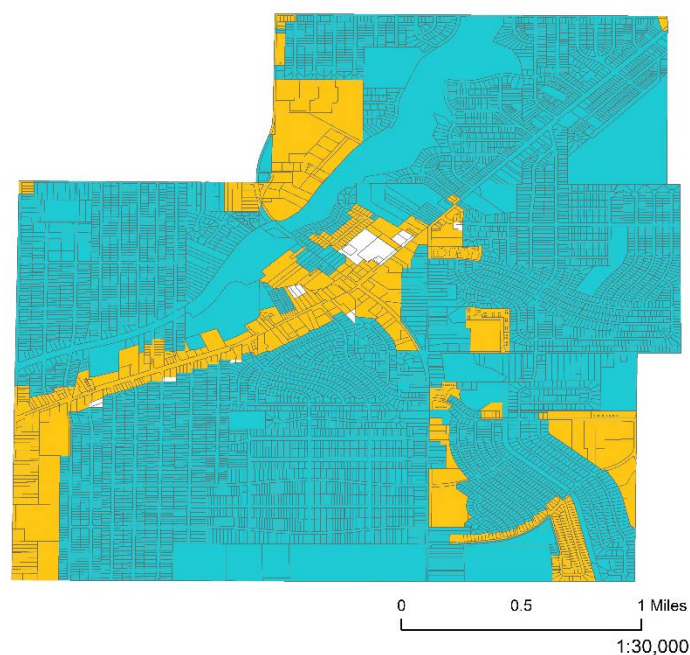
Single-Family Lot Size Distribution



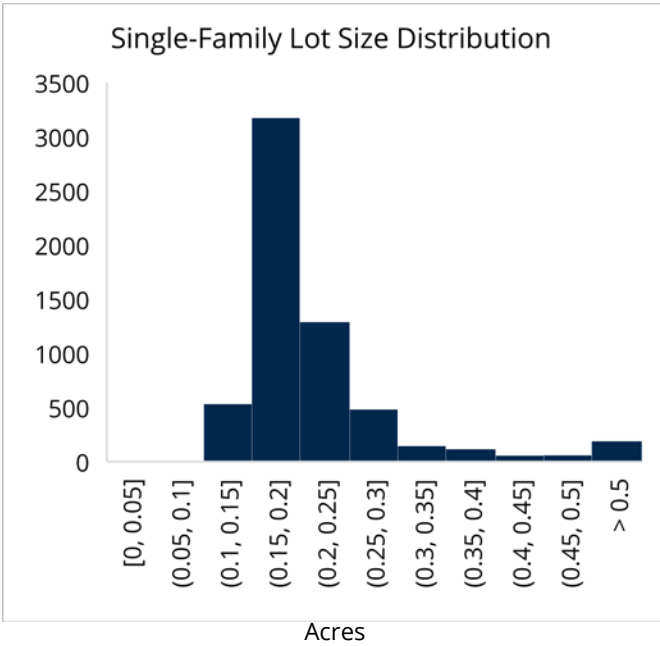
Number of Single-Family Lots: 27,949  
Median Lot Size: .17 acres



# Parma Heights



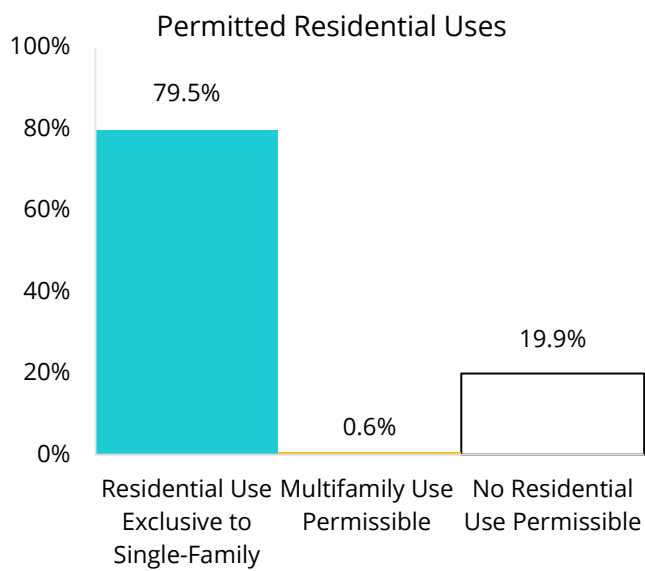
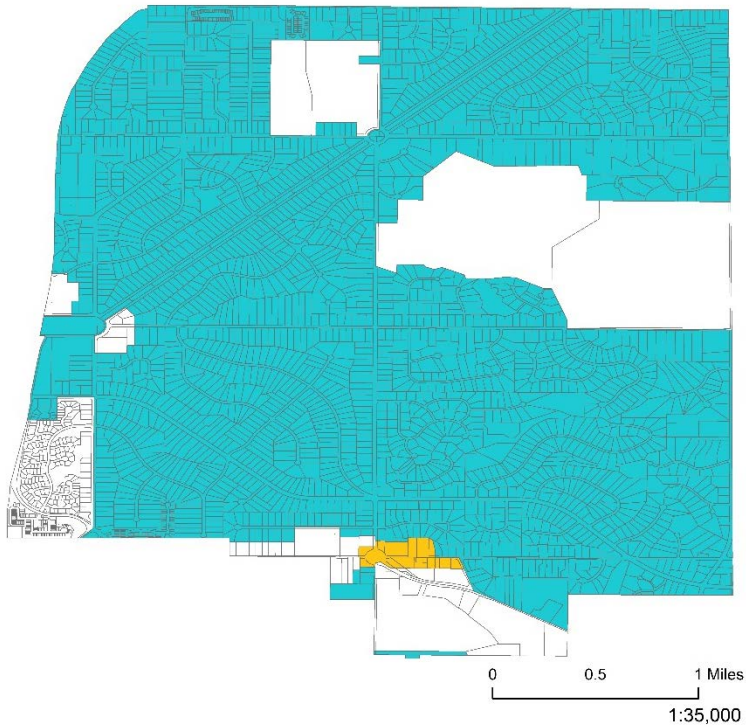
Single-family housing currently occupies 4.6% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



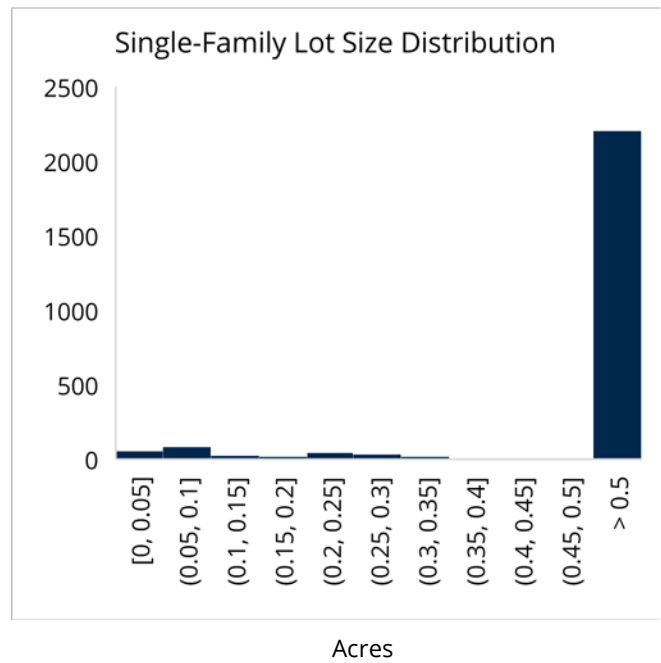
Number of Single-Family Lots: 6040  
Median Lot Size: .19 acres



## Pepper Pike

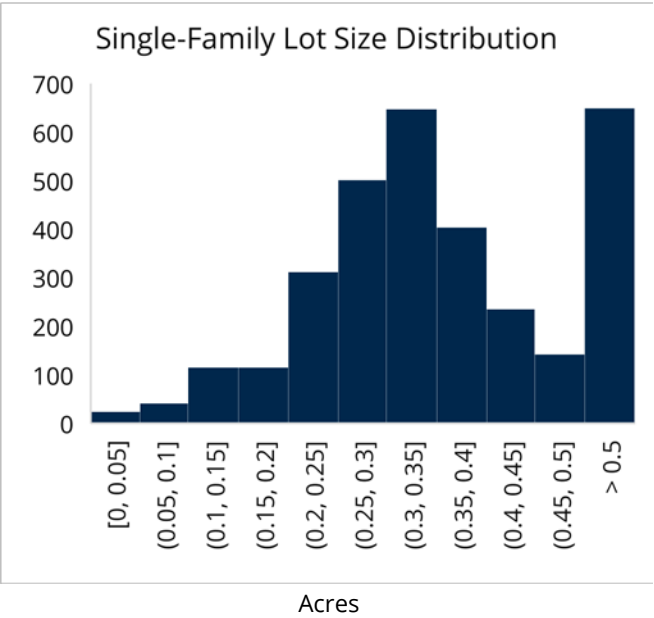
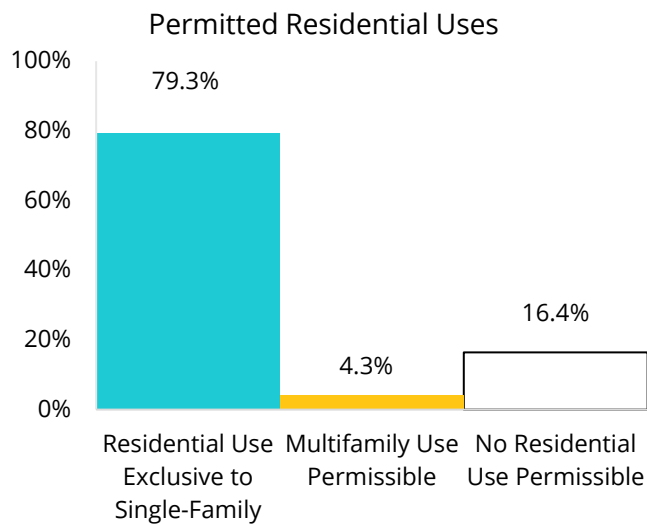
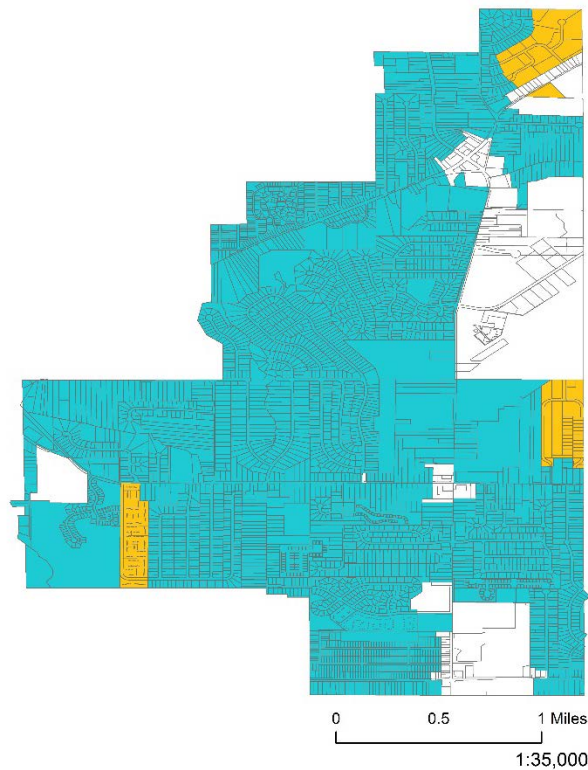


Single-family housing currently occupies 3.9% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



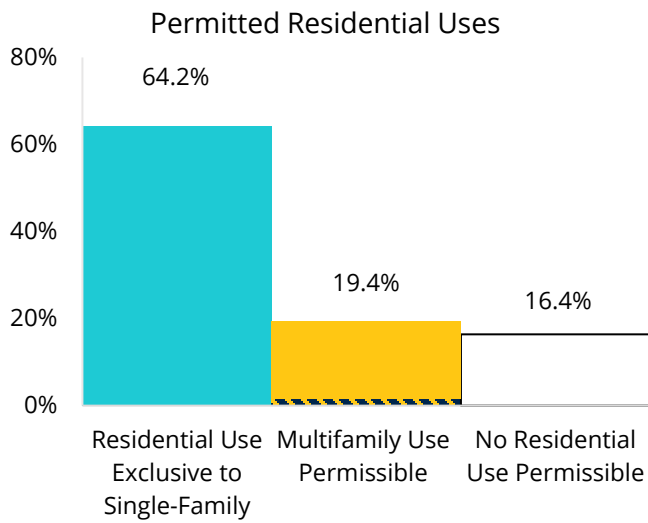
Number of Single-Family Lots: 2492  
Median Lot Size: 1.05 acres

# Richmond Heights



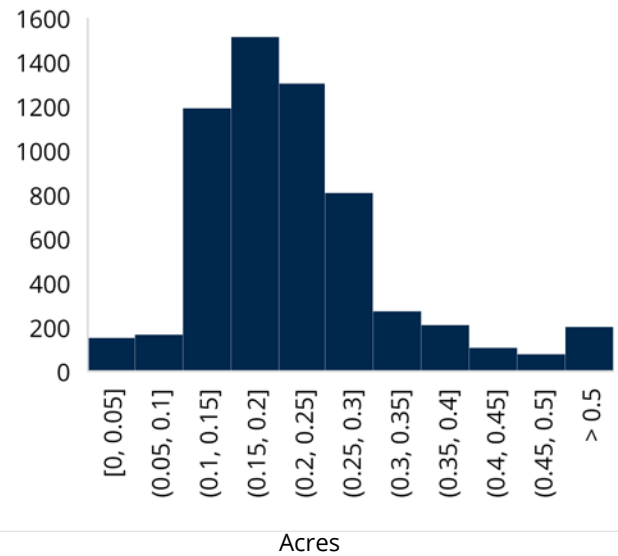
Number of Single-Family Lots: 3183  
 Median Lot Size: .34 acres

# Rocky River



Single-family housing currently occupies 8.6% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

**Single-Family Lot Size Distribution**

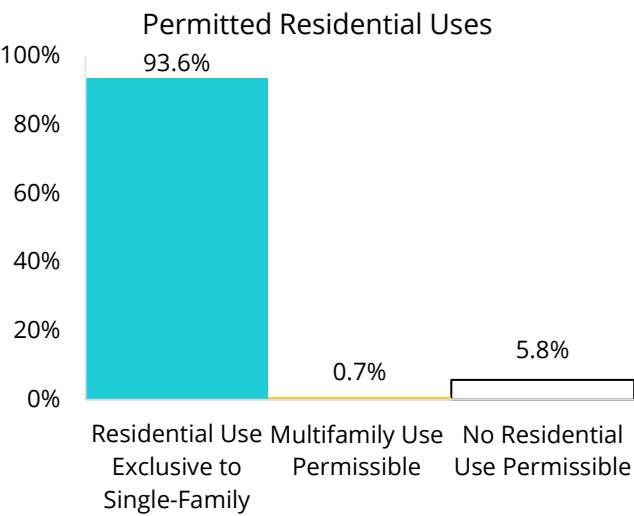


Number of Single-Family Lots: 6000  
Median Lot Size: .2 acres

# Seven Hills

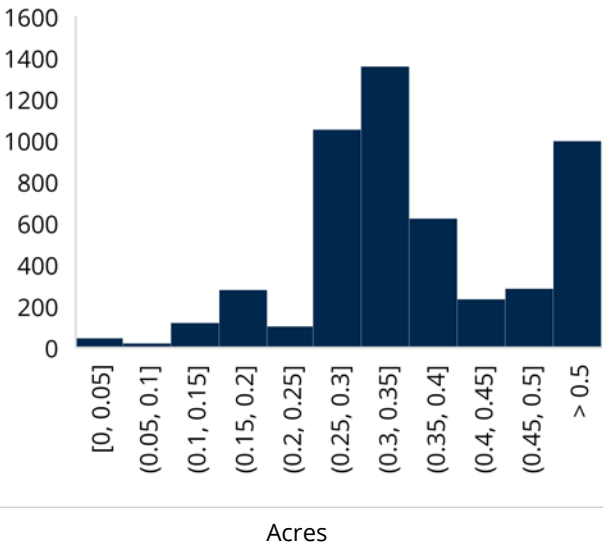


1:40,000  
 \*Zoning analysis for Seven Hills relies on Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office's "zoning use" summary category, not the municipal zoning code.



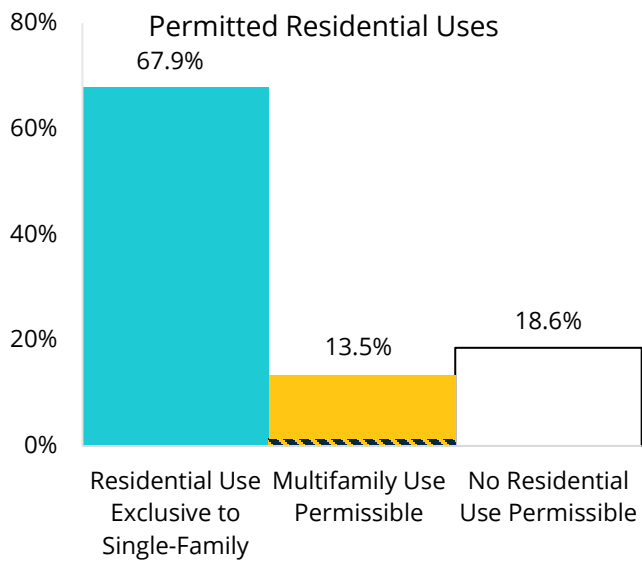
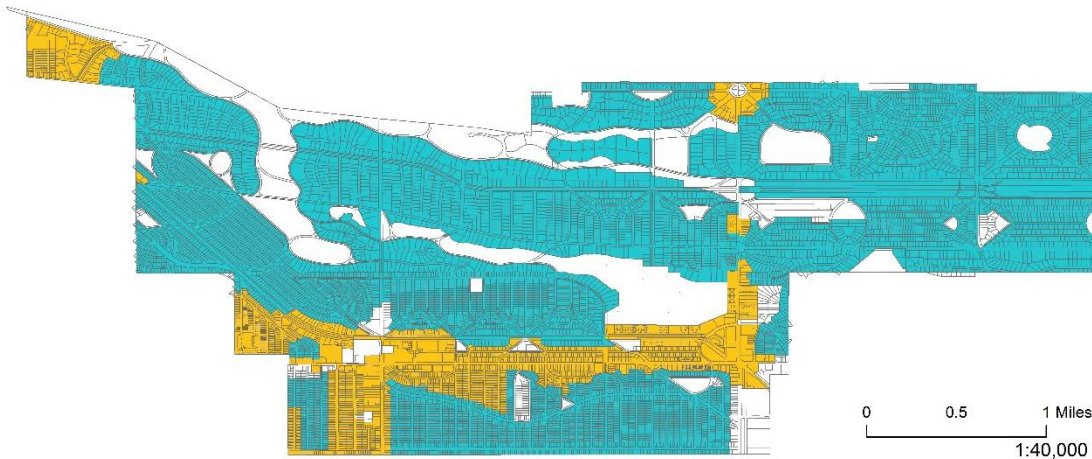
Single-family housing currently occupies 44.3% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

Single-Family Lot Size Distribution

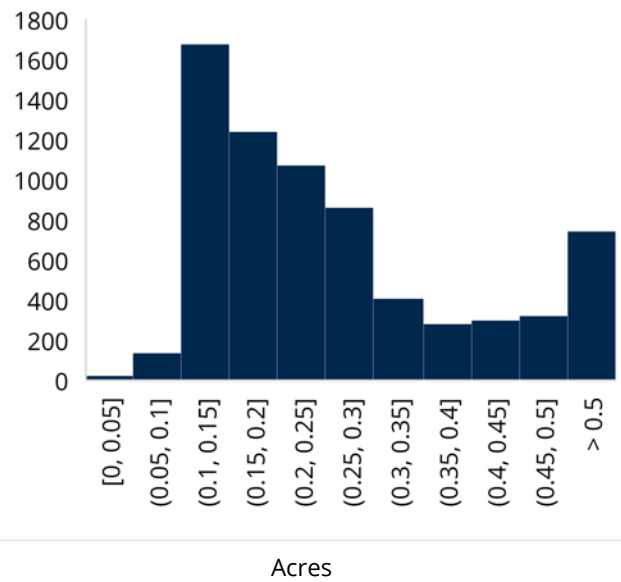


Number of Single-Family Lots: 5108  
 Median Lot Size: .33 acres

## Shaker Heights



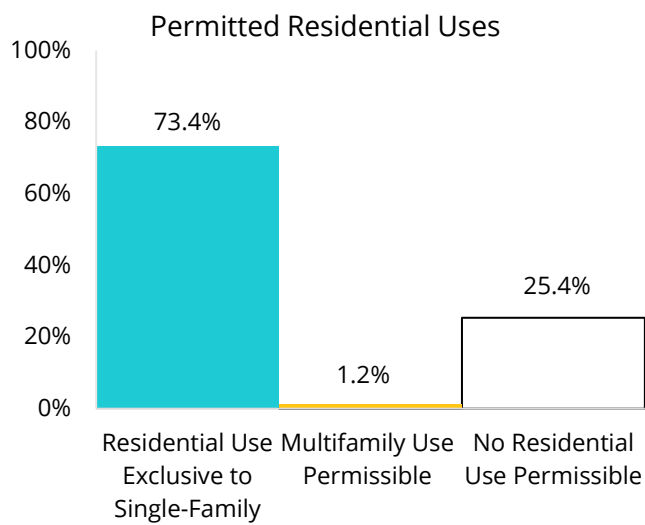
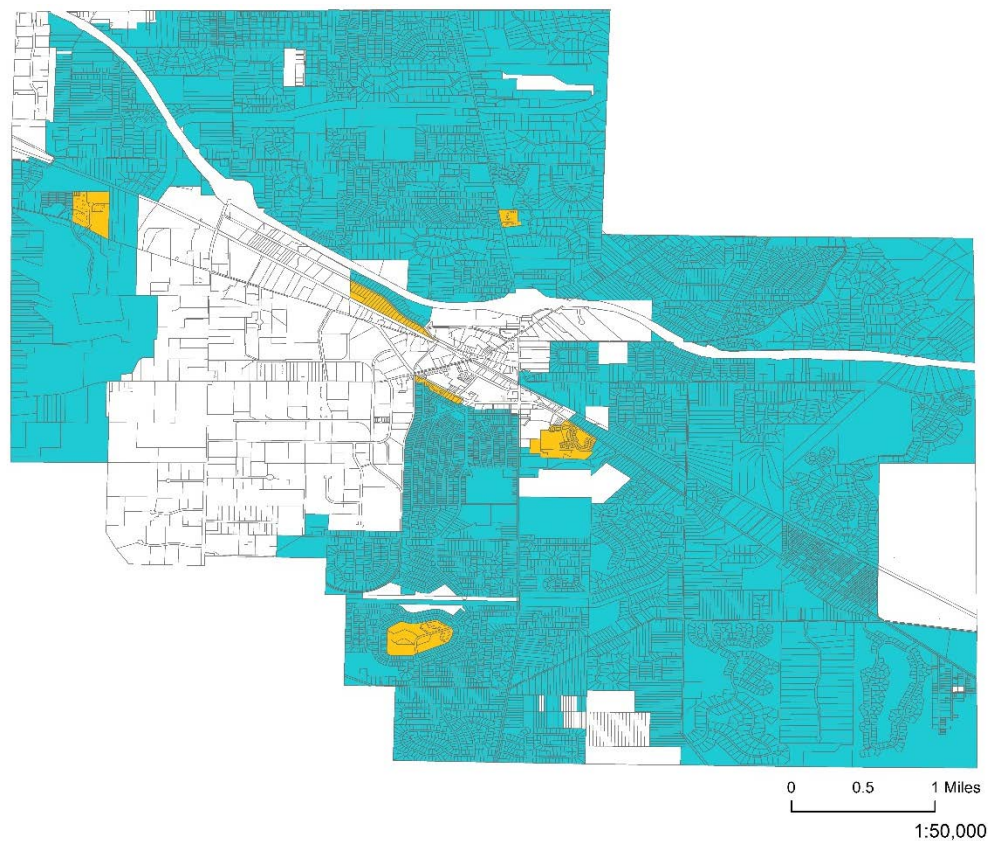
**Single-Family Lot Size Distribution**



Number of Single-Family Lots: 7063  
Median Lot Size: .21 acres

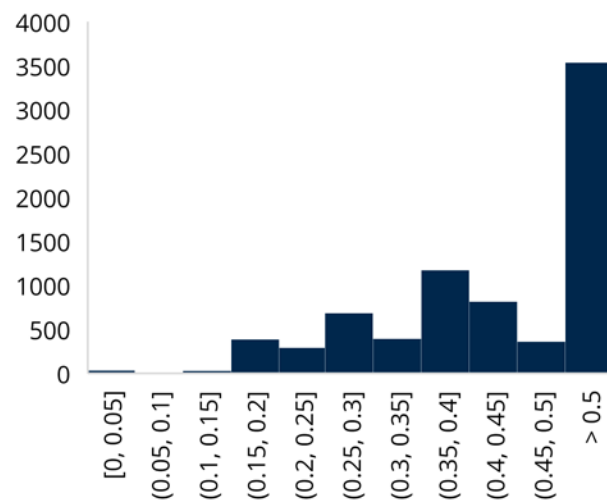


# Solon



Single-family housing currently occupies 0.8% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

Single-Family Lot Size Distribution

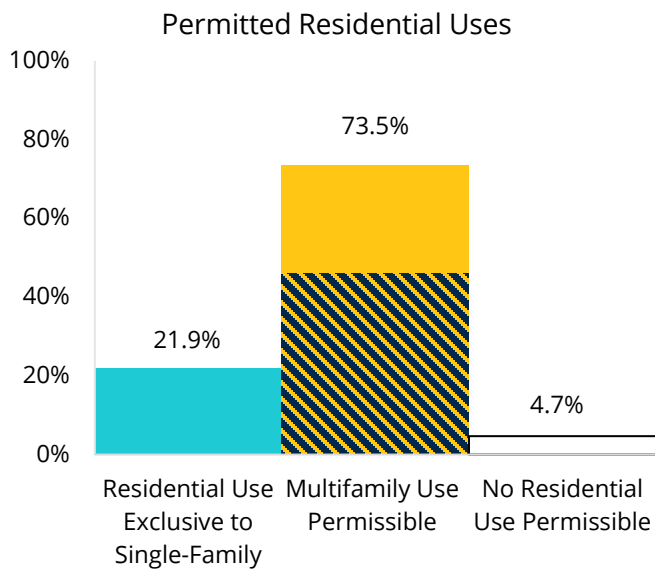
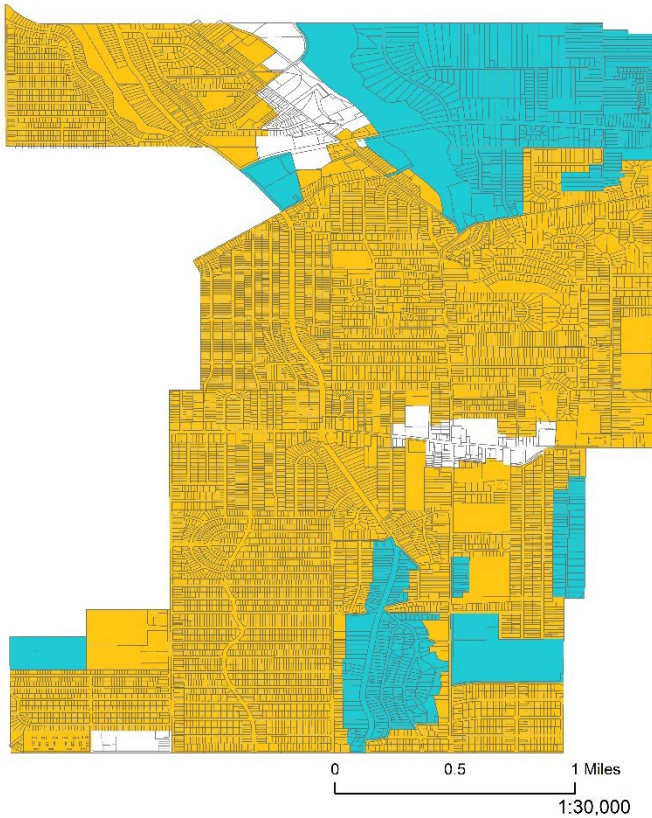


Acres

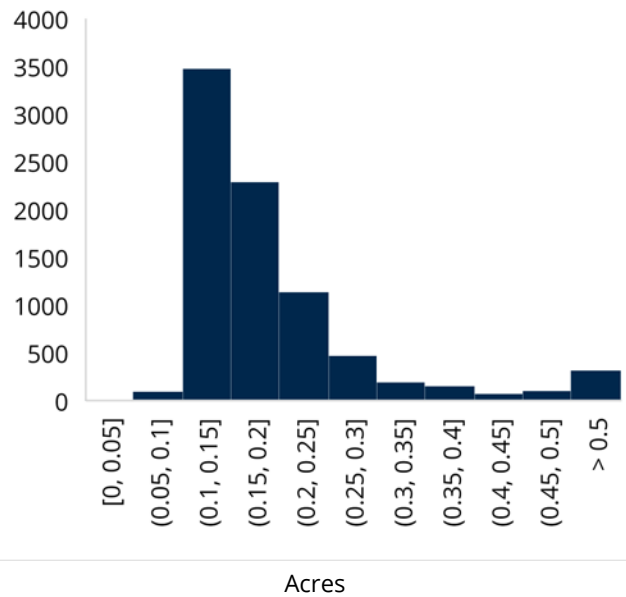
Number of Single-Family Lots: 7705  
Median Lot Size: .46 acres



## South Euclid

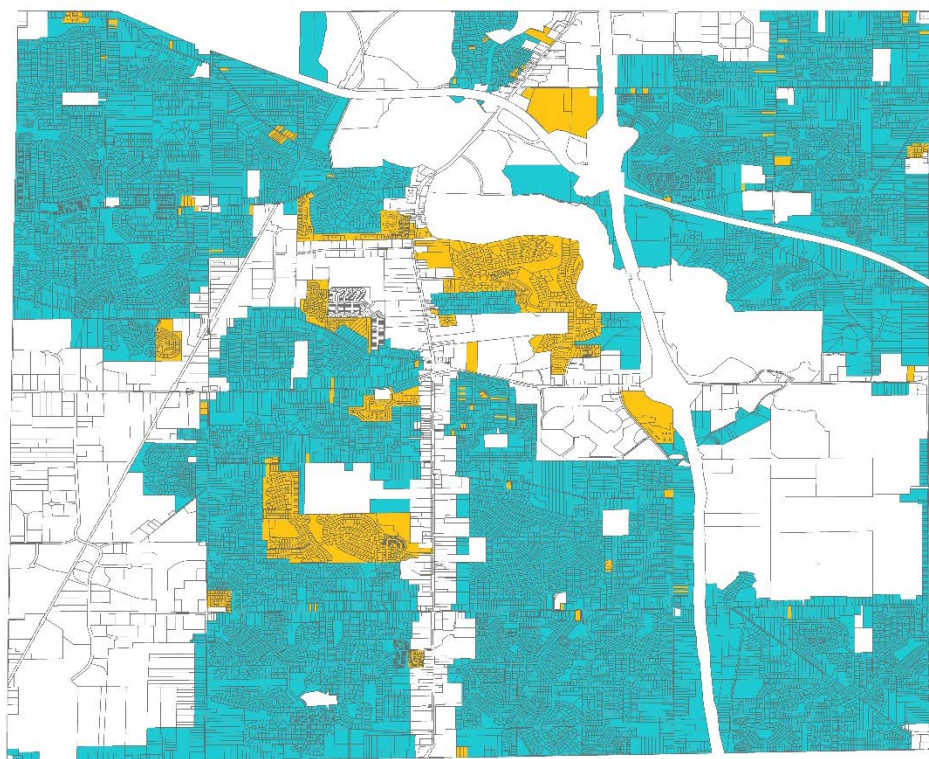


**Single-Family Lot Size Distribution**

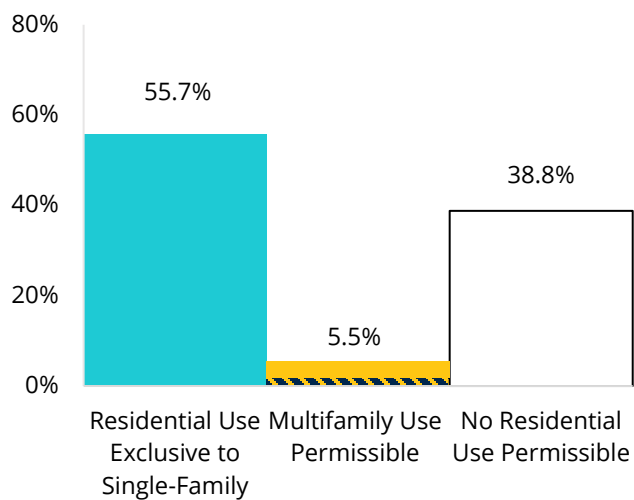


Number of Single-Family Lots: 8320  
Median Lot Size: .16 acres

# Strongsville

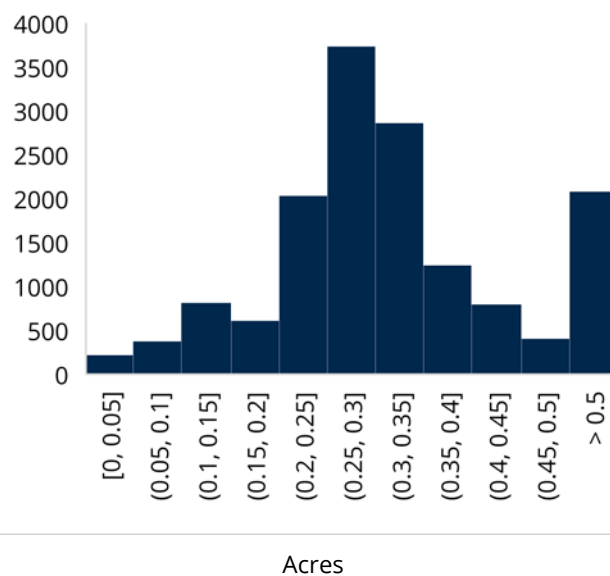


Permitted Residential Uses



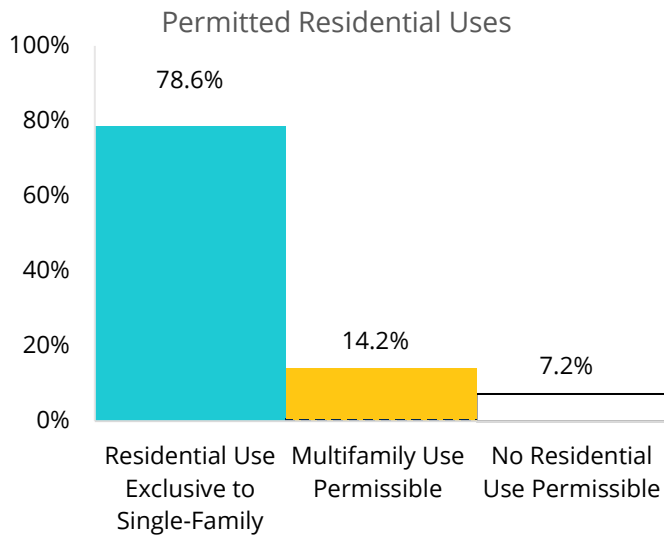
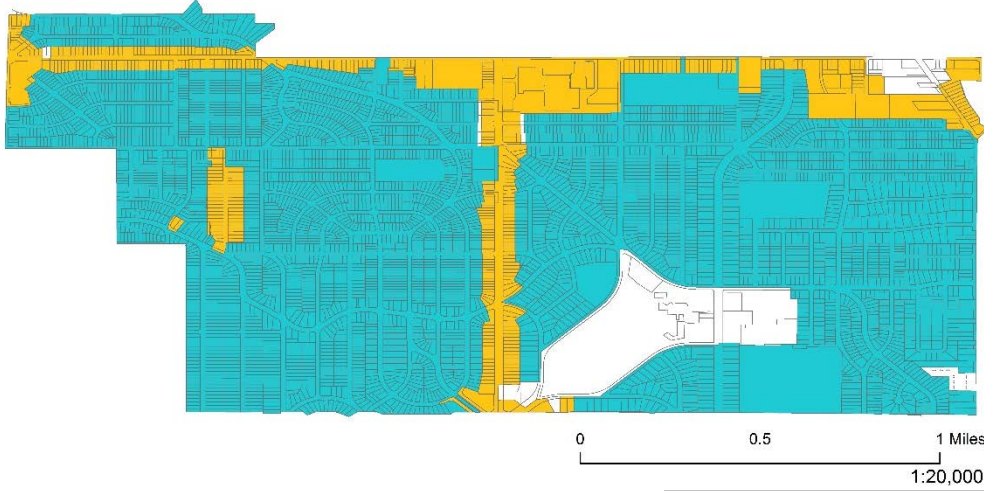
Single-family housing currently occupies 32.8% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

Single-Family Lot Size Distribution

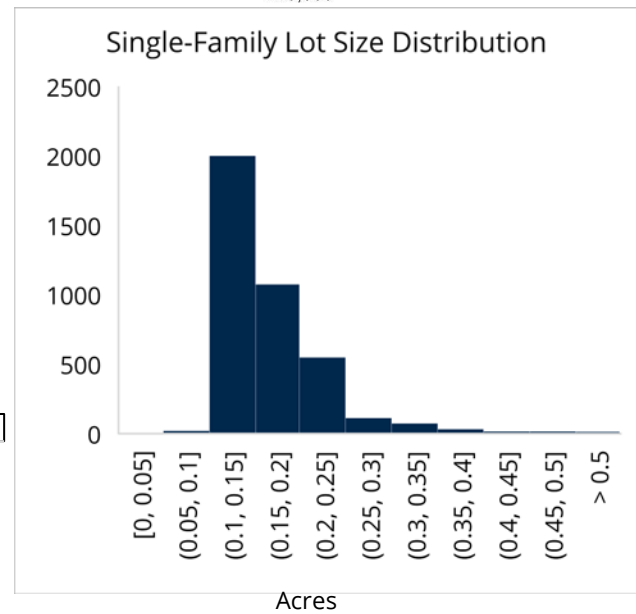


Number of Single-Family Lots: 15,173  
Median Lot Size: .3 acres

## University Heights

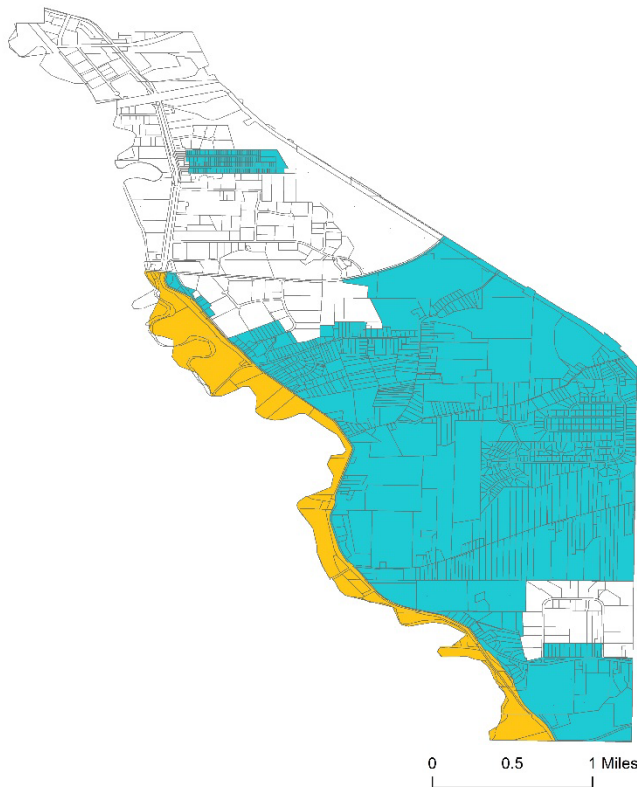


Single-family housing currently occupies 5.3% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use



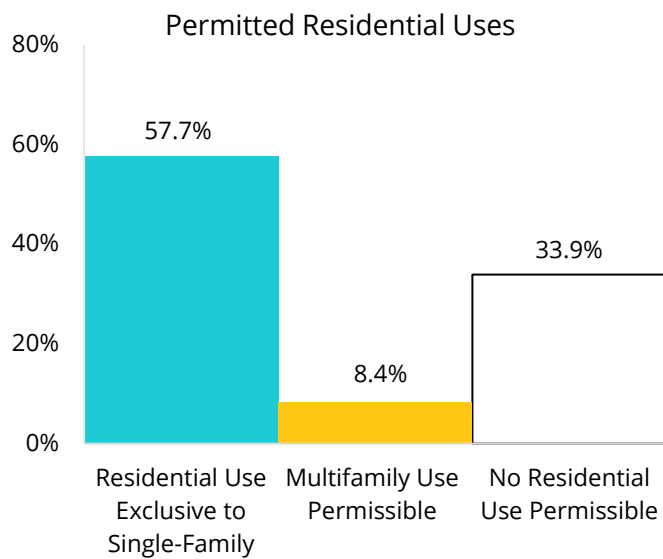
Number of Single-Family Lots: 3902  
Median Lot Size: .15 acres

# Valley View

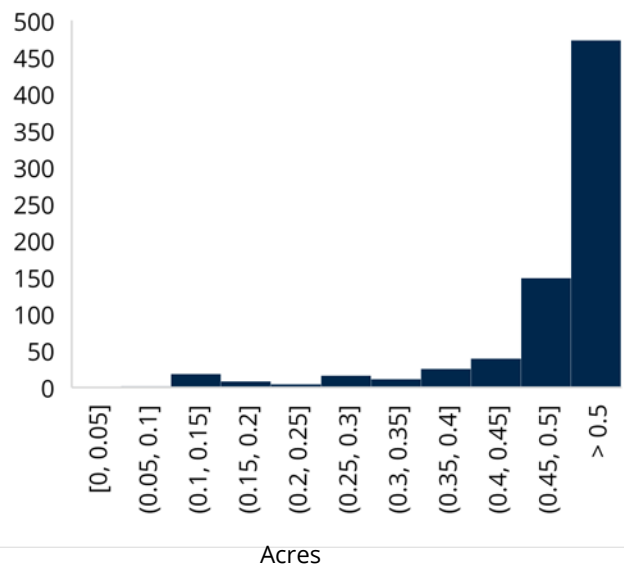


1:45,000

\*Zoning analysis for Valley View relies on Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office's "zoning use" summary category, not the municipal zoning code.



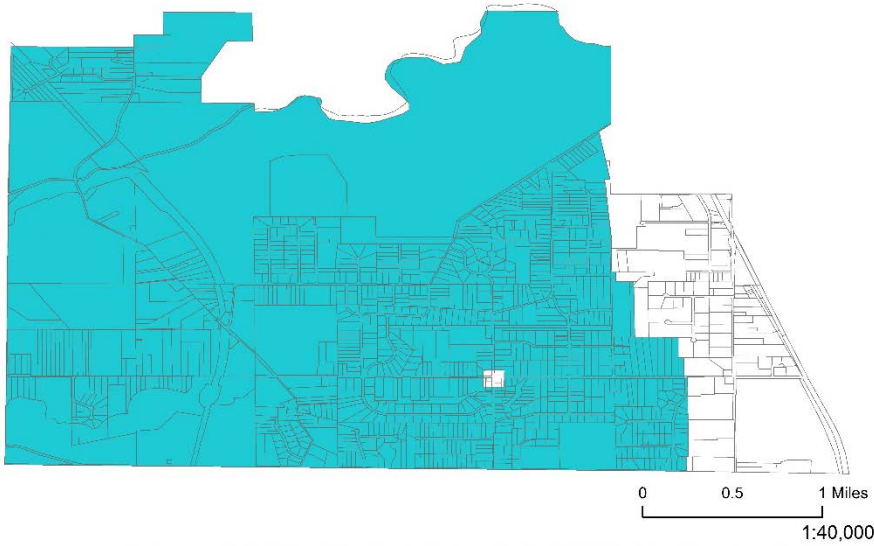
## Single-Family Lot Size Distribution



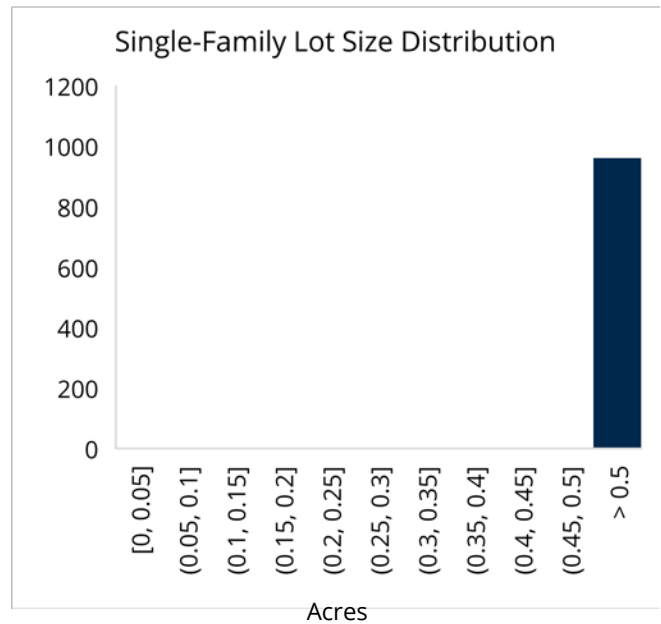
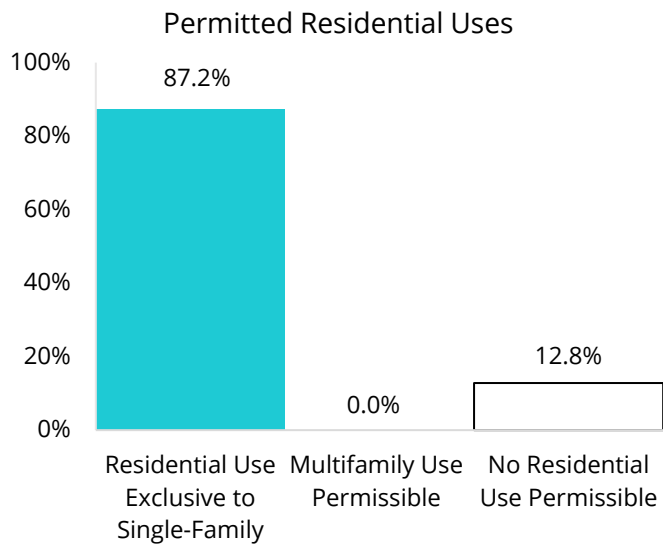
Number of Single-Family Lots: 744  
Median Lot Size: .63 acres



## Walton Hills

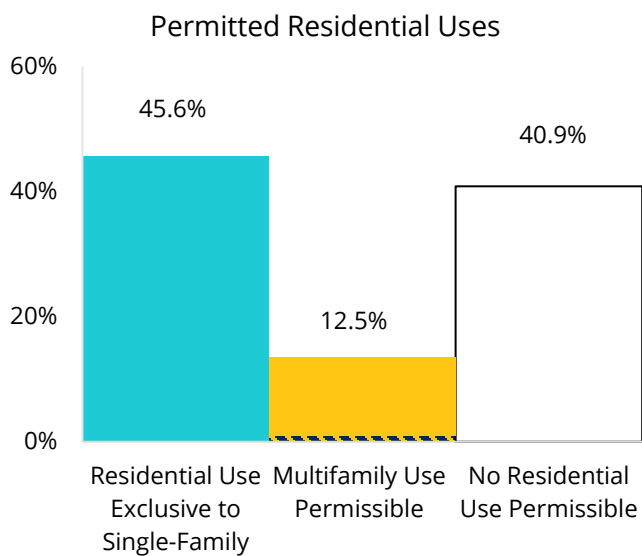
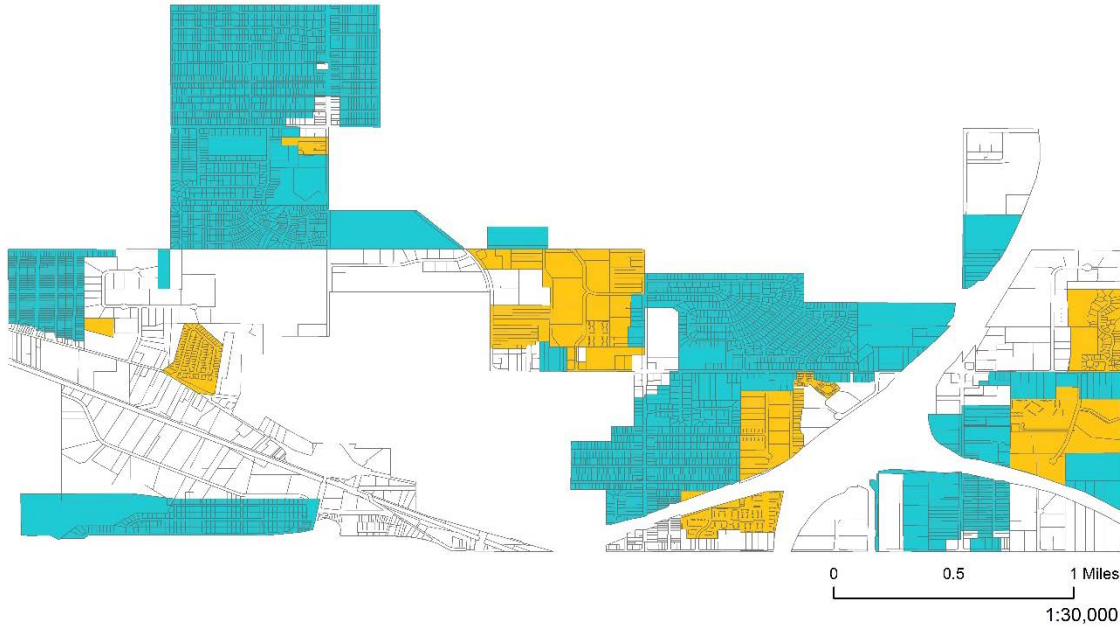


\*Zoning analysis for Walton Hills relies on Cuyahoga County Fiscal Office's "zoning use" summary category, not the municipal zoning code.



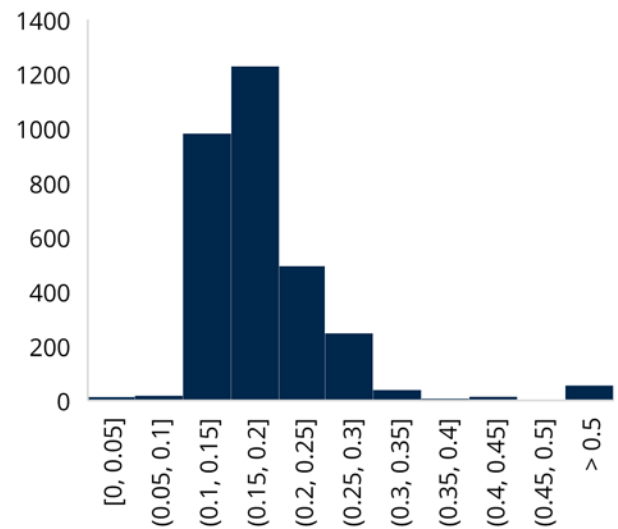
Number of Single-Family Lots: 971  
Median Lot Size: 1.03 acres

# Warrensville Heights



Single-family housing currently occupies 7.5% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

### Single-Family Lot Size Distribution

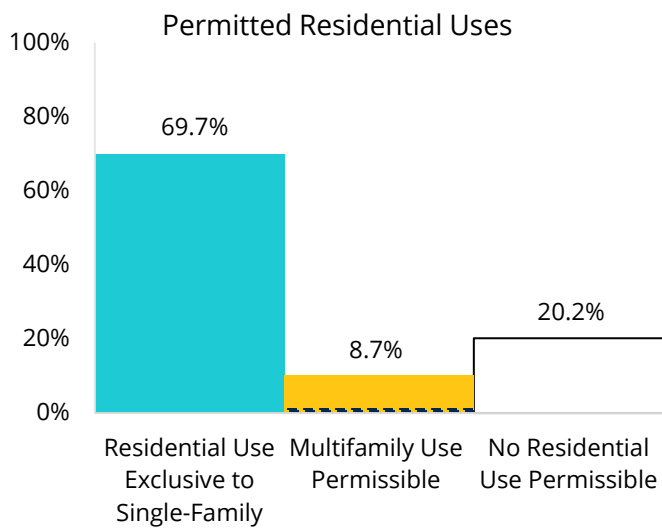
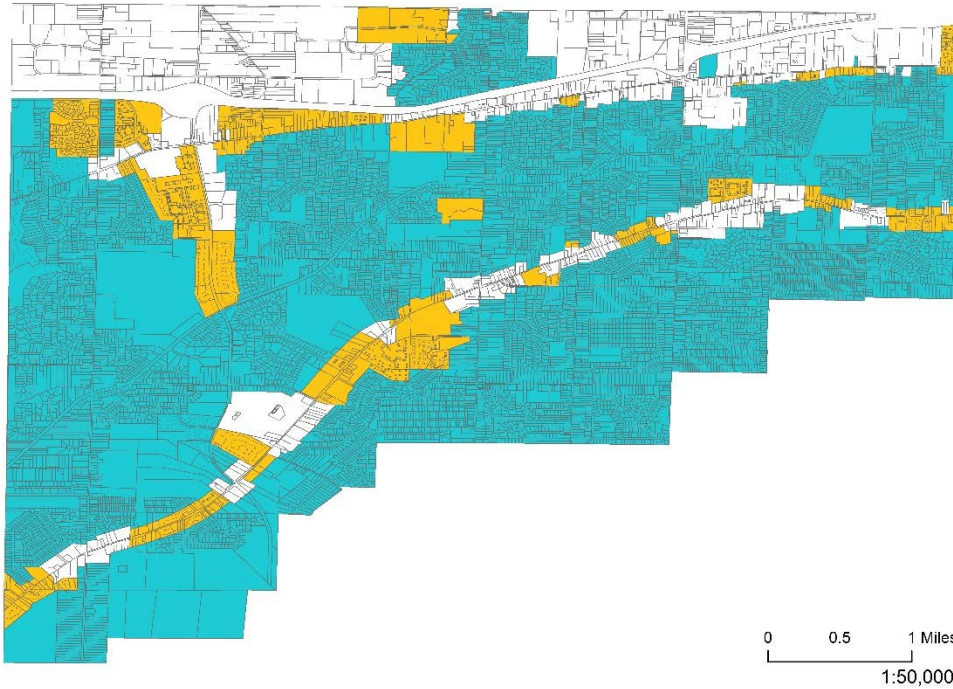



Acres

Number of Single-Family Lots: 3100  
Median Lot Size: .17 acres

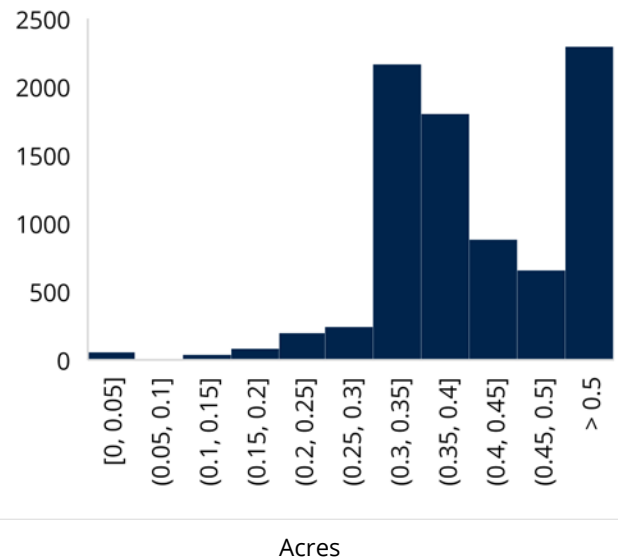


## Westlake



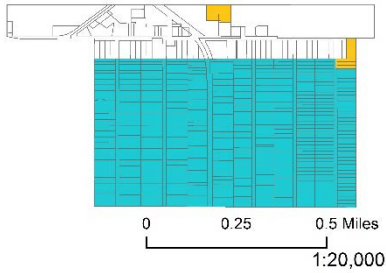
 Single-family housing currently occupies 13.5% of all land zoned to permit multifamily use

**Single-Family Lot Size Distribution**

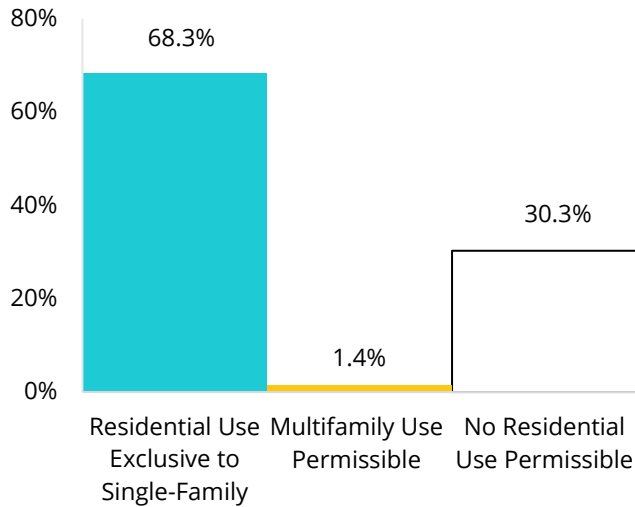


Acres  
Number of Single-Family Lots: 8414  
Median Lot Size: .39 acres

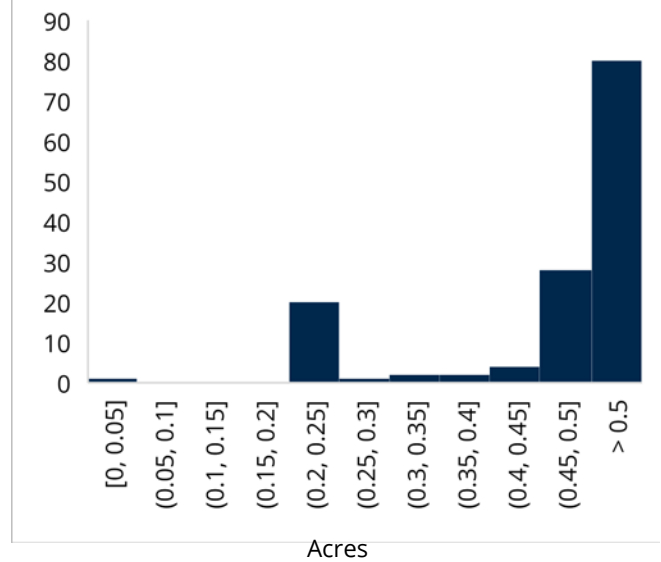
# Woodmere



Permitted Residential Uses



Single-Family Lot Size Distribution



Number of Single-Family Lots: 137  
Median Lot Size: .71 acres

## Appendix A: Cuyahoga County Municipality Key

Number	Municipality	Number	Municipality
1	Bay Village	31	Shaker Heights
2	Westlake	32	Maple Heights
3	North Olmsted	33	Walton Hills
4	Olmsted Township	34	Euclid
5	Olmsted Falls	35	South Euclid
6	Rocky River	36	University Heights
7	Fairview Park	37	Highland Hills
8	Brook Park	38	Warrensville Heights
9	Berea	39	North Randall
10	Middleburg Heights	40	Bedford
11	Strongsville	41	Richmond Heights
12	Lakewood	42	Lyndhurst
13	Cleveland	43	Beachwood
14	Brooklyn	44	Bedford Heights
15	Linndale	45	Oakwood
16	Parma	46	Highland Heights
17	Parma Heights	47	Mayfield
18	North Royalton	48	Mayfield Heights
19	Newburgh Heights	49	Pepper Pike
20	Cuyahoga Heights	50	Woodmere
21	Brooklyn Heights	51	Orange
22	Seven Hills	52	Solon
23	Broadview Heights	53	Glenwillow
24	Independence	54	Gates Mills
25	Brecksville	55	Hunting Valley
26	Bratenahl	56	Moreland Hills
27	Garfield Heights	57	Chagrin Falls Township (includes the
28	Valley View		Village of Chagrin Falls)
29	East Cleveland	58	Chagrin Falls
30	Cleveland Heights	59	Bentleyville

## Appendix B: Municipal Land Use and Demographic Statistics

City	Total Acres	Residential Use Exclusive to Single- Family, Acres	Multifamily Use Permissible, Acres	No Residential Use Permissible, Acres	Single-Family Home in Multifamily Districts, Acres	Number of Single- Family Parcels	Percent of Housing Units That are Rentals	Percent of Population that is White, Non- Hispanic
Bay Village	2863.725	2817.923	3.729154	42.07366	0	6110	8.1	93.8
Beachwood	3218.731	1588.031	204.4892	1426.21	13.954	3167	40.5	72.2
Bedford	3439.281	386.5609	2283.318	769.4021	841.255	4037	47.4	38.4
Bedford Heights	2720.41	1506.101	108.2916	1106.017	1.791	2623	51.0	18.7
Bentleyville	1682.642	1682.642	0	0	0	319	1.5	94.2
Berea	3664.783	2759.75	235.1056	669.9281	18.558	5961	31.8	86.6
Bratenahl	671.0044	624.0338	0	46.97065	0	397	18.6	82.4
Brecksville	12300.47	7175.616	39.8776	5084.98	0	4378	15.9	93.3
Broadview Heights	8131.067	6062.404	1182.885	885.7788	288.009	5700	17.6	86.4
Brook Park	4684.133	1849.091	117.5139	2717.527	21.67	6863	23.0	88.1
Brooklyn	2734.381	1303.966	133.7002	1296.715	10.782	3544	42.1	69.9
Brooklyn Heights	1048.374	403.3073	0	645.0668	0	602	14.5	93.9
Chagrin Falls	1371.177	903.6158	118.4119	349.1497	6.294	1310	30.2	97.7
Chagrin Falls Township	316.2803	292.9138	0	23.36652	0	36	0.0	100.0
Cleveland	50127.33	10496.49	23817.01	15813.83	4968.976	81688	58.2	33.8
Cleveland Heights	5165.914	3960.102	900.2887	305.5233	54.234	12866	44.8	47.5
Cuyahoga Heights	2072.023	0	168.4303	1903.593	73.704	179	40.9	91.2
East Cleveland	1981.083	0	1772.256	208.8266	413.121	2944	66.0	5.7
Euclid	6688.918	2714.828	1568.401	2405.689	735.669	14488	52.1	36.1
Fairview Park	2975.376	1823.626	297.9358	853.8142	13.693	5779	27.5	90.1
Garfield Heights	4452.671	0	2244.946	2207.724	1476.499	10048	34.3	47.8
Gates Mills	5839.593	5828.291	0	11.30257	0	924	4.7	89.2
Glenwillow	1818.901	767.3911	0	1051.51	0	227	10.4	48.0
Highland Heights	3228.174	2523.188	0	704.9858	0	3283	5.3	84.6
Highland Hills	1276.627	339.7718	12.8774	923.9776	3.291	150	63.3	19.5
Hunting Valley	4514.605	4514.605	0	0	0	195	10.2	92.7
Independence	5753.696	3343.401	0	2410.295	0	2901	6.7	95.8
Lakewood	3522.363	1234.261	1838.749	449.354	609.508	9451	55.6	83.2
Linndale	42.66205	0	42.66205	0	2.165	15	53.7	56.1
Lyndhurst	2791.89	2414.373	80.71505	296.8014	0	5763	18.0	85.0
Maple Heights	3271.565	2033.152	217.3079	1021.105	59.773	9151	38.7	24.1
Mayfield	2426.634	1992.48	24.70097	409.4532	0	1170	30.9	88.8
Mayfield Heights	2500.449	1464.601	343.4843	692.3635	36.747	5228	49.6	80.0
Middleburg Heights	5036.319	2907.097	404.6076	1724.615	116.732	4972	28.9	82.6
Moreland Hills	4643.251	4629.237	0	14.01412	0	1303	8.2	89.2

*Exclusionary Zoning in Cuyahoga County*

Newburgh Heights	375.9381	0	136.4201	239.518	56.59	479	46.8	68.3
North Olmsted	7242.18	5871.923	470.1511	900.1059	31.582	9998	26.3	88.4
North Randall	499.3034	121.027	11.08608	367.1904	0	138	76.4	14.8
North Royalton	13509.01	10475.09	1173.56	1860.364	313.329	8596	27.5	90.5
Oakwood	2086.319	1329.544	15.75194	741.0232	0	1263	29.7	32.9
Olmsted Falls	2547.654	1684.248	707.0672	156.3391	238.475	2521	18.1	94.9
Olmsted Township	6219.71	5312.373	172.2471	735.0905	0	3442	22.9	91.0
Orange	2419.722	1959.58	223.1157	237.0262	60.755	1055	9.0	72.5
Parma	12843.08	10107.56	1123.191	1612.338	461.568	27949	27.2	87.9
Parma Heights	2688.913	2214.893	458.0402	15.97986	21.121	6040	44.8	82.0
Pepper Pike	4526.328	3599.513	25.48546	901.329	1	2492	1.6	84.1
Richmond Heights	2833.026	2246.371	121.4201	465.2352	0	3183	33.7	44.3
Rocky River	2907.804	1867.409	564.0955	476.3001	48.794	6000	28.0	92.9
Seven Hills	3146.938	2944.883	20.52513	181.5296	9.089	5108	7.6	94.7
Shaker Heights	4054.734	2753.246	548.1088	753.3794	57.704	7063	35.8	54.7
Solon	12825.31	9412.182	156.5404	3256.589	1.257	7705	17.5	73.0
South Euclid	2980.168	652.1537	2188.907	139.1071	1375.926	8302	27.0	47.8
Strongsville	15287.41	8521.005	836.2749	5930.129	274.171	15173	19.1	89.1
University Heights	1165.614	916.0763	165.1331	84.40487	8.764	3902	35.6	72.1
Valley View	3615.818	2086.677	301.906	1227.235	0	744	10.5	93.5
Walton Hills	4391.227	3828.235	0	562.9922	0	971	1.7	87.4
Warrensville Heights	2372.417	1082.759	320.3195	969.3382	23.984	3100	58.9	5.0
Westlake	9922.16	6915.331	1003.362	2003.466	135.76	8414	26.4	87.0
Woodmere	208.7658	142.5462	2.982249	63.23727	0	137	60.9	25.6
Total	289646.1	168387.5	48907.38	72351.22	12886.29	351547	41.2	59.7

(Source for demographic data: American Community Survey 2017 5-Year Estimates)



*Fair Housing Center for Rights & Research is a not-for-profit agency  
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discrimination, and promote integrated communities.*

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