

The High Cost of Free Parking

DONALD SHOUP

- Suppose in 1900 the new automobile and oil industries had asked you to devise city planning policies that will increase the demand for cars and fuel. Consider three options.
- First, divide the city into separate zones (housing here, jobs there, and shopping somewhere else) to create travel between the zones.
- Second, limit density to spread everything apart and further increase travel demand.
- Third, impose minimum parking requirements to ensure that drivers can easily park free at the beginning and end of almost every automobile trip.
- American cities have unwisely embraced these three planning policies.
- Zoning ordinances that segregate land uses, limit density, and require parking make cars essential for most trips.
- Zoning ordinances create sprawled, drivable cities and prohibit compact, walkable neighborhoods.

The Shoup Doggma

- Charge the right prices for curb parking.
 The lowest prices that will leave one or two parking spaces open on every block—demand-based pricing
 Curb spaces will be both well used and readily available.
- 2. Establish Parking Benefit Districts that use the parking meter revenue to improve public services in the metered neighborhoods.

Improving neighborhood public services will make rightpricing curb parking politically popular.

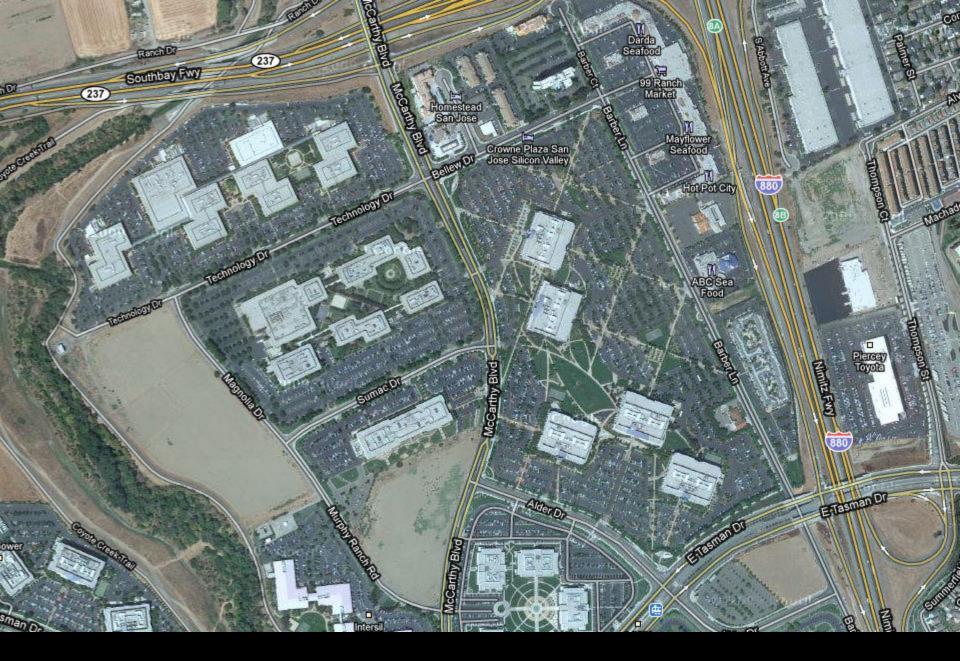
Remove off-street parking requirements.
 Freedom from parking requirements will benefit cities, the economy, and the environment.

Minimum Parking Requirements Have Created a Great Planning Disaster

- They skew travel choices toward cars.
- They distort urban form toward sprawl.
- They degrade urban design.
- They raise housing costs.
- They impede reuse of older buildings.
- They damage the urban economy.
- They harm the environment.

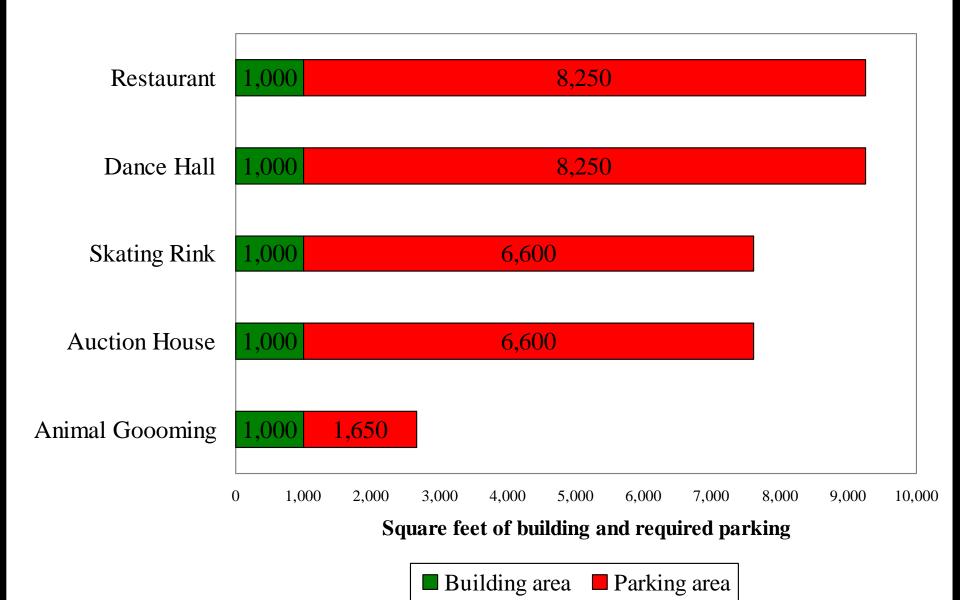


Parking in Silicon Valley



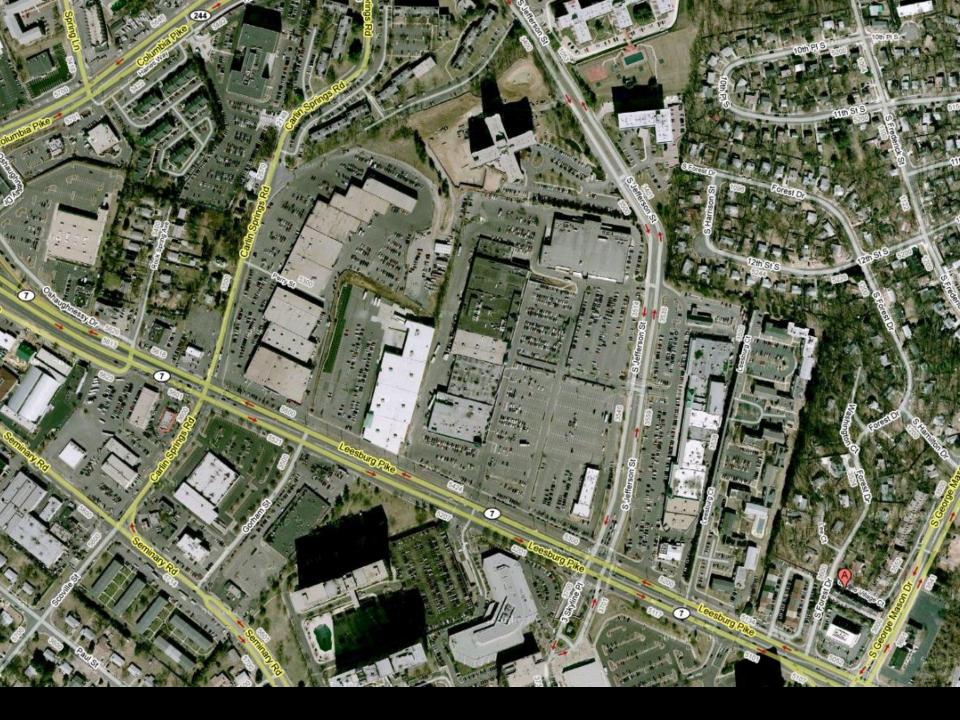
Ample free parking increases the demand for driving.

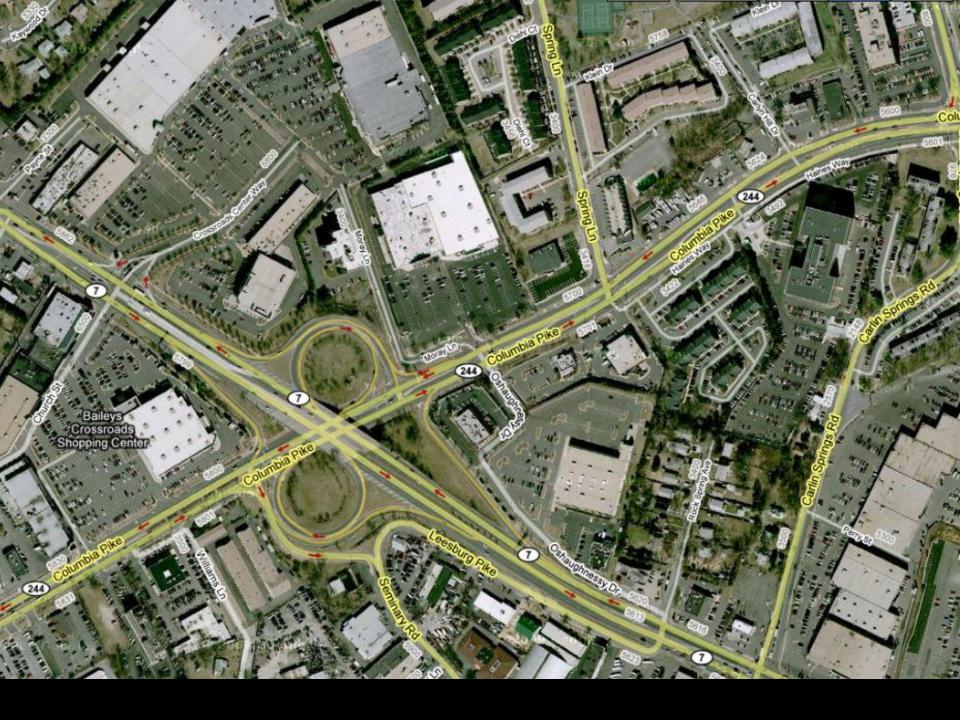
San José's minimum parking requirements

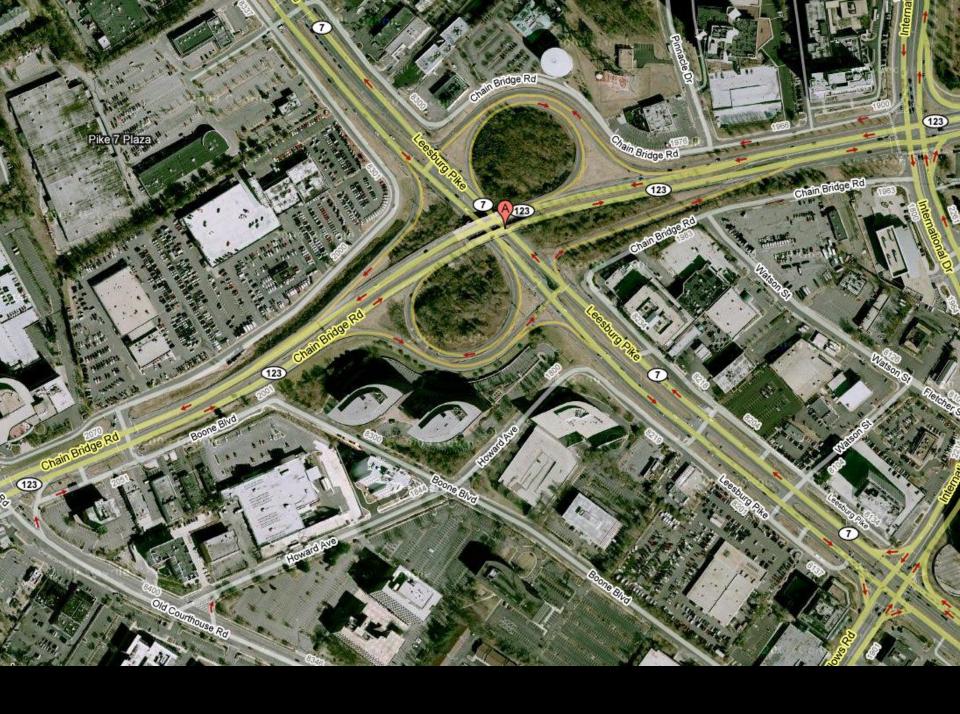


San Jose's off-street parking requirements

	20-190						
Parking Spaces Required by Land Use							
Use	Minimum Parking Required	Applicable Sections					
	per staff						
School, trade and vocational	1 per 3 students, plus 1 per staff						
Entertainment and Recreation	••						
Arcade, amusement	1 per 200 sq. ft of floor area						
Batting Cages	1 per station, plus 1 per employee						
Bowling establishment	7 per lane						
Dancehall	1 per 40 sq. ft. open to public						
Driving range	1 per tee, plus 1 per employee						
Golf course	8 per golf hole, plus 1 per employee						
Health club, gymnasium	1 per 80 sq. ft. recreational space						
Miniature golf	1.25 per tee, plus 1 per employee						
Performing arts production per rehearsal space	1 per 150 sq. ft. of floor area						
Poolroom	1 per 200 sq. ft. of floor area						
Private club or lodge	1 per 4 fixed seats on the premises, or 1 per 6 linear feet of seating, plus 1 per 200 square feet of area without seating but designed for meeting or assembly by guests, plus 1 per 500 sq. ft. of outdoor area developed for recreational purposes						
Recreation, Commercial (indoor)	1 per 80 sq. ft. of recreational area						
Recreation, Commercial (outdoor)	20 per acre of site						
Skating rink	1 per 50 sq. ft. of floor area						
Swim and tennis club	1 per 500 sq. ft. of recreation area						









Fairfax County

PARKING REQUIREMENTS:

ESTABLISHMENTS NOT IN A SHOPPING CENTER

USE	RATE
Restaurants < 5000 SF in size	10 spaces/1,000 SF
Restaurants > 5000 SF or more	11 spaces/1,000 SF
Restaurants with Drive-through	12 spaces/1,000 SF (no change to the stacking requirements)
Carryout Restaurants	6.5 spaces/1,000 SF
Quick-service Food Stores	6.5 spaces/1,000 SF

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GROUP

A parking requirement sampler

- Barber shop
- Beauty shop
- Nunnery
- Rectory
- Sex novelty shop Gas station
- Swimming pool Mausoleum

- 2 spaces per barber
- 3 spaces per beautician
- 1 space per 10 nuns
- 3 spaces per 4 clergymen
- 3 spaces per 1,000 square feet
- 1.5 spaces per fuel nozzle
- 1 space per 2,500 gallons
- 10 spaces per maximum number of interments in a one-hour period

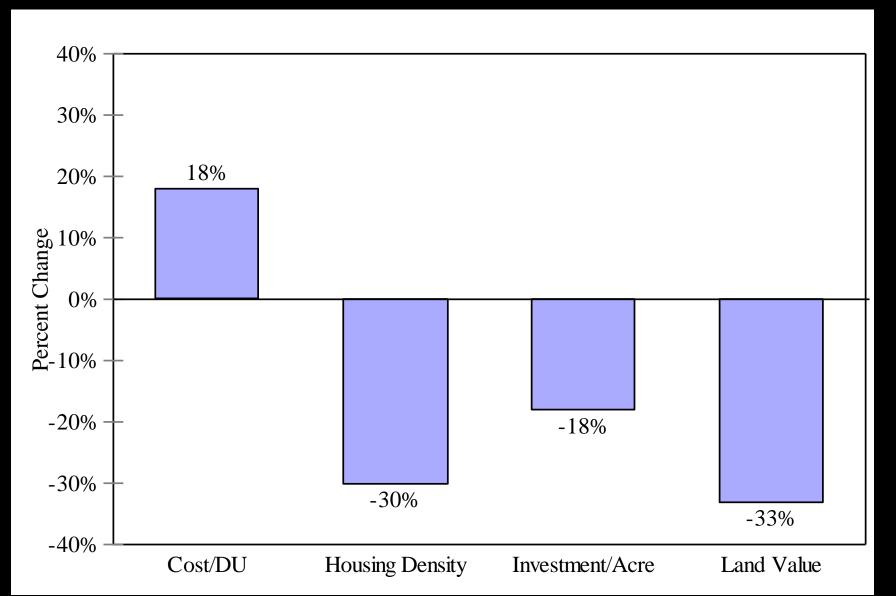
How can anyone recommend a parking requirement if they

- Don't know how much the required parking spaces cost.
- Don't know how much the parking requirements increase the cost of housing and everything else.
- Don't know how the parking requirements affect urban design.
- Don't know how the parking requirements affect vehicle traffic.
- Don't know how the parking requirements affect air pollution.
- Don't know how the parking requirements affect CO_2 emissions.
- Have no training in how to set a parking requirement.
- Parking requirements politicize what should be business decisions.
- Parking requirements governmentalize what should be market choices.

Minimum parking requirements are what engineers call a "kludge."

- An awkward device with lots of moving parts that are clumsy, inefficient, redundant, hard to understand, and expensive to maintain.
- A ludicrous assortment of incompatible and unworkable components
- An ill-assorted collection of poorly matching parts, forming a distressing whole.

What happened when Oakland began requiring one off-street parking space per dwelling unit?



	Construction Cos	t per Square Foot	Construction (Cost per Space
City	Underground	Aboveground	Underground	Aboveground
	\$/sq ft	\$/sq ft	\$/space	\$/space
	(1)	(2)	(3)=(1)x330	(4)=(2)x330
Boston	\$95	\$75	\$31,000	\$25,000
Chicago	\$110	\$88	\$36,000	\$29,000
Denver	\$78	\$55	\$26,000	\$18,000
Honolulu	\$145	\$75	\$48,000	\$25,000
Las Vegas	\$105	\$68	\$35,000	\$22,000
Los Angeles	\$108	\$83	\$35,000	\$27,000
New York	\$105	\$85	\$35,000	\$28,000
Phoenix	\$80	\$53	\$26,000	\$17,000
Portland	\$105	\$78	\$35,000	\$26,000
San Francisco	\$115	\$88	\$38,000	\$29,000
Seattle	\$105	\$75	\$35,000	\$25,000
Washington, DC	\$88	\$68	\$29,000	\$22,000
Average	\$103	\$74	\$34,000	\$24,000

Table 1. The Construction Cost of a Parking Space

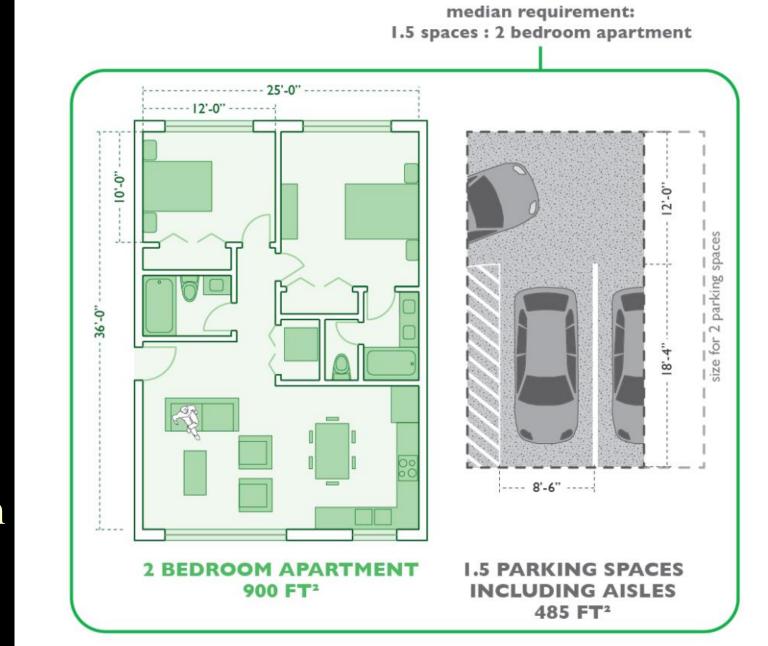
Source: Rider Levett Bucknall, Quarterly Construction Cost Report, Fourth Quarter 2012

One structured parking space costs more than the entire net worth of many families.

Median Net Worth of US Households, 2019 Group Median Net White Worth Hispanic \$36,200 Black \$188,200

Parking requirements distort urban form

- Directly, by increasing the land and capital devoted to parking.
- Indirectly, by increasing automobile use and urban sprawl.
- American cities have more parking spaces than people.
- Streets are free parking lots.

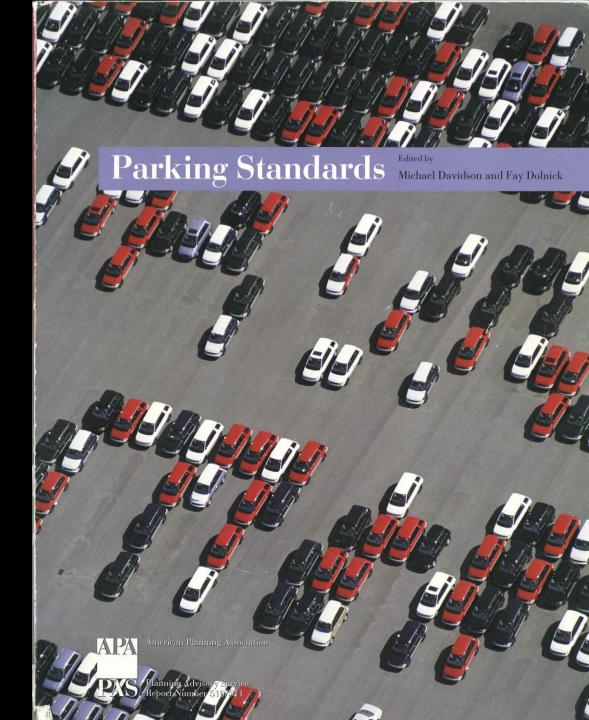


Living space and parking space for a typical 2-bedroom apartment

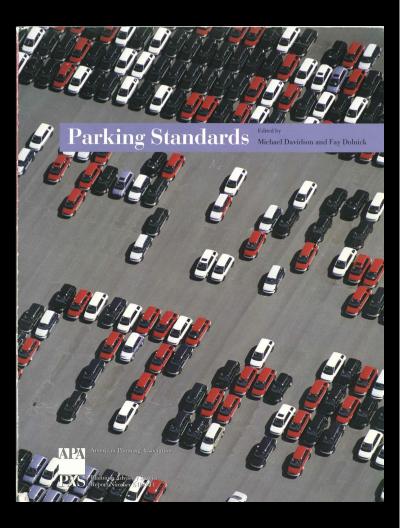
Where do parking requirements come from?

- Parking Standards, published by the American Planning Association, allows planners to copy other cities' parking requirements.
- 2. *Parking Generation*, published by the Institute of Transportation Engineers, allows cities to consult unreliable surveys of parking occupancy

Parking Standards



Survey of parking requirements for 660 land uses



а

abattoir (see slaughterhouse) accessory dwelling unit administrative office (see office uses) adult use adult use, adult arcade adult use, adult cabaret adult use, adult motion picture theater adult use, adult theater adult use, book store adult use, entertainment facility adult use, massage parlor (see also massage establishment) adult use, sex novelty shop advertising agency (see also office use) agricultural use, unless otherwise specified (see also farm uses) agricultural processing plant (see also industrial uses) agricultural-related industry (see also agricultural use, unless otherwise specified) agricultural sales and service use (see also farm supply store; feed store) aircraft charter service airport (see also airport terminal) airport hangar airport, local/private use airport terminal (see also airport; transportation terminal) ambulance service amphitheater (see also stadium) amusement enterprise (see also recreation facility uses) amusement enterprise, indoor amusement enterprise, outdoor amusement park amusement park, children's amusement park, water ancillary use (see accessory use) animal boarding facility animal breeder establishment animal grooming salon animal hospital animal sales establishment (see pet shop) animal shelter animal training facility antique shop (see also second-hand store) apartment (see dwelling, apartment uses) apartment hotel (see extended-stay hotel) apparel store (see clothing store) appliance and equipment repair establishment (see also equipment uses)

ALL USES

appliance sales establishment

aquaculture use aquarium arboretum (see also botanical gardens; community garden) arcade, amusement (see also amusement enterprise uses) archery range (see also rifle range; shooting range) arena (see stadium) armory art gallery (see also cultural uses) art school (see educational facilities, school for the arts) art supplies store artisan workshop (see also live-work studio) artist studio (see also artisan workshop; livework studio) asphalt manufacturing facility (see also industrial use, heavy) assembly hall (see also auditorium; civic center) assisted living (see elderly housing, assisted living) asylum (see mental health facility) athletic field (see also ball field; grandstands; recreation facility uses) auction, automobile auction house auditorium (see also assembly hall; civic center) automated teller machine (ATM) automated teller machine (ATM), exterior, on bank property automobile convenience store (see gas station, mini-mart) automobile dealership (see also motor vehicle sales establishment) automobile graveyard (see automobile salvage yard; junk yard) automobile impound facility (see also towing service) automobile laundry (see car wash uses) automobile maintenance, quick service establishment (see also automobile repair service establishment) automobile mall (see automobile dealership uses) automobile parts store automobile rental establishment (see also motor vehicle rental establishment) automobile repair service establishment (see also gas station; motor vehicle repair

service establishment; tire store and

service establishment) automobile salvage yard (see also junk yard) automobile service station (see also gas station)

b

bait shop (see also retail use, unless otherwise specified) bakerv bakery, wholesale ball field (see also athletic field; grandstands; recreation facility uses) ballroom (see also banquet hall; dance hall) bank (see also accessory banking; automated teller machine (ATM); credit union) bank, drive-thru only (see also drive-thru use, unless otherwise specified) bank with drive-thru (see also drive-thru use, unless otherwise specified) bank, without drive-thru banquet hall (see also ballroom; dining room; meeting hall) bar (see also beer garden; bottle club; brew pub; night club) barber shop (see also beauty shop; personal services establishment) baseball field (see ballfield) basketball court batch plant (see concrete production plant) bathhouse (see also health spa; sauna bath) batting cage facility beach, commercial beach, community beauty shop (see also barber shop; personal services establishment) beauty school (see also educational facility; trade school) bed and breakfast home bed and breakfast inn (see also tourist home) beer garden (see also outdoor seating area) bicycle rental and repair shop bicycle repair shop bicycle sales shop billiard hall (see pool hall) big box retail establishment (see also department store; shopping center uses) bingo hall blood donor center blueprinting shop (see also copy shop; printing and publishing facility) boarding house (see also lodging house; rooming house)

abattoir

a

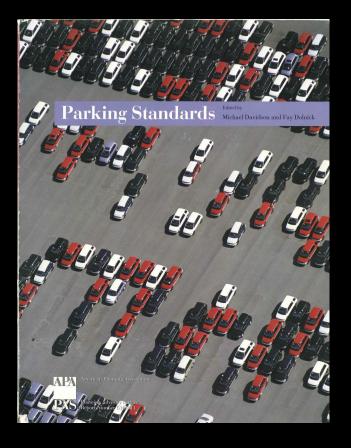
abattoir (see slaughterhouse)

accessory dwelling unit

N.C., pop. 223,891)

339,486)

Parking requirements for adult land uses



Bicycle Parking Standard: 0.5 per 1,000; 1 per 20 seats (Tigard, Ore., pop. 41,223)

adult use adult arcade

· 1 parking space shall be provided for every 2 occupants per the allowable occupant load as established by the city's building official or fire mashall, whichever standard is greater. In addition, 1 parking space shall be provided for each employee or independent contractor on the maximum shift. (Santa Clarita, Calif., pop. 151,088)

- 1 per attached accessory dwelling unit, in addition to other required spaces (Washoe County, Nev., pop.
 - . 1 space (Encinitas, Calif., pop. 58,014) • 1 space per unit (Palo Alto, Calif., pop. 58,598)

• 1 per bedroom (Reno, Nev., pop. 180,480)

- · 2 spaces per unit; such space must have convenient access to a street (Smithfield, Va., pop. 6,324)

· 1 additional space, on the same zone lot (Greensboro,

adult use, adult cabaret · 1 parking space shall be provided for every 2 occupants per the allowable occupant load as established by the city's building official or fire mashall, which

- ever standard is greater. In addition, 1 parking space shall be provided for each employee or independent contractor on the maximum shift. (Santa Clarita, Calif., pop. 151,088)
- · 1 space per 25 square feet of gross floor area (Garden Grove, Calif., pop. 165,196)



adult use

administrative office (see office uses)

adult use

- · 0.3 per seat, plus 3.3 per 1,000 square feet of gross floor area (Tampa, Fla., pop. 303,447)
- 1 per 60 square feet (Henderson, Nev., 175,381)
- 10 per 1,000 square feet (Hickory, N.C., pop. 37,222)
- · 12 per 1,000 square feet (St. Mary's County, Md., pop. 86,211)
- Minimum: 1 per 500 square feet above first 2,400 square feet
- Maximum: 1 per 150 square feet (Pittsburgh, Pa., pop. 334,563)
- Minimum: 1 per 250 square feet of gross floor area Maximum: 1 per 200 square feet of gross floor area (Glenville, N.Y., pop. 28,183)

- 1 per 200 square feet (Fort Wayne, Ind., pop. 205,727)
- · 10 per 1,000 square feet, but not less than 15 (Clark County, Nev., pop. 1,375,365)

adult use, adult motion picture theater

- · 1 off-street parking space for each 10 seats or equivalent (San Bruno, Calif., pop. 40,165)
- 1 parking space shall be provided for every 2 occupants per the allowable occupant load as established by the city's building official or fire mashall, which ever standard is greater. In addition, 1 parking space shall be provided for each employee or independent contractor on the maximum shift. (Santa Clarita, Calif., pop. 151,088)
- 1 space for each 8 fixed seats or 1 space for each 100 square feet of spectator assembly area not containing fixed seats (Seattle, Wash., pop. 563,374)

We can use the PAS's own words to summarize its main conclusions:

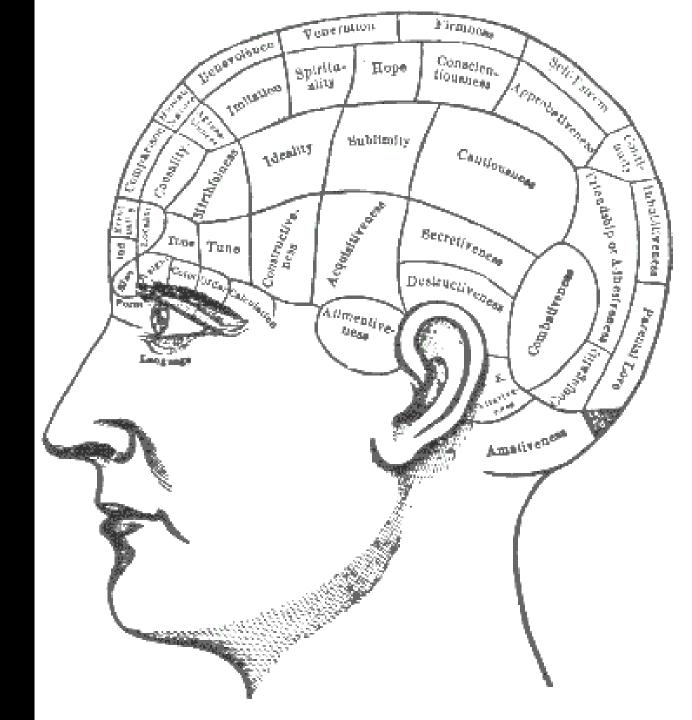
The underlying assumptions used in drafting parking requirements are unknown (1964, 1).

Copying other cities' parking requirements may simply repeat someone else's mistakes (1971, 1).

For every land use whose parking demand planners know something about, at least a dozen remain mysteries (1983, 15).

Absurd twists of logic in the way the standards were drafted sometimes make it impossible to say which of two cities requires more parking for the same land use (1991, 1).

Many communities have created parking standards that require developments to build parking spaces far in excess of demand (2002, 6).





Where do parking requirements come from?

- Parking Standards, published by the American Planning Association, allows planners to copy other cities' parking requirements.
- 2. *Parking Generation*, published by the Institute of Transportation Engineers, allows cities to consult unreliable surveys of parking occupancy

Parking Generation

4th Edition

Parking Generation



Institute of Transportation Engineers

ITE parking generation rates

"Parking generation" is the peak parking occupancy observed at a site.



Data are derived from suburban developments with little or no transit ridership.

Parking Generation Survey Method

"A vast majority of the data ... is derived from suburban developments with little or no significant transit ridership ... The ideal site for obtaining reliable parking generation data would ... contain ample, convenient parking facilities for the exclusive use of the traffic generated by the site ... The objective of the survey is to count the number of vehicles at the time of peak parking demand." - Parking Generation (1987)

Precision versus Accuracy

Q: How far is it from San Diego to San Francisco?

A1: 632.125 miles

Precise but not accurate because the correct answer is 460 miles

A2: Somewhere between 400 and 500 miles *Less precise but more accurate*

Inappropriate Precision

Trip generation and parking generation ITE's trip generation and parking generation estimates are used in:

> transportation models planning decisions court rulings

travel forecasts municipal ordinances



FIGURE 2

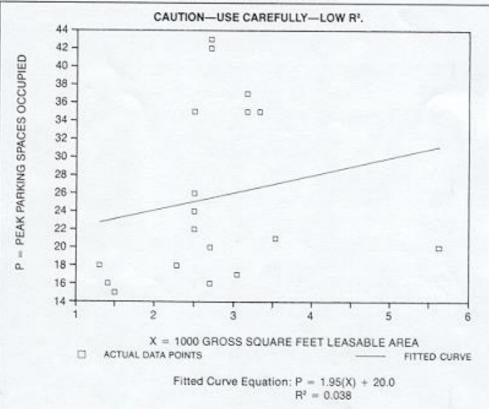
FAST FOOD RESTAURANT WITH DRIVE-IN WINDOW (836)

Peak Parking Spaces Occupied vs: 1,000 GROSS SQUARE FEET LEASABLE AREA On a: WEEKDAY

PARKING GENERATION RATES

Average	Range of	Standard	Number of	Average 1,000 GSF
Rate	Rates	Deviation	Studies	Leasable Area
9.95	3.55-15.92	3.41	18	3

DATA PLOT AND EQUATION



Parking Generation/Institute of Transportation Engineers/1987/page 146

4th Edition

Parking Generation

ite=

Institute of Transportation Engineers

Second Edition

Ample free parking everywhere

Transportation engineers define parking demand as the peak parking occupancy observed at a site. *The price drivers pay for parking is ignored*.

Urban planners require new land uses to supply enough parking spaces to accommodate this peak demand. *The developer's cost of providing the required parking is ignored.*

Step 1 Parking Generation Rates

Transportation engineers survey the peak parking demand at suburban sites with ample free parking but no public transit. The ITE summarizes the data in *Parking Generation*, which reports a precise parking generation rate for each land use.

Step 6 Urban Sprawl

Urban planners limit density so that new development will not generate more vehicle trips than nearby roads can carry. The lower density spreads activities farther apart, further increasing vehicle travel and parking demand.

Step 5 Transportation System Design

Transportation planners consult *Trip Generation* to design the transportation system, which therefore provides enough capacity to satisfy the demand for vehicle trips to and from suburban sites with ample free parking but no public transit.

Step 2 Minimum Parking Requirements

Urban planners consult *Parking Generation* to set minimum parking requirements for each land use. The maximum observed parking demand becomes the minimum required parking supply.

Parking Generation

GENERATION

NET

Step 3 Ample Free Parking

Developers provide all the parking spaces that planners require. Because the required parking supply is so large, the market price of most parking is zero, and drivers park free for most trips.

Step 4 **Trip Generation Rates**

Transportation engineers survey vehicle trips to and from suburban sites with ample free parking but no public transit. The ITE summarizes the data in *Trip Generation*, which reports a precise trip generation rate for each land use.

The Results

Urban planners neglect both the price and the cost of parking when they set parking requirements.

Urban planners typically require at least enough spaces to meet the demand for free parking.

Free parking drives both transportation and land use.

president's message



International President Bruce Belmore, P.Eng., PTOE, AVS (F) Director, Western Canada Transportation Planning, WSP, Regina, SK, Canada

> International Vice President Randy McCourt, P.E., PTOE (F) President, DKS Associates, Portland, OR., USA

Immediate Past International President Michael P. Sanderson, P.E., PTOE, LEED AP (F) President/CEO, Sanderson/Stewart, Billings, MT, USA

Rethinking Parking Minimums

The inception of parking started in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States as cars were the new status symbol of wealth. There were rows of cars lining the curbs of streets, with no rules governing parking. The first parking meter was installed in the United States in 1935 in Oklahoma City, OK. Privately run off-street lots became popular to meet the demand, and parking structures sprung up to provide parking in proximity to surrounding destinations. Over time, parking management has become more complex and rules were needed to add order.

City zoning ordinances were introduced which identified minimum parking requirements, which are typically calculated on a base unit, such as required stalls per 1,000 square feet



BRUCE BELMORE, P.ENG., PTOE, AVS (F) ITE International President

In 2019 the President of the Institute of Transportation Engineers recommended eliminating minimum parking requirements.

This discussion reminds me of the 1970s Joni Mitchell song *Big Yellow Taxi* in which she famously sings, "They paved paradise and put up a parking lot." Here are some easy ways to regain a piece of paradise:

- Eliminate mandatory minimum parking requirements This elimination will not only give people more say over how they live their lives and use their property, but it's also an important step in developing affordable housing. Buffalo, NY, USA and Hartford, CT, USA have recently scrapped their minimum parking requirements.
- Use data, technology, and pricing to manage parking The District Department of Transportation in Washington, DC, USA uses sensors embedded at metered stalls to measure parking availability, and then pricing is changed based on demand.

The Hiding Hand

Adam Smith's invisible hand in economics: It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. Individuals who intend their own gain are led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of their intention.

The hiding hand in city planning: Minimum parking requirements hide the cost of parking in higher prices for housing and everything else. Cities don't have to subsidize the parking and no one knows who really pays for it.

Three Stages of Belief in Santa Claus

Small children believe in Santa Claus.Then they don't believe in Santa Claus.Finally, adults realize they are Santa Claus.



4th Edition

Parking Generation

ZARD By L. Frank Bavm With Pictures by W.W. Denslow. at least one person 60 Geo.M. EW YORK

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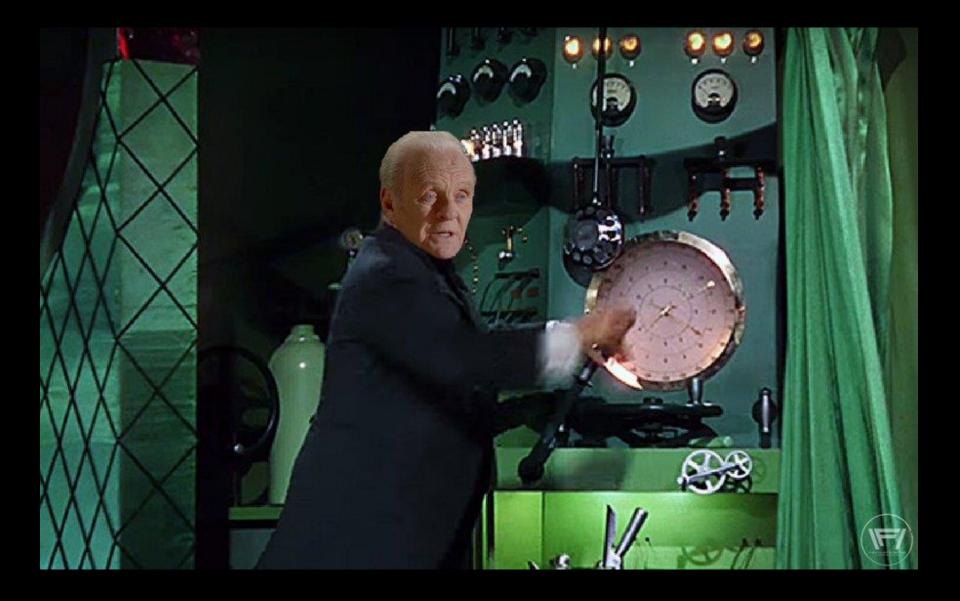
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Pay no attention to the man behind the curtain

I have been making believe . . . I have fooled everyone so long that I thought I should never be found out . . . but how can I help being a humbug when all these people make me do things that everybody knows can't be done? The Wizard of Oz



- Removing off-street parking requirements will:
- Increase the supply and reduce the cost of housing
- Reduce the cost of everything else except parking
- Improve urban design
- Reduce traffic congestion
- Reduce air pollution
- Reduce energy waste
- Reduce greenhouse gas emissions
- What's the downside?
- Drivers will have to pay for their parking.
- Cities will have to manage their curb parking.

Can cities remove parking requirements?











The solution is in the site.





Effects of building job-adjacent housing on parking lots

- Create jobs
- Increase the housing supply
- Reduce time spent commuting
- Reduce spending on cars and fuel
- Reduce traffic congestion and air pollution
- Increase the demand for smart parking technology
- Slow climate change
- What are the downsides?
- Drivers will have to pay for their parking.
- Cities will have to manage their curb parking.

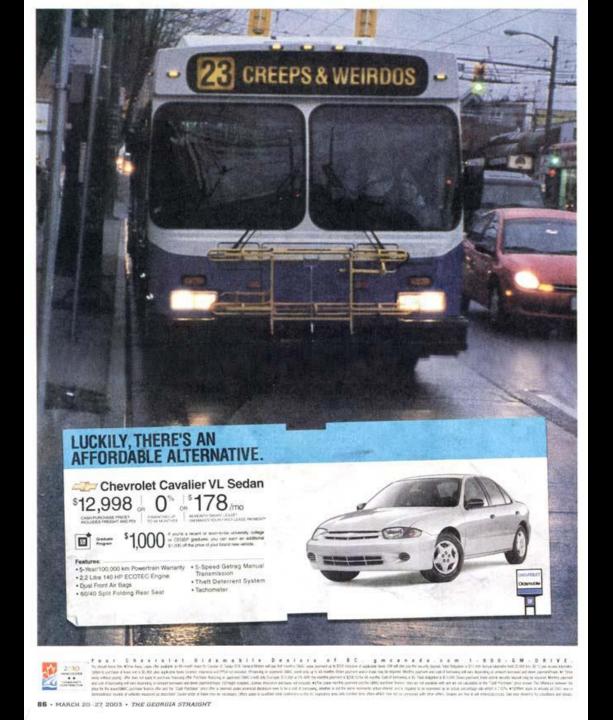
Cities are removing their parking requirements

Berkeley Buffalo Hartford Mexico City Minneapolis San Francisco South Bend Winnipeg All of New Zealand

Two Futures

1. Change nothing.

Require ample off-street parking.Keep curb parking free or cheap.Put any parking meter revenue into the city's General Fund.



CONGESTION AHEAD

NEXT 20 YEARS

Second Future

- 1. Charge performance-based prices for curb parking.
- 2. Use the revenue to improve neighborhoods.
- 3. Remove off-street parking requirements.



Pan-Ideological Support for Parking Reforms



Political support for market-priced curb parking, parking benefit districts, and no off-street parking requirements

Liberals will see that it increases public spending.

- Conservatives will see that it relies on markets and reduces government regulation.
- Environmentalists will see that it reduces energy consumption, air pollution, and carbon emissions.
- Businesses will see that it unburdens enterprise.
- New Urbanists will see that it improves urban design and enables people to live at high density without being overrun by cars.

- Libertarians will see that it increases the opportunities for individual choice.
- Property-rights advocates will see that it reduces regulations on land use.
- Developers will see that it reduces building costs.
- Residents will see that it pays for neighborhood public improvements.
- Affordable housing advocates will see that it reduces the cost of building new housing.
- Neighborhood activists will see that it devolves public decisions to the local level.
- Local elected officials will see that it reduces traffic congestion, encourages infill redevelopment, and pays for local public services without raising taxes.



All of us, if we are reasonably comfortable, healthy and safe, owe immense debts to the past. There is no way, of course, to repay the past. We can only repay those debts by making gifts to the future.

Jane Jacobs

We--you and I, and our government-must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow.

Dwight Eisenhower

As our case is new, so must we think anew, and act anew.

Abraham Lincoln

Smart Parking

Reform depends on leadership from all of you.



The High Cost of Free Parking

DONALD SHOUP