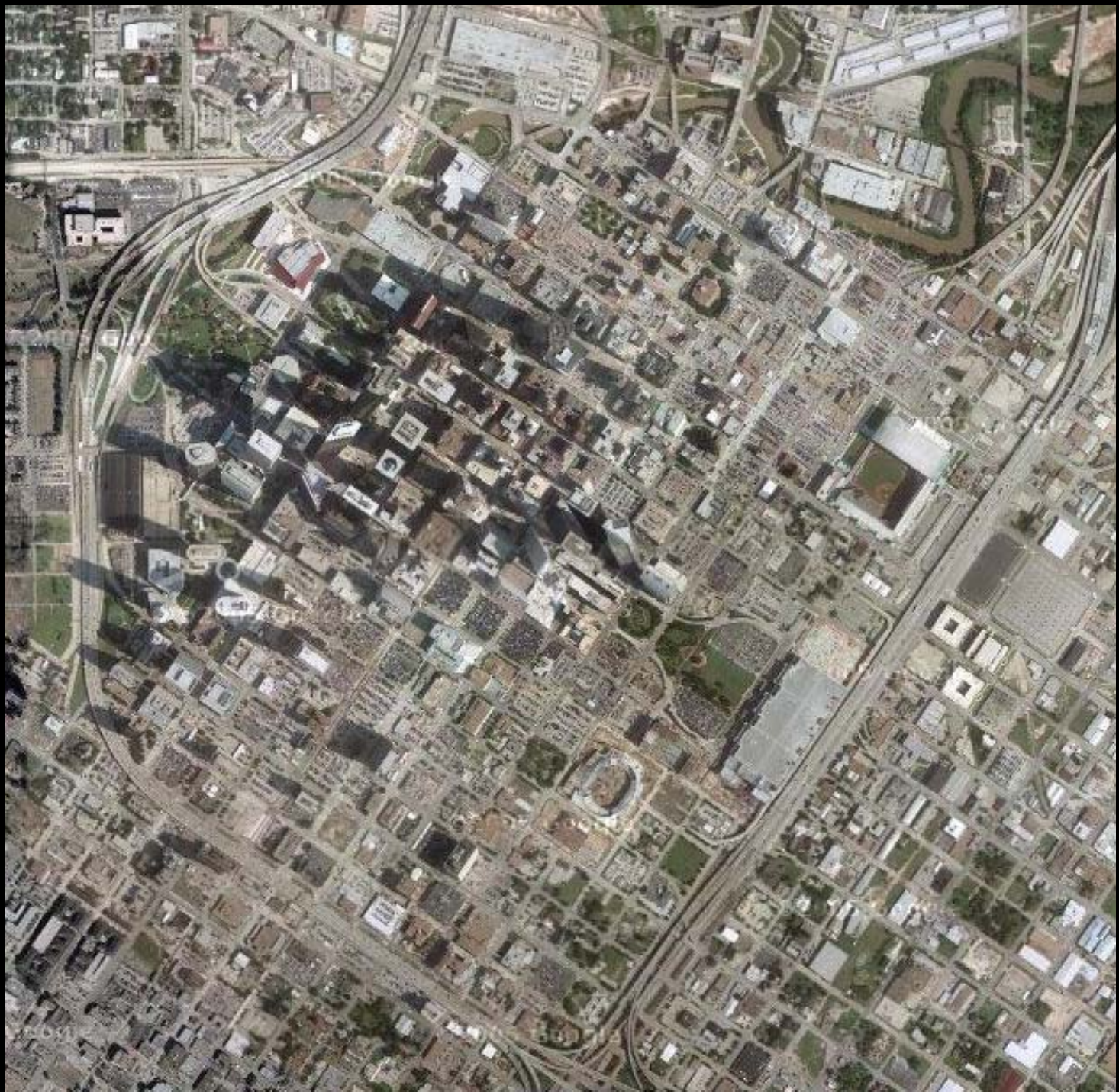




The High Cost of Free Parking

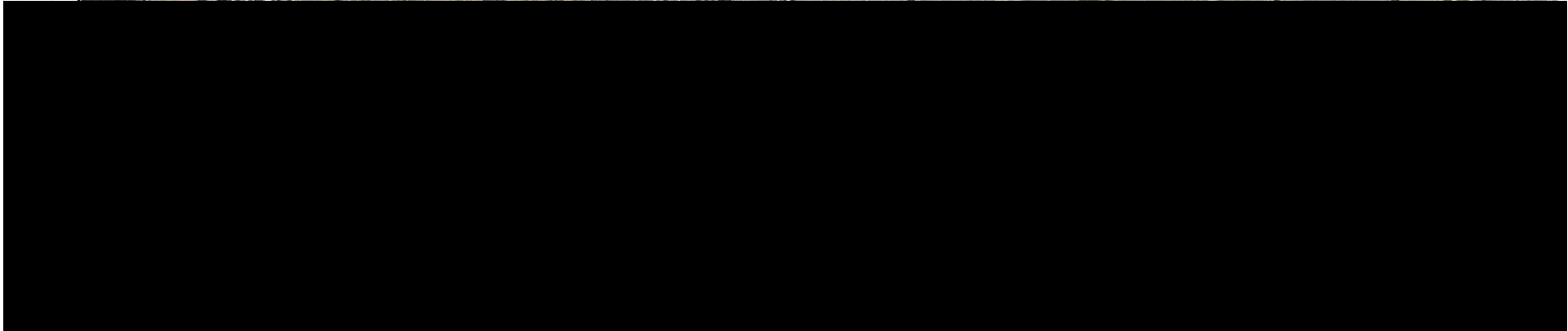
DONALD SHOUP



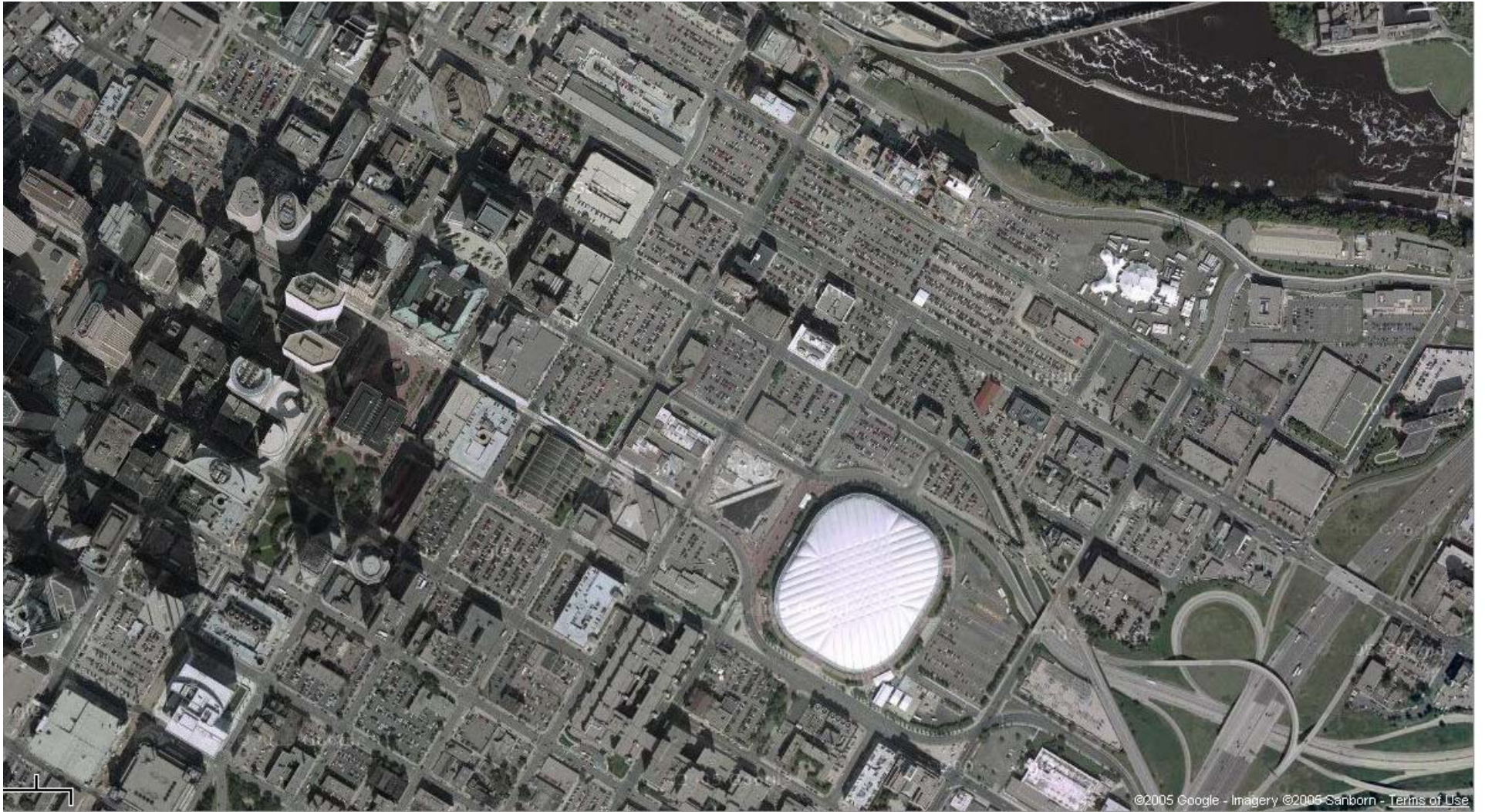




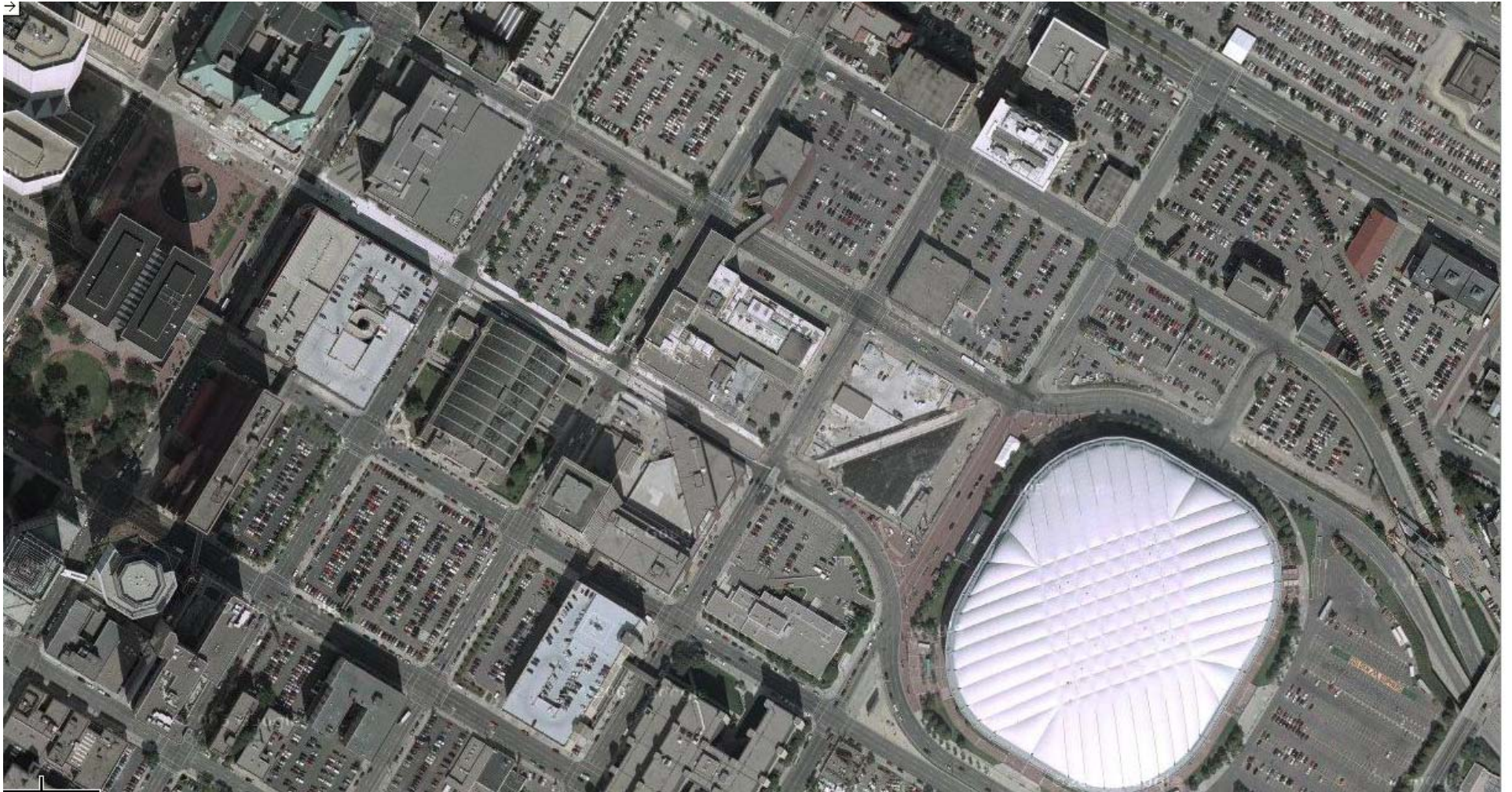




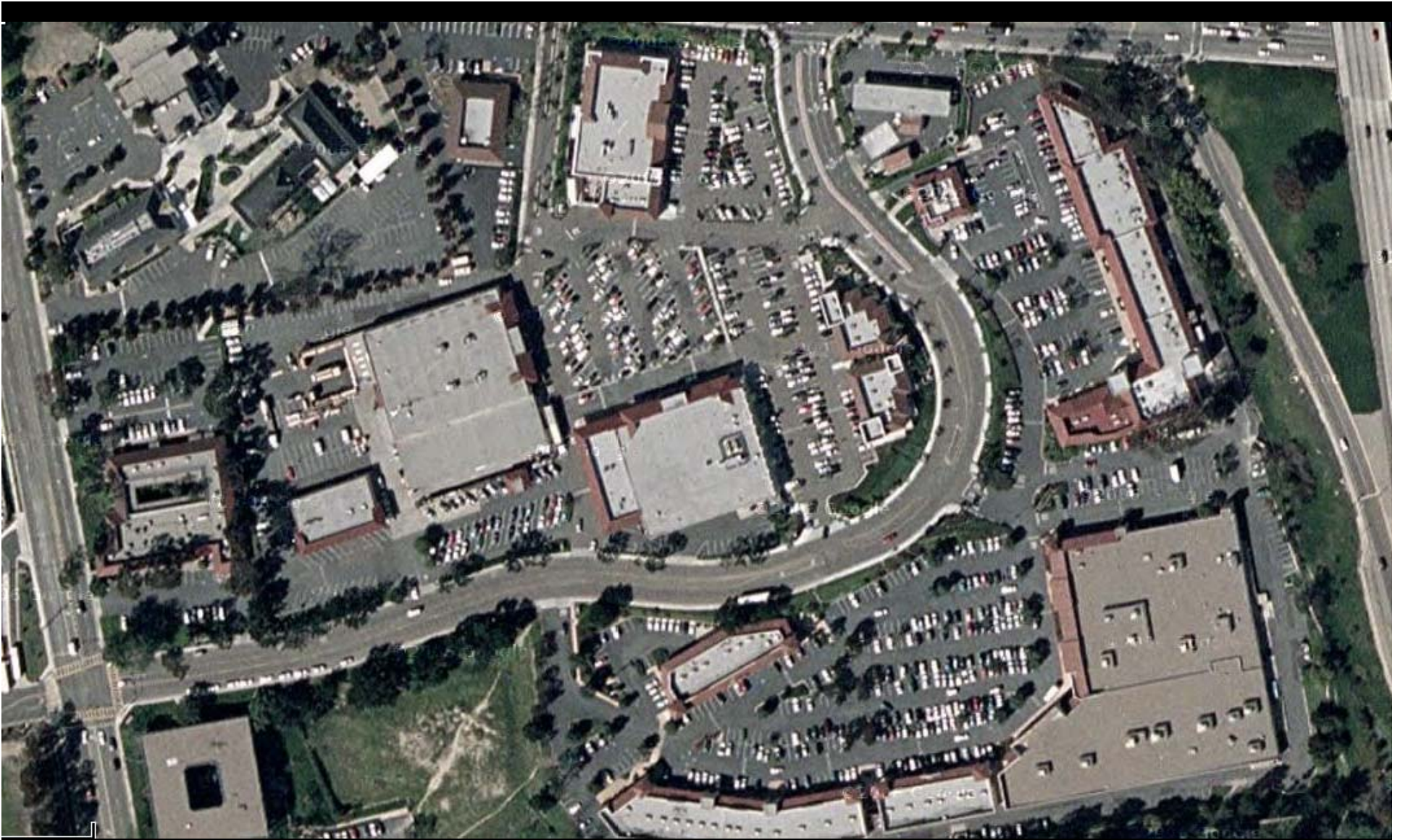




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All transportation systems have three basic elements:

Vehicles

Rights of way

Terminal capacity

Trains

Tracks

Stations

Airplanes

Sky

Airports

Ships

Oceans

Seaports

Cars

Roads

Parking spaces

Who pays for free parking?

Everyone but the motorist.

Zoning has three basic components

1. Permitted uses, such as residential, commercial and industrial zones
2. Permitted bulk—regulated by floor-area ratios, height limits, setbacks, and open-space requirements
3. Off-street parking requirements

Two Mistakes in Parking Policy

1. Keep curb parking free or cheap
2. Require lots of off-street parking

A parking requirement sampler

Barber shop	2 spaces per barber
Beauty shop	3 spaces per beautician
Nunnery	1 space per 10 nuns
Rectory	3 spaces per 4 clergymen
Sex novelty shop	3 spaces per 1,000 square feet
Gas station	1.5 spaces per fuel nozzle
Swimming pool	1 space per 2,500 gallons
Mausoleum	10 spaces per maximum number of interments in a one-hour period

FIGURE 1

SELECTED LAND USES WITH MINIMUM PARKING REQUIREMENTS

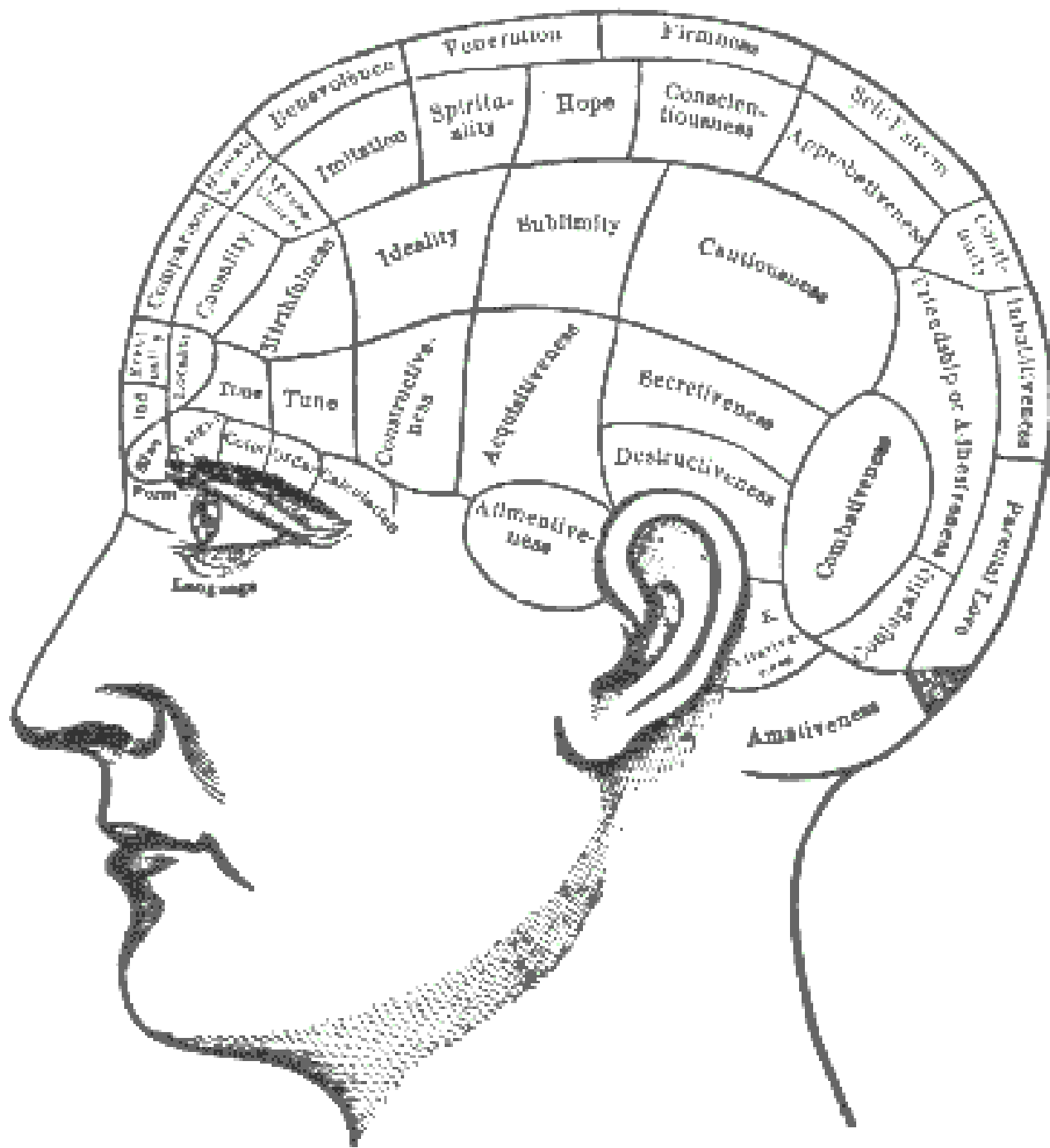
Accessory Use	Fire or Police Station	Plumbing and Heating Supply
Adult Entertainment	Fraternity or Sorority	Post Office
Airport	Funeral Home or Mortuary	Printing and Publishing
Amusement Center	Furniture Store	Produce Stand
Amusement Park	Gas Station, Full-Serve	Public Assembly Hall
Art Gallery	Gas Station, Self-Serve	Racetrack
Asylum or Sanitarium	Golf Course	Radio or Television Station
Athletic Field	Golf Course, Private	Railroad Switching Yard
Automatic Teller Machine	Golf Course, Par Three	Research and Development Facility
Auction House	Golf Driving Range	Recreational Vehicle Park
Auditorium	Government Building	Recycling Center
Auto Body Shop	Grocery Store	Rental of Equipment
Auto Parts Store	Group Home	Repair Shop
Auto Rental	Gunsmith	Residential, Houseboat
Automobile Repair	Gymnasium	Residential, Multifamily,
Automobile Sales	Hardware Store	One Bedroom
Bait Shop	Hazardous Waste Transfer Facility	Residential, Multifamily,
Bank	Headquarters, Corporate	Two Bedroom
Bank, Drive In	Health Club	Residential, Multifamily,
Bar or Tavern	Heliport	Three Bedroom
Barber Shop	Helistop	Residential, Multifamily,
Basketball Court	Home Occupation	Four Bedroom
Bed and Breakfast	Horse Stable	Residential, Multifamily, Studio
Beauty Parlor	Hospital	Residential, Single-Family,
Bicycle Repair	Hotel	Townhouse
Billiard Hall	Indoor Racquet Court	Residential, Single-Family
Bingo Parlor	Indoor Soccer Facility	Restaurant
Boarding House	Junkyard	Restaurant, Fast-Food
Bookstore	Kennel	Retail, Outdoor
Botanical Garden	Landfill	Retail Store
Bowling Alley	Laundromat	Rifle Range
Campground	Library	Sawmill
Camp	Liquor Store	School, Beauty
Cartage, Express, and Parcel Delivery	Locksmith	School, Dance
Car Wash, Full-Serve	Lumberyard	School, Elementary
Car Wash, Self-Serve	Machinery Sales	School, Junior High
Cemetery	Manufactured Housing	School, High School
Church or Synagogue	Manufacturing/Industrial	School, Trade
Club or Lodge	Marina	Self-Service Storage Facility
College or University	Massage Parlor	Shipping Port
Community Center	Mausoleum	Shopping Center
Consulate and Consular Office	Miniature Golf Course	Skating Rink
Contractor's Yard	Mining and Mineral Extraction	Slaughterhouse
Convalescent Center or	Motorcycle Service and Sales	Stadium
Nursing Home	Movie Theater	Stockyard
Convenience Store	Museum	Subsidized Housing
Convent	Newspaper Stand	Swimming Pool
Correctional Facility	Night Club	Taxi Stand
Crematorium	Nursery or Greenhouse	Telecommunications Facility
Dance Hall	Office	Tennis Club
Day Care Center	Office, Dental	Transit Terminal
Diet Clinic	Office, Medical	Travel Agency
Dormitory	Oil Change Shop	Truck Terminal
Drive-In Facility	Outdoor Storage	Ultra-Light Flight Park
Dry Cleaning	Outdoor Theater	Utility
Drug and Alcohol Treatment Center	Park	Veterinarian
Elderly Housing	Pawn Shop	Warehouse
Emergency Medical Services	Pet Shop	Wastewater Treatment
Employment Agency	Pet Cemetery	Zoo
Exterminator	Photography Studio	

Source: Planning Advisory Service (1991,3).

Table 3-3. Parking Requirements for the Afterlife

<u>Parking spaces required for funeral parlors</u>	<u>Number of cities</u>
1 per 100 sq. ft.	3
1 per 200 sq. ft.	1
1 per 250 sq. ft.	1
1 per 100 sq. ft. + 1 per dwelling unit	1
1 per 100 sq. ft. or 1 per 6 seats	1
1 per 5 seats or 1 per 35 sq. ft. seating area, + 1 per 400 sq. ft. other areas	1
1 per 3 seats	1
1 per 4 seats	1
5 + 1 per 5 seats in largest chapel	1
1 per 6 seats in chapel	1
1 per 3 seats + 1 per funeral vehicle	1
1 per 4 seats + 1 per funeral vehicle + 1 per employee	1
1 per 5 seats + 1 per funeral vehicle + 1 per dwelling unit	1
1 per 25 sq. ft. of parlor area	1
1 per 50 sq. ft. of parlor area	4
3 per parlor	2
4 per parlor	1
5 per parlor	3
15 + 5 per parlor over 3 parlors	1
5 per parlor or 1 per 4 seats	1
5 per parlor + 1 per funeral vehicle	2
8 per parlor + 1 per funeral vehicle	9
10 per parlor + 1 per funeral vehicle	4
5 per parlor + 1 per funeral vehicle + 1 per family on premises	1
5 minimum	1
30 minimum	1
1 per 4 persons of design capacity	1
No specific requirements	19
Total	66

Source: Planning Advisory Service (1971, 36).



ALL USES

a

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)

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; live-work 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)
bakery
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)





1720

NO
PARKING

NO
PARKING







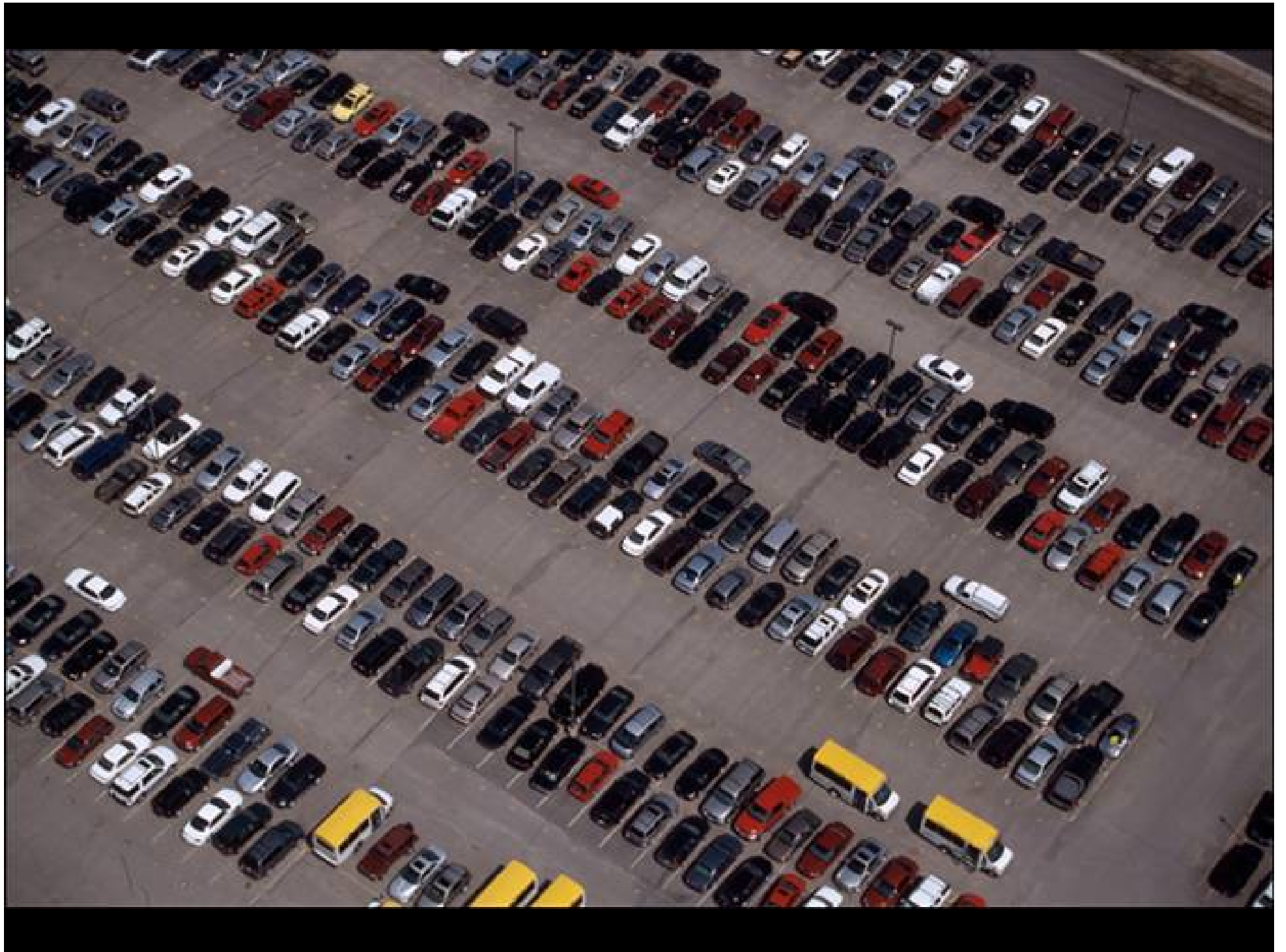
Off-street parking requirements waste resources in two ways

1. Directly, by increasing the land and capital devoted to parking
2. Indirectly, by increasing automobile use and urban sprawl.



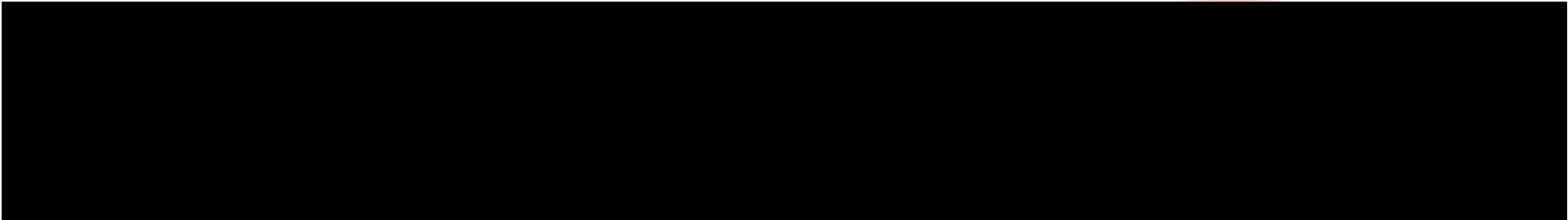












A Great Planning Disaster

- Skew travel choices
- Distort urban form
- Degrade urban design
- Raise housing costs
- Impede reuse of older buildings
- Limit homeownership
- Damage the urban economy
- Harm the environment

How much does free parking cost?

The total subsidy for off-street parking in 2002 was between \$127 billion and \$374 billion.

This subsidy amounted to between 1.2 and 3.6 percent of total national income.

In 2002, the federal government spent \$231 billion for Medicare, and \$349 billion for national defense.

A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong gives it a superficial appearance of being right.

Thomas Paine

“The information needed to *understand* the problem depends upon one’s idea for *solving* it. . . . The problem can’t be defined until the solution has been found.”

Mel Webber

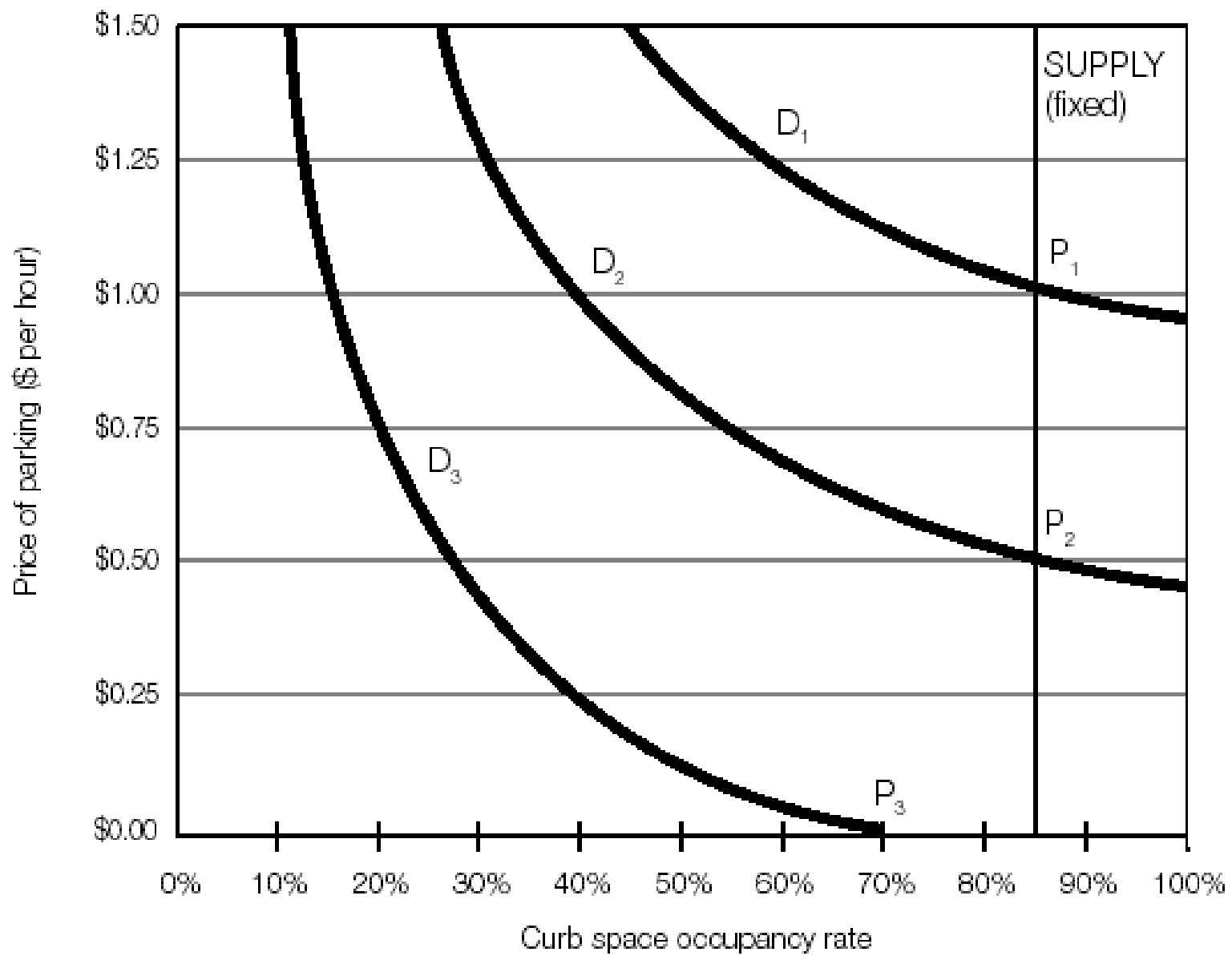
Redwood City parking ordinance

To accomplish the goal of managing the supply of parking and to make it reasonably available when and where needed, a target occupancy rate of eighty-five percent (85%) is hereby established.

The Parking Manager shall survey the average occupancy for each parking area in the Downtown Meter Zone that has parking meters. Based on the survey results, the Parking Manager shall adjust the rates up or down in twenty-five cent (\$0.25) intervals to seek to achieve the target occupancy rate.

Revenues generated from on-street and off-street parking within the Downtown Meter Zone boundaries shall be accounted for separately from other City funds and may be used only . . . within or for the benefit of the Downtown Core Meter Zone.

Figure 12-1. The Market Price of Curb Parking





Performance-based prices

Performance-based prices adjust over time to maintain a few vacant spaces.

The goal is to keep about 85 percent of the parking spaces occupied all the time.

About one curb space is vacant on each side of each block so that everyone can see that convenient parking is available everywhere.

FIGURE 13-1 PRICES OF CURB AND OFF-STREET PARKING IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

(for parking one hour at noon on a weekday)

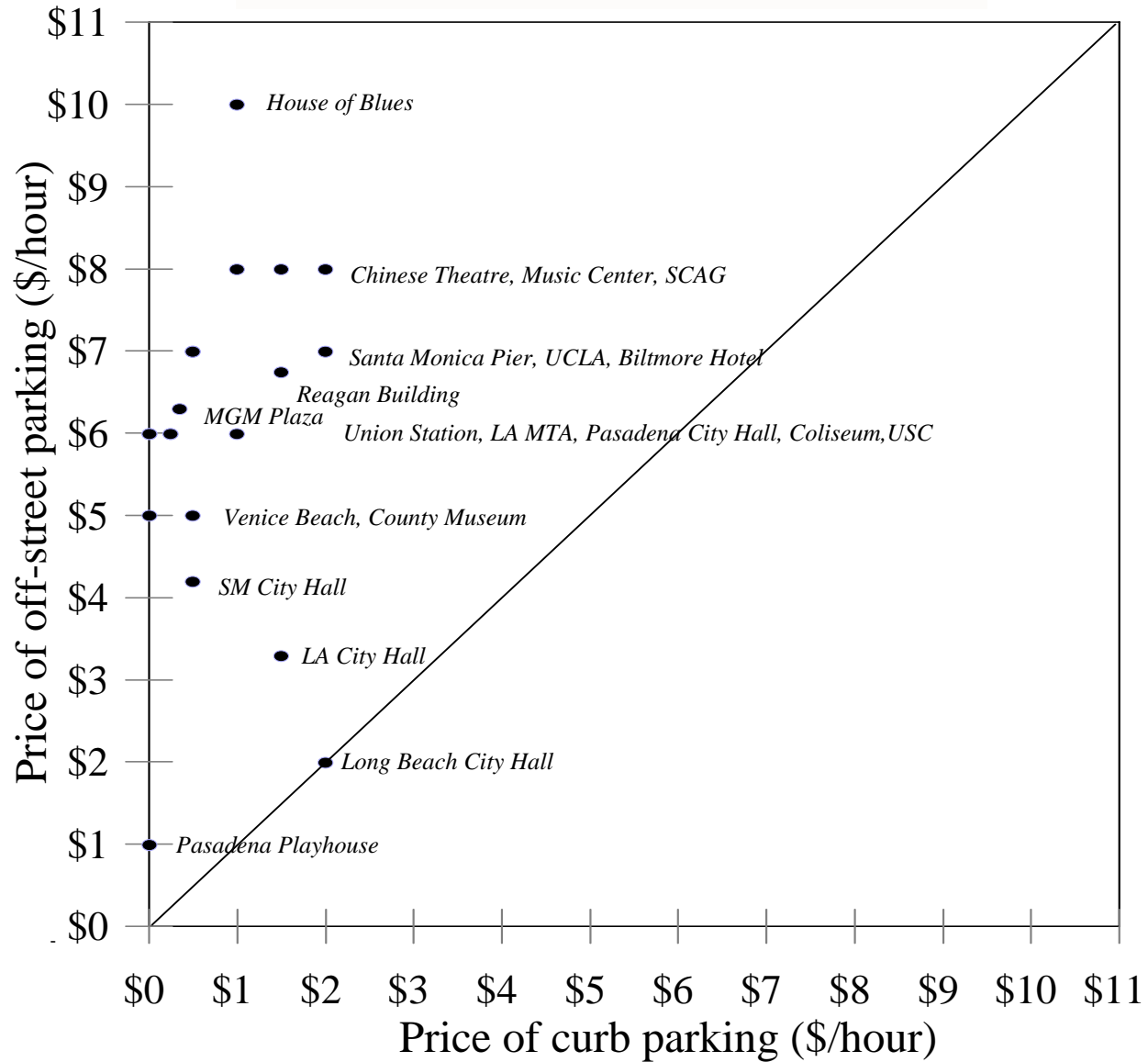
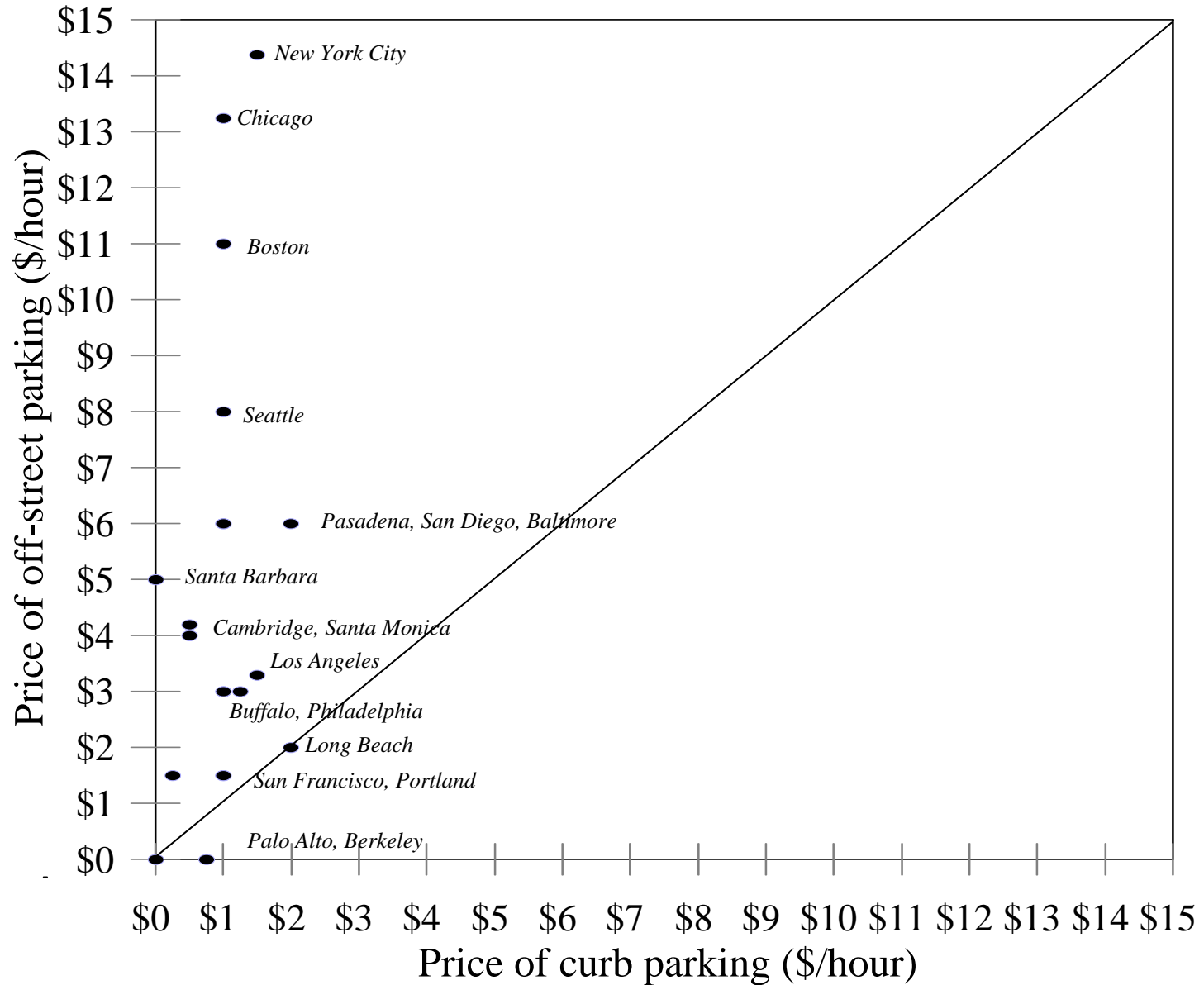


FIGURE 13-2
PRICES OF CURB AND OFF-STREET PARKING
 (for parking one hour at noon at city hall on a weekday)



Cruising for underpriced curb parking

Suppose you want to park for 1 hour.

Curb parking is 50¢ an hour.

Off-street parking is \$2 an hour.

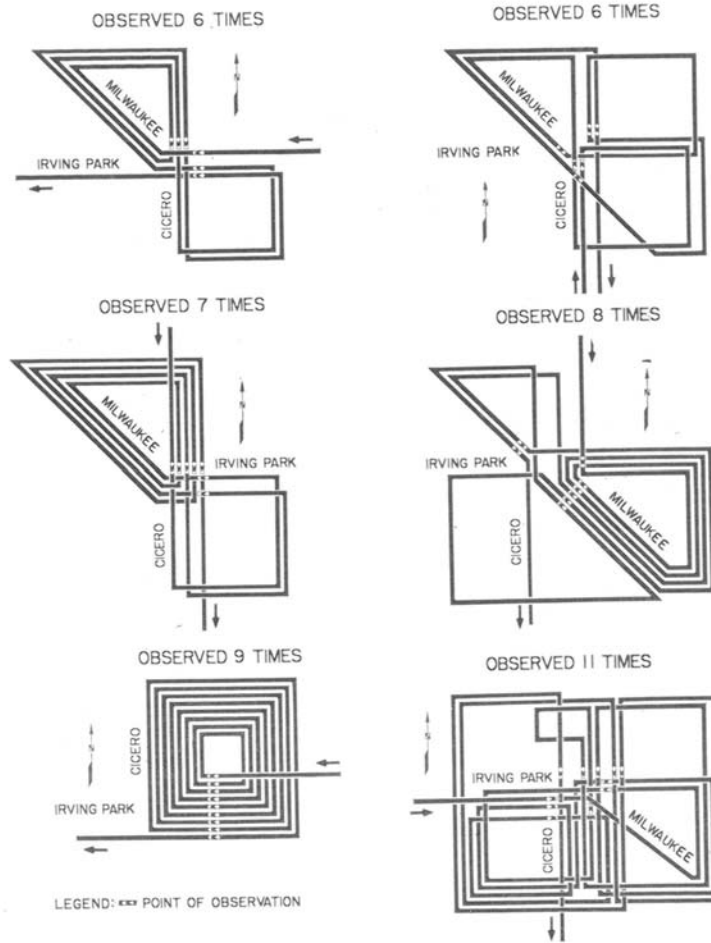
How long would you be willing to cruise for curb parking rather than pay the higher price for off-street parking?

TWENTIETH CENTURY CRUISING

<u>Year</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Share of traffic cruising</u> (percent)	<u>Average search time</u> (minutes)
1927	Detroit (1)	19%	
1927	Detroit (2)	34%	
1933	Washington		8.0
1960	New Haven	17%	
1965	London (1)		6.1
1965	London (2)		3.5
1965	London (3)		3.6
1977	Freiburg	74%	6.0
1984	Jerusalem		9.0
1985	Cambridge	30%	11.5
1993	Cape Town		12.2
1993	New York (1)	8%	7.9
1993	New York (2)		10.2
1993	New York (3)		13.9
1997	San Franciscoc		6.5
2001	Sydney		6.5
Average		30%	8.1

ROUTES OF CERTAIN CRUISING VEHICLES IN THE VICINITY OF
CICERO, MILWAUKEE, AND IRVING PARK CONSTRUCTED FROM
OBSERVATIONS MADE ON THE SIX APPROACHES TO THE
INTERSECTION OF THESE STREETS

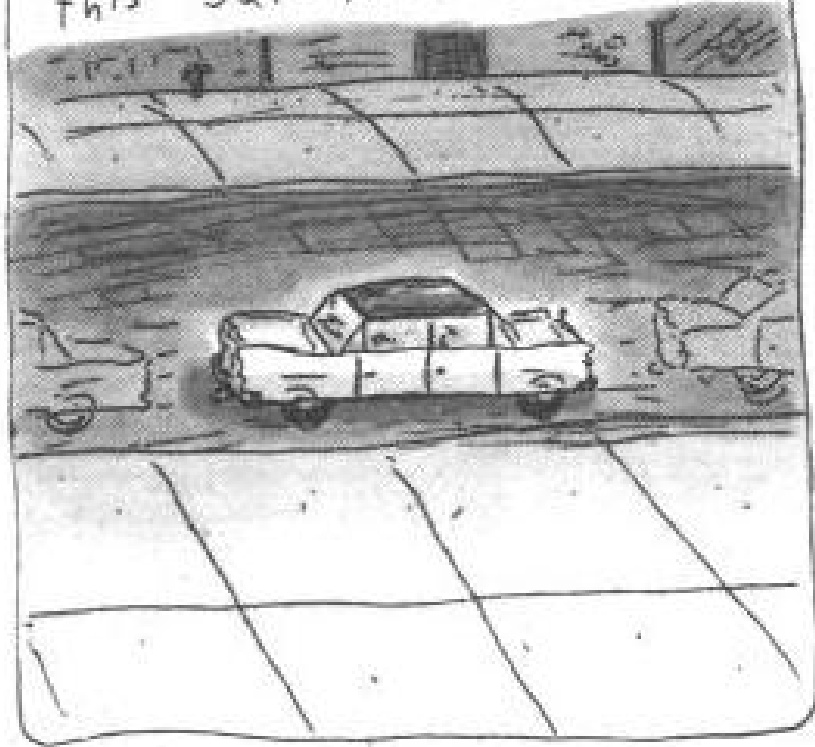
7:00 P.M. TO 9:30 P.M.—THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1939



From the Report: "A Plan to Relieve Traffic Congestion in the Portage Park Retail Shopping Center." A Survey by City of Chicago, Chicago Motor Club, Chicago Surface Lines, April 1939

FIGURE 4—Observed Routes of Cruising Vehicles

PARKING SPOT for
sale. West 79th Street,
Manhattan. Must vacate
this Sat. A.M. Box 927.



Halley's Parking
Place. Appears every
76 years.



Cruising in Westwood Village

Suppose you want to park in Westwood Village for 1 hour

Curb parking is 50¢ an hour.

Off-street parking is \$4.50 an hour.

How long would you be willing to cruise for
curb parking rather than pay the higher
price for off-street parking?

**PUBLIC
AUTO PARK**

\$1.50 First 20 Min. \$2.00
Ea. 20 Min.
\$8.00 Maximum

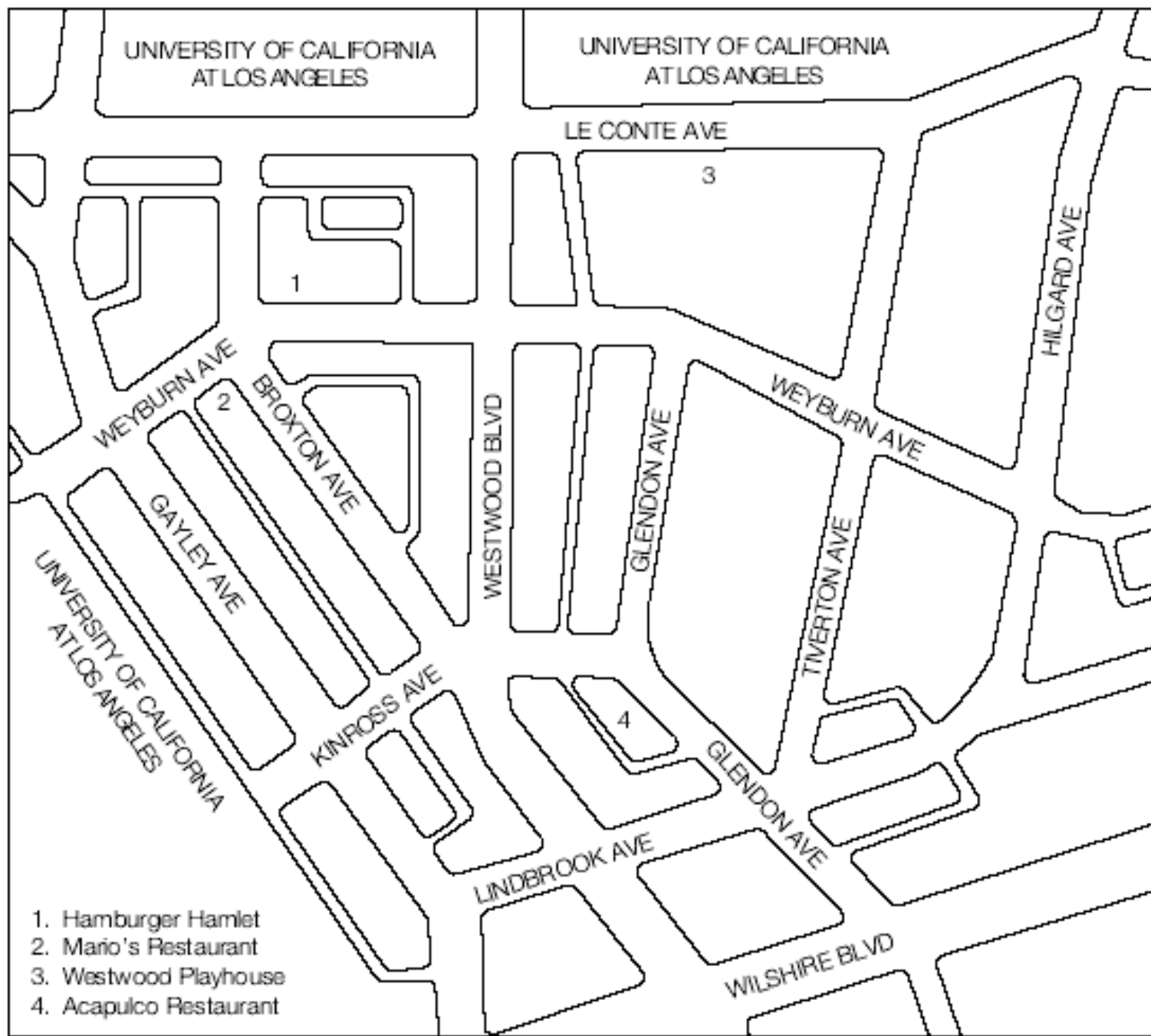
\$4.00 Flat rate
After 5 pm

(Plus 10% City Parking Tax)



VALET PARKING SERVICE
(800) 794-PARK





UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES

LE CONTE AVE

3

1

WEYBURN AVE

2

BROXTON AVE

WESTWOOD BLVD

GLENDON AVE

WEYBURN AVE

HILGARD AVE

GAYLEY AVE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES

KINROSS AVE

TIVERTON AVE

4

GLENDON AVE

LINDBROOK AVE

WILSHIRE BLVD

- 1. Hamburger Hamlet
- 2. Mario's Restaurant
- 3. Westwood Playhouse
- 4. Acapulco Restaurant

TABLE 14-1
SEARCH TIME FOR CURB PARKING IN WESTWOOD VILLAGE

Hour	Price of curb parking	Search time (minutes)				Average
		Acapulco Restaurant	Hamburger Hamlet	Mario's Restaurant	Westwood Playhouse	
4pm-5pm	\$0.50	6.6	5.7	5.4	7.2	6.2
5pm-6pm	\$0.50	7.6	6.8	7.6	9.0	7.8
6pm-7pm	\$0.00	8.7	9.8	8.5	10.6	9.4
7pm-8pm	\$0.00	8.3	9.2	10.0	11.1	9.7
Average		7.8	7.9	7.9	9.5	8.3

Note: Cruising times are the average of 10 observations at each site during each hour
 The price of curb parking was 50 cents per hour before 6pm, and free after 6pm.
 The price of off-street parking was \$1 per hour before 6pm, and \$2 per entry after 6pm.

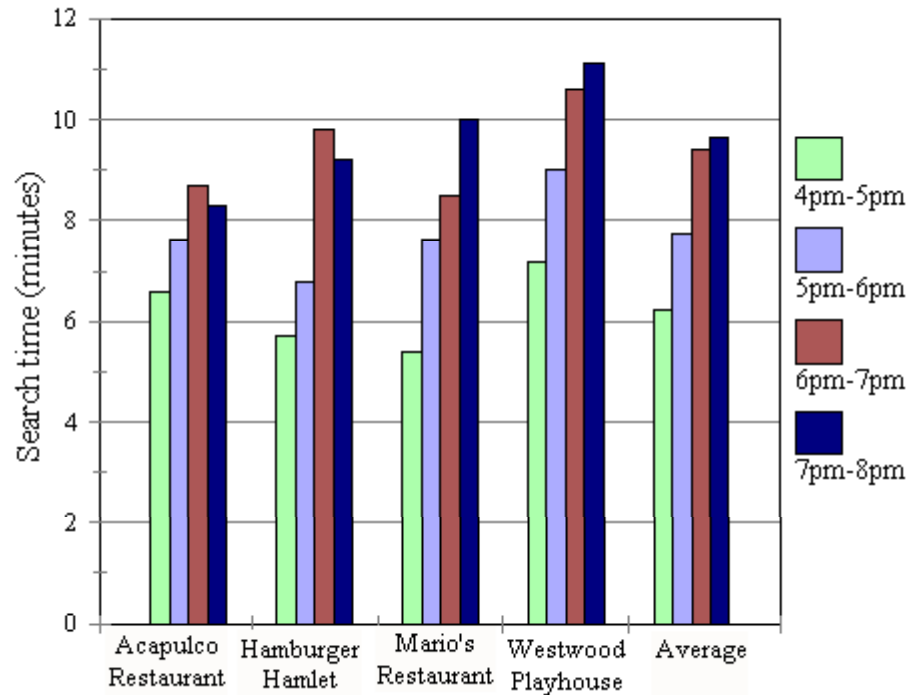


TABLE 14-2

A DAY OF CRUISING IN WESTWOOD VILLAGE

Hour	Average search time (minutes)	Parking turnover per meter (cars)	Search time per meter (minutes)	Total search time (hours)	Cruising distance per parking (VMT)	Cruising distance per meter (VMT)	Total cruising distance (VMT)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)=(2)x(3)	(5)	(6)	(7)=(3)x(6)	(8)=(7)x470
8am-9am	0.0	1.9	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0
9am-10am	0.0	2.3	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0
10am-11am	0.9	1.2	1.1	8	0.2	0.2	113
11am-noon	2.0	2.1	4.2	33	0.3	0.6	296
noon-1pm	4.4	1.5	6.6	52	0.6	0.9	423
1pm-2pm	3.5	1.8	6.3	49	0.4	0.7	338
2pm-3pm	4.1	1.4	5.7	45	0.5	0.7	329
3pm-4pm	3.4	1.0	3.4	27	0.5	0.5	235
4pm-5pm	6.2	1.2	7.4	58	0.9	1.1	508
5pm-6pm	7.7	1.3	10.0	78	1.2	1.6	733
6pm-7pm	9.4	0.3	2.8	22	1.4	0.4	197
7pm-8pm	9.7	0.7	6.8	53	1.4	1.0	461
Average	3.3	1.4	4.5	35	0.5	0.6	303
Total	--	17	54	426	--	7.7	3,633

Figure 14-2
Curb Space Occupancy Rates
and Search Times

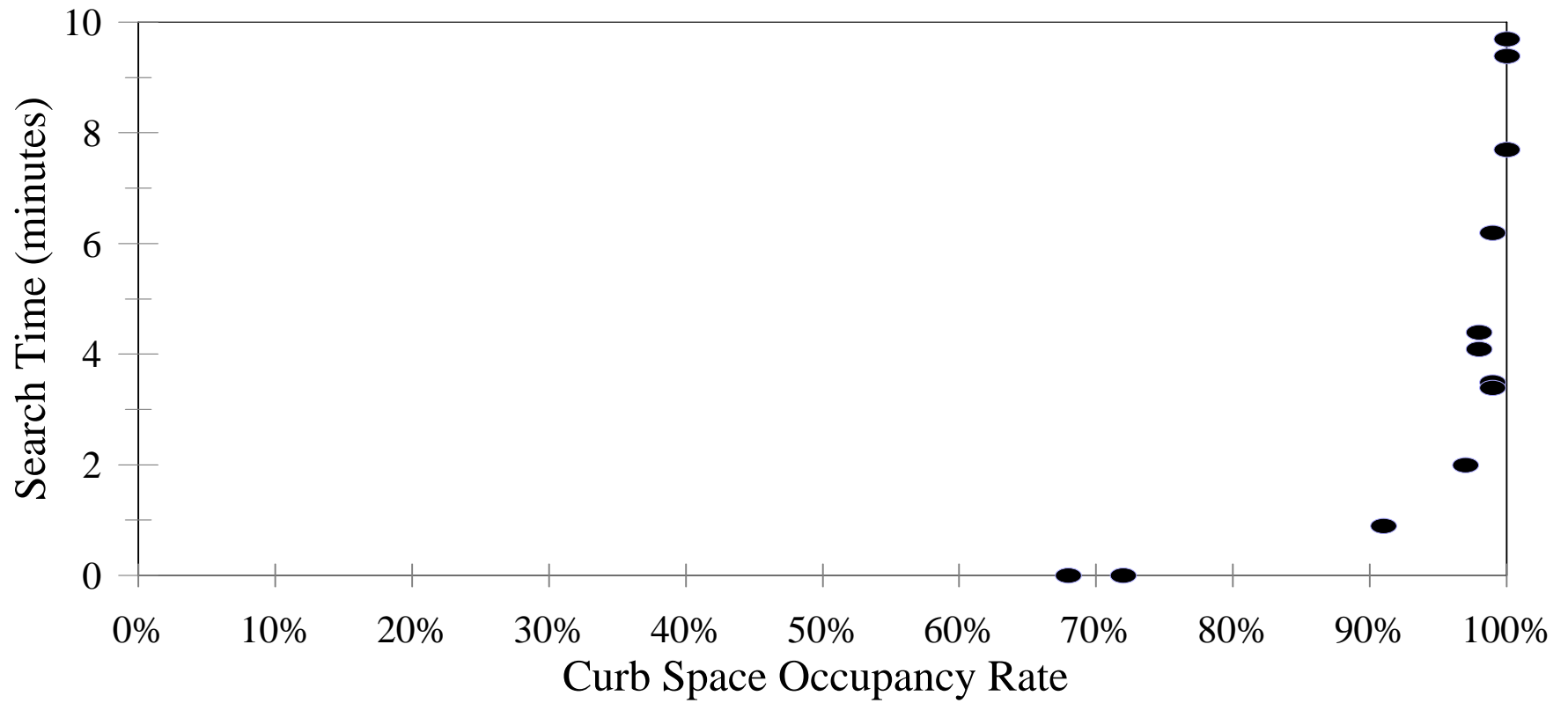
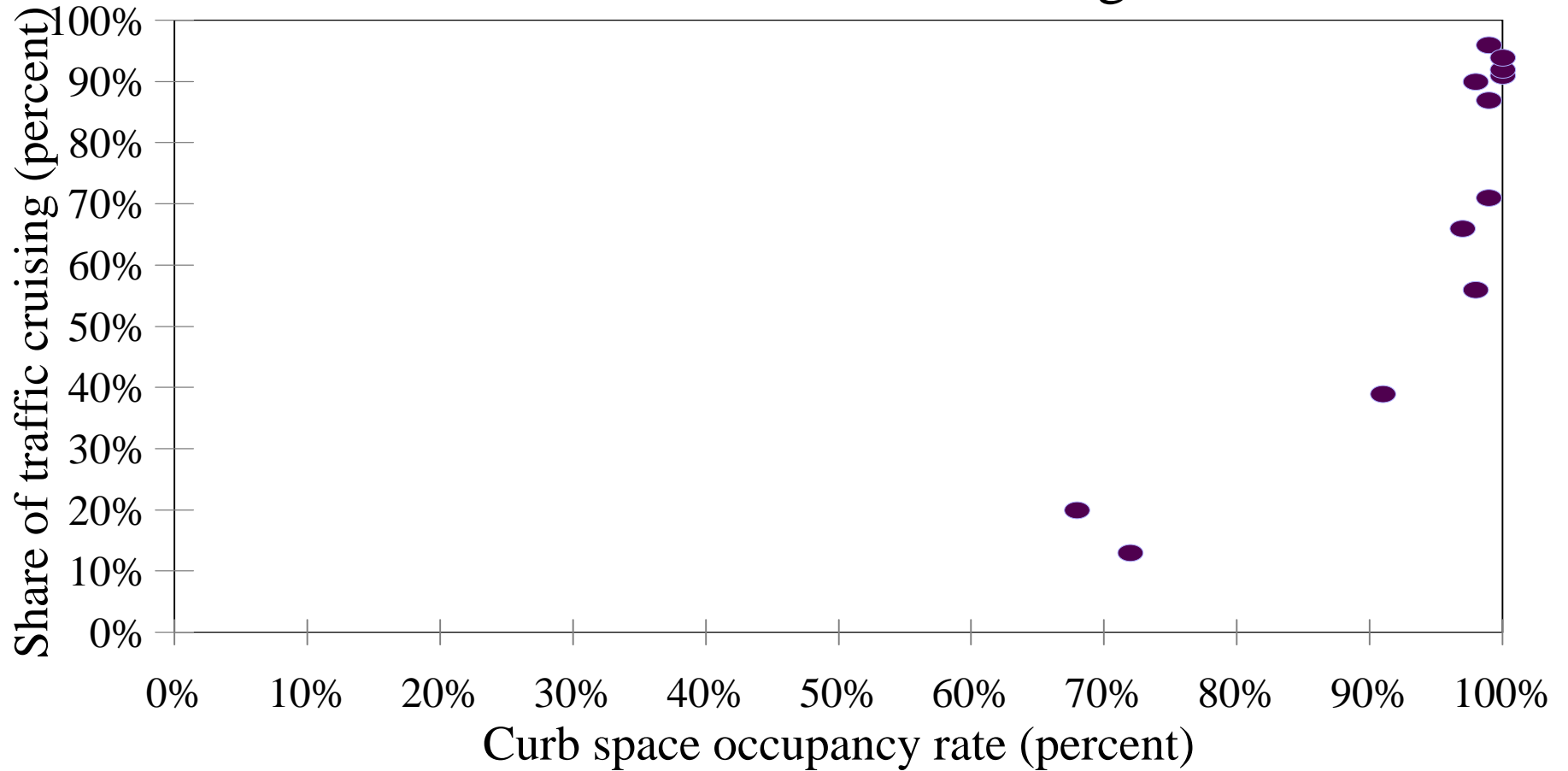


Figure 14-3
Curb Space Occupancy Rates
and Share of Traffic Cruising



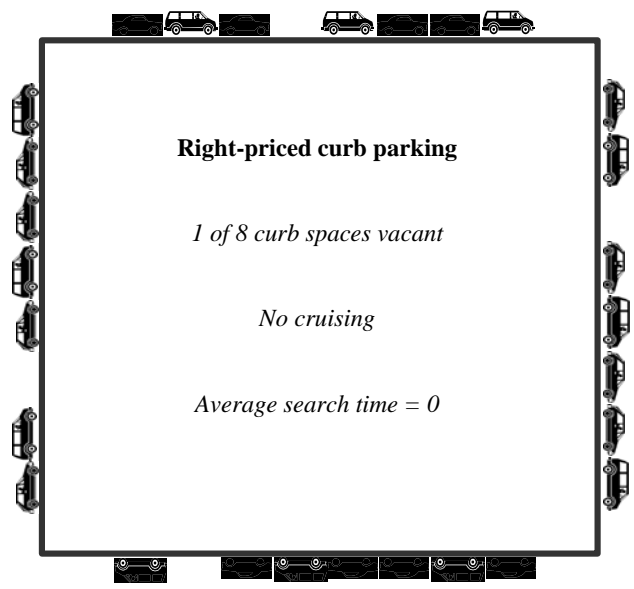
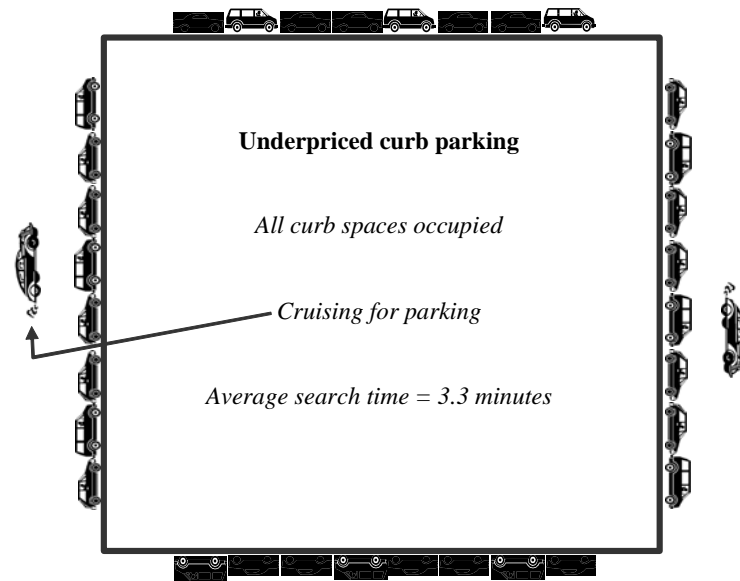
Cruising creates excess vehicle travel

1. It takes 3 minutes to find a curb space, and the turnover rate is 10 cars per space per day.
2. Cruising 3 minutes for parking at a curb space 10 times a day creates 30 vehicle-minutes of travel per curb space per day.
3. Cruising for 30 minutes at 10 miles an hour creates 5 VMT per curb space per day.
4. Cruising 5 VMT a day for 500 spaces creates 2,500VMT per day.
5. Cruising 2,500 VMT a day for 365 days creates 912,500 VMT per year.

How far is 912,500 VMT?

- 36 trips around the earth (25,000 miles)
- 2 round trips to the moon (239,000 miles)
- At 10 miles an hour, it would take one person 10 years, 24 hours a day, to drive 912,500 miles.





Turning Small Change into Big Changes



1978 Plan for Old Pasadena

“The area’s been going downhill for years.”

“It’s a bunch of dirty old buildings.”

“It’s filthy.”

“It’s Pasadena’s sick child.”

“The area is unsafe.”





Old Pasadena Now



Parking Problems in Old Pasadena

- Employees and shop owners parked at the curb
- Merchants opposed meters because they feared customers would stay away
- Pasadena had no money to pay for public infrastructure in Old Pasadena

Three Reforms in Parking Policy

1. Charge the right price for curb parking.

The lowest price that will leave one or two vacant spaces on each block—performance-based pricing

2. Return the meter revenue to the neighborhoods that generate it.

Revenue return will make performance-based prices for curb parking politically popular.

3. Reduce or remove off-street parking requirements. Do not require additional parking when a building's use changes.

Freedom from parking requirements will allow higher density and new uses for old buildings.

Parking meters with revenue return

- City of Pasadena offered to return all parking meter revenue to Old Pasadena
- Merchants and property owners immediately agreed to install meters
- 690 meters operate until midnight, and on Sunday
- Meters yield \$1.2 million a year for Old Pasadena's 15 blocks, about \$80,000 per block.

“The only reason meters went into Old Pasadena in the first place was because the city agreed all the money would stay in Old Pasadena. We’ve come a long way. This might seem silly to some people, but if not for our parking meters, its hard to imagine that we’d have the kind of success we’re enjoying. They’ve made a huge difference. At first it was a struggle to get people to agree with the meters. But when we figured out that the money would stay here, that the money would be used to improve the amenities, it was an easy sell.”

Marilyn Buchanan, Chair,
Old Pasadena Parking Meter Zone Advisory Board











TIFFANY & CO.

TIFFANY & CO.

DO NOT
BLOCK
INTERSECTION

De Lacey

CAUTIONAL
CROSSING
OK

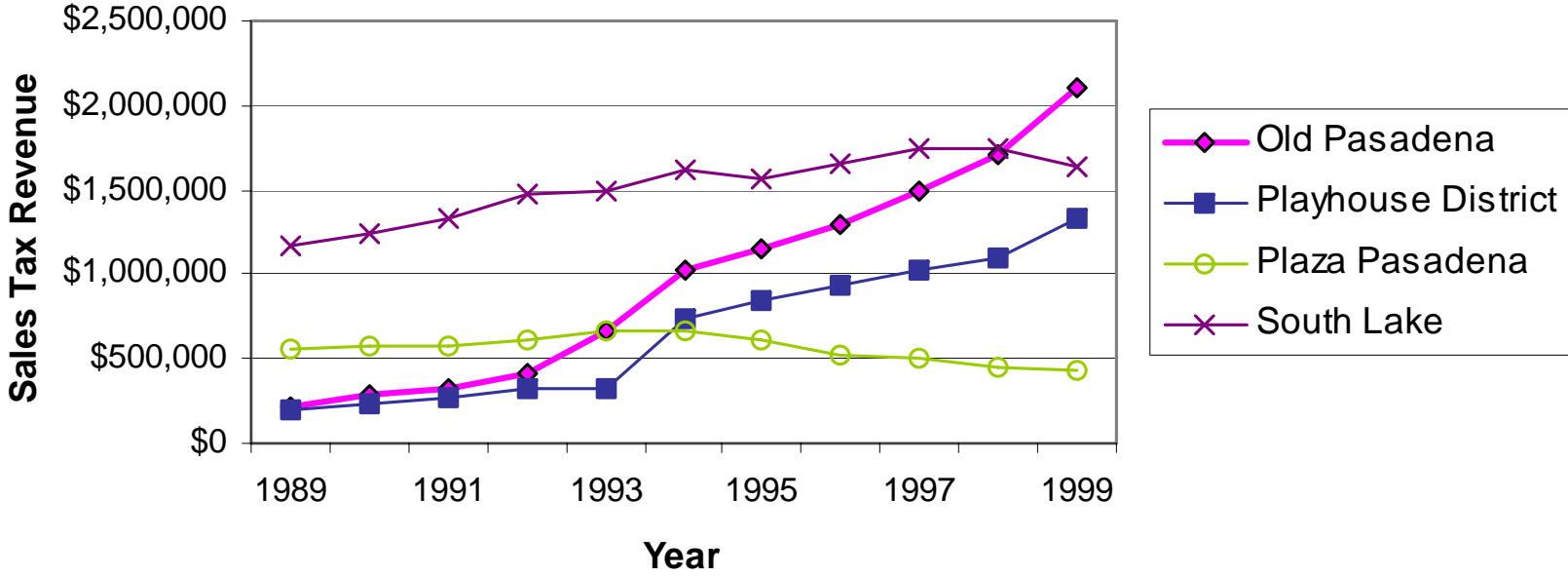




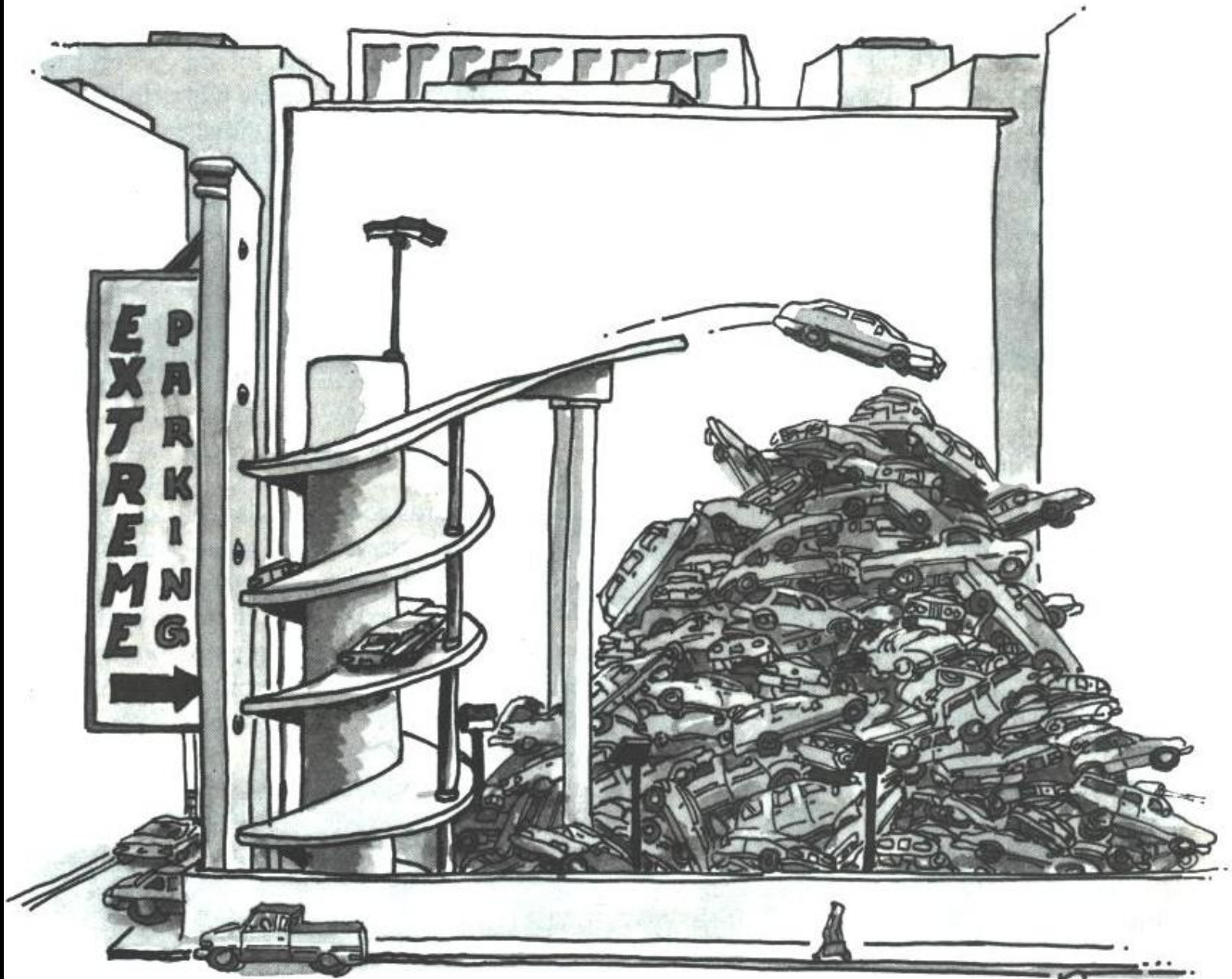
“This place, it’s perfect, really. They’ve kept the buildings and the streets well. That makes it so attractive. People are walking around because they like the way it looks and feels. It’s something you just don’t see in Los Angeles. As a driver, I don’t mind paying more for what you have here. I tell you what: For this, I will pay.”

Shopper interviewed by *Los Angeles Times*

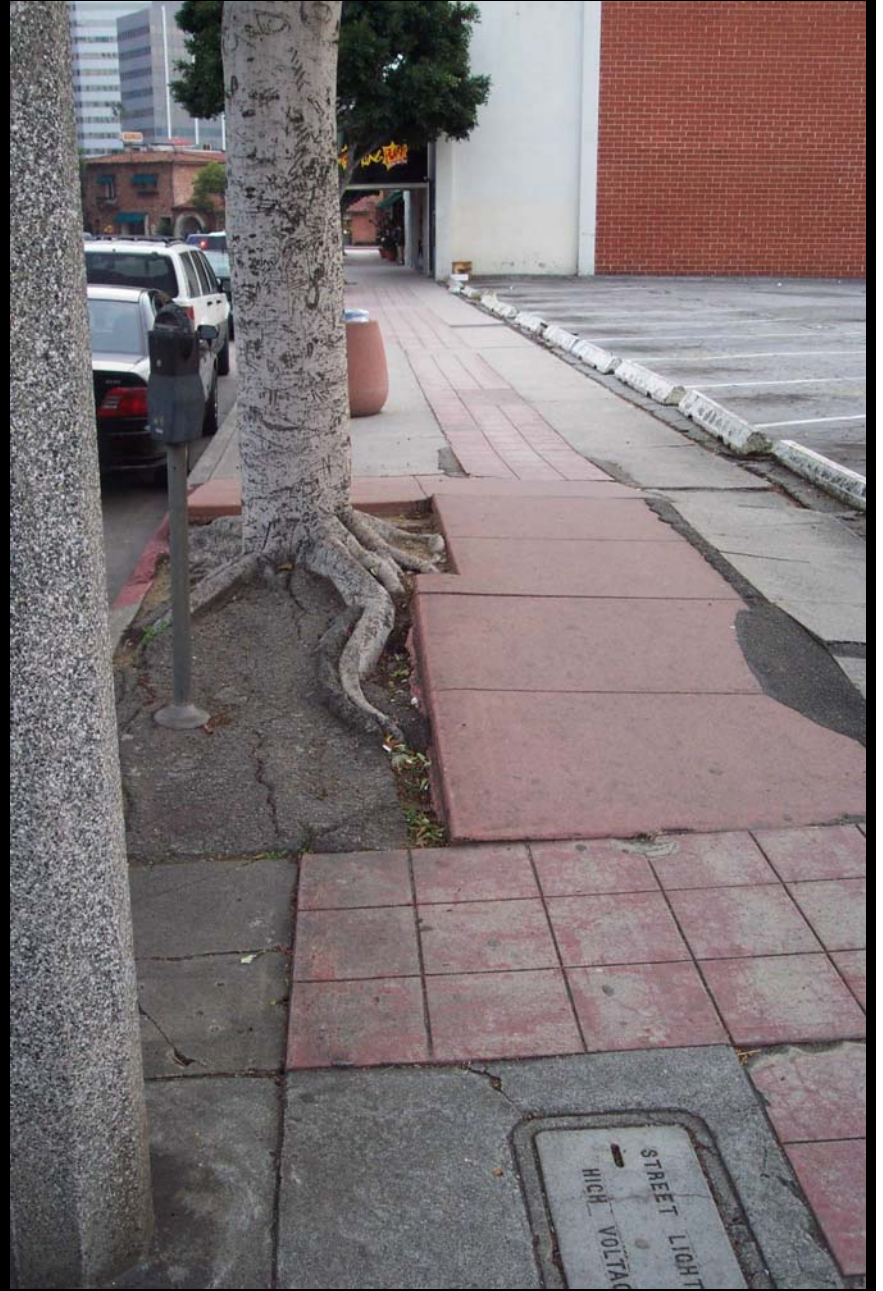
Pasadena Retail Sales Tax Revenue











**A NEW
OLD PASADENA
COMING SOON**

STREET AND ALLEY WAY IMPROVEMENTS:

LIGHTING

REPAVING

TRASH RECEPTACLES

SIGNS AND BENCHES

DIRECTORY MAPS

TREES AND GRATES

NEWSRACKS

MAINTENANCE

SAFETY

**YOUR METER MONEY IS
MAKING A DIFFERENCE**

THE OLD PASADENA RENAISSANCE CONTINUES

CITY OF PASADENA

Redwood City parking ordinance

To accomplish the goal of managing the supply of parking and to make it reasonably available when and where needed, a target occupancy rate of eighty-five percent (85%) is hereby established.

The Parking Manager shall survey the average occupancy for each parking area in the Downtown Meter Zone that has parking meters. Based on the survey results, the Parking Manager shall adjust the rates up or down in twenty-five cent (\$0.25) intervals to seek to achieve the target occupancy rate.

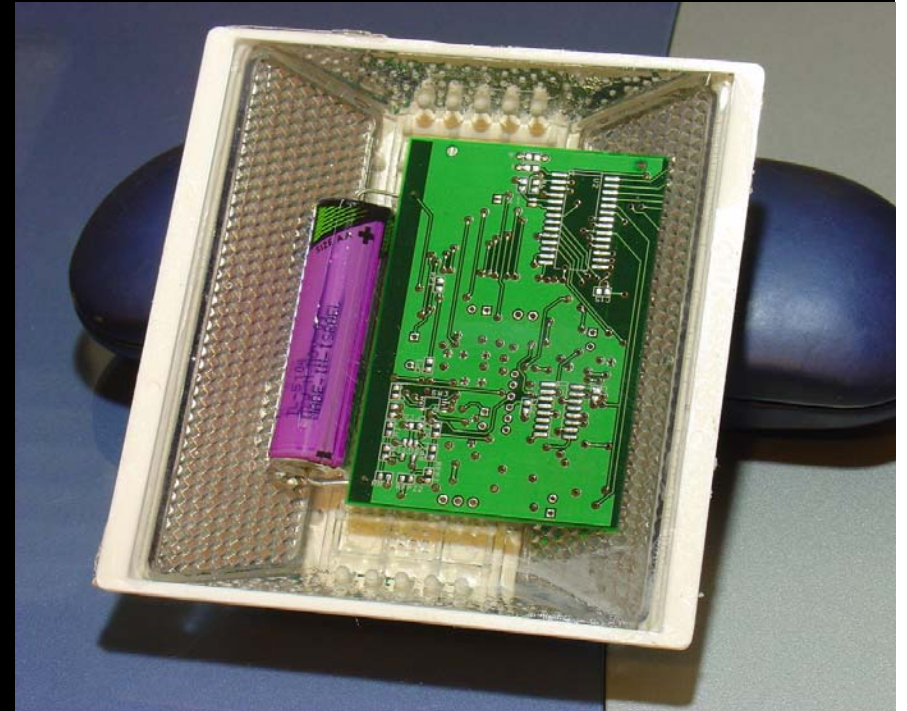
Revenues generated from on-street and off-street parking within the Downtown Meter Zone boundaries shall be accounted for separately from other City funds and may be used only . . . within or for the benefit of the Downtown Core Meter Zone.







Parking occupancy sensors





What about cities that already have parking meters? They won't want to offer the existing meter revenue to BIDs.

Parking Increment Finance

1. The City continues to receive the current meter revenue.
2. The City splits any *increases* in meter revenue with the Business Improvement District.
3. The revenue stream creates a local incentive to increase the number of meters, the meter rates, the hours of meter operation, and enforcement.
4. Both the BID and the City get new revenue

Benefits of right-priced curb parking

Traffic congestion

Air pollution

Energy conservation

Sustainable transportation

Economic development

Jobs

Global warming

First Future

1. Change nothing.
2. Keep curb parking free or cheap.
3. Require ample off-street parking.



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THEATRE

May 6th - 8th
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(213) 365-3500
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TOW
NO PARKING









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**CONGESTION
AHEAD**

**NEXT 20
YEARS**

Second Future

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



Parking Benefit Districts

1. Performance-based prices will improve curb parking.
2. The parking revenue will pay for neighborhood public improvements.
3. The neighborhood public improvements increase the desire to charge for curb parking.





















Effects of building job-adjacent housing on former parking lots

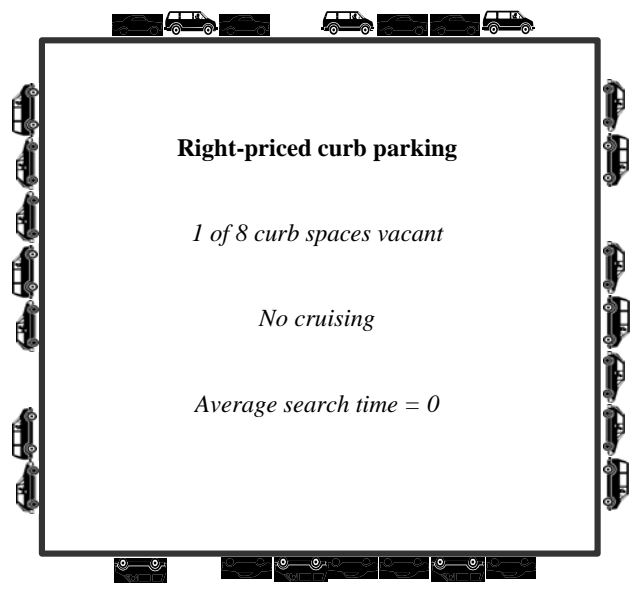
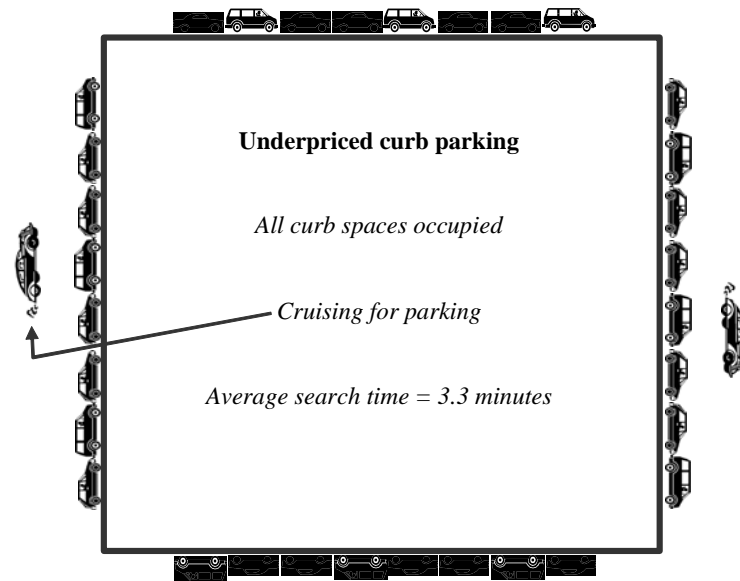
Increase housing supply

Reduce time spent commuting

Reduce spending on cars and fuel

Reduce traffic congestion and air pollution

Maybe even slow down climate change



A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defense of custom. But the tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.

Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*





The High Cost of Free Parking

DONALD SHOUP