

Parking and the City

Tentative Syllabus for Spring Quarter 2023
UCLA Department of Urban Planning

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Tuesday, Thursday, 2 pm-3:15 pm

COURSE OBJECTIVES

This course examines how parking affects transportation, cities, the economy, and the environment. We will use the economic concepts of public goods, the commons, externalities, free riders, and opportunity costs to study parking and land use planning. This course also examines parking policy reforms that are fair, simple, and cheap ways to improve city life, protect the environment, and promote social justice.

Epic mistakes in planning for parking help to explain why transportation and land use have in many ways gone slowly, subtly, and disastrously wrong. Transportation planners typically assume that parking will be available at the end of most trips, while city planners think that transportation engineers must study parking. As a result, no profession is intellectually responsible for parking, and everyone seems to assume that someone else studies it.

Most people probably think research on parking is like watching paint dry. Few people care about in parking itself, but parking affects almost everything everyone does care about. The conventional wisdom about planning for parking is convention, not wisdom, and most of it is little more than a list of minimum parking requirements for every land use. These requirements produce ample free parking, but a tsunami of academic research has shown they also increase housing costs, congest traffic, pollute the air, encourage sprawl, degrade urban design, prevent walkability, damage the economy, penalize poor people, and accelerate global warming. This course will examine how better planning for parking can reduce all of these problems.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The prerequisite for this course is a previous course in economics. The course assignments are two Policy Memorandums of about 2,000 words each. Students may co-author any memo with up to two other students. Late memos are accepted, but their grades will be reduced by one grade point. You may rewrite any memo for a higher grade if you turn it in within the week after receiving the first grade. If you submit your rewritten paper, your grade for the assignment will be the average of the first and second grades. Here is the link to advice on writing a **professional memo**.

There is also a final exam on Tuesday, June 13, at 3 pm. To give you an idea of the questions on the exam, here is the link to 2021's **exam questions**.

My office hours are 4-5 pm on Tuesday and Thursday in 5263 Public Policy Building. You can also email me to set up another time in my office or to schedule a Zoom session.

In addition to the graded assignments, each student should post one Reading Note in the Discussion Section of the course website by midnight before every class meeting during the quarter except for the first and last days of class. Reading Notes are your reactions to one of the week's required or optional readings in less than 200 words. You can write a summary, comment, rebuttal, analysis, opinion, suggestion, question, protest, anecdote, or rant about the reading. Until all readings have at least one comment, please comment on a reading that no one else has already covered. All readings should have at least one comment before any reading has more than one. Your reading notes should be direct, vigorous, lucid, and, if possible, funny. Please be ready to discuss your reading notes during the class. The reading notes are not graded, but you must submit one for every class session.

Writing the notes gives you an incentive to reflect on the reading. The notes also show your classmates what you think, and suggest ideas I can consider in my lectures. To keep track of your reading notes, please assemble them consecutively in a Word file and send the file to me on the last day of class. Here is the [link](#) to a sample of reading notes from previous years.

All students should read and be ready to discuss the required readings for each section of the course outline. Most of the optional readings are short and suitable for your reading notes. Commenting on one reading doesn't mean you shouldn't look at other readings or what other students have written about them.

Each paper and final exam will count for 25 percent of the final grade. Reading Notes and class participation will count for the other 25 percent.

For students with a disability or any other circumstance requiring accommodation, please let me know how I can help.

COURSE OUTLINE

1. INTRODUCTION
2. MINIMUM PARKING REQUIREMENTS
3. THE POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF A GREAT PLANNING DISASTER
4. CRUISING FOR PARKING
5. CHARGING THE RIGHT PRICES FOR PARKING
6. PARKING BENEFIT DISTRICTS
7. REMOVING OFF-STREET PARKING REQUIREMENTS
8. PARKING ON CAMPUS
9. PARKING CASH OUT
10. CONCLUSION

READINGS

Links to all the readings are included in the syllabus, so you don't need to buy any course materials. Many of the readings are taken from these two books:

Donald Shoup. 2011. *The High Cost of Free Parking*, New York: Routledge

Donald Shoup (editor). 2018. *Parking and the City*, New York: Routledge

1. INTRODUCTION

This course will analyze how parking affects transportation, land use, the economy, society, and the environment. It will criticize current parking policies and examine new ways to plan for parking and the city.

Required reading

The High Cost of Free Parking, **Chapter 1**, The Twenty-first Century Parking Problem

Parking and the City, **Epilogue**.

Optional reading

Andy Raskin, "[The Hunter-Gatherer, Parking Division](#)," *New York Times*, February 25, 2007.

Jarrett Walker, "[How Sim City Greenwashes Parking](#)," *Sim City*, May 9, 2013.

Project for Public Spaces, **Faking Places**.

David Meyer, "**Video Proof That NYC Will Do Just Fine without All This Parking**," *Streetsblog*.

Patrick Siegman, **Berkeley's Outdated Parking Laws Are a Recipe for High Rents and Homelessness**, *Streetsblog*, December 1, 2020.

Adam Hill, "**Paris to get rid of 70,000 parking spaces**," *ITS International*, October 2020.

[Los Angeles to Install Bullet Train](#).

The Pomegranate

Adam Conover Ruins Parking

Vox, "**The High Cost of Free Parking**," July 19, 2017.

Michael Anderson, [Verified: More Parking Puts More Cars on the Road](#), Sightline, January 28, 2021.

John Metcalfe, [“A Stark Comparison of Parking and Bike-Share Spaces,”](#) *CityLab*, June 29, 2017.

Angie Schmitt, [“Scenes of Half-Empty Parking Lots on the Busiest Shopping Day of the Year,”](#) *Streetsblog*, December 2, 2013.

John Urry, [“The ‘System’ of Automobility,”](#) *Theory, Culture & Society*, No. 4–5, 2004.

Jennifer Mossalque, [“France to require all large parking lots to be covered by solar panels,”](#) *Electrek*, November 8, 2022.

2. MINIMUM PARKING REQUIREMENTS

Minimum parking requirements make parking cheaper and easier, but it makes everything else worse. They wrap the city in a straitjacket because no one can do anything with their property unless it conforms to the parking requirements. Do people really want free parking more than affordable housing, clean air, walkable cities, and a sustainable planet? Most planning for parking amounts to little more than a list of off-street parking requirements for every land use. To establish off-street parking requirements, planners usually (1) refer to national surveys of the peak parking occupancy observed at suburban sites with ample free parking and no public transit, or (2) copy other cities’ requirements. As a result, cities require so much parking that drivers can park free for most of their trips, and planning for parking usually means planning for *free* parking.

Required reading

Parking and the City, [Introduction](#), pages 1-21.

Donald Shoup, [“The Pseudoscience of Parking Requirements,”](#) *Zoning Practice*, February, 2020.

Optional reading

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter 2, [Unnatural Selection](#).

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter 3, [The Pseudoscience of Planning for Parking](#).

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter 4, [An Analogy: Ancient Astronomy](#).

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter 8, **An Analogy: Minimum Telephone Requirements.**

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 3. **The High Cost of Parking Requirements**

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 4. **The Unequal Burden of Parking Requirements**

Rachel Weinberger, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 5. **Parking Mismanagement: An Rx for Congestion**

Seth Goodman, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 6. **The United States of Parking**

Chris, McCahill, Norman Garrick, and Carol Atkinson-Palombo, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 7. **The Fiscal and Travel Impacts of Parking Requirements**

Frank McDonald, ["A Brief Report of a Psychodiagnostic System for Outpatient Clinic Clients: Diagnosis by Parking,"](#) *Journal of Polymorphous Perversity*, December 1995, Vol. 13 (1), 325–226.

Mike Konczal, ["A 2×2 Grid to Understanding Some of the Ideological Concerns of Privatization, Especially as it Pertains to Parking,"](#) *Rortybomb*, January 2, 2012.

Mott Smith, ["Onsite Parking: The Scourge of America's Commercial Districts,"](#) *Planetizen*, March 31, 2006

William Perkins, **"After delay, Petoskey could decide on first marijuana facility,"** *Petoskey News-Review*, October 26, 2020.

Alan Durning, **"Parking Break,"** Sightline Institute, October 16, 2013.

The Paradox of Cheap Parking, Rob Goodspeed.

Review of Minimum Parking Standards, OttCity Online

Bruce Belmore, **"Rethinking Parking Minimums,"** *ITE Journal*, February 2019.

Chrissy Mancini Nichols, **"Are Parking Requirements a Thing of the Past?"** *ITE Journal*, February 2019.

Norman Garrick and Christopher McCahill, **Lessons from Zurich's Parking Revolution,** *CityLab*, August 2012

Michael Anderson, **End Parking Mandates, Get a Free Bus Pass,** *Sightline*, January 25, 2022.

Donald Shoup, **Transit Validation**, *CityLab*, January 31, 2020.

Andrew Wimer, **Absurd Parking Requirement Threatens to Dash Mechanic's Dream**, *Forbes*, December 16, 2021.

Joe Cortright, **Where We Embrace Socialism in the U.S.: Parking Lots**, *Strong Towns*, October 12, 2021.

Michael Manville, **The Pretext Problem: The Pitfalls of Planning While Bargaining**, *Planetizen*, June 9, 2021.

Adam Millard-Ball et al., **What Do Residential Lotteries Show Us About Transportation Choices?**, *Transfers*, December 2021.

Donald Shoup, **"Roughly Right or Precisely Wrong,"** *Access*, Spring 2002.

Christopher Hoehne, Mikhail Chester, and David King, **"Valley of the Sun-drenched Parking Space,"** *Transfers*, Spring 2020.

3. THE POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF A GREAT PLANNING DISASTER

Off-street parking requirements affect cities both directly and indirectly. Directly, all the required parking spaces increase the number of cars we buy and drive. Indirectly, parking requirements spread and flatten the city to accommodate all the cars, with lots of parking everywhere. They increase housing costs, degrade urban design, harm the economy, and pollute the environment. Off-street parking requirements increase the prices for everything except parking itself. Everyone pays for parking, including people who cannot afford to own a car.

Required reading

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **5**, A Great Planning Disaster

Optional reading

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **6**, The Cost of Required Parking Spaces

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **7**, Putting the Cost of Free Parking in Perspective

Michael Manville and Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 2. **People, Parking, and Cities**

Nigel Villarete, **Why Free Parking is Anti-poor**, *Medium*, October 16, 2019.

Donald Shoup, **The Perils of Central Planning for Parking**, *Planetizen*, July 27, 2022.

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 3. **The High Cost of Parking Requirements**

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 4. **The Unequal Burden of Parking Requirements**

Rachel Weinberger, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 5. **Parking Mismanagement: An Rx for Congestion**

Seth Goodman, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 6. **The United States of Parking**

Chris, McCahill, Norman Garrick, and Carol Atkinson-Palombo, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 7. **The Fiscal and Travel Impacts of Parking Requirements**

Rodrigo Garcia Resendiz and Andres Sanudo Galvador, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 15, **Less Off-Street Parking, More Mexico City**

Michael Manville, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 18, Parking Requirements and Housing Development in LA.

Jesse London and Clark Williams-Derry, [“Who Pays for Parking? How the Oversupply of Parking Undermines Housing Affordability.”](#) Sightline Institute, December 2013.

Laura Rossbert, **What do parking requirements have to do with affordable housing?** *Streetsblog Denver*, April 16, 2021.

Aaron Bialick, [“Personal Garages Become Cafes in the Castro, Thanks to Smarter Zoning.”](#) Streetsblog SF, August 21, 2014.

David Gonzalez, [“Don’t Box Me In, Double Parker,”](#) *New York Times*, September 10, 2008.

Alyse Nelson, **“Ugly by Law,”** Sightline Institute, June 18, 2013.

Alan Durning, **“Apartment Blockers,”** Sightline Institute, August 22, 2013.

C.J. Gabbe and Greg Pierce, **“The Hidden Cost of Bundled Parking,”** *ACCESS*, Spring 2017.

Graphing Parking, Seth Goodman

Why Buses Represent Democracy in Action, Enrique Penalosa

Getting a Higher ROI from Parking, Charles Marohn

Cost of On-Site Parking, Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability

Nik Karalis and James Sander, **Los Angeles is a city of parking lots. It doesn't have to be.** *Los Angeles Times*, December 17, 2018.

Vox, **“The High Cost of Free Parking,”** July 19, 2017.

Gregory Shill, **“Americans Shouldn’t Have to Drive, But the Law Insists on It,”** *The Atlantic*, July 2019.

Miriam Pinski, **“Does Bundled Parking Influence Travel Behavior?”** *Transfers*, May 28, 2018

Adam Conover, **Adam Ruins Cars**, October 13, 2015

Paul Barter, **“Awful Injustice in Parking,”** *Reinventing Parking*, December 10, 2012.

“Scarcity of Free Parking Sparks Protests at Climate Emergency Town Hall,” *The Takoma Torch*, September 14, 2019.

4. CRUISING FOR PARKING

A surprising amount of traffic isn’t caused by drivers who are on their way somewhere. Instead, it is caused by drivers who have already arrived and are cruising for curb parking. Cruising is individually rational because it saves the driver some money for parking but is collectively irrational because it congests traffic, wastes fuel, and pollutes the air. A study in Westwood Village found the average time to find a curb space was only 3.3 minutes, but because so many cars park at the curb, a short cruising time for each driver creates an astonishing amount of traffic. Over a year, cruising for parking in Westwood Village created 950,000 excess VMT—equivalent to 38 trips around the earth or four trips to the moon.

Required reading

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **13**, Choosing to Cruise

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **14**, California Cruising

Optional reading

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **19**

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter **25**, Cruising for Parking

Donald Shoup, “[Gone Parkin’](#),” *New York Times*, March 29, 2007.

Zachary Pincus-Roth, “[Honda Accord Takes Last Parking Spot in Westwood](#).” *LA Weekly*, March 31, 2012.

Robert Hampshire and Donald Shoup. 2018. “**How Much Traffic is Cruising for Parking?**” *Transfers*, Fall 2019.

Jin Cao, Monica Menendez, and Rashid Waraich. Forthcoming. “**Impacts of the Urban Parking System on Cruising Traffic and Policy Development: the Case of Zurich**,” *Transportation*.

Jinwoo Lee, Duzgun Agdas, and Douglas Baker. 2017. “**Cruising for Parking: New Empirical Evidence and Influential Factors on Cruising Time**,” *Journal of Transport and Land Use*, Volume 10, Number 1, pages 931–943.

Chandra Kiran Krishnamurthy and Nicole S. Ngo. 2018, “**Parking, transit and traffic: evidence from SFpark**,”

“**Parking Fees and Matchbox Cars**,” Streetfilms

Parking (r)evolution in Bogotá: The Golden Era, Carlosfelipe Pardo.

Keeping Passover, Easter and a Space to Park, James Barron, *New York Times*.

Pamela Oldfield, **Searching for Parking Costs Americans \$73 Billion a Year**, INRIX, December 3, 2018.

Henry Grabar, “**Give the Curb Your Enthusiasm**,” *Slate*, July 2018

James Barron, “**Could New York City Eliminate Free Street Parking?**” *New York Times*, November 20, 2019

The Bare Necessities, Uber

Seinfeld on cruising for parking

Christina Goldbaum, **Why the Fight over Parking in New York Is Like the Hunger Games**, *New York Times*, January 5, 2021

5. CHARGING THE RIGHT PRICES FOR CURB PARKING

Required reading

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter 12, The Right Price for Curb Parking

Parking and the City, **Introduction**, pages 21-41.

Optional reading

Allison Nicole Smith, “**Tech Companies Vie to Monetize the Curb and Reinvent Street Parking**,” *CityLab*, September 2022.

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter 18, Let Prices Do the Planning

Parking and the City, Chapter 26, Free Parking or Free Markets

Parking and the City, Chapter 28, Progressive Parking Prices

Parking and the City, Chapter 29, Progressive Parking Fines

Parking and the City, Chapter 32, Ending Parking Abuse at Parking Meters

Parking and the City, Chapter 33, Parking Charity

Parking and the City, Chapter 36, SFpark

Parking and the City, Chapter 37, SFpark: Pricing Parking by Demand

Parking and the City, Chapter 41, LA ExpressPark.

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 42, The Politics and Economics of Parking on Campus

Donald Shoup, “**Pricing the Curb**,” *Parking & Mobility*, April 2020.

Nate Berg, **This AI-Powered Parking Garage Rewards You for Not Driving**, *Fast Company*, November 17, 2020.

Michael Manville and Daniel Chatman, “**Market-Priced Parking in Theory and Practice**,” *ACCESS*, Fall 2016.

Donald Shoup, “**Parking Price Therapy**,” *Planning Magazine*, October 2018.

Peter Frase, **“The Market as Plan,”** *Jacobin*, January 1, 2012.

Caroline Spivack, **“Should Parking Snitches Get Riches?”** *Curbed*, November 2020.

Accessible Parking Coalition, **Let’s Make Affordable Parking More Affordable**

CBS2_ Investigation Looks into Disabled Placard Abuse

Julianne Cuba, **“Pol Introduces Bill to Let Citizens Report Placard Abuse — And Win Cash!”** *Streetsblog*, November 19, 2020.

Greg Pierce, Hank Willson, and Donald Shoup, *Optimal Pricing of Public Parking Garages, Transfers*, Spring 2018.

Richard Willson, **“Parking Management for Smart Growth,”** *ACCESS*, Fall 2016

Joel Grover and Matt Goldberg, **New Parking Tricks Exposed.**

Nate Berg, **“This AI-powered parking garage rewards you for not driving,”** *Fast Company*, November 2020.

Matt Darst, **Five Factors Driving Demand-based Pricing,** *Conduent*, April 16, 2021

The Parking Pomegranate

6. PARKING BENEFIT DISTRICTS

Curb parking can generate considerable revenue because the market price of parking can greatly exceed the cost of collecting the revenue and maintaining the spaces. Because the money put into a parking meter seems to vanish into thin air, no one knows where the money goes, and everyone wants to park free. Politicians find it easier to require ample off-street parking than to charge fair market prices at meters. But suppose each neighborhood’s meter revenue pays to improve public services in the neighborhood. In that case, a powerful new constituency for parking charges will emerge—the neighborhoods that receive the better public services. Cities can change the politics of parking if they earmark parking revenue to pay for public improvements in the metered neighborhoods.

Required reading

Parking and the City, **Introduction**, pages 21-41.

Donald Shoup, “**Parking Benefit Districts,**” *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, forthcoming.

Optional reading

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **16**, Turning Small Change into Big Changes

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **17**, Taxing Foreigners Living Abroad

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **19**, The Ideal Source of Public Revenue

Parking and the City, Chapter **27**, Informal Parking: Turning Problems into Solutions

Parking and the City, Chapter **44**, Parking Matters in Old Pasadena

Parking and the City, Chapter **45**, Revitalizing a Downtown with Smart Parking Solutions

Parking and the City, Chapter **46**, Paid Parking and Free Wi-Fi in Ventura

Parking and the City, Chapter **47**, A Benefit Parking District Grown in Houston

Parking and the City, **Chapter 48**, Parking Benefit Districts in Austin

Parking and the City, Chapter **49**, Parking Benefit Districts in Mexico City,

Parking and the City, Chapter **50**, Parking Benefit districts in Beijing

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter **51**, Residential Parking Districts

Donald Shoup, “**Informal Parking on Sidewalks,**” in *California Policy Options 2014*.

Donald Shoup, “**How to Fix New York’s Parking Problems,**” *New York Times*, June 18, 2018.

Donald Shoup, “**How to Improve San Francisco, One Parking Space at a Time,**” *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 12, 2018.

StreetsBlogLA, “**LA Moves Toward Returning Parking Meter Revenue to Neighborhoods.**”

Alan Durning, “**Will Seattle Suppress a Key Parking Fix?**” Sightline. September 1, 2016.

Jon Geeting, “**Ideas Worth Stealing: Parking Benefit Districts,**” WHYY, March 28, 2016.

Marisa Gerber, “**Want To Park in Koreatown?**” *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 2019.

Scott Beyer, “**What’s a City’s Curb Space Worth?**” *Governing*, November 2020.

Donald Shoup, “**Parking Benefit Districts**,” *Access*, Fall 2016.

7. REMOVING OFF-STREET PARKING REQUIREMENTS

Off-street parking requirements are legislated in zoning ordinances and firmly entrenched in planning practice, so major changes are difficult. Nevertheless, cities like Buffalo, Edmonton, Mexico City, San Francisco, and Sao Paulo have eliminated their minimum parking requirements, and some have switched to maximum parking limits. Cities can make significant reforms within the existing system.

Required reading

Donald Shoup, “**Learning from Parking Reforms in Other Cities**,” in *Parking: An International Perspective*, Elsevier, 2020.

Anne Brown, Vinit Mukhija, and Donald Shoup, “**Garage Apartments**,” *Zoning Practice*, May 2018, pp. 2-7.

Optional reading

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 1. **Truth in Transportation Planning**

Michael Manville and Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 2. **People, Parking, and Cities**

Abigail Weinberg, “**California Just Struck a Major Blow to Car Culture**,” *Mother Jones*, September 2022

Ben LeRoy, “**Eliminating Parking Minimums**,” *Zoning Practice*, June, 2017.

Catie Gould, **No Minimum Parking Requirements? No Problem for Fayetteville, Arkansas**, *Sightline*, February 22, 2022.

C.J. Gabbe, Greg Pierce, and Gordon Clowers, “**How Developers Respond to Parking Reform**,” *Transfers*, Fall 2020.

Paul Detrick, **L.A. Finally Lets People Eat in Parking Lots**, *Reason*, September 3, 2021.

Rodrigo Garcia Resendiz and Andres Sanudo Galvador, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 15, **Less Off-Street Parking, More Mexico City**

Daliah Singer, **Affordable Housing in Denver Just Got a Big Boost**, 5280, July 11, 2021.

Zoe Jackson, **Minneapolis City Council unanimously eliminates parking requirements**, *StarTribune*, May 14, 2021.

Roger Valdez, **Left And Right Should Agree: Abolish Parking Requirements For Housing**, *Forbes*, May 3, 2021.

Richard Wilson, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 20, **Parking Management for Smart Growth**

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 21, **On-Street Parking Management Versus Off-Street Parking Requirements**

Patrick Siegman, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 22, **Abolishing Minimum Parking Requirements: A Guide for the Practitioner**

Daniel Hess, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 23, **Buffalo Abandons Parking Requirements**

Aaron Bialick, **Personal Garages Become Cafes in the Castro**.

Jeff Speck, *Walkable City Rules*, Chapter 16.

Amanda Brandeis, **With affordable housing in short supply, California looks to prioritize people over parking**, July 16, 2021.

Bill Metcalf, **Vancouver swaps parking requirement for car shares**.

Angie Schmitt, **Minneapolis Moves to Eliminate Mandatory Parking**, *Streetsblog*, December 2018.

Angie Schmitt, **San Francisco Eliminates Parking Minimums**, *Streetsblog*, December, 2018.

Bruce Belmore, **“Rethinking Parking Minimums,”** *ITE Journal*, February 2019.

Amit Bhatt, **“Policy, Pricing, and Reform,”** *Hindustan Times*, September 4, 2019.

John Pattison, **“Lessons from Canada: How to End Mandatory Parking Minimums,”** *Streetsblog*, November 2020.

Oliver Moore, “Free parking comes at a high cost: Why Canadian cities are looking to change the rules,” *The Globe and Mail*, November 20, 2020.

Los Angeles Conservancy, [Adaptive Reuse Ordinance: 20 Years of Preservation in Downtown Los Angeles](#), September 10, 2019.

Andrew Fraser, Mikhail Chester, Juan Matute, and Ram Pendyala, “Do Cities Have Too Much Parking?” *ACCESS*, Fall 2016.

Michael Anderson, [Verified: More Parking Puts More Cars on the Road](#), Sightline, January 28, 2021.

Adam Millard-Ball, [What Do Residential Lotteries Show Us About Transportation Choices?](#) *Transfers*, Issue 8, December 2021.

James Ramin, [In 2022, It’s Time for Austin To End Parking Minimums Citywide](#), *Towers*, January 21, 2022.

Matt Goodman, [The City of Dallas Is Putting Parking Spots in Its Crosshairs](#), *D*, December 22, 2021.

Donald Shoup, “[Cutting the Cost of Parking Requirements](#),” *Access*, Spring 2016.

C.J. Gabbe, Gregory Pierce and Gordon Clowers, [How Developers Respond to Parking Reforms](#), *Transfers*, Fall, 2020.

8. PARKING CASH OUT

Employer-paid parking is the most common tax-exempt fringe benefit in the United States. Tax exemptions are usually justified on the grounds that they promote a public policy. In contrast, employer-paid parking works against almost all public policies. Free parking at work is a matching grant for driving to work: the employer pays part of the cost of commuting by car (the parking cost) only if the employee matches it by paying the rest of the cost (the driving cost). This matching-grant arrangement encourages solo driving to work. To reduce traffic congestion and air pollution caused by employer-paid parking, California law requires many employers who subsidize parking to give commuters the option of receiving cash instead. Giving commuters a choice between a parking subsidy and its cash value reveals that free parking has a cost—the foregone cash. Commuters who forego the cash are, in effect, spending it on parking. Eight case studies of firms that comply with California’s cash-out law found that carpooling to work

increased by 64%, transit ridership increased by 50%, and solo driving fell by 17% after the firms began to offer the cash-out option.

Required reading

Donald Shoup, *Parking and the City*, Chapter 43, [Cashing Out Employer-Paid Parking](#).

Donald Shoup, Executive Summary, [Parking Cash Out](#), American Planning Association.

Donald Shoup and Don Pickrell, [The Power of Getting Paid Not to Park at Work](#), *CityLab*, July 14, 2021.

Optional reading

Donald Shoup, [NPR Puts a Price on Parking. Why Not Cato?](#) *Streetsblog*, October 13, 2010.

Donald Shoup, [Tax Code Makes Employer-Paid Parking Tough to Resist](#), *Streetsblog*, October 19, 2010.

Ron Lieber, [“Commuting Puzzle: Why Driving Is Rewarded over Taking the Bus,”](#) *New York Times*, December 9, 2011.

David Gutman, [“The not-so-secret trick to cutting solo car commutes: Charge for parking by the day.”](#) *Seattle Times*, August 10, 2017

Benjamin Kabak, [It’s time to end NYC’s free parking giveaway](#), *Curbed New York*, November 22, 2019.

[Late, As Always](#), *Boston Globe*, November 20, 2019

McGuireWoods, [New D.C. Law Requires Employee Transportation Benefit to Reduce Private-Vehicle Commuting](#), May 20, 2020.

Eric Jaffe, [It's Amazing How Many More Commuters Would Drive Less if They Didn't Get Free Parking](#), *CityLab*, August 2014.

Eun Jin Shin, [Commuter Benefits and Driving: Direct and Spillover Effects](#), *Transfers*, Issue 6, Fall 2020.

Donald Shoup, [“Parking Cash Out,”](#) *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 2017.

Donald Shoup and Don Pickrell, [The Power of Getting Paid Not to Park at Work](#), *CityLab*, July 14, 2021.

9. PARKING ON CAMPUS

Big universities resemble small cities. They have athletic facilities, concert halls, housing, hospitals, libraries, museums, offices, restaurants, stores, theaters, and – of course – parking. Big universities also have big transportation problems, and to solve these problems, a few universities have reformed their pricing policies for both parking and public transportation. The promising results of these reforms suggest that cities can adopt similar policies to reduce congestion, clean the air, and conserve energy.

Required reading

Parking and the City, **Chapter 42**.

Optional readings

[MIT parking rates](#).

[UC Davis parking rates](#).

Carla Rivera, [College campuses are working to lessen parking pains](#), *Los Angeles Times*, December 13, 2015.

[State of the University – Parking Problems](#)

10. CONCLUSION

If neighborhoods have real money to spend on public services, the residents can make real choices in public decisions. Concentrating attention on the welfare of older neighborhoods may be one of a parking reformation's most important benefits.

Required reading

Parking and the City, **Epilogue**.

The High Cost of Free Parking, Chapter **22**.