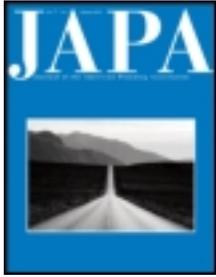


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A Review of "The High Cost of Free Parking, Updated Edition"

Barbara J. Chance^a

^a CHANCE Management Advisors, Inc.

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phones that are analogous to unlimited parking access; people will overuse both if they are underpriced.

Shoup's failure to update the book also means that he only hints at the latest scholarship. Recent research suggests the importance of considering context when implementing planning and design standards because many planning and design regulations are auto-centric and suburban oriented. While Shoup provides examples of places, like central business districts and universities, where parking supply could be reduced because of the availability of other travel options, he does not develop a coherent argument for context-sensitive parking policies. He favors the use of parking benefit districts in which parking revenues raised in the district stay there to pay for other services and facilities; to do so, he argues, would cement the political bargain between pricing and localized benefit from the revenues. This discussion would be improved by the insights of recent research on the equity of transportation pricing. Similarly, recent scholarship on transit-oriented development and the role of transit in the urban environment would better inform his discussion of alternatives to driving and parking.

This book sold well in the first edition for a good reason: It has something for the practitioner because it challenges traditional parking requirements and business-as-usual, suburban-style development. For policymakers, there is a compelling argument to reduce parking requirements. For academics there is a well-documented, albeit repetitive, argument about the role of proper management and pricing of parking to achieve other positive planning outcomes. While the book fits a variety of audiences, it does not fit any group perfectly nor does it articulate how we would go from suburban, auto-oriented development patterns to multimodal urban environments.

Given these dual purposes, it is conceivable that *The High Cost of Free Parking* could be split into two books, one book for a popular audience that is increasingly considering and beginning to implement parking reduction policies as a part of smart growth, urban design, or sustainability efforts. A second book could then present the case for the professional planner and academic who would understand the more technical aspects of parking and transportation policies and their implementation in various contexts.

Ruth L. Steiner is an associate professor in the Department of Urban Regional Planning at the University of Florida who focuses her research on the connection between land use and transportation and the use of alternatives to the automobile. She recently completed a study on parking policies in Ft. Lauderdale and Miami.

Second Perspective by Barbara J. Chance, *CHANCE Management Advisors, Inc.*

Professor Shoup performed an important service with his original book by bringing substantial attention to parking from outside the industry. The updated edition of his book continues that service. Few, if any, academic courses are devoted to the planning, management, and operations of parking, although as Shoup shows, parking policies can have significant effects on

housing costs, urban and suburban development patterns, and household travel decisions. Similarly, the research on parking done by practitioners, such as myself, is seldom seen outside our clients' or our own organizations. That may explain some of the problems in this book.

Shoup's basic contention is that the majority of parking in American cities is provided free when, in fact, it represents a very costly commodity. Free parking encourages people to drive when they otherwise might not, creates congestion and adds to pollution, sometimes raises the cost of housing, and affects the locational decisions of some firms. Added to this are the problems caused by people cruising for free parking in some environments.

However, some professionals in the parking industry question exactly where the abundant free parking, that Shoup argues exists everywhere, is located. Any major U.S. city has substantial paid parking, both on-street and off-street, as do increasing numbers of smaller cities. It is perhaps the suburbs of major cities that really exhibit the problems associated with free parking, although Shoup never makes this important distinction.

In addition, while Shoup has brought to public attention the idea that parking should be effectively managed by proper pricing policies, this view is actually a fundamental element of modern parking management. Using parking pricing policies to effectively manage parking has been part of the industry's basic approach for over 35 years. The consolidation of urban parking functions that began in the 1980s was widely seen as bringing better coordination and logic to parking behavior, creating numerous public benefits. For example, in 1986, the District of Columbia developed a parking management strategy that was explicitly designed to lessen traffic congestion, air pollution, and energy consumption while promoting alternative modes, and there was evidence that the program reduced the number of vehicles entering the District (Caponiti & VanVechten, 1986).

Varying parking prices to respond to differing demands by time or location is also not new, although some of the supporting technology certainly is. There is substantial evidence that as early as the 1980s even mid-sized cities were increasing parking rates in certain areas of the city to encourage ride-sharing ("Parking in the News," 1987). Thus, charging for parking and varying the price based upon demand in order to meet a variety of goals is a long-standing policy in the United States.

Shoup also offers informative discussions of zoning and off-street parking requirements in which he challenges the basic foundations of the formal requirements many cities impose. Indeed the parking industry has long decried the folly of basing urban parking requirements on a few data points from suburban developments. However, it remains difficult to persuade municipal decision makers that shared parking is a better concept for estimating demand. It is also important to recognize that regardless of how on-street parking is priced, it cannot meet a reasonable portion of parking demand without the assets of off-street parking.

Another of Shoup's major tenets is that free parking encourages the use of vehicles and reduces transit use. While this is true to a degree, Shoup does not provide an analysis or description of the severe limitations of transit to absorb these vehicular trips, or the likelihood that sufficient transit will exist in the future. For many individuals, trips to work, entertainment, or shopping are made by

personal vehicle because there is no alternative, whether or not the parking is free. The parking industry has repeatedly found that even in transit-oriented developments, many individuals still own cars and drive them in the evenings and on weekends, even if they take transit or walk to work.

One of the centerpieces of the book is the emphasis on performance pricing, with rates varying every few weeks based on demand and the goal of maintaining 85% parking occupancy at all times. While intriguing, the concept has yet to be truly evaluated and the short-term and long-term effects analyzed. The City of San Francisco's SF Park project designed to test the concept is still in early stages, and a similar program has begun in Los Angeles. The intended and unintended consequences need thorough and unbiased review before more cities adopt the concept simply because it has received publicity and implementation grants.

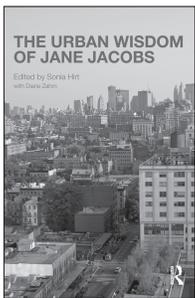
Despite its shortcomings, the book shines a welcome light on parking and ignited many new discussions on the topic, which is perhaps the author's greatest contribution.

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Barbara J. Chance is president and CEO of CHANCE Management Advisors, Inc., a Philadelphia firm that provides nationwide consulting services in the areas of parking, transit, and access management. Her experience in the parking industry spans 30 years.

Urban History



Sonia Hirt and Diane Zahm (Eds.). (2012). *The Urban Wisdom of Jane Jacobs*. London, UK: Routledge. 288 pages. \$110.00 (hardcover).

Reviewed by Anthony Flint, *Lincoln Institute of Land Policy*

In considering the enduring legacy of Jane Jacobs, it is not only true that the self-described housewife from Scranton left us an owner's manual for successful urbanism. Her principles related to block size, building diversity, walkability, street-level storefronts, and eyes on the street, are all spelled out in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Random House, 1961) and are accepted as gospel in the planning and design professions today. That nearly universal embrace is all the more remarkable because hers was such

a thorough and harsh critique of planning, if not a rebuke, especially in her later work, of the very concept of planning.

Jacobs panned not only the play, but the idea of directing a play. She scoffed at Daniel Burnham's admonition to *make no little plans*. In her lifetime she was beloved by right-leaning libertarians, including William F. Buckley, Jr. She contributed to an amicus brief against takings in economic development initiatives in the landmark case *Kelo v. New London*. More recently, Tea Party activists have employed tactics to shut down planning hearings that are straight from Jane Jacobs, as she practiced civil disobedience fighting slum designation for the West Village and Robert Moses's Lower Manhattan Expressway.

Sonia Hirt gets right to the point in the introduction to *The Urban Wisdom of Jane Jacobs*, a rich collection of essays from a wide range of thoughtful contributors. She aptly poses the question of "why, among urban planners, designers, and others who claim expertise on cities, her popularity is peculiar, since she was not particularly kind to them" (p. 1). Has Jacobs been properly interpreted? Or perhaps more accurately, have her ideas been appropriated, tailored, or extrapolated? These are important questions to ask.

To try to better understand the persistence of the Jane Jacobs legacy, the book is organized in four major sections: Jane Jacobs as Urban Philosopher, Urban Sociologist, Urban Economist, and Urban Designer. The essays are best in shedding light on the current context for planning, as in the contribution of James Stockard, who examines the sometimes tortured public process and consensus-building framework for city building today.

In considering the diversity ideal Jacobs espoused, Emily Talen's chapter takes a step back to assess diversity writ large, not only in physical form, but also socioeconomic composition. That Jacobs's neighborhood today includes some of the hottest real estate in the country underscores the continuing problem of housing supply and gentrification, which Jacobs called oversuccess, and suggests that solutions lie beyond self-organizing processes, in more intentional planning policies such as inclusionary zoning.

The breadth and depth of this collection is impressive, including an analysis of Jacobs's eyes-on-the-street framework in the context of crime in the 21st-century built environment. Her principles are also analyzed in the context of such diverse topics and contexts as urban form in medieval China, open and public space in Thailand, and redevelopment in Beirut. A central theme in the international realm is left largely unaddressed, however: the notion of scale.

Mega-cities in the developing world are bracing for a massive influx of hundreds of millions of predominantly poor people in search of a better life and in need of decent housing and services. The urban expansion project of the next half-century, chronicled in Schlomo Angel's *Planet of Cities* (Lincoln Institute, 2012), suggests the great challenge of replicating Greenwich Village in these rapidly growing metropolitan areas.

In the absence of long-range planning and attention to infrastructure and density at a greater scale, the proliferation of informal settlement seems inevitable. Jacobs, of course, saw value in the self-organizing dynamics of the favela. But one wonders, given the 6.2 billion people projected to be in urban areas by 2050, how these cities will not unravel without, well, big plans.

What's missing is not so much a rejection of Jacobs (the pendulum need not swing wildly back and forth) but a synthesis. For that