



CITY OF KIRKLAND

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To: City Council
From: Parking Advisory Board, Glenn Peterson, Chair
Date: June 8, 2006
Subject: Parking Advisory Board- Council Study Session

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the Council discuss with the Parking Advisory Board (PAB):

- PAB work items planned for the next 12 months, with special emphasis on market-based approaches for pricing parking supply
- The public parking supply opportunity presented by the Merrill Gardens development project

BACKGROUND DISCUSSION:

This memo is divided into four sections:

- A. PAB planned work items as developed at the PAB's May retreat.
- B. Information about market based approaches.
- C. Background and key questions regarding the Merrill Gardens project.
- D. Highlights of PAB accomplishments.

A. PAB work items for the next 12 months.

In May, the PAB held its first retreat. We felt it was very successful because it gave us the opportunity to consider the topics we have worked on in the past and those we would like to work on in the future. In particular, we reviewed the Implementation "Checklist" from the *2003 Parking Study and Plan*. With the context of past accomplishments, we developed the following list of priority items for our on-going work. The list is separated into two parts; four higher priority items and six other items of lesser importance. We welcome the Council's comments on these items:

Highest priority work items (in priority order):

1. Add public parking supply in the downtown core.

This is a key goal from the Parking Plan and the PAB's main interest since its inception. Merrill Gardens could be an example of a public-private partnership to provide some additional downtown parking, but there are other approaches as well. Since there are so few prime opportunity sites downtown, and most of those are privately controlled, The PAB feels that any private development project that presents a good possibility of adding public parking should be aggressively pursued.

There are at least three possible strategic approaches: 1) build a free-standing parking structure on city-owned land, 2) a city initiated mixed-use development that incorporates parking, or 3) a developer-initiated mixed-use development with city participation in the provision of parking.

2. Create a funding strategy for increasing capacity

There are three primary sources for funding an increased downtown parking supply: parking users, downtown property owners and the community at large. How and how much each of these groups pay toward funding new supply is a difficult issue that may vary with the location and whether it is free standing or part of a development. We seek Council direction on the mix of cost responsibility among parking users, downtown property owners and the general public. Assigning some part of the cost of increasing parking supply to parking users will require charging for parking, both on and off street.

3. Decide how to proceed with market based approaches to parking

The idea of using pay parking to manage public supply is a topic currently emphasized in the parking and planning literature. This is a concept that is of interest to the PAB. Parking revenue is used to benefit the area from which it is collected, usually in the form of infrastructure improvements, as well as increasing the supply of parking.

4. Review Zoning Code parking requirements

This work involves reviewing the current parking requirements for new buildings. Parking modifications to reduce the number of required stalls are often sought and granted for downtown residential development. The PAB would like to determine if the parking rates currently in the code are at the right level or if they should be changed, not only for residential land use but for other uses as well. This work will be coordinated with the Planning Commission. It will include exploration of incentives that could be created for developers to provide shared and priced parking that will thereby reduce the overall parking requirements.

Second priority work items:

1. Re-evaluate the Park Smart program including improved compliance and more efficient enforcement.
2. Promotional and marketing programs, such as parking tokens to offset parking costs to downtown shoppers.
3. Review Hossman Lease. The City currently leases 49 spaces for free evening public parking in the Hossman building located in the northwest quadrant of the intersection of 3rd Street and Central Way.
4. Review Fee-in-Lieu process, by which developers can opt out of providing parking on-site by paying a fee that is used to provide public parking. One possibility is to require that the developer pay a fee-in-lieu, or a (smaller) fee per space built, in order to accumulate funds to build shared public parking rather than having individual parking for each new development.
5. Re-evaluate price and timing of program that allows employees to park at Lakeshore Plaza during the off season. We might allow employees to park in pay stalls more often, especially if there are more pay stalls added.
6. Collect and interpret stakeholder feedback on the current parking program and the proposed changes .

B. Information about market based approaches

Numerous articles have been published in the last 18 months concerning using pay parking to better manage parking supply. Much of this work centers around an idea which says that curb parking should be priced to match market demand. If stalls are in high demand (more than 85% of the stalls are occupied) then they should be priced. When demand is low, stalls may be free. Attachment 1 is a set of charts showing utilization as measured at various downtown Kirkland facilities. Often, parking pricing is considered in the context of a parking benefit district where revenue from the pay stalls is returned to the area where it was generated through improvements to infrastructure. Dr. Donald Shoup, a professor at UCLA, is the leading spokesperson for the use of parking benefit districts; he often cites the old business district of Pasadena, California as a case study of successful implementation. Attachment 2 is a background article describing the Pasadena experience.

C. Merrill Gardens Project

Merrill Gardens is a 120 unit assisted living project proposed for the property just south and east of the intersection of Main Street and Kirkland Way. The project also calls for 7,100 square feet of retail. The developer intends to build more stalls than will be required by the uses planned for the project. The additional parking is on the order of 45-65 stalls. These excess stalls provide an opportunity for the city to obtain additional public parking supply.

The developer has been working with staff to refine the proposal, which includes city property abutting the private parcel. Two alleys and a right-of-way are involved, and currently 20 public parking spaces are located there. The developer proposes to replace those 20 public spaces in the single-level underground garage. The count of 45-65 spaces cited above is in addition to the 20 stalls to be replaced.

While there are many details that would have to be worked out about how the stalls are managed and how a lease or other arrangement would be structured, the means by which the City could fund purchase or lease of the extra stalls is fundamental to any agreement. The Merrill Gardens project illustrates many of the key issues that the Parking Advisory Board faces, for example, siting and funding of future supply, parking management strategies and parking requirements. The PAB has focused on three areas that need to be considered: a) funding strategy, b) pricing and management elements that need to be incorporated into any agreement and c) an approach for public comment. These areas are described in further detail below:

The Parking Advisory Board has developed a list of funding options that could be used to acquire the extra stalls at Merrill Gardens. This list could also be used as a menu of ideas for acquiring future additional parking in other projects:

1. *Employees* Options include: Opening Merrill Gardens to employees at a monthly or daily rate, keeping other aspects of ParkSmart the same, or charging for park smart stickers which are currently free and/or installing pay parking in the lower level of the library garage which is currently free parking reserved for employees.
2. *Add new pay parking stalls.* Currently, we net \$1000-1200 annually per pay stall from the 58 pay stalls located in the Lake and Central and Lakeshore Plaza lot. We would need to increase the number of pay stalls by a factor of 1.7 to 3 for each Merrill stall if new pay parking is the sole funding mechanism.

3. *A blend of 1 and 2.* For example, if idea 1 generated most of the needed revenue during the day, idea 2 could generate the rest of the revenue in the evening.
4. *Full implementation of paid parking.* This would extend item 3 beyond that revenue necessary to secure the Merrill Gardens stalls. It would be an implementation of the Market Based approach described above.
5. *Property tax increase.* This option represents some form of funding from the community at large.
6. *BIA/LID* This option represents funding from the property owners and/or business owners in downtown.
7. *Change existing pay parking policy.* It might be possible to raise additional revenue by extending the hours of pay parking or by raising rates during peak times.
8. *Offer zoning or other concessions to developers in exchange for additional pay parking.* Although not necessarily an option at Merrill Gardens perhaps a option for future projects.
9. *Expand use of Fee-in lieu option to generate funds for parking supply.* However, use of the existing fee-in-lieu option has been minimal over the past few years.
10. *Some blending of the above options.*

An indication of Council's preference for any of these ideas would be most welcome and helpful to the PAB, as would suggestions for other measures.

Along with funding, another critical issue at the Merrill Gardens project is identification of key points to include in an agreement for acquisition or leasing of the extra parking. The PAB has identified the following conditions to which others could be added:

1. Parking for retail and public stalls must be managed as a group. Stalls for Merrill Gardens Assisted Living (residents, guests and staff) would be secured and separate from other stalls. (If Merrill Gardens were to charge all their users for parking, all spaces could possibly be managed together.)
2. Non-site traffic can use the public parking (it will be available for the public).
3. An elevator must connect public stalls on the lower level with Kirkland Ave.
4. Pay parking for the public and retail stalls is an option upon project opening or at sometime in the future.
5. Parking wayfinding signage must be incorporated into building.
6. The additional stalls must be available to the public over the long term, i.e., more than 10 years.
7. If valet parking for Merrill Gardens residents is used as a way to obtain additional space in the garage, we must have a guarantee that valet service will continue.
8. A guarantee that Merrill Gardens parking will not spill over into the stalls which we purchase or lease.
9. If the land use changes from Assisted Living, we must be guaranteed that the public stalls will still be available.
10. Development of public parking should not preclude future public parking options on adjacent properties.

Again, Council's comments or additions to this list would be helpful for the PAB.

The PAB has not developed a specific strategy for public comment. The nature of any strategy depends in part upon the funding mechanisms that are selected. For example, downtown property owners would be especially interested in a funding strategy that includes an LID, but perhaps less interested in an option

that places most of the funding burden on the community as a whole. The PAB expects that any increase in pay parking stalls, particularly on-street parking, or a LID will require a careful public process. This is a topic we would like to discuss with the Council.

D. Highlights of PAB accomplishments.

The following list summarizes some of the PAB's accomplishments since its inception in August of 2004:

1. Made recommendation to Council to rescind extension of time-limited free parking from 7:30 PM to 9:30 PM
2. Developed parking budget report
3. Developed plan for establishing a parking reserve to fund new parking supply.
4. Reviewed and refined Park Smart program
5. Developed options for funding new parking supply.
6. Leased 49 additional public stalls for evening use in the Hossman building at the northwest corner of 3rd Street and Central Way
7. Installed 14 additional parking stalls in Lakeshore plaza
8. Installed 5 additional stalls on the east side of Lake Street
9. Developed and placed parking wayfinding system
10. Implemented a policy to allow employees to use (and pay for) underused pay stalls during off-peak times.
11. Reviewed parking modification requests, reviewed history of past requests
12. Directed staff to prepare a report describing recommended improvements to the Library Garage (underway)
13. Began distribution of parking tokens in cooperation with the KDA
14. Reviewed past fee-in-lieu activity and recommend policy changes
15. Directed staff to conduct studies of parking utilization.

PARKING UTILIZATION

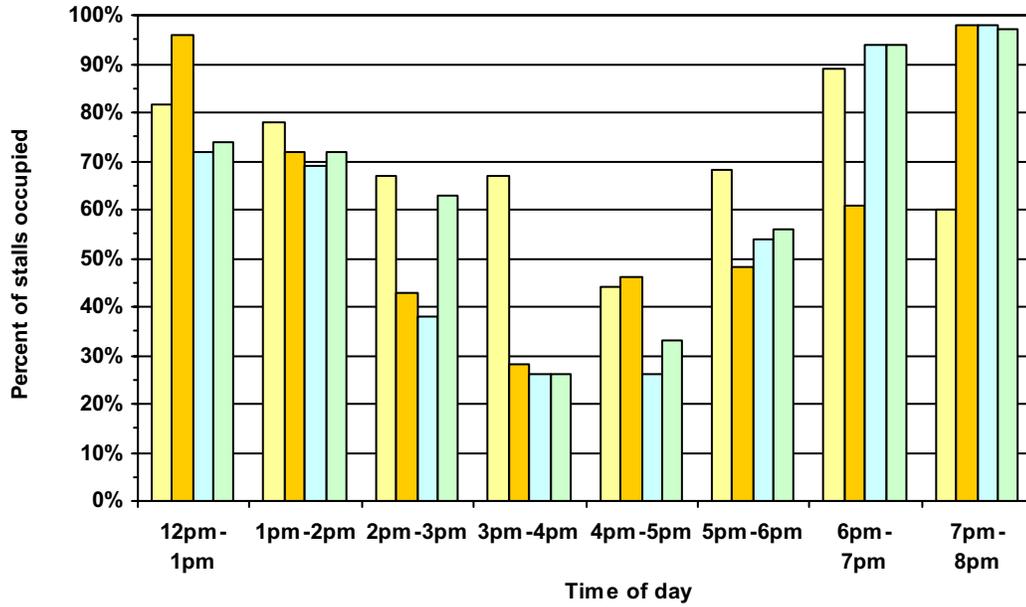
The following charts illustrate parking occupancies at various city facilities. The first four charts show how occupancy varies with seasons at off-street parking facilities. The last two charts illustrate on-street parking occupancy for data collected in February and May of 2006. Data was not collected on-street in 2005 due to construction disruptions. The shaded area on the map below shows the approximate area where on-street occupancy data is collected:



Data collection was performed on August 25, 2005; October 27, 2005; February 16, 2006 and May 25, 2006. Each of these dates are Thursdays. Data collection is scheduled for August 2006.

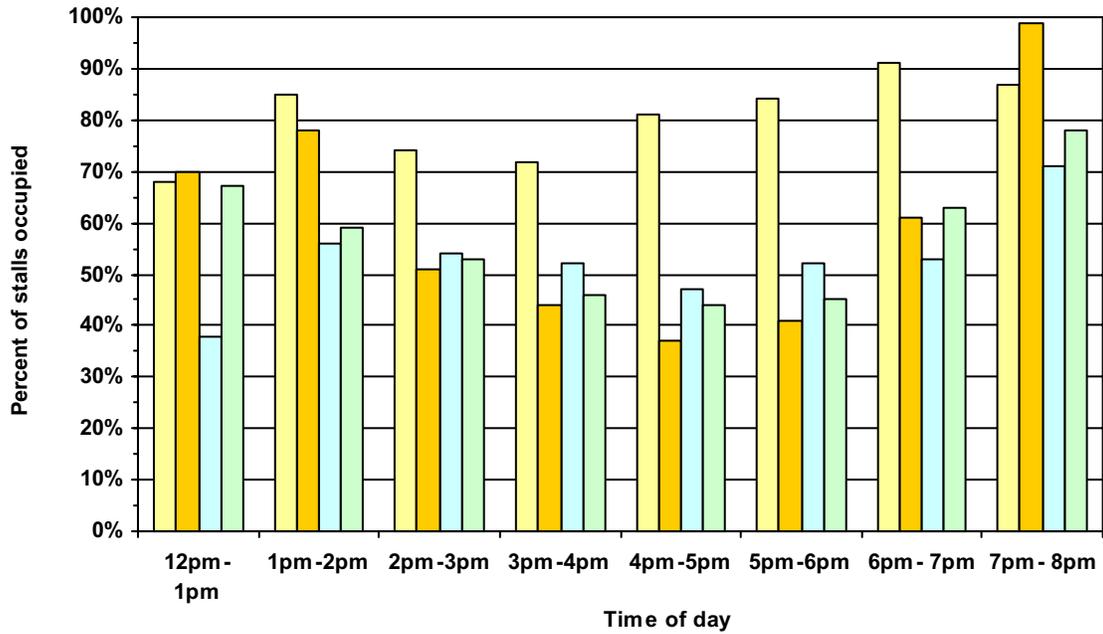
Seasonal Occupancy Lake St Parking Lot
 Total (54 Stalls)

■ Aug-05 ■ Oct-05 ■ Feb-06 ■ May-06

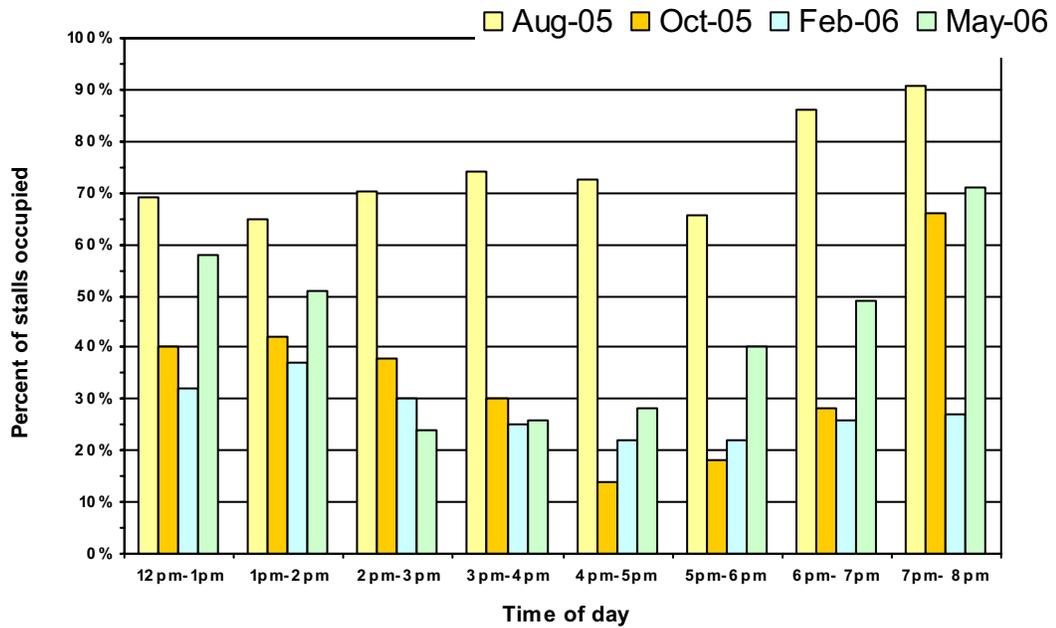


Seasonal Occupancy Lakeshore Plaza
 Total (125 Stalls)

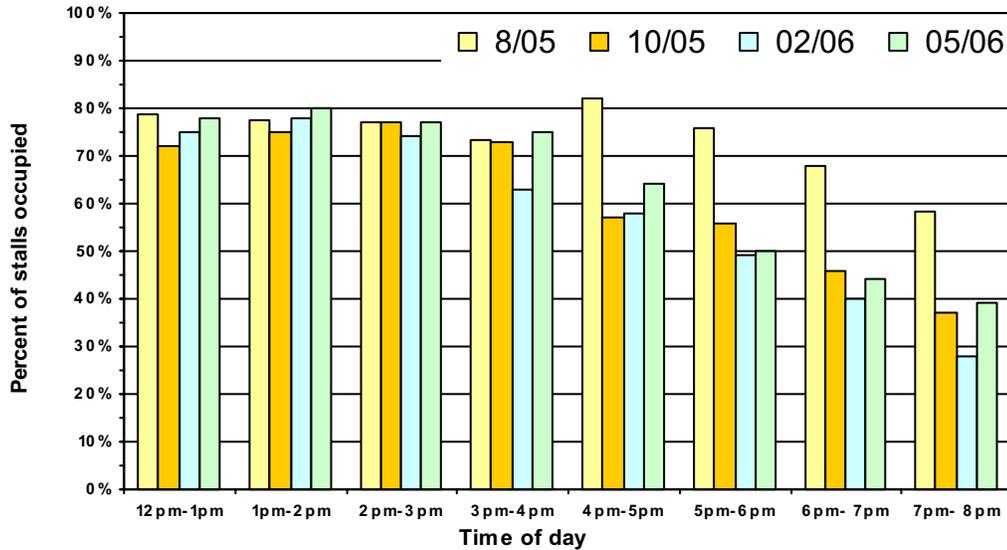
■ Aug-05 ■ Oct-05 ■ Feb-06 ■ May-06



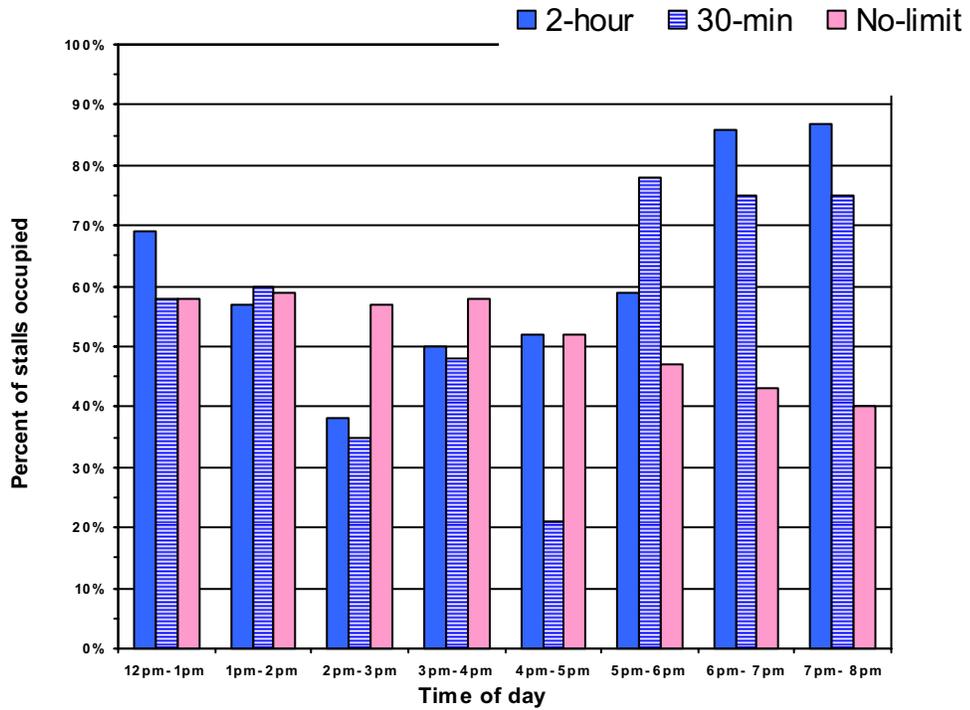
**Seasonal Occupancy at Library Garage
 4-hour (194 Stalls)**



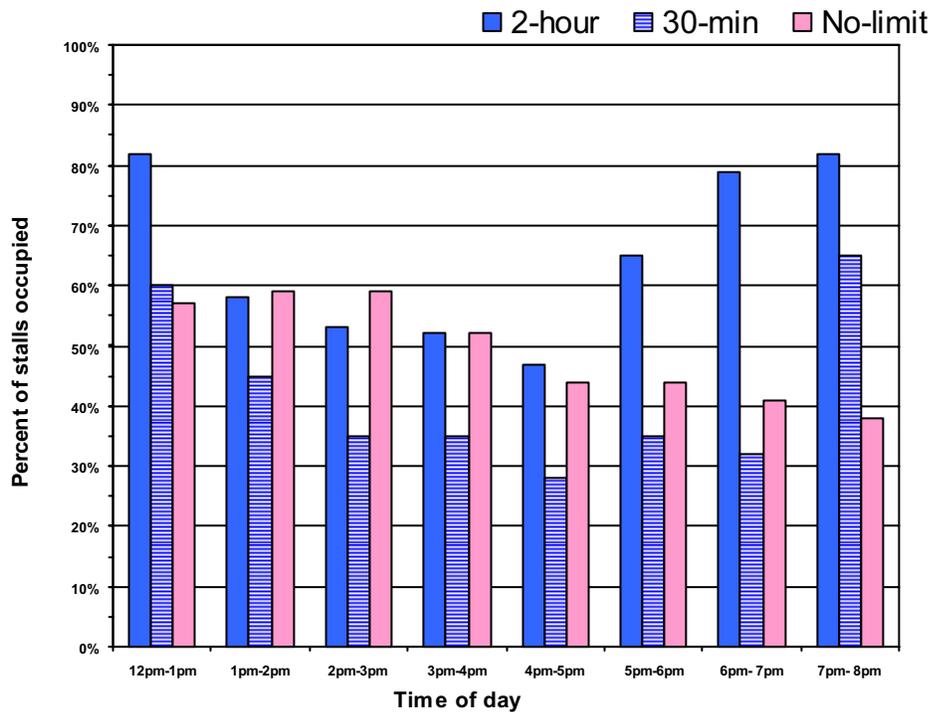
**Seasonal Occupancy at Library Garage
 Permit Parking (183 Stalls)**



On - Street Occupancy February 16, 2006



On-Street Occupancy May 25, 2006



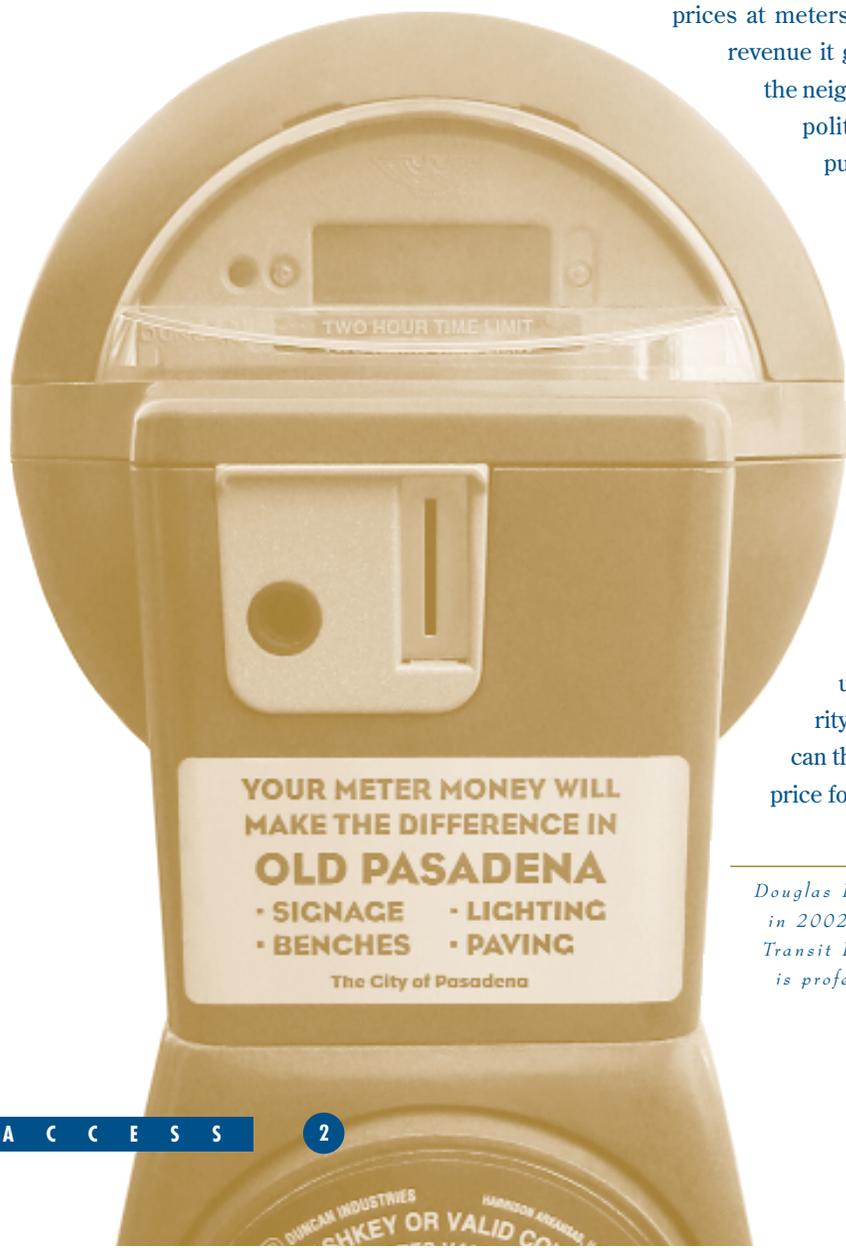
TURNING SMALL CHANGE INTO BIG CHANGES

BY DOUGLAS KOLOZSVARI AND DONALD SHOUP

THE MONEY YOU PUT INTO a parking meter seems to vanish into thin air. No one knows where the money goes, and everyone would rather park free, so politicians find it easier to require ample off-street parking than to charge market prices at meters. But if each neighborhood could keep all the parking revenue it generates, a powerful new constituency would emerge—the neighborhoods that receive the revenue. Cities can change the politics of parking if they earmark parking revenue for public improvements in the metered neighborhoods.

Consider an older business district where few stores have off-street parking, and vacant curb spaces are hard to find. Cruising for curb parking congests the streets, and everyone complains about a parking shortage. Parking meters would create a few curb vacancies, and these vacancies would attract customers willing to pay for parking if they don't have to spend time hunting for it. Nevertheless, merchants fear that charging for parking would keep some customers away. Suppose in this case the city promises to use all the district's meter revenue to pay for public amenities that can attract customers, such as cleaning the sidewalks, planting street trees, putting overhead utility wires underground, improving store facades, and ensuring security. Using curb parking revenue to improve the metered area can therefore create a strong local interest in charging the right price for curb parking.

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RIGHT PRICES

The right price for curb parking is the lowest price that keeps a few spaces available to allow convenient access. If no curb spaces are available, reducing their price cannot attract more customers, just as reducing the price of anything else in short supply cannot increase its sales. A below-market price for curb parking simply leads to cruising and congestion. The goal of pricing is to produce a few vacant spaces so that drivers can find places to park near their destinations. Having a few parking spaces vacant is like having inventory in a store, and everyone understands that customers avoid stores that never have what they want in stock. The city should reduce the price of curb parking if there are too many vacancies (the inventory is excessive), and increase it if there are too few (the shelves are bare).

Underpricing curb parking cannot increase the number of cars parked at the curb because it cannot increase the number of spaces available. What underpricing can do, however, and what it *does* do, is create a parking shortage that keeps potential customers away. If it takes only five minutes to drive somewhere else, why spend fifteen cruising for parking? Short-term parkers are less sensitive to the price of parking than to the time it takes to find a vacant space. Therefore, charging enough to create a few curb vacancies can attract customers who would rather pay for parking than not be able to find it. And spending the meter revenue for public improvements can attract even more customers.

We can examine the effects of this charge-and-spend policy because Pasadena, California, charges market prices for curb parking and returns all of the meter revenue to the business districts that generate it. An evaluation of Pasadena's program shows it can help revitalize older business districts by improving their parking, transportation, and public infrastructure.

OLD PASADENA

Pasadena's downtown declined between 1930 and 1980, but it has since been revived as "Old Pasadena," one of Southern California's most popular shopping and entertainment destinations. Dedicating parking meter revenue to finance public improvements in the area has played a major part in this revival.

Old Pasadena was the original commercial core of the city, and in the early 20th century it was an elegant shopping district. In 1929, Pasadena widened its main thoroughfare, Colorado Boulevard, by 28 feet, and this required moving the building facades on each side of the street back 14 feet. Owners removed the front 14 feet of their buildings, and most constructed new facades in the popular Spanish Colonial Revival or Art Deco styles. However, a few owners put back the original facades (an early example of historic preservation). The result is a handsome circa-1929 streetscape that is now the center of Old Pasadena.

The area sank into decline during the Depression. After the war the narrow storefronts and lack of parking led many merchants to seek larger retail spaces in more modern surroundings. Old Pasadena became the city's Skid Row, and by the 1970s much of it was slated for redevelopment. Pasadena's Redevelopment Agency demolished >





three historic blocks on Colorado Boulevard to make way for Plaza Pasadena, an enclosed mall with ample free parking whose construction the city assisted with \$41 million in public subsidies. New buildings clad in then-fashionable black glass replaced other historic properties. The resulting “Corporate Pasadena” horrified many citizens, so the city reconsidered its plans for the area. The *Plan for Old Pasadena*, published in 1978, asserted “if the area can be revitalized, building on its special character, it will be unique to the region.” In 1983, Old Pasadena was listed in the National Register of Historic Places. However, despite these planning efforts, commercial revival was slow to come, in part because lack of public investment and the parking shortage were intractable obstacles.

PARKING METERS AND REVENUE RETURN

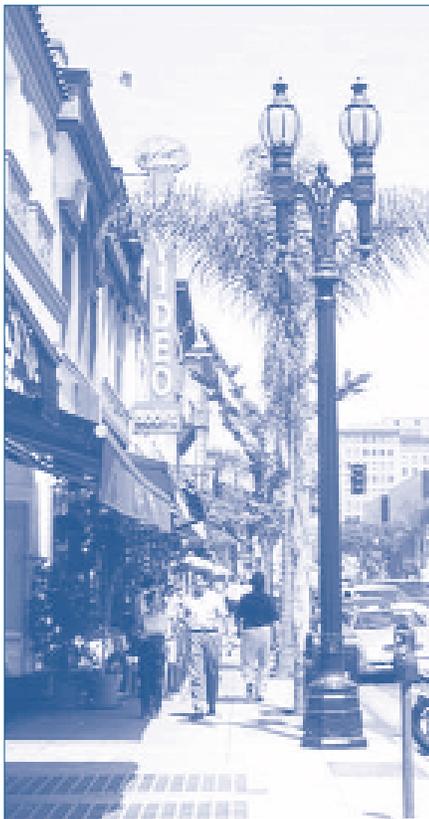
Pasadena devised a creative parking policy that has contributed greatly to Old Pasadena’s revival: it uses Old Pasadena’s parking meter revenue (\$1.2 million in 2001) to finance additional public spending in the area.

Old Pasadena had no parking meters until 1993, and curb parking was restricted only by a two-hour time limit. Customers had difficulty finding places to park because employees took up the most convenient curb spaces, and moved their cars every two hours to avoid citations. The city’s staff proposed installing meters to regulate curb parking, but the merchants and property owners opposed the idea. They feared that paid parking would discourage people from coming to the area at all. Customers and tenants, they assumed, would simply go to shopping centers like Plaza Pasadena that offered free parking. Meter proponents countered that employees rather than customers occupied many curb spaces, and making these spaces available for short-term parking would attract more customers. Any customers who left because they couldn’t park free would also make room for others who were willing to pay if they could find a space, and who would probably spend more money in Old Pasadena if they could find a space.

Debates about the meters dragged on for two years before the city reached a compromise with the merchants and property owners. To defuse opposition, the city offered to spend all the meter revenue on public investments in Old Pasadena. The merchants and property owners quickly agreed to the proposal because they would directly benefit from it. The city also liked it because it wanted to improve Old Pasadena, and the meter revenue would pay for the project.

The desire for public improvements that would attract customers to Old Pasadena soon outweighed fear that paid parking would drive customers away. Businesses and property owners began to see the parking meters in a new light—as a source of revenue. They agreed to an unusually high rate of \$1 an hour for curb parking, and to the unusual policy of operating the meters on Sundays and in the evenings when the area is still busy with visitors. The city also didn’t *lose* anything in the process. Because there had been no parking meters anywhere in the city before, returning the revenue to Old Pasadena didn’t create a loss to the city’s general fund. Indeed, the city gained revenue from over-time fines. Both business and government thus had a stake in the meter money, and so the project went ahead.

Only the blocks with parking meters receive the added services financed by the meter revenue. The city worked with Old Pasadena’s Business Improvement District (BID) to establish the boundaries of the Old Pasadena Parking Meter Zone (PMZ). The



city also established the Old Pasadena PMZ Advisory Board, consisting of business and property owners who recommend parking policies and set spending priorities for the zone's meter revenues. Connecting the meter revenue directly to added public services and keeping it under local control are largely responsible for the parking program's success. "The only reason meters went into Old Pasadena in the first place," said Marilyn Buchanan, chair of the Old Pasadena PMZ, "was because the city agreed all the money would stay in Old Pasadena."

The city installed the parking meters in 1993, and then borrowed \$5 million to finance the "Old Pasadena Streetscape and Alleyways Project," with the meter revenue dedicated to repaying the debt. The bond proceeds paid for street furniture, trees, tree grates, and historic lighting fixtures throughout the area. Dilapidated alleys became safe, functional pedestrian spaces with access to shops and restaurants. To reassure businesses and property owners that the meter revenues stayed in Old Pasadena, the city mounted a marketing campaign to tell shoppers what their meter money was funding.

As the area attracted more pedestrian traffic, the sidewalks needed more maintenance. This would have posed a problem when Old Pasadena relied on the city for cleaning and maintenance, but now the BID has meter money to pay for the added services. The BID has arranged for daily sweeping of the streets and sidewalks, trash collection, removal of decals from street fixtures, and steam cleaning of Colorado Boulevard's sidewalks twice a month. Dedicating the parking meter revenue to Old Pasadena has thus created a "virtuous cycle" of continuing improvements. The meter revenue pays for public improvements, the public improvements attract more visitors who pay for curb parking, and more meter revenue is then available to pay for more public improvements.

Old Pasadena's 690 parking meters yielded \$1.2 million *net* parking revenue (after all collection costs) to fund additional public services in FY 2001. The revenue thus amounts to \$1,712 per meter per year. The first claim on this revenue is the annual debt service of \$448,000 that goes to repay the \$5 million borrowed to improve the sidewalks and alleys. Of the remaining revenue, \$694,000 was spent to increase public services in Old Pasadena, above the level provided in other commercial areas. The city provides some of these services directly; for example, the Police Department provides additional foot patrols, and two horseback officers on weekend evenings, at a cost of \$248,000. The parking enforcement officers who monitor the meters until well into the night further increase security, at no additional charge. The city also allocated \$426,000 of meter revenue for added sidewalk and street maintenance and for marketing (maps, brochures, and advertisements in local newspapers). Drivers who park in Old Pasadena finance all these public services, at no cost to the businesses, property owners, or taxpayers.

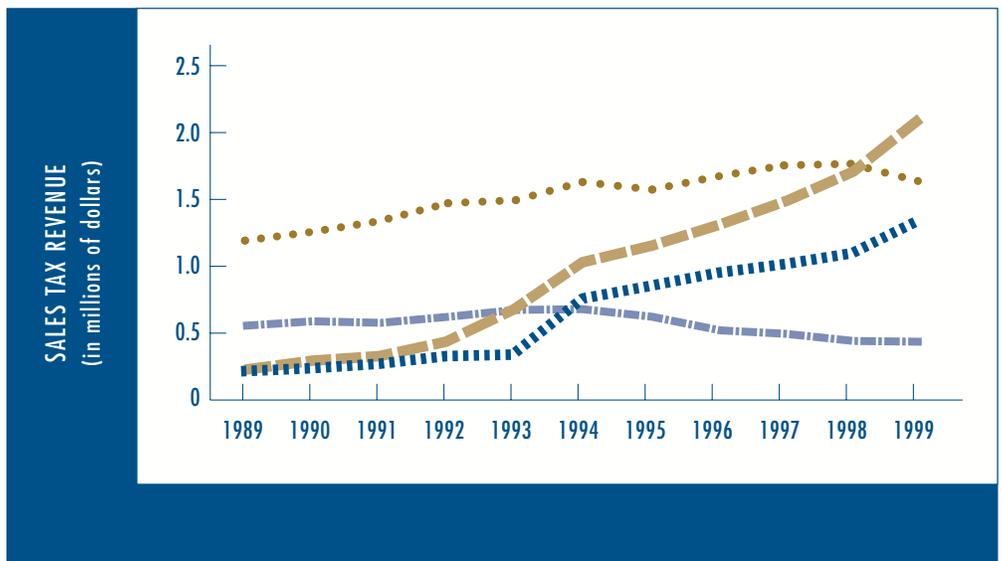
Old Pasadena has done well in comparison with the rest of Pasadena. Its sales tax revenue increased rapidly after parking meters were installed in 1993, and is now higher than in the other retail districts in the city. Old Pasadena's sales tax revenues quickly exceeded those of Plaza Pasadena, the nearby shopping mall that had free parking. With great fanfare, Plaza Pasadena was demolished in 2001 to make way for a new development—with storefronts that resemble the ones in Old Pasadena.

Would Old Pasadena be better off today with dirty sidewalks, dilapidated alleys, no street trees or historic street lights, and less security, but with free curb parking? Clearly, no. Old Pasadena is now a place where everyone wants to be, rather than merely another place where everyone can park free. ➤



Pasadena retail sales-tax revenue

- Old Pasadena
- ⋯ Playhouse District
- Plaza Pasadena
- South Lake



Westwood Village

A TALE OF TWO BUSINESS DISTRICTS' PARKING POLICIES

To see how parking policies affect urban outcomes, we can compare Old Pasadena with Westwood Village, a business district in Los Angeles that was once as popular as Old Pasadena is now. In 1980, anyone who predicted that Old Pasadena would soon become hip and Westwood would fade would have been judged insane. However, since then the Village has declined as Old Pasadena thrived. Why?

Except for their parking policies, Westwood Village and Old Pasadena are similar. Both are about the same size, both are historic areas, both have design review boards, and both have BIDS. Westwood Village also has a few advantages that Old Pasadena lacks. It is surrounded by extremely high-income neighborhoods (Bel Air, Holmby Hills, and Westwood) and is located between UCLA and the high-rise corridor of Wilshire Boulevard, which are both sources of many potential customers. Old Pasadena, by contrast, is surrounded by moderate-income housing and low-rise office buildings. Tellingly, although Westwood Village has about the same number of parking spaces as Old Pasadena, merchants typically blame a parking shortage for the Village's decline. In Old Pasadena, parking is no longer a big issue. A study in 2001 found that the average curb-space occupancy rate in Old Pasadena was 83 percent, which is about the ideal rate to assure available space for shoppers. The meter revenue has financed substantial public investment in sidewalk and alley improvements that attract visitors to the stores, restaurants, and movie theaters. Because all the meter revenue stays in Old Pasadena, the merchants and property owners understand that paid parking helps business.

In contrast, Westwood's curb parking is underpriced and overcrowded. A 1994 parking study found that the curb-space occupancy rate was 96 percent during peak hours, making it necessary for visitors to search for vacant spaces. The city nevertheless reduced



Westwood Village

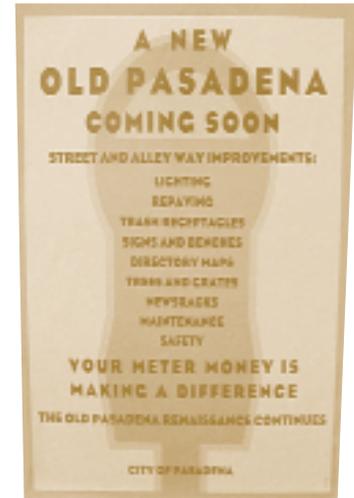
meter rates from \$1 to 50¢ an hour in 1994, in response to merchants' and property owners' argument that cheaper curb parking would stimulate business. Off-street parking in any of the nineteen private lots or garages in Westwood costs at least \$2 for the first hour, so drivers have an incentive to hunt for cheaper curb parking. The result is a shortage of curb spaces, and underuse of the off-street ones. The 1994 study found that only 68 percent of the Village's 3,900 off-street parking spaces were occupied at the peak daytime hour (2 p.m.). Nevertheless, the shortage of curb spaces (which are only 14 percent of the total parking supply) creates the illusion of an overall parking shortage. In contrast to Old Pasadena, Westwood's sidewalks and alleys are crumbling because there is no source of revenue for repairing them—the meter revenue disappears into the city's general fund.

The Old Pasadena/Westwood Village comparison suggests that parking policies can help some areas rebound,

and leave other areas trapped in a slump. If Westwood Village had always charged market prices for curb parking and had spent the revenue on public services, it probably would have retained its original luster rather than fallen into a long economic decline. If Old Pasadena had kept curb parking free and not spent \$1.2 million a year on public services, it probably would still be struggling. The exactly opposite parking policies in Westwood Village and Old Pasadena have surely helped determine their different fates. As the signs on Old Pasadena's parking meters say, "Your meter money makes a difference."

CONCLUSION

Charging market prices for curb parking and returning the meter revenue for public improvements have helped pave the way for Old Pasadena's renaissance. The meter revenue has paid to improve the streetscape and to convert alleys into pleasant walkways with shops and restaurants. The additional public spending makes the area safer, cleaner, and more attractive for both customers and businesses. These public improvements have increased private investment, property values, and sales tax revenues. Old Pasadena has pulled itself up by its parking meters. ♦



FURTHER READING

Douglas Kolozsvari. *Parking: The Way to Revitalization. A Case Study on Innovative Parking Practices in Old Pasadena*. Comprehensive project submitted for the Master of Arts in Urban Planning, UCLA, 2002.

Donald Shoup, "Cashing in on Curb Parking," *Access*, no. 4, Spring 1994, pp. 20–26.

Donald Shoup, "An Opportunity to Reduce Minimum Parking Requirements," *Journal of the American Planning Association*, vol. 61, no. 1, Winter 1995, pp. 14–28.

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Donald Shoup, "The Ideal Source of Local Public Revenue," *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, forthcoming.

Donald Shoup, *The High Cost of Free Parking*. (Chicago: The Planners Press of the American Planning Association, forthcoming.)