

**NYC DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION TESTIMONY
HEARING BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL
COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION
March 5, 2015**

Good morning Chairman Rodriguez and members of the Transportation Committee. My name is Polly Trottenberg and I am the Commissioner of the New York City Department of Transportation (DOT). Today I am joined by Joseph Jarrin, Deputy Commissioner for Finance, Contracting, and Program Management, and Jeff Lynch, Assistant Commissioner of Intergovernmental and Community Affairs.

On behalf of Mayor de Blasio, I am glad to be here to discuss DOT's fiscal year 2016 (FY16) Preliminary Budget. Before I start discussing the budget, I want to thank Chairman Rodriguez and the members of Transportation Committee for your continued partnership. Together we were able to accomplish so much in 2014 including having the City's lowest number of pedestrian fatalities in recorded history.

Now, I would like to turn to the FY16 preliminary budget, which reflects the Mayor's core values of being fiscally responsible, progressive and honest. This budget builds on DOT's many accomplishments from the last year, including our work on Vision Zero, maintaining a state of good repair on our roads and bridges and at our ferry terminals, upgrading street lighting, modernizing street permit applications, and building out the bike and Select Bus Service (SBS) network to provide better transportation options for all New Yorkers.

This Committee knows well and has been a partner on so many Vision Zero initiatives including lowering the speed limit to 25 mph, expanding speed camera placement in school zones throughout the City, and redesigning our streets to be safer. Just two weeks ago, DOT and NYPD released our Borough Pedestrian Safety Action Plans. These plans thoroughly analyze the unique conditions of each New York City borough and pinpoint characteristics of pedestrian fatalities and severe injuries on that borough's streets.

The plans then laid out a comprehensive and data-driven approach for addressing the most challenging corridors and intersections that account for the most pedestrian fatalities and severe injuries in each of the five boroughs. These plans recommend a series of actions including safety engineering improvements, targeted enforcement, and expanded education efforts that will guide our work in 2015 and beyond.

In 2014, DOT was at work on many of our roads and bridges. In the Bronx, we completed the first phase of the Fordham Plaza Roadway reconstruction. In Queens, we revamped key portions of College Point Boulevard and 32nd Avenue. DOT also resurfaced 1,000 lanes miles of roads citywide and filled nearly 500,000 potholes. I want to thank our hard working crews for the tremendous work they do on our roadways.

In November, we initiated the reconstruction of the Harlem River Drive Viaduct over 127th Street. This \$150 million project will add at least 75 years of life to the structure through a full replacement, and the new viaduct and roadway will be designed to improve traffic safety and flow. Following Super Storm Sandy, DOT oversaw repairs to the passenger elevator and escalators at the St. George Ferry Terminal. We completed repairs to several Ferry Maintenance Facility piers, replaced two NYPD trailers and completed significant electrical and mechanical system repairs. In addition, we continue to build out and expand Wi-Fi service in the ferry terminals and on board the ferry to enhance the experience for our riders.

DOT is retrofitting all of our street lights with LED technology that will enhance safety, help reduce our carbon footprint, decrease energy use, and save money for the taxpayer. Last year, DOT replaced all 1,800 lights in Central Park, all 625 lights along the Eastern Parkway service roads, and all the cobra head lights on the FDR Drive with new LED lighting.

Last month, the American Council for Technology and Industry awarded DOT its 2015 “Igniting Innovation Awards” for our NYCStreets Permit Management System. This new application enables utilities and contractors to apply for over 400,000 street excavation permits per year online. This innovative system is helping to speed up the permit process, reduce burdens on small businesses all while improving our safety oversight over ongoing excavation projects.

DOT had great successes last year on the continued expansion of our bike and SBS networks – both of which are important priorities of Mayor de Blasio. This past fiscal year we installed over 60 miles of bike lanes, including five miles of protected lanes. With Citi Bike, DOT and Motivate are working to ultimately improve and double the size of the largest bike share program in North America to more than 700 stations and 12,000 bikes by the end of 2017. The program will stretch further into Brooklyn and Harlem, and will bring bikes to Queens for the first time this year.

DOT expanded our SBS program by upgrading the M60 route along 125th Street in Manhattan to LaGuardia Airport. Since last May, bus riders have seen their travel times along this route improve by up to 14%. We started planning on four other SBS routes last year: Woodhaven Boulevard, Flushing-Jamaica on Main Street, Utica Avenue, and 86th Street.

Despite our many exciting accomplishments, we do have some challenges ahead of us in 2015:

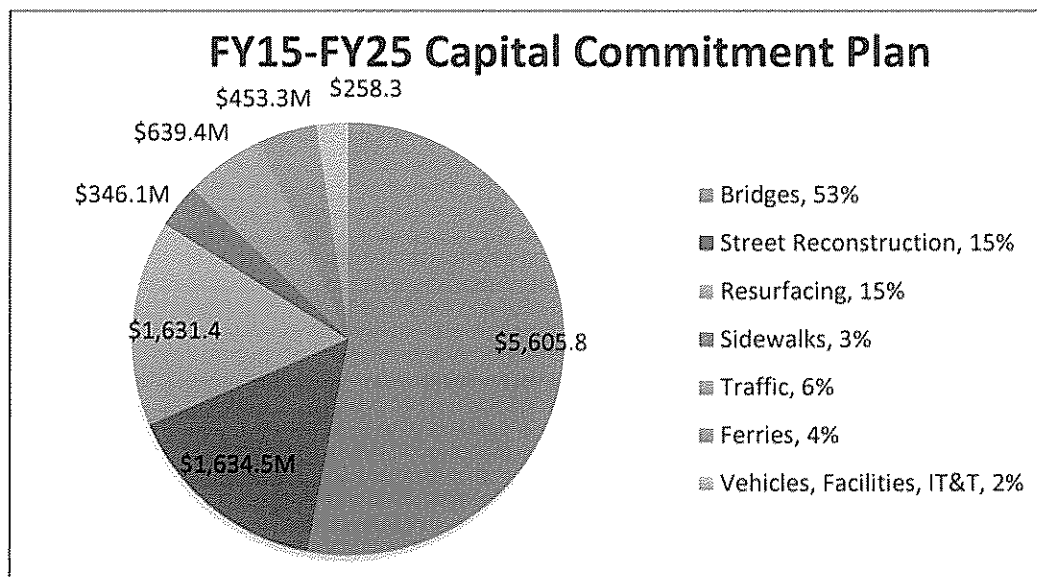
- Continuing the momentum of Vision Zero,
- Ramping up community engagement on Vision Zero, SBS and Citi Bike,
- Improving project delivery and,
- Addressing the critical capital needs for our infrastructure.

Last week in Albany, the Mayor testified about the importance of the City and State working together to meet our pressing infrastructure needs. For New York City to create jobs and opportunities for our residents, and maintain its competitiveness with other leading global cities, we need to invest in our infrastructure. That is why over the last few months, the key capital agencies, including DOT, have been working together with OMB and City Planning to craft a 10-year capital plan that prudently invests in the City's vital infrastructure over the long term.

The 10-year plan released last month provides an early look at our long-term capital budget needs. We look forward to the Mayor's release of the April Plan, which will present a more complete picture of our 10-year capital investment. DOT's proposed capital budget for FY16, which includes \$10.6 billion for fiscal years 2015 through 2025, will allow DOT to execute our five priorities: safety, state of good repair, innovative project delivery, mobility and livability.

DOT's FY16 capital budget includes:

- \$5.6 billion for bridge reconstruction
- \$3.2 billion for street reconstruction and resurfacing
- \$453 million for the Staten Island Ferry
- \$639 million for streetlights and signals
- \$346 million for sidewalk reconstruction; and
- \$258 million for the facilities and equipment needed to support DOT operations.



One of the Mayor's key priorities in the capital budget is our "Vision Zero Great Streets" initiative, which will redesign and reconstruct Queens Boulevard, 4th Avenue in Brooklyn, Atlantic Avenue in East New York, and the Grand Concourse in the Bronx. With \$250 million in funding, including \$100 million for Queens Boulevard, DOT will comprehensively reimagine and redesign these corridors into safer, greener and more attractive roadways for residents and businesses. New Yorkers will begin to see construction of expanded pedestrian space, beautified medians with trees, and physically separated bike paths on major streets by 2017.

The Mayor's priorities also include an additional \$84 million in capital funding for the SBS program. This funding will help DOT and the MTA reach the Mayor's goal of expanding the SBS program to 20 total routes by the end of 2017. These funds will initially be put toward the implementation of the Woodhaven and Utica Avenue routes.

The 10-year plan also adds \$59 million in City funds required to match Federal grants DOT won for the Staten Island Ferry to replace two of our aging vessels, as well as grants received for other ferryboat, terminal, and pier projects. This budget funds critical capital repair and resiliency construction projects, including the hard hit communities of Red Hook and Belle Harbor, at a cost of \$11 million. We will also start construction in FY16 on South Beach Phase II in Staten Island, a \$31 million project that will raise the roadway in low-lying areas and improve sidewalks.

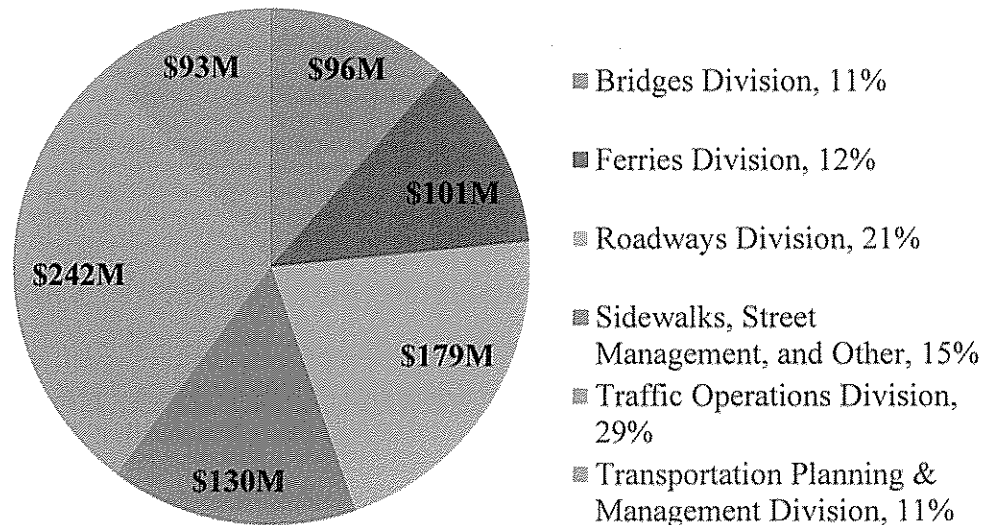
Now let me turn to bridges, which is the largest portion of our 10-year plan. We will start construction in FY16 on the \$42 million Westchester Avenue Bridge over the Hutchinson River Parkway in the Bronx

and we will break ground this summer on a \$114 million reconstruction of the Roosevelt Avenue Bridge over the Van Wyck Expressway in Queens. In the future, DOT could bring the costs of bridge projects down by tens of millions of dollars and speed up the delivery of projects through the use of design-build bidding. Design-build, which is used throughout the country and on projects like the Tappan Zee Bridge, can eliminate the costly and time consuming process of procuring bridge design and construction work separately, and we look forward to working together with the Council to get this authorization from Albany.

Moving to DOT's expense budget, the Mayor is proposing \$840 million for FY16, providing for all of our operations, and containing some critical new funding:

- \$242 million for traffic operations, including signals, streetlights, and parking;
- \$179 million for roadway maintenance;
- \$129 million for DOT operations, including sidewalk management and an additional \$1.1 million for 34 new inspectors to assist overseeing all permit-related activities impacting our streets;
- \$101 million for ferry operations and maintenance;
- \$96 million for bridge maintenance and inspection, including an additional \$1.7 million for 18 new inspectors to help us better monitor the condition and strength of our bridges; and
- \$93 million for transportation planning and management, including installation of street signs and roadway markings;

DOT FY 16 Expense Budget



Additionally, DOT is playing an important role implementing the Mayor's goal of creating and preserving 200,000 units of affordable housing. DOT is involved in the current neighborhood planning efforts in East New York and other neighborhoods across the City. While this initiative looks to increase the City's housing capacity, it is also taking a holistic approach to the infrastructure, economic development and social service needs that support neighborhood growth. In short DOT has an ambitious agenda laid out in our FY16 budget and we are excited by the work ahead. To continue DOT's work on Vision Zero, SBS and our other projects, we are going to need broad political and community support. Therefore, we ask for the Council's continued leadership and partnership on our future initiatives.

In conclusion, DOT will continue to execute Mayor de Blasio's vision for a safe, equitable and accessible transportation system for all New Yorkers at a better value for the taxpayer dollar. Thank you for the opportunity to speak about the budget. We look forward to working with all of you and I am happy to take your questions.

Statement by Douglas Johnson, Budget Director

Metropolitan Transportation Authority

Mayor's Fiscal Year 2015 Preliminary Budget

New York City Council

Committee on Transportation

Thursday, March 5, 2015 11:30 a.m.

City Hall - Council Chambers (2nd Floor)

Good morning, Chairman Rodriguez and Councilmembers. I am Douglas Johnson, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's Budget Director. Joining me today are Craig Stewart, Senior Director of MTA's Capital Budget, David Henley, NYC Transit's Chief of Capital Planning and Budget, Aaron Stern, Director of NYC Transit's Office of Management and Budget, and Lois Tendler, NYC Transit's Vice President for Government and Community Relations.

We are here today to discuss the Mayor's Fiscal Year 2015 Preliminary Budget, particularly as it relates to the City's contribution to the operating and capital budgets of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority.

The MTA recently released its 2015 Budget and Financial Plan, and as with all our plans, it presents a fully transparent view of our current and four-year financial outlook. It strongly reaffirms our organization-wide commitment to cost-cutting and containment, and it reveals that we've already reduced our operating budget by more than \$1 billion per year. And, we're not finished. I want to take a few moments to share with you some of specifics as to how the MTA became more efficient and better-managed than ever in 2014.

- By incorporating modern strategies for office space, we were able to move our entire headquarters to 2 Broadway in Lower Manhattan, enabling us to monetize our former midtown headquarters at 341, 345, and 347 Madison Avenue and thereby position us to generate hundreds of millions of dollars for our Capital Program.
- In addition, we issued \$479 million of refunding bonds and completed associated restructurings of existing escrows, for total savings of approximately \$110 million.
- And, we successfully concluded labor settlements with most of our represented workforce.

We are now pursuing a range of new savings initiatives relative to prompt payment discounts, worker's compensation, energy management, consolidations, purchasing, inventory, and employee benefits. We expect these initiatives will bring the total reduction in our annual operating budget to a \$1.6 billion a year by 2018. This cost-cutting effort is the most aggressive in the MTA's history, and the savings we have realized to date have benefited our operations and our customers in three very significant ways.

- First: Without these savings, we could not have reduced projected fare and toll increases from about 7.5 percent every other year to about 4 percent every other year, or roughly 2 percent a year.

- Second: These savings have allowed us to add \$157 million back into service and service quality enhancements since 2012.
- Third: They've helped us put \$300 million a year into a "pay-as-you-go" account—beginning this year—that could generate up to \$5.4 billion for the 2015 to 2019 Capital Program.

The MTA projects a \$14.5 billion operating budget for 2015. The City's contribution is an important source of funding which represents 7 percent of the MTA's overall budget. City-sourced funding is used to support the operation of New York City Transit, MTA Bus, and the Staten Island Railway, as well as the commuter rail stations located within New York City. The "break-out" of the operating funding from the City is as follows:

- \$45 million for free and reduced school fares
- \$14 million for reduced fares for senior citizens and persons with disabilities
- \$183 million for paratransit service
- \$161 million to pay the local match for state aid payments
- \$93 million for station maintenance at 36 commuter rail stations in the City
- \$486 million for the cost of MTA Bus – the agency created by the MTA to operate formerly private bus lines at the City's request; and
- \$35 million to reimburse the MTA for the cost of the Staten Island Railway Operating Authority

The City's investment in the MTA yields tremendous dividends. The MTA's subway, bus and commuter rail operations provide the foundation for the economic well-being of the City and the region. Countless jobs, educational opportunities, and social mobility are available to the 8.7 million riders who use our services each day. Today's ridership is at all-time high levels. Before October 2013, we'd never recorded 6 million daily subway riders. We exceeded that number on 21 days in the last three months of last year, recording in October the highest total monthly subway ridership in the history of the system. Our transit network supports four times the employment and population density of the next largest U.S. City and is the engine that drives the most valuable real estate market in the nation. The \$1.4 trillion regional economy rides on the steel rails and rubber tires of the MTA's transportation network.

While these reimbursements from the City are of utmost importance to the MTA, we note that the City's funding represents a shrinking portion when measured against the MTA's budget. The \$45 million reimbursement for free or reduced school fares and the \$14 million reimbursement for reduced fares for senior citizens and people with disabilities have not changed in decades. Having failed to take into consideration an expanding customer base, escalating costs or the ravages of inflation, the City's funding now represents only 18 percent and 13 percent of the deficit from operating those respective programs. The reimbursement for paratransit service of \$183 million also falls short—representing less than one-third of its costs.

The additional City support that is proposed for 2015 represents only the reimbursement of the actual costs of operating the former private buses under the agreement made between the City and the MTA, reimbursement of the deficit for operating Staten Island Railway Operating Authority, and the City's portion of the costs of maintaining the 36 commuter railroad stations located within the City.

With respect to our capital budget, as you know, we have developed a series of five-year investments—beginning in 1982—that allow us to renew, enhance, and expand our 5,000

square-mile network. Over the past 30 years, we've invested nearly \$150 billion in the vital infrastructure that keeps the city moving, revitalizing not only the transit system but our region. These improvements to the system have brought customers back to our system in droves as I mentioned earlier. Thus, with the future in mind, we convened a panel of experts to inform the development of our current Capital Program, and asked them to focus on two important areas: climate change and changing demographics. This Transportation Reinvention Commission highlighted some very simple truths in their report.

- More than two million additional people are expected to live in the MTA region by 2040, putting increasing pressure on a system that is already largely at capacity.
- Demographic shifts are driving new and evolving customer expectations, service needs, and accessibility requirements.
- The current system is simply not fully equipped to meet these evolving needs.

With these changes in mind, this fall the MTA Board approved a proposed 2015-2019 Capital Program that supports MTA's strategic goals of rebuild, renew and expand. The proposed program will allow us to build capacity, meet growing needs and expectations, and most importantly, renew our system to keep it safe and reliable. Capacity is not our only challenge; maintaining a system as large, old and complex as ours is unavoidably expensive. If we want the system to continue operating safely and reliably, we must continue to invest heavily in what we call "state of good repair." Safety and reliability projects, encompassing track replacement, structural repairs, signal system upgrades and fleet replacements, comprise a full two-thirds of our 2015 to 2019 capital program budget. These expenditures are absolutely essential, as providing safe and reliable service is our most critical priority every day. Just two examples of the types of maintenance and good-repair spending included in our 2015-2019 Capital Program that we cannot afford to postpone are the replacement of 86 miles of subway track with safer, smoother track and the installation of a modern, new signal system on the **E F M R** lines in Queens and the **B D F M** lines in Manhattan. This type of system—which is already fully in place on the **L** line and under construction on the **7** line—not only allows us to provide safer service, it serves as an enhancement of our system, allowing us to run more trains, move far more people, and ease crowding.

To ensure that the system meets the changing demographics and demands of the riding public, the MTA must make investments that enhance the current infrastructure to provide better service to our customers. Ridership is at an all-time high throughout the MTA network and, in particular, the New York City transit system, so it is important to invest in enhancements that meet customer expectations. Enhancement investments in the 2015-2019 plan include customer-focused initiatives such as customer information and next train arrival signs, new stations, new fare payment systems, and accessibility projects.

The 2015-2019 Program will also allow us to expand our system to better accommodate current ridership levels and to prepare for even more growth in the future. And, as an important side benefit, in a region with a new experience and understanding of natural hazards, system expansion will protect us by making the transit system network more redundant. Projects such as the completion of phase one of the Second Avenue Subway and the launch of the second phase, as well as East Side Access, and Penn Access (a project that will add four new Metro-North stations in the Bronx and open a new Metro-North link directly into Penn Station) support the critical goal of system expansion.

Dramatically improving our transit system is not the only benefit of a fully-funded 2015-2019 Program. The MTA's Capital Program and the jobs it creates are an integral part of our

region's economy and economic growth. Last month, the Urban Land Institute of New York and the Permanent Citizens Advisory Committee to the MTA published a report examining the intrinsic connection between a healthy transit system and a healthy, vibrant economy. According to this report, since 1982, the MTA Capital Program has transformed the region's public transportation system into a crucial economic asset – helping New York achieve a global economic preeminence that few could have imagined in the economic crises of the 1970s. Moreover, the report concluded that investments in the MTA have generated economic benefits for communities across New York State, with major vendors opening plants to fulfill our transportation needs locally and all across North America. In the tradition of the MTA's previous Capital Program, a fully funded 2015-2019 Program is expected to generate more than 400,000 jobs throughout New York State and yield nearly \$52 billion in economic output.

In October, we submitted the 2015-2019 MTA Capital Program to the Capital Program Review Board in order to begin a dialogue. One concern shared by all who have been involved is funding—thus far, we've identified sources for only half the money needed to fund the full Program. A \$15 billion shortfall remains. We are asking all stakeholders—those who benefit directly or indirectly from the MTA's Capital Program—all levels of government, as well as the private sector, including employers, suppliers, contract vendors—the entire the business community—to embrace the necessity of capital investment in MTA's transit infrastructure and to step up in new and unprecedented ways to lend the financial support that is needed to fully fund the 2015-2019 Capital Program.

In recent years, the City has contributed approximately \$100 million annually towards the MTA Capital Program. However, given the significant funding gap, our proposed 2015-2019 Capital Plan assumes a greater contribution, and we hope to receive one. It is worth noting that every major world city – London, Paris, and Hong Kong among others—is investing significantly in mass transit to improve the quality of life for their residents, to maintain their status as a global financial and business center, and to make them even more competitive in the world economy. New York City should do no less--we must continue to invest. Thank you for your time today. We're now happy to answer any questions you may have.

Testimony of Meera Joshi

NYC Taxi & Limousine Commission Commissioner/Chair

PRELIMINARY BUDGET for FISCAL YEAR 2016

City Council Committee on Transportation

March 5, 2015

Good afternoon Chair Rodriguez, members of the City Council, and the Transportation Committee. I am Meera Joshi, Commissioner and Chair of the New York City Taxi and Limousine Commission. Thank you for the opportunity to speak today regarding the TLC's Fiscal Year 2016 Preliminary Budget, our accomplishments in the past year, and the work ahead.

Today, the number of vehicles and drivers the TLC regulates are historically high. We currently license over 76,000 vehicles compared to 69,000 in 2012, and approximately 135,000 drivers compared to 108,000 in 2012. This increase is especially evident in the black car sector which grew from approximately 7,700 vehicles in 2012 to 23,700 vehicles today, an increase of over 200%. As our licensed fleet grows so does our responsibility to ensure the taxi and for-hire vehicle industries remain safe, accountable and accessible, and during the past year, we have accomplished much to these ends.

My first Commission meeting as Chair in April 2014 was also a major milestone for the City's disabled community. At that meeting the Commission approved a landmark rules package that will make New York City's yellow taxi fleet the most accessible in the nation and, save London, the most accessible taxi fleet in the world. Starting January 2016, the yellow fleet will begin converting to wheelchair accessible vehicles and by 2020, 50% will be wheelchair accessible. By June 2014 we committed to transforming the green taxi fleet as well, and will ensure that by 2024 at least 33% and up to 50% of the green taxi fleet will be wheelchair accessible. The cost of conversion for vehicle owners and drivers will be defrayed in part by a 30-cent per ride taxi improvement surcharge on all yellow and green taxi trips. These efforts will be complimented by expanding our Accessible Dispatch Program citywide and migrating Access-A-Ride trips to accessible yellow and green taxis. Our challenge going forward will be arriving at the best possible solution for providing accessible service in the livery and black car sectors where today almost 90% of the bases are not providing accessible service.

Safety continues to be paramount on the Commission's agenda. Last year, with the support of Council, we implemented rules that give the TLC the tools necessary to more effectively—and most importantly—more quickly suspend and revoke the licenses of unsafe drivers. Additionally, drivers who run red lights are now subject to TLC penalties, and TLC's Safety Squad issued 268 summonses to TLC-licensed drivers who were caught speeding. But remember, the overwhelming majority of our licensees are safe drivers—83% of them get 3 or fewer traffic-related points in a year. So, not surprisingly, last September TLC was able to recognize 295 drivers for having impeccable driving records five years in a row.

Additionally during the past year, we finally attained parity in reporting requirements between the taxi and for-hire vehicle (FHV) sectors and will now require FHV bases to submit electronic trip records. By collecting FHV trip records, the TLC will be able to more efficiently perform core functions that have been possible in yellow and green taxis including: investigating consumer complaints, enforcing safety violations, tracking down lost property, and making informed policy decisions. Through the creation of a comprehensive FHV trip record database, this year will mark the first time in history the City and lawmakers will have access to information about the extent that the livery and black car sectors service our city.

And because technology is a growing part of how for-hire transportation operates, we approved permanent rules to license e-hailing apps; apps that allow passengers to hail a green or yellow taxi through their smart phone. We are also in the midst of drafting companion rules to license apps used to dispatch livery, black cars, and limousines. Although some of these apps have operated in New York City since 2009, and we can currently enforce against the base using an app, enforcement against the app itself is illusory without a licensing structure. So we look forward to the Transportation Committee's input as we move forward with the companion FHV app licensing package.

Although there is much media attention on the many new ways to get a black car, and how fast this can happen, there is a segment of the transportation industry that is often overlooked but is truly a transportation lifeline for many New York City residents, and that's the commuter van network. The TLC is committed to elevating the use and growth of the licensed commuter van industry. Today, over 75% of our licensed commuter vans are authorized to add TLC branding, similar to the "T" on green and yellow taxis, informing customers that the vehicle is licensed and properly insured as well as providing a sense of pride for drivers and operators. NYPD has also been a key partner in increasing our enforcement efforts against illegal commuter vans, and together we pulled 112 illegal vans off the road in the last eight months. But they do come back, so we look forward to working with Council on ways to increase the penalties for illegal operation of commuter vans.

TLC continues to vigorously enforce against unsafe illegal operators, especially in hotbeds like the airports. In the last eight months, TLC inspectors have seized almost 3,000 illegal vehicles, (1,200 at JFK) and issued over 6,000 summonses for illegal pick up or drop off. Four months ago, in conjunction with the Port Authority Police, we began undercover operations at arrival terminals where hustlers congregate, resulting in dozens of arrests. I expect this partnership to continue and grow.

TLC also continues to enforce against FHV licensees who illegally accept street hails and, in the last eight months, we have issued over 7,400 summonses for illegal street hails, up 6% from last year. TLC is also monitoring illegal streets hails primarily in Manhattan where we issued 2,000 summonses since July.

From July 2014 through January 2015, our licensing unit processed over 52,000 driver applications and 34,000 vehicle applications, a marked increase from the same period last year when we processed 46,000 driver applications (or 12% less than today) and 27,000 (21% less than today). The difference is even starker when you compare it to Fiscal Year 2013, when we processed 40,000 driver applications (23% less than today) and 22,000 vehicle applications (34% less than today). The ever-increasing volume

has strained our ability to lessen wait times—a high priority for the agency. In Fiscal Year 2013, the average wait time to get a medallion driver's license was 50 days and the average wait time to get a FHV driver's license was 20 days. By June 2014, three months after I started, it took an average of 90 days to process both types of licenses. Despite continued heavy volumes, we have introduced efficiency initiatives that are already working and last month we decreased that all-time high of 90 days to 62 days for a taxi driver's license and 35 days for a FHV driver's license.

I expect these indicators will improve as we continue to integrate more efficiencies. In the last few months we added bar codes to applications and created a new application database that allows us to track applications and identify and resolve bottlenecks. To expedite the licensing process, we are finalizing a program that will send text message notifications to applicants to alert them of missing documents. We continue to make enhancements to our online transaction system by adding features that spare licensees a trip to our office, and we are also in the midst of a plain language project to rewrite all public facing licensing documents to ensure that they are easy to understand. And by the end of 2015, our licensing unit is moving into a new, larger and improved space in Long Island City that will accommodate our growing staff and better serve the growing universe of TLC licensees.

It is important to keep in mind that when I joined the TLC as General Counsel in 2011, there were no green taxis and, although some people used smart phones to get cars, apps were the exception, not the norm. Four years later, green taxis complete approximately 50,000 hail trips a day, while the black car sector, which has grown by 200%, is now primarily dispatched by smart phone apps. Additionally, the MTA ridership is at a historic high, and as the temperatures warm, Citi Bike, again becomes a quick and easy transportation alternative throughout parts of Manhattan and Brooklyn. Also last summer the City got the authority to sell 1,600 additional medallions, the largest planned influx of medallions to the market since passage of the Haas Act in 1937. Given these changes occurring across the TLC-licensed industries and to the City's transportation network, not surprisingly, there has been a dip in yellow taxi trip volumes of about 6% and a roughly 3% decrease in yellow taxi fares, while the few medallion transactions that have occurred over the last year have been at prices that are lower than those seen in early 2013 and late 2012, at a time when the above factors had yet to come into play. TLC is currently monitoring and evaluating medallion market trends, but what is clear, is that even during this time of increased usage of FHV dispatch apps, the hand hail is the overwhelming method of choice for passengers, with hundreds of thousands of passengers hailing yellow taxis every day, while, at the same time, the volume of passengers hailing green taxis continues to grow at a rapid pace.

The Preliminary Budget for Fiscal 2016 of \$68 million supports all of our daily operations and new initiatives in a fiscally responsible manner. Of that, \$38.5 million is dedicated to Personal Services and \$29.5 million is for Other Than Personal Services (OTPS).

Major line items in the expense budget include \$18 million in grant issuance for street hail livery (SHL) permit holders who bring wheelchair accessible green taxis into service. The grant program supports our accessibility goals by helping to defray the costs of wheelchair accessible vehicles. As of February 25th, we have awarded 770 grants totaling \$11.5 million, with 47 more in the final approval process.

New initiatives funded in this budget include a dedicated field enforcement operation at LaGuardia Airport, roll-out of a city-wide accessible dispatch system, compliance monitoring of trip record submissions, and staffing to support enforcement of new technologies and accessibility standards. In addition, the Fiscal Year 2016 budget has another \$1.1 million in funding for licensing improvements and additional staff. These new initiatives account for the increase in the agency's headcount from 633 to 700 in the preliminary budget.

We also continue to evaluate the TLC revenue budget and forecast. For Fiscal Year 2015, we have a plan that assumes a medallion sale by the end of this fiscal year. That is our current plan and we continue to study the changes in the market.

We have also budgeted \$312 million in revenues for the sale of 345 wheelchair accessible medallions in Fiscal Year 2016. We are always evaluating each budget line item and we recognize it's a small but valuable element of the City budget. We continue to work with the Office of Management and Budget to ensure a precise revenue forecast.

It's been a busy year. We have increased access for people with disabilities, implemented new programs to improve safety for the riding public, and have expanded accountability measures. In the coming year, I look forward to working with the Council to address a changing transportation environment and to ensure our regulated industries remain safe, accountable, and accessible.

This concludes the TLC Preliminary Budget testimony for Fiscal Year 2016. I thank you for the opportunity to testify today. At this time, I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.



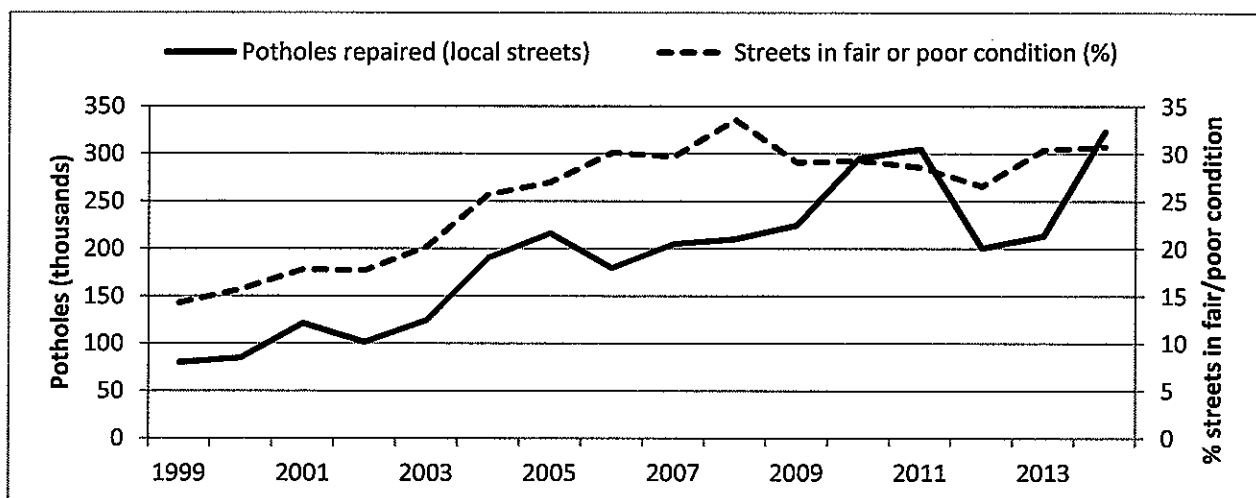
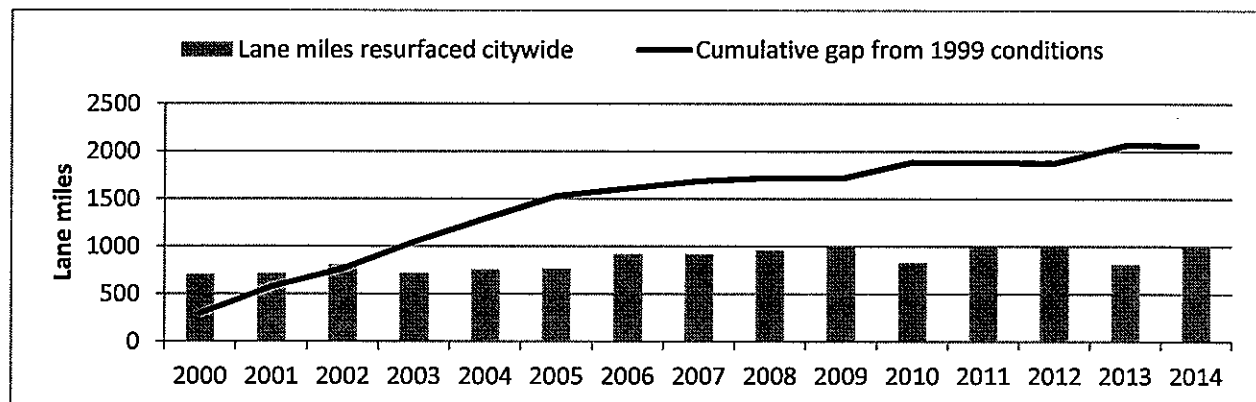
Statement of AAA Northeast, Inc. before the New York City Council Committee on Transportation

New York, NY – March 5, 2015

Good afternoon. AAA Northeast, which serves a membership of over 570,000 drivers in the 5 boroughs of New York City and over 1.6 million drivers in the metropolitan area, is pleased to testify at this hearing, and we would like to thank the Committee on Transportation for holding it.

The Preliminary Ten-Year Capital Strategy allocates \$206,756,000 of City funds to resurface approximately 1037 lane miles in 2016. This would be the largest effort in 20 years and would fulfill the 1000 lane miles per year that the City must resurface to maintain the status quo.

Unfortunately, the status quo is grossly inadequate. In 1999, 14.3% of City streets were rated “fair” or “poor”, and 79,999 potholes were repaired on local streets. Since then, using the 1000-lane mile benchmark, the City has resurfaced 2061 fewer lane miles than it should have, with unsurprising results. In FY 2014, 30.7% of streets were in fair or poor condition (double 1999’s total) and the City repaired 323,384 potholes on local streets (quadruple 1999’s total), in addition to 126,144 on arterial highways.



This trend is not subsiding. The pothole totals for the first four months of FY 2015 are 50% greater than those from the corresponding time period of FY 2014.

This disrepair has real consequences for drivers, who shell out anywhere from \$50-500 to repair vehicles that have been damaged by potholes. AAA Northeast handles thousands of flat tires each year, but last year was especially troublesome: a New Yorker incurred damage to his or her vehicle as a result of a road defect once every 10 minutes – a number that doesn't even include potholes on state highways!

Year	AAA Flat Tire Calls in NYC
2010	46,985
2011	53,533
2012	39,122
2013	44,818
2014	51,920
Total from 10-14	236,378

Of course, the heavy snow and frigid temperatures contributed to this increase. But while winter may be the proximate cause for potholes, underinvestment is the true culprit. Consider that in FY 2003, New York City received 55.5 inches of snow and filled fewer than 125,000 potholes. In FY 2012, the City received only 6.8 inches of snow, yet filled over 200,000 potholes! Clearly, even if Punxsutawney Phil doesn't see his shadow, there will still be plenty of potholes that hog the ground.

The only surefire way to improve road quality is to invest. The Mayor and the Commissioner know this, and have demonstrated a greater commitment to road maintenance than any of their predecessors from the past two decades. But they must be even more aggressive if drivers are to see any significant roadway improvements.

In FY 2014, the City resurfaced 1006 lane miles, reaching the 1000-lane mile mark for only the third time in 17 years. Merely exceeding that target, however, will not close the 2000-lane mile gap from FY 1999 conditions. The City should set a goal of no fewer than 1250 lane miles for the next eight years.

This would be an additional expenditure now, but it's truly an *investment*. An increased resurfacing budget would help the local economy by reducing the nearly \$700 that the average New York driver pays each year for vehicle maintenance caused by substandard road conditions. From the City's perspective, better-maintained roads mean fewer potholes and thus a smaller pothole budget and fewer pothole-related claims (\$5.5 million in 2013). The last thing the City wants to do is delay maintenance – for every dollar that is deferred, \$3-4 accrue in future costs.

This is the time to act. Interest rates are low, the City is relatively fiscally stable, and officials throughout City government are aware of the scope of the problem. AAA urges the Council to prioritize roadway conditions during the upcoming budget negotiations and work towards a resurfacing program of at least 1250 lane miles each year. Such a plan would save tens of thousands of drivers hundreds of dollars in preventable repairs, save the City money in the long term, and invest in the quality-of-life of New Yorkers.

Thank you for the opportunity to comment and your interest in this matter.



**LIGHTHOUSE
GUILD**
Vision+Health

New York City Council Transportation Committee
March 5, 2015

Good morning, my name is Lester Marks and I am the Director of Government Affairs and Administration at Lighthouse Guild. Lighthouse Guild provides a full spectrum of integrated vision + healthcare services helping people who are blind or visually impaired as well as those with multiple disabilities or chronic medical conditions lead productive, dignified and fulfilling lives.

Lighthouse Guild is also a member of the Pedestrians for Accessible and Safe Streets Coalition (PASS). The PASS Coalition's mission is to work to ensure that blind, visually impaired, and deaf-blind individuals have full access to the streets and sidewalks of New York. Our goal is to work closely with other stakeholders interested in pedestrian safety, and the New York City and State legislators, officials, and departments to create safe streets for everyone in New York City.

As you may know, an Accessible Pedestrian Signal or APS is a device usually mounted on a pole near a crosswalk which gives information about pedestrian signals in nonvisual formats such as audible tones, verbal messages, and vibrating surfaces. The primary purpose of an APS is to let pedestrians with vision or hearing loss know that the WALK signal is on for a particular crosswalk.

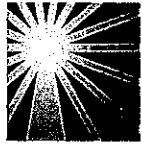
Due to demand that outpaces current Department of Transportation funds allocated for APS installation, there are over 400 locations across the city where an APS has been requested that will be denied installation this year. These intersections have been requested by people who are blind or visually impaired and the lack of an APS at these locations leave people who blind or visually impaired at increased risk when crossing these problematic intersections.

Lighthouse Guild International, Inc.

15 West 65th Street, New York, NY 10023-6601 • 111 East 59 Street, New York, NY 10022-1202

CORPORATE HEADQUARTERS

855-288-7494 • lighthouseguild.org



**LIGHTHOUSE
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Vision+Health

The PASS Coalition is specifically requesting that each Council Member use their capital funding for FY16 to ensure a portion, or the entire list of locations within their individual council district receives funding for APS installation. We have sent a letter to every Council Member informing them of the locations within their district in which an APS has been requested. Using a portion of the capital funds allocated to each council district to increase APS installation will improve pedestrian safety, and is consistent with the goals of the Vision Zero initiative supported by the New York City Council.

The PASS Coalitions also asks Chairman Rodriguez to assist in notifying each Council Member about the APS that have been requested within their district, as well as call for each Member to allocate funds to reduce this backlog.

We are extremely grateful for the support that this Council and this Committee has given to the issue of pedestrian safety and for APS installation specifically. The passage of Intro 216-B, now Local Law 60 of 2014 was an important increase in the mandated number of installations and represents New York City's commitment to pedestrian safety.

As you know, 2014 was the safest year for pedestrians since 1910. With a small portion of capital funding, each Council Member can help make 2015 even safer. Thank you for your consideration.

Lester Marks, MPA
Director of Government Affairs and Administration
15 West 65th Street
New York, NY 10023
212-769-6265
lmarks@lighthouseguild.org

ROOSEVELT INSTITUTE | CAMPUS NETWORK
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SENIOR FELLOW BRIT BYRD
NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE
MARCH 5TH 2015 TESTIMONY

Good afternoon. My name is Brit Byrd. I am the Senior Fellow for Economic Development for the Roosevelt Institute | Campus Network and a student at Columbia University.

The Roosevelt Institute | Campus Network is the nation's largest student-driven policy organization, with more than 120 university campuses in 38 states, involving thousands of young people nationwide. In my capacity as a Senior Fellow, I have examined the economics and urban planning implications of New York City's on-street parking spaces. I appreciate this opportunity to share some of my research and policy suggestions, which I elaborate on in depth in the attached white paper. That paper was also presented to members of the National Economic Policy Council at the White House last December.

Vehicular traffic congestion presents a serious and ongoing challenge in the City of New York. Most recently, the city's "Vision Zero" program has highlighted the tragic human cost of reckless and haphazard traffic. This is sadly only one facet of a diverse and widespread problem, spanning concerns about public health, environmental emissions, losses in economic productivity, and responsible urbanism. The economic cost alone is staggering. The Partnership for New York City estimated that as much as \$1.9 billion is lost annually due to inventory, logistical, and personnel costs of traffic congestion, and up to \$4.6 billion is lost as unrealized business revenue.

The city has not been blind to this problem, and has pursued solutions at the state level and to a more limited extent within its own departments. But the city hasn't fully taken advantage of one of the largest tools at its disposal: the management of on-street parking spaces. De-incentivizing vehicular traffic within the dense, transit-rich parts of our city is a straightforward task in that raising the cost of a car trip results in fewer car trips. Efforts at enacting a congestion pricing plan in 2008 and the current Park SMART NYC program reflect an awareness of this policy tool. But parking policies that use the same mechanisms have been almost entirely overlooked, even though they represent an ideal opportunity for the city to raise the effective cost of driving while operating entirely within its own powers.

City-administered on-street parking spaces are currently highly undervalued. Current rates vary from \$1–\$5 across the city, while pricing for an hour of parking in a private off-street garage suggests the market rate is closer to \$15–\$30. As noted in my white paper, there is extensive research showing that parking prices in cities with transit alternatives, such as New York City, respond remarkably well to classic principles of supply and demand: raise the price of parking and demand will decrease. Conversely, lower prices encourage a higher demand. This is especially pertinent when on-street metered parking is so much less expensive than off-street parking. In one study of six different urban sites, roughly one-third of traffic congestion consisted of people avoiding off-street market prices by circling around an area searching for cheap on-street parking.¹

Parking spaces represent an enormous quantity of public land that is in effect rented out by the city, but the current management scheme heavily subsidizes the use of this space for a relatively small portion of New Yorkers. Only 22.7 percent of New Yorkers commute to work alone in a vehicle, and only 46 percent of households own a vehicle.²

¹ Shoup, Donald C. *The High Cost of Free Parking*. Chicago: Planners Press, American Planning Association, (2005)

² U.S Bureau of the Census. *2008-2012 American Community Survey Estimates*. Census Bureau. Available: http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml

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Today I am here to urge the City Council to pursue two policies that would help reduce traffic congestion, discontinue subsidizing car ownership, and raise revenue.

1. Introduce a residential parking permit system for on-street parking spaces on residential side streets.
2. Devote a small number of on-street parking spaces for the exclusive use of car-sharing vehicles.

Both of these policies would raise additional revenue for the city, which I further advocate should be allocated to capital budgets for City Council districts that employ participatory budgeting.

Proposal #1 -- A Residential Parking Permit (RPP) System

The vast majority of on-street parking in the city is on residential side streets is completely free. In 2013, research found that "free and available on-street parking increased private car ownership by 8.8 percent for households with off-street parking in the New York City region."³ Simply put, this free parking represents an indirect subsidy of personal car ownership and induces additional traffic congestion. Moreover, the free use of residential on-street parking represents a complete concession of a valuable public resource to a small portion of citizens.

In place of free parking on these residential side streets, New York City should implement a residential parking permit (RPP) to set a more appropriate price for the public space being rented. This would also eliminate the existing informal subsidy for personal car ownership and reduce traffic congestion and other vehicle-related negative externalities. In contrast to metered parking, an RPP scheme operates by charging residents a monthly or yearly charge to park within a given zone.

An RPP system benefits drivers by making it easier to find a parking spot available close to their front door and simplifying alternate-side parking. Perhaps for these reasons, there is evidence that New York City drivers are already prepared for RPP. Urban planning researchers Zhan Guo and Simon McDonnell found in 2013 that 52 percent of NYC drivers in the outer boroughs and upper Manhattan were already willing to pay for a residential permit, with a median volunteered price of \$408 a year.⁴

Proposal #2 -- On-street parking spaces for car-sharing vehicles

Car-sharing services are already known and popular to many New Yorkers. For a relatively small yearly subscription fee and an hourly usage rate, subscribers can rent a car for the occasional trip, such as moving, trips outside of the city, or trips to big box retailers. The service is an ideal complement to an RPP system, since many car owners in New York City use their cars largely for these kinds of trips. Additionally, the service offers an affordable alternative for those not willing to pay the high entry costs of purchasing, insuring, and fueling a car.

As it stands, car-sharing services mostly partner with private garages or other private institutions, limiting their coverage and public knowledge of the service. Devoting public on-street parking space to car-sharing infrastructure both complements the goals of RPP pricing and provides a distinct public service within itself. Research shows that car-sharing programs encourage similar policy goals as increasing parking rates, and can even encourage drivers to forgo personal

³ Guo, Zhan. "Residential Street Parking and Car Ownership." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 79, no. 1 (2013): 32-48.

⁴ Guo, Zhan, and Simon McDonnell. "Curb Parking Pricing for Local Residents: An Exploration in New York City Based on Willingness to Pay." *Transport Policy*, (2013), 186-98.

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ownership altogether in favor of car-sharing. Hoboken, New Jersey implemented a "Corner Cars" program, in which on-street parking spaces were rented to car-sharing services; 3,000 participants say they have given up their personal cars due to the sharing program,⁵ and each car-sharing car is estimated to have replaced 17 private vehicles.⁶

Directing a Portion of Revenues toward Participatory Budgeting

In addition to helping to reduce congestion, both of these policies would also produce new revenues: RPP through the lease of permits, and car-sharing through yearly leases of individual spaces in responsible public-private contracts. The revenue raised by this rent has a more direct connection to the physical landscape and infrastructure than other municipal revenues, such as property or sales taxes.

As Councilmembers doubtlessly know from their commutes between City Hall and their district offices, transportation is more than just a line item in our budget, but rather a fundamental part of the daily quality of life for all New Yorkers. Smart transportation policy tackling traffic congestion could have a profound, rippling effect upon the way in which New Yorkers work, study, relax, and feel a connection to their communities. Directing a portion of these new revenues to Participatory Budgeting, a process in which citizens deliberate and vote on capital investments, will both strengthen our infrastructure and citizens' connection to the processes that enable its funding and maintenance.

Introducing residential parking permits, and public car-sharing spaces represents a step toward a better New York City for all of its citizens. But here too there is also a policy byproduct that is greater than the sum of its parts. Connecting the ubiquitous public resource of parking spots with the more arcane and less accessible processes of municipal budgeting makes government less invisible to the citizen on the street.

Thank you and we look forward to working with you.

⁵ Shoup, Donald. "Informal Parking Markets: Turning Problems into Solutions." In *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks to Day Labor*, 277-294. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, (2014).

⁶ Osgood, Andrea. "On-Street Parking Spaces for Shared Cars." *ACCESS Magazine* 1, no. 36 (2010).

ROOSEVELT INSTITUTE | CAMPUS NETWORK PRESENTS:

MODERNIZING PUBLIC PARKING TO IMPROVE TRANSPORTATION AND STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY IN NEW YORK CITY

WHITE PAPER BY
BRIT BYRD
SENIOR FELLOW FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
DECEMBER 11, 2014

ROOSEVELT

INSTITUTE | CAMPUS NETWORK

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This white paper outlines a series of parking policy proposals in New York City that can help resolve existing problems of traffic congestion, encourage more efficient and intuitive use of personal transportation within the city, and raise revenue to be reinvested in local community infrastructure. These policies aim to update and amend a street-parking scenario that is out of sync with the realities of dense urban life in New York City. Artificially low prices set by the city for on-street parking prevents driving from being affected by the pressures of supply and demand, and serves as an indirect subsidy towards personal car ownership within the nation's most dense and transit-serviced city. This white paper details three different policies: raising existing metered rates with the goal of 85 percent occupancy, introducing a residential parking permit scheme, and using public parking spaces for car-sharing. These policies are all predicated on restoring supply and demand pressures to the individual decision of personal car ownership, by assessing more appropriate parking prices through the existing on-street parking scheme and encouraging collaborative consumption as an alternative.

Brit Byrd is the Roosevelt Institute | Campus Network Senior Fellow for Economic Development. He is a senior at Columbia University studying Political Science and Spanish, and also serves as the President of the Columbia Campus Network chapter. He is interested in urban planning and design, transportation and infrastructure policy, and the sociology of public space. He is a member of the streets and public safety committee for Participatory Budgeting in New York City's 7th City Council District, and plans to pursue a career within New York City politics.

For media inquiries, please contact Rachel Goldfarb at 212.444.9130 x 213 or rgoldfarb@rooseveltinstitute.org.

The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Roosevelt Institute, its donors, or its directors.

KEY ARGUMENTS

- Traffic congestion in New York City is responsible for losses in productivity, including up to \$1.9 billion in logistical and personnel costs alone. Reforming parking policy is a proven way of combating congestion and can help recoup these losses.
- Introducing residential parking permits would generate revenue from public space that is currently being rented for free. Previous studies have shown 52 percent of New Yorkers already support such a scheme, with a volunteered suggested price of \$408 per year.
- Using public curb space for car-sharing services is an innovative solution that provides an alternative to personal car ownership. Previous programs in Hoboken suggest that public car-sharing can encourage car owners who only occasionally drive to give up their cars in favor of a car-sharing subscription.
- Directing new revenues raised by these policies back to the communities that generate them is politically popular, and also an opportunity to increase public literacy in municipal budgeting. Participatory budgeting projects within New York City provide a particularly ripe opportunity to pair revenue-raising policy with community engagement.

**Modernizing Public Parking to Improve Transportation
and Strengthen Democracy in New York City**
By Brit Byrd, December 11, 2014

INTRODUCTION

New York City has succeeded at urbanism in many ways, but when it comes to curbside parking policy there is still room for improvement. For such a highly walkable and transit-served city, the price of parking on the street remains far too low and serves as an informal subsidy to one of the least efficient and seldom-used modes of transit in the city: personal automobiles. Only 22.7 percent of New Yorkers commute to work alone in a vehicle, and only 46 percent of households own a vehicle.¹

This white paper argues for raising the effective price of curbside parking on a neighborhood-to-neighborhood basis, beginning with the upper Manhattan neighborhood of Morningside Heights as a case study. A more effective pricing scheme will increase parking space turnover, eliminate unnecessary incentives for personal car ownership, create safer streets for pedestrians, and generate revenue to be redirected to local capital projects through participatory budgeting processes.

There are two main strategies for achieving a more effective on-street parking scheme:

1. Increasing the cost of parking through meter rates on arterial roads and through yearly residential parking permits (RPP) on smaller side streets.
2. Slightly lowering the supply of on-street parking by allocating a small number of existing spaces exclusively for car-sharing vehicles.

In addition to presenting these parking scheme strategies, this white paper advocates directing the revenue raised from increased rates, newly implemented permits, and contracts with car-sharing firms back towards the direct community from which it came, specifically through participatory budgeting processes that are currently being expanded throughout select city council districts in New York City.

This white paper begins by outlining the problem of traffic congestion and unnecessary harmful byproducts (or externalities) of personal vehicle ownership. It then describes the fundamental policy mechanisms at work, and compares and contrasts on-street parking policies with the related policy of congestion pricing, which has previously been attempted in New York City but failed. It discusses three main policy pillars: metered on-street parking, residential parking permits, and car-sharing partnerships. Finally, the white paper concludes by arguing for all parking related revenue to be redirected towards the local neighborhoods that generate it, based on the fundamental connection between public space and local communities.

THE PROBLEM: CONGESTION AND VEHICLE-RELATED EXTERNALITIES

There are many reasons to discourage heavy use of personal vehicles within New York City. Of course, the general negative externalities of vehicle traffic and car ownership apply in New York City just as much as anywhere else. Reducing traffic congestion, air and noise pollution, and traffic casualties, and encouraging environmentally friendly urban development through transit-oriented development are all worthy policy goals in their own right. Mayor Bill de Blasio's administration has identified many of these goals explicitly, most notably

¹ U.S Bureau of the Census. *2008-2012 American Community Survey Estimates*. Census Bureau. Available: http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml

through the Vision Zero program, aimed at eliminating pedestrian casualties entirely (estimated by the Mayor's office as 4,000 injuries and 250 deaths every year).²

But traffic congestion is in fact an even more insidious and damaging problem for New York City than suggested by the traffic casualty figures highlighted by the mayor's office. In a 2006 report, The Partnership for New York City identified a series of serious financial losses for the metropolitan area due to traffic congestion, including:

- \$1.9 billion due to logistical, inventory, and personnel costs;
- \$4.6 billion due to unrealized business revenue;
- \$2 billion in wasted fuel and vehicle costs;
- 37,000 to 52,000 fewer jobs due to lost revenues and productivity.³

The case for a less car-oriented New York City is not simply an aesthetic one. Rather, the costs of added congestion are very real and damaging to the metropolitan economy. Reconfiguring on-street parking within the city will not only address this problem of congestion, but also serve to generate revenue for the city to help compensate for productivity lost to traffic congestion.

THE MECHANISMS OF MANIPULATING SUPPLY AND DEMAND IN PARKING

It would be nearly impossible to discuss parking policy without mentioning Donald Shoup, commonly referred to as the "rock star" of parking policy over the last half-century.⁴ While much of Shoup's most famous work concerns mandatory zoning parking requirements in Sun Belt cities – a plague New York City is largely free from outside of some remaining mid-20th century public housing regulations – Shoup brings a fundamental approach to parking spaces as public rented space, and parking as an individual activity subject to market pressures of supply and demand. A central tenet of Shoup's theory on parking is to remove market distortions such as parking requirements and artificially low on-street parking prices, so that "parking demand can once again behave according to the principles of the free market."⁵

This proposal reflects Shoup's specific market-oriented contention that the right price for curb parking is "the lowest price that keeps a few spaces available to allow convenient access."⁶ Constructing a parking scheme in this way mitigates two negative consequences related to personal vehicles: traffic congestion and air pollution, which are increased by drivers cruising for cheap parking. The phenomenon of drivers circling around to find cheap parking has been well documented. In one study of six different urban sites, roughly one-third of traffic congestion consisted of people searching for cheap on-street parking.⁷

² "Vision Zero." NYC.gov. Accessed November 17, 2014. <http://www.nyc.gov/html/visionzero/pages/home/home.shtml>.

³ Partnership for New York City. "Growth or Gridlock?: The Economic Case for Traffic Relief and Transit Improvement for a Greater New York." New York, N.Y., 2006.

⁴ Speck, Jeff. "Step 3: Get the Parking Right." In *Walkable City: How Downtown Can save America, One Step at a Time*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, (2012).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Kolozsvari, Douglas, and Donald Shoup. "Turning Small Change into Big Changes." ACCESS, October 1, (2003), 2-7.

⁷ Shoup, Donald C. *The High Cost of Free Parking*. Chicago: Planners Press, American Planning Association, (2005)

CONGESTION PRICING VS. ON-STREET PARKING PRICING: TWO DIFFERENT POLICY TOOLS, SAME FUNDAMENTAL LOGIC AND GOALS

Charging for parking and driving are proven methods for controlling traffic congestion, second only to comprehensive congestion pricing schemes.⁸ The fundamental logic of raising parking prices and congestion pricing plans is the same. Both aim to reduce the demand for vehicular traffic by raising the cost of each trip made in a vehicle to the driver. Both tools seek to manage congestion by altering demand, rather than the supply of vehicle-related amenities, such as road and highway mileage or parking spaces. The difference is in the details, in which congestion pricing is a more comprehensive policy tool. While raising on-street parking prices increases the cost of driving through individually administered parking spaces at the end of a single trip, congestion pricing charges a fee for simply entering a defined geographic zone, regardless of whether a vehicle stops and parks within it. A notable example of congestion pricing is London's notorious plan, implemented in 2003, which charges £11.50 (approximately \$18) to drivers to enter the city center between the hours of 7 am and 6 pm on weekdays.⁹ This plan exists concurrently with hourly parking charges for on-street parking, which are administered on a borough-by-borough basis. For instance, in the central borough of the City of London, home of the financial district, parking costs £4 (approximately \$6.30) an hour during business hours, in addition to the cost of entering the congestion charge zone.¹⁰

A robust and explicit congestion pricing plan proposed by Mayor Bloomberg, which would have assessed an \$8 charge for entering Manhattan below 60th Street during peak hours, suffered a crushing political defeat in the New York State Assembly in 2008. Contrary to previous city defeats in the state house, it was downstate Democrats, rather than upstate Republicans, who proved to be decisive. Outer borough Democrats largely opposed the bill, viewing it as "Manhattan-centric" and punitive of their more car-dependent constituencies.¹¹ In contrast to the familiar story of stymied progress in Albany, altering on-street parking prices represents a viable policy alternative within the city's own purview that operates along the same logic and with the same goals as congestion pricing.

One group, MoveNY, led by traffic engineer and writer Sam Schwartz, sometimes known as Gridlock Sam, is actively campaigning for a plan that takes advantage of New York City's dependence on bridges and tunnels to achieve very similar goals as a congestion pricing plan, although under a different name. In fact, some transit advocates have even described MoveNY's plan as "even better" than congestion pricing, perhaps in no small part because it seems to be more politically viable than congestion pricing ever was.¹² However, the MoveNY plan does not address administering on-street parking within the city, instead focusing on a more zonal approach administered through Metropolitan Transit Authority-controlled bridges and tunnels.¹³ Thus, there remains a need for an articulated proposal for raising on-street parking prices, regardless of the possible success of such plans as MoveNY's. Just as in London, both policy tools can and should exist side-by-side. Both effectively use fees to disincentivize traffic congestion and its negative externalities. Moreover, readjusting on-street parking is an effective stand-alone policy that in some cases can almost substitute for congestion pricing altogether. In fact,

⁸ Simićević, Jelena, Smiljan Vukanović, and Nada Milosavljević. "The Effect of Parking Charges and Time Limit to Car Usage and Parking Behaviour." *Transport Policy*, (2013), 125-31.

⁹ Transport for London. "Congestion Charge." [Tfl.gov.uk](http://tfl.gov.uk). Accessed November 10, 2014.

¹⁰ "Parking Charges." [CityofLondon.gov.uk](http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/services/transport-and-streets/parking/where-to-park/Pages/Parking-charges.aspx). Accessed November 10, 2014. <http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/services/transport-and-streets/parking/where-to-park/Pages/Parking-charges.aspx>.

¹¹ Confessore, Nicholas. "Congestion Pricing Plan Dies in Albany." *City Room Blog*, NYTimes.com. April 7, (2008). Accessed November 10, 2014.

¹² "The Move NY Fair Tolling Plan Is Polling Better Than Congestion Pricing." *Streetsblog NYC*. June 16, 2014. Accessed November 10, 2014.

¹³ "Toll Reform." *Move NY*. January 1, (2014). Accessed November 10, 2014. <http://www.move-ny.org/pages/toll-reform>.

in lieu of more perfect and comprehensive congestion pricing schemes, a “simple repricing of downtown spaces and parking lots’ may solve 90 percent of most cities’ parking problems.”¹⁴

METERED ON-STREET PARKING

On arterial roads (high capacity urban roads) such as Broadway and Amsterdam Avenue, New York City already charges hourly parking rates administered through MUNI-meters stationed at every block. Rates vary through the city (currently set at \$1.00 per hour for Manhattan above 110th Street and \$3.50 per hour below 96th Street¹⁵) but are generally too low in comparison to the true market value of parking spaces. A sample price for a Morningside Heights off-street garage of \$14 per hour¹⁶ for the first hour makes clear the disparity between a true market price and the currently metered prices. Such a disparity in price between on-street and garage parking has been shown to encourage drivers to circle around in search of cheap parking, prolonging driving trips and contributing to traffic congestion.¹⁷

New York City already operates a pricing scheme aimed at increasing parking space turnover during hours of heavy use. “Park SMART NYC” charges variable hourly rates, with the stated goal to “free up parking spaces, increase public safety, and reduce double parking, pollution, and congestion.”¹⁸ Although the city does not come straight out and say it, the program seems to be heavily inspired by the Shoup school of parking policy. However, it is currently only in place in the lower Manhattan neighborhood of Greenwich Village and the Brooklyn neighborhood of Park Slope. The program’s presence in Brooklyn indicates a willingness to expand beyond the traditional confines of the metropolitan central business district (CBD), Manhattan below 60th Street. For on-street parking along arterial roads, this policy proposal does not require reinventing the wheel. Park SMART should be expanded into neighborhoods such as Morningside Heights and rates reevaluated to reach the 85 percent occupancy goal identified by Shoup, which more or less represents one free space per city block of on-street parking.

The city has also initiated a pilot program within the Arthur Avenue Business Improvement District in the Bronx that aims to allow drivers to pay for parking remotely through smart phones and check on their own vehicle’s parking status and general parking availability in real time. Interestingly, the technology also alerts drivers via text message or email when their time is close to expiration.¹⁹ While this might seem to be a simple 21st century convenience to the driver, from the city’s point of view, it is another tool aimed at encouraging drivers to occupy spaces no longer than necessary, increase turnover, and reduce congestion. The program appears to still be in a pilot stage, but is further indication that the city is already interested in promoting smarter, more dynamic parking schemes – and in the outer boroughs, not just lower Manhattan and brownstone Brooklyn.

Both of these programs are in the shadow of the Shoup-inspired SFpark project underway in San Francisco. SFpark explicitly identifies itself as a “demand-responsive” parking system, equipped with new infrastructure that changes rates throughout the day to meet a goal of 80 percent occupancy. SFpark released its pilot evaluation earlier this year, which is so far in line with expected outcomes. The program improved parking availability, made it easier for drivers to find a parking space, reduced traffic volume, peak period congestion, and double-parking,

¹⁴ Speck, Jeff. “Step 3: Get the Parking Right.” In *Walkable City*

¹⁵ “Street Parking Rates.” NYC DOT. January 1, (2014). Accessed November 14, 2014.

¹⁶ “Avalon Morningside Parking Garage.” SP Parking. January 1, (2014). Accessed November 14, 2014.

¹⁷ Shoup, Donald. “Cruising For Parking.” *Transport Policy* 13, no. 6 (2006): 479-86.

¹⁸ “PARK Smart NYC.” NYC.gov. Accessed October 27, 2014.

¹⁹ “Mayor Bloomberg and Transportation Commissioner Sadik-Khan Announce New Pilot Program to Pay Parking Meters Remotely and Launch Real-Time Parking Availability Map.” NYC.gov. April 9, 2013. Accessed December 7, 2014.

and perhaps most interestingly, resulted in drivers paying 11 cents less per hour to park.²⁰ The results so far are promising, and a source of validation for many parking reform advocates. Due to the cost of the high-tech infrastructure employed in SFpark, San Francisco has been serving as a sort of expensive guinea pig for other cities interested in implementing similar reforms. New York City's Park SMART and Arthur Avenue pilot programs seem to be tentative explorations into a high tech approach. But even if funds for fully mirroring San Francisco's high-tech infrastructure do not become available (SFpark was enabled by a hefty federal grant), SFpark's results to date validate the fundamental logic of returning parking to market pressures.

RESIDENTIAL PARKING PERMITS

While hourly-metered on-street parking does effectively demonstrate how pricing affects parking behavior, it is only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to New York City parking. Only an estimated 2 percent of parking is administered hourly through parking meters. The vast majority of on-street parking is on residential side streets and is completely free, representing an even more egregious underpricing than metered parking and another significant contributor to traffic congestion. Empirical evidence supports that on-street underpricing does result in higher personal car ownership, even for households with available off-street parking: in 2013, "free and available on-street parking increased private car ownership by 8.8 percent for households with off-street parking in the New York City region."²¹

Because the majority of these free residential spaces are on smaller, one-way side streets not directly adjacent to commercial storefronts, charging variable hourly rates aimed at increasing turnover for local businesses during work hours is not as relevant a concern. However, the free parking does still represent an indirect subsidy of personal car ownership and induces traffic congestion. Moreover, the free use of residential on-street parking represents a concession of a valuable public utility.

In place of metered parking on these residential side streets, New York City should implement a residential parking permit (RPP) to administer a more appropriate price for the public space being rented and eliminate the existing informal subsidy of personal car ownership and incentive for traffic congestion and other vehicle related negative externalities. In contrast to metered parking, an RPP scheme operates by charging residents a monthly or yearly charge to park within a given zone.

There are many benefits of RPP for vehicle owners: drivers can expect a higher degree of certainty that a parking spot will be available close to their front door, a simpler process for managing alternate-side parking for street cleaning, and less likelihood that they will be trapped in by non-resident double parkers seeking free short-term parking. Perhaps for these reasons, there is evidence that New York City drivers are already prepared to pay for RPP. Urban planning researchers Zhan Guo and Simon McDonnell found in 2013 that 52 percent of NYC drivers in the outer boroughs and upper Manhattan were willing to pay for a residential permit, with a median volunteered price of \$408 a year, some \$300 more than the next most expensive permit system, in San Francisco.²² When excluding the less dense and more car-dependent parts of the far outer boroughs, the data looks particularly promising. All respondents from upper Manhattan indicated that they would be willing to pay for a residential parking permit. Guo and McDonnell also note the pricing scheme outlined to respondents did not specify that revenue from permits could be directly reinvested into the neighborhood. Citing previous work of Shoup, they suggest that such information could further raise support for an RPP scheme.

²⁰ San Francisco Municipal Transportation Agency. "SFpark Pilot Evaluation Summary." June 2014.

²¹ Guo, Zhan. "Residential Street Parking and Car Ownership." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 79, no. 1 (2013): 32-48.

²² Guo, Zhan, and Simon McDonnell. "Curb Parking Pricing for Local Residents: An Exploration in New York City Based on Willingness to Pay." *Transport Policy*, (2013), 186-98.

COLLABORATIVE CONSUMPTION AND SUPPLY-SIDE ALTERATIONS

Devoting public on-street parking space towards car-sharing infrastructure both complements the goals of on-street pricing and provides a distinct public service within itself. Hoboken's Corner Cars program provides a good example. Hoboken, like New York City, offered free residential on-street parking. In addition to implementing fees for residential parking permits, the city implemented a "Corner Cars" program which limited the supply of parking by removing 42 corner spaces from the market and designating them for car-sharing services exclusively. The initial political backlash was strong, yet two years into the program nearly a quarter of the program's 3,000 participants say they have given up their personal cars due to the sharing program.²³ Compared to other possible case studies, Hoboken offers the advantage of being within the same metropolitan area, of similar urban form, a similarly close distance to the metro area's CBD, and similarly well-served by public transit.

Research shows that car-sharing programs encourage similar policy goals as increasing parking rates, and even encourage drivers to forgo personal ownership altogether in favor of collaborative consumption. Removing unmetered spots further decreases supply for drivers seeking a free space, discouraging idle cruising and congestion. Meanwhile, the car-sharing services that are advertised in place of these unmetered spots are a living example of a service that avoids the very problem that cruising drivers are experiencing: the lack of a guaranteed parking spot, and the inconvenience of simply finding any parking space anywhere at all. Car-sharing service users enjoy the certainty that the space from which they departed will be available when they return. In dense, urban, transit-served locales such as Hoboken and Upper Manhattan, those who only use their private vehicles very occasionally – and in New York City, only 54 percent of households that use on-street parking were found to use their cars on a typical weekday²⁴ – may be open to abandoning the yearly costs of maintenance and insurance in favor of a subscription to a car-sharing service. All of these factors may well have contributed to the fact that in Hoboken, each successful Corner Car is estimated to have replaced 17 private vehicles.²⁵

Of course, as with any private-public partnership, the terms of private contracts given out are important. Although car-sharing does offer the benefits of reduced congestion and personal vehicle ownership, it would make little sense to object to the current free use of public space by a small set of citizens, to only then turn around and give said space to private firms *carte blanche*. Participating municipalities should not let the excitement of introducing innovative collaborative consumption programs blind them from remaining vigilant in the old, paramount practice of prudent contract negotiations. Thankfully, there is precedent for similar private-public partnerships where firms fairly paid cities for the public space they occupied. In 2012, the firm Car2Go paid Washington DC \$2,890 per car for access to parking zones across the city and \$1,009 per car to the city of Portland in a similar deal.²⁶ Although this proposal advocates for a Hoboken-style model of specific, demarcated, and reserved spaces rather than the all-access passes granted to Cars2Go, the DC and Portland examples demonstrate a private firm's willingness to pay for public parking space. Public spaces offer significant benefits to these firms and are worthwhile investments. Highly visible corner spaces serve as effective advertisements for their service, in comparison to spaces many firms already occupy tucked away in off-street garages. And within a Hoboken-style model of reserved spaces, firms would still be able to advertise the main selling point of the increased convenience of not having to worry about a parking space at the end of a journey. For a Hoboken Corner Cars model in New York City, calculating the cost of such a space could be as simple as charging the

²³ Shoup, Donald. "Informal Parking Markets: Turning Problems into Solutions." In *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks to Day Labor*, 277-294. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, (2014).

²⁴ Guo, Zhan, and Simon McDonnell. "Curb Parking Pricing for Local Residents: An Exploration in New York City Based on Willingness to Pay." *Transport Policy*, (2013), 186-98.

²⁵ Osgood, Andrea. "On-Street Parking Spaces for Shared Cars." *ACCESS Magazine* 1, no. 36 (2010).

²⁶ "As Car2Go Eyes NYC, Will DOT Put a Price on Curbside Parking?" *Streetsblog NYC*. July 31, 2013. Accessed October 27, 2014.

expected revenue of that space for the year, whether that is as a MUNI-metered space or a space administered by an RPP.

The neighborhood of Morningside Heights is a good example of why many New York City neighborhoods are well positioned for a car-sharing program for two reasons. First, its geography would make coverage easy to achieve. The neighborhood is thin, and placing corner cars every few blocks on the two main arterial roads of Broadway and Amsterdam would provide comprehensive coverage. This kind of geography is not unique to Morningside Heights. The vast majority of Manhattan is situated on the same transit-served grid street network that would make comprehensive coverage feasible, and denser, more central areas of the outer boroughs are similar. Second, the preeminent presence of Columbia University in the neighborhood is an example of an anchor institution that provides a user base with a low existing car ownership rate, but often in need of moving services, bulk shopping trips, and other trips made easier by car. Similar anchor institutions are dotted all around the city's map, including but not limited to other universities, public housing, and large churches. The demand for car-sharing services near Columbia University seems to already be affirmed by the market. The car-sharing company ZipCar already has a partnership program with the university and cars in an off-street garage at 110th Street and Broadway, among many other upper Manhattan locations.²⁷ Enacting a Corner Cars program could be as simple as moving these cars out into the open. Given all of these favorable conditions and the existing proof that car-sharing is already feasible in the area, Morningside Heights can serve as an effective case study for dense transit-served neighborhoods. If devoting public spaces to car-sharing does not work there, then it is unlikely to work better in less-dense outer borough neighborhoods.

INCREASED REVENUES: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR GREATER CIVIC PARTICIPATION THROUGH PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

All three policies discussed above generate new revenue for the city. From parking meters alone, the city's Office of Management and Budget (OMB) reports an expected revenue of \$204 million.²⁸ With the introduction of more "Park SMART NYC" reforms, these revenues could increase. Parking reforms aimed at achieving 85 percent occupancy have already proven effective at raising revenue across the country. The Shoup-inspired SFpark project in San Francisco reported that although increasing revenue was not a main goal of the policy, parking revenue increased by \$1.9 million across the city.²⁹

However, despite being so revenue-friendly, San Francisco still presents an example of the kind of political struggle involved in introducing parking reforms. SFpark has run into resistance from car owners who still expect cheap or free on-street parking, despite the program's very promising start. Advocates of the program note that although the city took note of Shoup's studies on how to properly price parking spaces, it ignored his recommendation to redirect revenue back to business improvement districts to shore up local support. A San Francisco based urban planning blog summarizes the state of the debate by noting that, "abstract citywide benefits like reduced traffic and pollution, or increased turnover for businesses, can usually be demonstrated only with numbers reported by a government agency, which doesn't seem to resonate well with those who can only remember digging for quarters at a meter."³⁰ The promise of direct reinvestment of revenue to the neighborhood assuages this situation, and has already proved effective within the Tristate area, in Hoboken. But better yet, in New York City there is already an on-going project that is an ideal vehicle for such reinvestment: Participatory Budgeting.

²⁷ "Columbia University." Zipcar.com. Accessed November 14, 2014. <http://www.zipcar.com/columbia>.

²⁸ NYC Office of Management and Budget. "Adopted 2015 Financial Plan." New York, NY June 26, 2014.

²⁹ San Francisco Municipal Transportation Agency. "SFpark Pilot Evaluation Summary." June 2014.

³⁰ Bialick, Aaron. "Streetsblog San Francisco." SFpark Releases Pilot Report, Considers Giving Revenue to Local Streets. June 20, 2014. Accessed December 7, 2014

Participatory Budgeting (PB) is an innovative, progressive, and successful project worth bolstering in New York City. PB aims to make local government more accessible to its corresponding community and especially underserved populations, through the control of its funds. Although PB only just arrived in New York City in 2011, it has molded well to the particular cogs and wheel of city governance, with the help of strong support from the city council's growing Progressive Caucus. In New York City, PB operates on the scale of city council districts, with each council member deciding whether or not to participate. The minimum allocation of \$1 million devoted to PB projects comes from funds otherwise allocated to member items, wherein council members more unilaterally decide which projects to fund.

In 2013, PB's second year in City Council District 8 (previously encompassing sections of the Upper West Side, now since redistricted to East Harlem and the South Bronx) traditionally underserved populations such low-income people, seniors, and people of color showed high levels of participation. Overall participation was good, and the district met the minimum allocation of \$1 million, ultimately allocating \$1.9 million to six different projects, largely dealing with public housing improvements. So far in New York City, PB has observed similar successes seen across the world of increasing democratic participation among traditionally low-participation populations.³¹

Existing parking revenue in New York City is distributed as a whole to other parts of the city budget without particular regard for the source of the income. Given that SFpark reported a \$1.9 million increase in meter revenues – three percent on the FY 2014 city-wide total of \$53 million³² despite being only in select neighborhoods – the revenue increasing ability of these reforms is significant, and would further add on to the already substantial sum of \$204 million in parking revenue in New York City. These new revenues, even if they only meet half of the expectations set by San Francisco, would constitute a meaningful addition to existing PB budgets, without reducing the existing revenue that is already distributed. And in each participating PB district, there already exists a list of eligible destinations: projects that met funding criteria, received community approval, but were not funded due to budget shortages. New revenues from each district could be applied to such projects, with the goal of exhausting the backlog of all qualifying proposals. The Office of Budget and Management does not currently itemize parking meter revenue by council district, but given that the installation of newer digital “MUNI” meters was completed in 2013, doing so should not be too arduous a task.

But introducing PB is not just a political solution. The most foundational argument for directing revenue to participatory budgeting involves the fundamental connection between public space and a community's economic and social wellbeing. The idea that the quality of public space is linked to the health of a community seems obvious and widely agreeable. And if pressed on the question, surely a wide majority of policy makers, urban planners, traffic engineers, and bureaucrats would agree. Yet still, policy often zooms in on the figures written in planning codes and budget appendices at the expense of the perspective of the citizen on the street. There has been some progress in the last half-century. Cities and towns have elected officials and employed professionals who understand and have implemented policy investing in quality public space. But at the end of the day it is difficult to expect every legislator and staffer to have a finger on the pulse of every single street corner when they allocate millions of dollars across the entirety of their districts. The residents of each city block, on the other hand, do have an intimate familiarity with their public space. Participatory budgeting is a particularly elegant mechanism in the domain of parking policy because it pairs the expertise of policy makers concerned with macro policy goals with the expertise of citizens who have an unrivaled perspective on the quality and needs of their own public space. All the while, the connection between governance, policy, and municipal revenue is made more concrete and visible to participating citizens.

³¹ Urban Justice Center. Community Development Project. “A People’s Budget: A Research and Evaluation Report on Participatory Budgeting in New York City” By Alexa Kasdan, Lindsey Cattell, and Pat Convey. 2013.

³² San Francisco Municipal Transportation Agency. “San Francisco Transportation Fact Sheet.” December 30, 2013. Revised August 2014.

Public space is a community's most basic and essential resource. Each 8' x 22' parking space represents 176 sq. feet of public space ceded to private property. And this space is not free to construct and maintain. The cheapest parking spot in the country costs \$4,000 to build – and this figure assumes the space is built on essentially worthless land, a far cry from New York City real estate.³³ Occupying a parking space and feeding a parking meter is paying rent on a piece of public property that the public pays to build and maintain. The revenue raised by this rent has a more direct connection to the physical landscape and infrastructure than other municipal revenues, such as income or sales taxes. Further, this intuitive link between revenue raised from the rent of public space and investment in communal infrastructure contains an argument for social fairness in areas such as Manhattan, where car owners tend to be slightly wealthier. Urban planning researchers Zhan Guo and Simon McDonnell concisely summarize such a connection between the parking infrastructure of dense urban communities and the problem of the social unfairness of free on-street parking:

Many argue that free residential street parking is also socially unfair, particularly in a dense urban setting where car ownership is not ubiquitous and parking supply varies by residence even on the same street. In these areas, parking spaces on residential streets represent a valuable public asset, which is paid by all residents but allocated free of charge only to car owners who tend to have a higher income. What is more, the opportunity cost of this space is what could otherwise occupy that space, e.g. extended sidewalks, pocket parks, bike lanes etc, available to everybody.³⁴

The capital at the disposal of PB districts is available for the exact kind of communal infrastructure investments that Guo and McDonnell highlight. Connecting rented revenue from existing street infrastructure and directing it towards existing and transparent processes for investing in more street infrastructure is intuitive. And above all, correcting the cost of car ownership within the city and aspiring to remove car-related externalities is an admirable and necessary goal in itself. Reinvesting the revenue into democratically and locally assigned capital projects represents a positive and progressive policy that substantively reconnects the essential importance of physical space to our communities.

CONCLUSION—THE DEMONSTRATIVE VALUE OF PARKING AS AN EXAMPLE OF WHERE THE RUBBER OF POLICY MEETS THE ROAD

Parking policy is an admittedly a tricky thing to get people passionate about. It is a textbook example of a policy topic you might hear mentioned on the likes of *Parks and Recreation* to lampoon the less glorious minutiae of local governance. Modern government, despite its relatively large size, is often said to be 'invisible.' While taxes, fees, and rent charged by the government can be very apparent to the individual citizen, the resources they provide can all too easily slip into the background of daily routine. However, parking, precisely because it is so quotidian, is not invisible and can serve as a prime example of a kind of policy that with the right adjustments can not only achieve admirable policy goals, but also encourage citizens to conceptualize the relationship between public space, individuals, government, and its funds.

Reducing traffic congestion and encouraging collaborative consumption and mass transit are goals that all cities should pursue. New York City is no exception, regardless of the fact that it already ranks highly among North American cities in density, walkability, and transit use. Cleaner, safer, and more efficient urban settings are always possible and should remain a policy goal of all municipalities. Altering the pricing scheme for on-street parking through increased metered rates, residential parking permits, and public car-sharing spaces represents a step towards a better New York City for all of its citizens. But here too there is also a policy byproduct that is greater than the sum of its parts. Connecting the ubiquitous public resource of parking spots with the more arcane and

³³ Speck, Jeff. "Step 3: Get the Parking Right." In *Walkable City: How Downtown Can save America, One Step at a Time*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, (2012).

³⁴ Guo, Zhan and Simon McDonnell, *Transport Policy* (2013)

less accessible processes of municipal budgeting makes government less invisible to the citizen on the street. Although it is a modest first step, adjusting parking policy in New York City can serve as a functional public example of where the rubber meets the road when it comes to policy, politics, and the public space we all inhabit.

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