Sightline INSTITUTE

Sightline Research Backgrounder

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GIANT SUCKING SOUND

How Initiative 985 Would Siphon Millions of Dollars from Central and Eastern Washington to Greater Seattle

SUMMARY

- Initiative 985, up for a statewide vote on this fall's ballot, would draw tax dollars from vehicle sales taxes and transportation projects all over Washington State, and put that money into a dedicated account controlled by the state legislature. At least $582 million would be deposited into this account over the next 5 years, to be used to change carpool lane management, synchronize traffic lights, and other purposes.

- However, an analysis of I-985's spending priorities suggests that **roughly 90 percent of this fund**—more than $518 million over 5 years—would ultimately be directed towards Greater Seattle (King, Snohomish, and Pierce counties). Together, these three counties have…
    - All of the carpool lanes that would be affected by I-985;
    - About 90 percent of aggregate traffic congestion delays in the state;
    - Just over half of the state's total population—enough to sway crucial political decisions about how state congestion money would be spent.

Net flow of I-985 funds, per family of four, through 2013.

Greater Seattle	+ $220
Northeast	– $253
Northwest	– $247
Olympic	– $224
North Central	– $273
South Central	– $246
Southeast	– $179
Southwest	– $206
Average: Outside Greater Seattle	– $229

- All told, Sightline estimates that **Initiative 985 would siphon about $180 million from the rest of the state into Greater Seattle—*or $229 for the average 4-person family living outside of greater Seattle*—**through 2013. This money would no longer be available to the state general fund, where it would otherwise pay for local schools, law enforcement, and other statewide priorities.

- I-985 essentially requires Washington residents throughout the state to make substantial contributions to a transportation fund that will mostly be spent on Greater Seattle roads. This raises substantial tax fairness and equity issues for residents of eastern and central Washington, as well as residents of small towns and rural areas throughout the state.

ANALYSIS

Initiative 985, up for a vote on this fall's ballot in Washington, would mandate significant changes to Washington State transportation spending priorities. If passed, the initiative would redirect roughly $574 million in sales tax revenue from the state General Fund through 2013, plus an additional $8.8 million in other tax revenues, to a dedicated transportation account controlled by the state legislature. Certain additional revenues from road tolls and red-light camera fines would also be deposited into this account. I-985 would require funds in this account to be used for four purposes: synchronizing traffic lights in order to "optimize traffic flow;" increasing emergency roadside assistance; changing the management of Greater Seattle's carpool lanes; and providing funds for transportation projects that can be used by single-occupant vehicles.

Proponents of I-985 point that out the initiative requires no new taxes, but simply shifts spending priorities for existing funds. This claim is technically accurate—but doubly misleading.

First, redirecting general fund revenue to I-985's transportation account would create budget shortfalls in other state priorities, including K-12 education, higher education, health, and law enforcement. These funding gaps could only be addressed through higher taxes, additional debt (a form of delayed tax), or cutbacks in state funding for essential services. All three choices would mean higher costs or service shortfalls for residents from the four corners of Washington.

Second, while I-985 is "revenue neutral" at the state level, it is not revenue neutral at the county level. In short, **I-985 collects taxes from residents of the entire state, but probably spends that money almost exclusively in the Greater Seattle area.**

An analysis of likely revenue and spending patterns suggests that, on net, I-985 would siphon roughly $180 million from residents outside of the central Puget Sound, to Seattle-area transportation projects, through the 2012-2013 budget cycle (see Table 1). This amounts to $229 per family of four shifted from state residents living outside Greater Seattle. Only King and Snohomish Counties are likely to see a net spending gain from I-985 (see Appendix A).

Table 1. I-985 transfers money from every part of the state to Greater Seattle.

Net flow of I-985 funds, per family of four, through 2013.

Greater Seattle	+ $220
Northeast	– $253
Northwest	– $247
Olympic	– $224
North Central	– $273
South Central	– $246
Southeast	– $179
Southwest	– $206
Average: Outside Greater Seattle	– $229

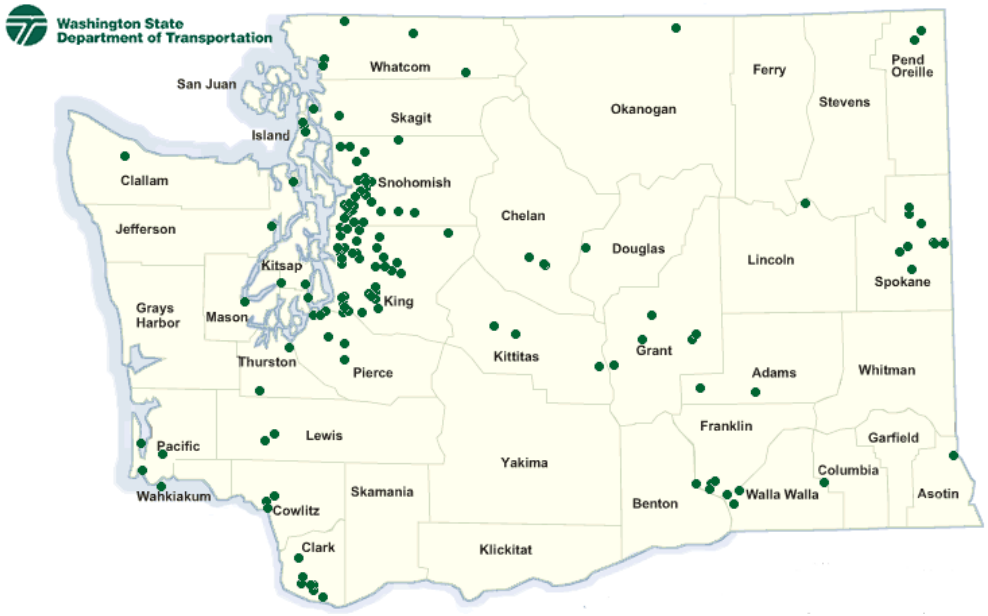
The inequitable flow of I-985 funds raises serious tax fairness questions for many Washington communities. Under I-985, general fund dollars that would otherwise flow back to local priorities—particularly as funding for K-12 education—would be captured and redirected towards Puget Sound transportation projects.

REVENUE ASSUMPTIONS

Sales taxes: The Washington State Office of Financial Management (OFM) estimates that I-985 would redirect $574 million in vehicle-related sales taxes through 2013 into a dedicated transportation account. To estimate the county-by-county impact of this shift, Sightline estimated vehicle-related sales and use taxes by residents of particular counties based on four factors: county population, county new vehicle registrations, total county sales taxes, and new and used vehicle sales taxes. Using the average of four factors, rather than a single factor such as vehicle sales, helps account for vehicles purchased in one county by residents of another county; inter-county vehicle purchases are fairly common in both urban and rural areas.

Half-percent of transportation funding: OFM estimates that I-985 would shift about $8.8 million in Department of Transportation spending from road and highway projects statewide to the state traffic congestion account. Sightline apportions these revenues to individual counties based on county-level population counts. Data on recently completed state transportation projects suggests that state transportation projects tend to be grouped in major population centers (see Map 1). This provides some empirical justification for the assumption that future transportation spending will be roughly proportional to each county's share of the state population.

Map 1. In recent years, completed state transportation projects have been concentrated in major population centers. (Source: WSDOT)



Red-light camera fines: OFM estimates that I-985 would shift $39.8 million in red-light camera fines away from local governments and into the dedicated traffic congestion account. Recent statements by Washington mayors have called this estimate into question; several mayors say that they would simply discontinue their red-light camera programs if I-985 passes, since the initiative would strip local governments of fine revenue that could pay for the cameras themselves.

To estimate the distribution of red-light camera fines, Sightline relied on an internet listing of camera-enforced intersections throughout Washington, and assumed that each intersection collected an equivalent portion of the fines estimated by the OFM. This estimate is an approximation: the listing of red-light cameras may not be complete; fine amounts will vary from intersection to intersection; and red-light camera revenue will likely plummet as localities abandon their camera enforcement programs after I-985 is enacted. However, since the bulk of the state's red-light camera intersections currently appear to be in the central Puget Sound, red-light camera funds have little effect on net inter-regional spending transfers within Washington. We anticipate that, regardless of what will happen to the camera program, the bulk of any red-light camera fine revenue will both be collected from, and spent in, the central Puget Sound counties.

SPENDING PROJECTIONS:

Carpool lane management changes: I-985 requires extensive changes to the management of the state's HOV lanes. It makes existing bus-only lanes illegal, and does the same to HOV lanes requiring three or more people per car illegal. It opens such lanes to two-person carpools from 6-9 am and 3-6 pm, Monday through Friday, and opens such lanes to single-occupant vehicle traffic at all other times.

In some cases, opening up carpool lanes to general traffic involves significant revisions to lane management. Many HOV lanes were not designed to be used for high traffic volumes, and are considered unsafe for general purpose traffic at high speeds. Under I-985, these lanes would have to be outfitted with expensive, volume-dependent speed and access controls, or else closed entirely. In addition, new ramp meters or gates would be required for some highway ramps.

The state department of transportation estimates that a total of $224 million through 2013 would be required to convert Greater Seattle's HOV lanes to general purpose traffic. This includes the cost of new signs ($2.2 million), new on-ramp traffic lights ($6 million), and new ramp gates and electronic signs for direct access ramps ($16 million). The largest single expense will be 50 miles of variable speed limit and lane use control systems to manage HOV lanes that are considered unsafe for general purpose traffic, at an estimated cost of $4 million per mile.

To estimate county-by-county spending for carpool lane conversions, Sightline estimated that spending would be apportioned based on the share of total state-managed HOV lane-miles in each county. Roughly 5 percent of such HOV lane-miles

are in Pierce County; 19 percent are in Snohomish County; and the remaining 76 percent of state-managed HOV lane-miles are in King County.

Note that *all* carpool conversion money would be spent in the Greater Seattle counties—King County, Snohomish County, and Pierce County—since no other counties have HOV lanes that would be affected by I-985's restrictions. (Kitsap County's 4.1 miles of HOV lanes would not be affected by I-985, since they already match I-985's time restrictions.)

Traffic light synchronization: I-985 requires that cities, counties, and the state synchronize local traffic lights to "optimize traffic flow." Money from I-985's traffic congestion fund would be used to pay for light synchronization. OFM estimates that signal synchronization will cost $37.3 million for city-owned traffic lights, $3.6 million for county-maintained lights, $6.8 million for state-owned lights, and an additional $18 million for integrating state and local light synchronization systems, for a total of $65.7 million spent on traffic light synchronization.

OFM's figures were based on a number of underlying assumptions. First, they assumed that I-985's light synchronization requirement would apply only to cities with populations over 5,000; smaller cities wouldn't have sufficient traffic volumes to justify signal optimization. Second, OFM relied on a US Department of Transportation estimate that there is one signalized intersection for every 1,000 city residents. Third, OFM assumed that calibrating a single city or county intersection requires about $5,000 in engineering and equipment costs, based on the costs that Seattle already incurs for this expense. Fourth, for county roads, OFM found that only King, Snohomish and Pierce counties maintain roads with signalized intersections where traffic volumes would trigger I-985's synchronization requirements. Fifth, OFM assumed that synchronizing a single traffic light on a state highway would cost $8,500. Sixth, OFM estimated that integrating state and local light synchronization efforts would cost $18 million. Lastly, OFM assumed that lights would be re-synchronized every 2.5 to 3 years, to account for changing traffic patterns.

To estimate county-by-county spending on light synchronization, Sightline first estimated city-level costs using OFM population estimates for all Washington State cities. Sightline also followed OFM's assumptions about the cost and scope of synchronization. Sightline then apportioned $3.6 million for county light synchronization to Greater Seattle counties, based on county-level population. Finally, Sightline estimated the distribution of traffic light synchronization costs for state roads, based on population figures within each county.

Roadside assistance: I-985 requires an unspecified increase in emergency roadside assistance to help clear vehicle accidents or breakdowns that would otherwise impede traffic. The state department of transportation already maintains 55 incident response vehicles throughout the state, concentrated on the most heavily

traveled highways. Currently, 3 of those vehicles are not in service because of a hiring freeze.

Based on a Department of Transportation needs assessment, OFM estimated that I-985 that it could reasonably augment its current incident response vehicle fleet to a total of 65 vehicles, including 5 heavy vehicles and 5 light vehicles. Based on state cost estimates for purchasing and staffing these vehicles, these 10 additional incident response vehicles will require roughly $6.5 million in spending through 2013.

In addition, the Washington State Patrol identified additional needs for 13 additional officers, plus other dedicated staff and equipment, to assist with accident investigation and prevention in the central Puget Sound. OFM assumed that these costs would qualify for I-985's incident response funding. Given a total OFM estimate of $18 million for incident response, Sightline estimates the costs of new Washington State Patrol services at $11.5 million through the end of 2013.

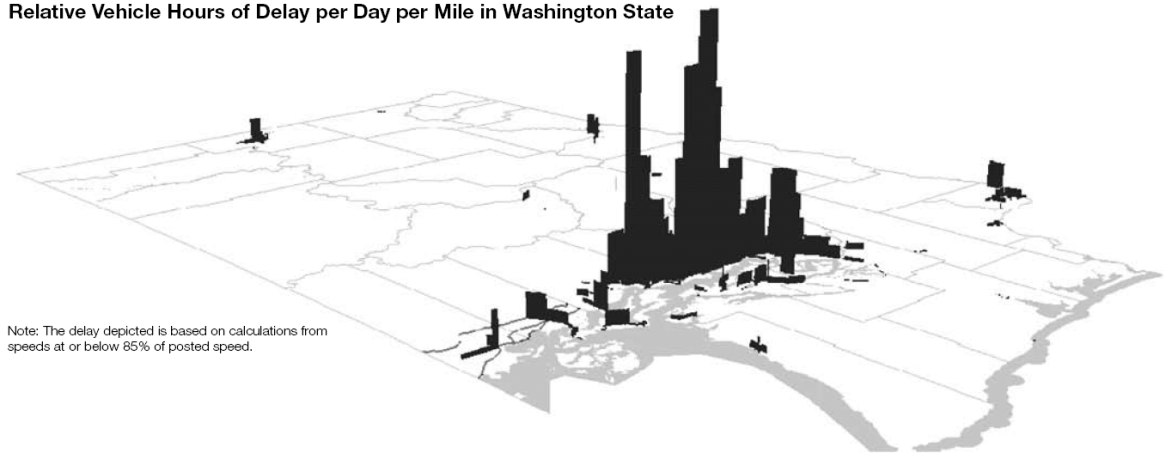
To estimate county-by-county spending on new incident response vehicles, Sightline identified the counties in which vehicles are currently operating, and apportioned new spending based on the share of incident response vehicle time currently devoted to each county. Sightline apportioned the Washington State Patrol spending within Puget Sound based on county population.

Congestion relief projects:

The large majority of aggregate traffic delays in Washington State are located in Greater Seattle (see Map 2). Data obtained from the Washington State congestion database for state highways indicates that 61 percent of aggregate statewide congestion-related travel delays are located in King County alone. Snohomish County accounts for 17 percent of aggregate congestion delays, and Pierce County for 10 percent. No other county—not even heavily populated Clark county and Spokane County—accounted for more than 2 percent of total statewide traffic congestion.

Because central Puget Sound is the center of gravity of both severe congestion and political power in the state, Sightline expects that the majority of money from I-985's dedicated traffic account that is not devoted to other specified priorities would ultimately be spent where traffic congestion is worse: in King County and its immediate neighbors to the north and south. To estimate county-by-county spending from I-985's dedicated transportation fund, Sightline apportioned all funding not used for specified priorities (light synchronization, incident response, carpool lane conversion, and program administration) based on each county's share of total congestion delay, as reported by WSDOT.

Map 2. About 90 percent of statewide traffic congestion is located in King, Snohomish, and Pierce counties. ***Source: WSDOT.***



NET REVENUE FLOWS:

After accounting for county-by-county contributions to I-985's dedicated transportation account, and all required and anticipated spending from that account within each county, Sightline finds the following:

1) ***Under I-985, King County would receive $172 million from the rest of the state. Snohomish County would receive $41 million.***

King County residents would contribute roughly $225 million to I-985's traffic account through 2013—about 36 percent of the anticipated total. But Sightline expects that about $399 million, *or nearly two thirds of all money in the I-985 account*, would be spent within King County. Roughly $171 million of this amount would be spent on carpool lane conversions, $192 million on congestion relief projects, $25 million on traffic light synchronization, and $10 million on incident response.

On net, then, I-985 siphons about $172 million from residents of other counties into King County transportation spending—a net inflow of about $379 for every family of 4 living in King County.

Snohomish County spending patterns are similar, though less extreme. County residents would contribute $66 million to the I-985 fund, and roughly $107 million would be spent in the county, for a net inflow of $41 million from the rest of the state. This net inflow amounts to $245 dollars per family of four in Snohomish County through 2013, contributed to Snohomish County by residents of the rest of the state.

Surprisingly, even Pierce County appears to lose out under I-985. Pierce County residents would deposit an estimated $85 million into the I-985 account; but only $52 million from the account would be spent within the county. This amounts to a net loss of about $33 million through 2013, or $173 per family of four, for Pierce County.

2) ***Outside of central Puget Sound, I-985 would siphon away $180 million—or $229 per family of four—to pay for Greater Seattle transportation projects. This is spending that has little or no local benefits.***

Reasonable revenue and spending projections for I-985 suggest that every single county in the state, with the exception of Snohomish County and King County, lose out under I-985. Collectively, counties outside of Greater Seattle contribute $180 million more to the statewide congestion fund than they receive. This means that I-985 would require each family of 4 outside the central Puget Sound counties to contribute an average of $229 over 5 years to Greater Seattle transportation projects. Residents of rural areas and small towns are the big losers under I-985: they would contribute significant amounts of tax money to the I-985 fund, yet receive essentially no direct, local benefits for that money.

CONCLUSION

The figures in this report are estimates. Actual county-level revenue flows will vary, depending on unforeseeable future events. On the revenue side, vehicle sales will depend on county-by-county economic and population trends and other factors. Patterns of WSDOT spending on transportation projects (from which I-985 draws a half percent of available funding) will depend on legislative priorities, gas tax receipts, and unfolding events. And red-light camera revenues are inherently unpredictable, especially since I-985 would ultimately deprive many cities of the traffic fine revenues needed to keep their cameras in operation. On the spending side, carpool lane conversion costs may differ substantially from WSDOT's initial estimates, and specific spending priorities for the I-985 transportation fund will be set by the state legislature.

But regardless of the specific estimates in this analysis, *any* statewide program that is aimed at changing carpool lane management and relieving traffic congestion will, by necessity, focus most of its spending on Greater Seattle. That's where all of the state's carpool lanes are, and where nine-tenths of the state's severe traffic congestion is located. This report is intended to present one reasonable estimate of the net revenue flows of I-985. But *any* plausible estimate of I-985's effects would show that Greater Seattle would collect substantial revenues from the rest of the state.

I-985 thus raises serious tax fairness questions within Washington. Voters outside of Greater Seattle should find very little to like in the proposal, since I-985 siphons

off statewide tax revenues that would otherwise pay for statewide priorities, and instead focuses that spending on Greater Seattle.

Yet is many ways—and despite the net revenue flows that I-985 would create—*the residents of Greater Seattle stand to lose the most from I-985*. Independent traffic engineers have now reviewed I-985's proposed restrictions on road management, and find that on many freeway segments, the specific HOV changes that I-985 mandates would slow down general purpose traffic—not just traffic in the carpool lanes, but traffic in *all* lanes.

There are three key reasons that I-985 would make Greater Seattle's transportation problems worse. First I-985 would clog bus and carpool lanes with general purpose traffic during late rush hour and mid-day. In many locations, this change would reduce the speed and reliability of carpool lanes, which would lengthen and delay trips for HOV users. Recent surveys show that without the time advantage of HOV lanes, between 15 and 20 percent of current HOV lane users would consider shifting back to driving alone—a shift that would clog all lanes with more traffic. As a result, crowded roads would become even more crowded, and rush hour travelers—not just HOV users, but drive-alone commuters as well—would face worse congestion.

Second, I-985 would make bus-only lanes illegal. It would do the same to any HOV lanes requiring three occupants (rather than two) per vehicle. These lanes would be opened to 2-person carpools during from 6-9 am and from 3-6 pm, Monday through Friday. However, some of the existing bus-only and 3-person carpool lanes simply can not be navigated safely or legally by high volumes of general purpose traffic. Examples include the seven transit/HOV direct-access ramps around Puget Sound; federal transportation officials approved these ramps interstate highway system on the specific condition that they remain closed to general purpose traffic. Similarly, the E-3 busway in Seattle, the bus-only lanes on SR-522, and the inner HOV lanes at Tukwila simply can not function appropriately, and without increased hazard risk, if they were opened to high volumes of general purpose traffic, as would be required under I-985. WSDOT would necessarily have to consider closing some of these lanes entirely if I-985 were to pass. Closure of these lanes would force transit buses and some carpools into regular lanes, creating additional congestion. Extensive litigation, or action by the state legislature, will likely be required to resolve these technical and legal problems.

Third, and most importantly, I-985 would put more cars into lanes that simply don't work well with high traffic volumes. In particular, it adds more traffic to *merging* HOV lanes—such as the 3-lane-to-2-lane HOV merge on Westbound SR 520 before the floating bridge—which would create even worse traffic backups at key merge chokepoints throughout the region. In addition to westbound SR-520, other key chokepoints that I-985 would make worse include I-5 through downtown; the Tukwila interchange between I-5 and I-405; I-405 through Bellevue; and SR-522 north of Seattle.

In all likelihood, then, *drivers and taxpayers throughout Washington would lose out under I-985*. Residents of Spokane, Vancouver, Aberdeen, Bellingham, Yakima, the Tri-Cities, and rural areas and smaller cities across the state will see their taxes shifted from the general fund—which pays for programs that benefit *all* Washington residents—to a restricted traffic account that would send roughly 90 percent of its funds to central Puget Sound. And Puget Sound residents will suffer from a misguided transportation policy that will slow down traffic, make buses and carpools slower and less reliable, and squander increasingly scarce tax dollars on highway management changes that slow down daily commutes.

Appendix A. Estimated I-985 Revenue and Spending, by County, Through 2013

COUNTY	Contributions to I-985 fund	Spending from I-985 fund	Net flow of money	Net flow per family of 4
Adams	$ 747,961	$ 113,232	$ – 634,729	$ – 150
Asotin	1,178,924	182,142	– 996,782	– 188
Benton	11,431,524	4,443,048	– 6,988,476	– 175
Chelan	7,226,673	2,027,240	– 5,199,432	– 293
Clallam	5,034,965	1,810,833	– 3,224,132	– 183
Clark	28,743,965	9,360,515	– 19,383,450	– 188
Columbia	226,593	7,924	– 218,669	– 214
Cowlitz	8,482,756	1,823,595	– 6,659,161	– 267
Douglas	3,034,353	437,075	– 2,597,278	– 290
Ferry	262,401	21,671	– 240,731	– 127
Franklin	6,702,380	873,947	– 5,828,433	– 350
Garfield	97,663	4,310	– 93,354	– 168
Grant	5,998,531	782,926	– 5,215,605	– 253
Grays Harbor	5,409,641	1,456,326	– 3,953,315	– 221
Island	3,536,735	2,311,437	– 1,225,298	– 60
Jefferson	1,340,368	759,980	– 580,388	– 79
King	225,404,576	397,096,135	+ 171,691,559	+ 376
Kitsap	19,124,412	7,348,270	– 11,776,142	– 196
Kittitas	3,157,248	501,500	– 2,655,748	– 286
Klickitat	1,007,455	82,019	– 925,436	– 182
Lewis	5,605,617	1,001,703	– 4,603,914	– 250
Lincoln	457,255	21,440	– 435,815	– 168
Mason	2,575,407	898,609	– 1,676,799	– 120
Okanogan	2,251,703	155,750	– 2,095,953	– 209
Pacific	935,830	161,492	– 774,338	– 143
Pend Oreille	592,707	34,659	– 558,048	– 172
Pierce	85,363,338	52,162,408	– 33,200,930	– 173
San Juan	876,459	29,659	– 846,800	– 221
Skagit	16,176,181	4,656,675	– 11,519,506	– 398
Skamania	505,771	21,003	– 484,768	– 179
Snohomish	65,640,957	106,705,115	+ 41,064,158	+ 245
Spokane	40,621,064	10,999,661	– 29,621,403	– 265
Stevens	2,359,527	376,877	– 1,982,650	– 186
Thurston	23,742,346	5,690,626	– 18,051,720	– 308
Wahkiakum	143,631	8,804	– 134,827	– 134
Walla Walla	3,440,546	862,726	– 2,577,820	– 179
Whatcom	14,822,539	3,796,972	– 11,025,567	– 237
Whitman	2,771,392	812,376	– 1,959,015	– 197
Yakima	15,541,381	2,732,091	– 12,809,289	– 220

Note: County-level figures are estimates. Actual results would vary, depending on future tax revenue collections and specific funding decisions by the state legislature.

Appendix B. Estimated I-985 Revenue and Spending, by Region, Through 2013

Region	Contributions to I-985 fund	Spending from I-985 fund	Net flow of money	Net flow per family of 4
North Central	$ 15,669,976	$ 3,121,566	$ – 12,548,411	$ – 273
Northeast	44,292,954	11,454,307	– 32,838,647	– 253
Northwest	35,411,914	10,794,743	– 24,617,171	– 247
Olympic	57,227,140	17,964,645	– 39,262,495	– 224
South Central	29,249,746	4,470,983	– 24,778,763	– 246
Southeast	19,894,602	6,425,758	– 13,468,844	– 179
Southwest	44,417,569	12,377,112	– 32,040,457	– 206
Greater Seattle	376,408,870	555,963,658	+ 179,554,788	+ 220
Outside Greater Seattle	246,163,902	66,609,114	– 179,554,788	– 229
WASHINGTON Total	$ 622,572,772	$ 622,572,772	$ -	-

Note: All figures are estimates. Actual results would vary, depending on future tax revenue collections and specific funding decisions by the state legislature.

For the purpose of this report, counties are grouped into regions as follows:

North Central: Chelan, Douglas, Kittitas, Okanogan
Northeast: Ferry, Lincoln, Pend Oreille, Spokane, Stevens
Northwest: Island, San Juan, Skagit, Whatcom
Olympic: Clallam, Grays Harbor, Jefferson, Kitsap, Mason, Thurston
Central Puget Sound: King, Pierce, Shohomish
South Central: Benton, Grant, Klickitat, Yakima
Southeast: Adams, Asotin, Columbia, Franklin, Garfield, Walla Walla, Whitman
Southwest: Clark, Cowlitz, Lewis, Pacific, Skamania, Wahkiakum

Appendix C. Sources and assumptions.

Population: Washington county population, from US Census Bureau. Washington city population, from Washington State Office of Financial Management.

Distribution of vehicle sales tax revenues: New vehicle registrations, by county, from Washington State Department of Transportation. County-level vehicle sales from Washington State Department of Revenue. Distribution of total sales tax and vehicle sales tax collections from Washington State Department of Transportation.

State transportation spending and net tolls: Sightline assumed that shortfalls caused by the shift of a half percent of transportation project spending to the I-985 fund would affect each county in proportion to that county's share of the state's population. A more complete, project-by-project evaluation of transportation spending would add only minimal accuracy to the estimates, and is beyond the scope of this analysis. Sightline followed OFM, assuming no net tolling revenue through 2013.

Red-light camera locations, by city: Interactive database at http://photoenforced.com. Note that this list has not been audited for completeness or accuracy by city or state transportation agencies.

Spending on light synchronization and incident response: General assumptions from Washington State Office of Financial Management. Sightline apportioned the projected incident response funding based on existing county-level distributions for those services, based on personal communications with WSDOT staff. Sightline apportioned stoplight synchronization spending by county, based on OFM assumptions, county-level population counts, and the number of residents in each county living in cities with at least 5,000 residents.

Statewide traffic congestion: Data on total congestion delays provided by Washington State Department of Transportation. For these estimates, Sightline calculated county-level travel times that are below the posted speed limits. Sightline also considered another possible definition of congestion delays: travel that is below 85 percent of posted speeds. But this choice did not materially affect the final estimates of intrastate funding transfers.

State HOV lane miles: Provided by Washington State Department of Transportation. Sightline apportioned HOV conversion spending based on the share of state-managed HOV lanes in each county. Additional HOV lane-miles are managed by local governments in King and Snohomish Counties, but OFM does not provide cost estimates for conversion costs for such lanes. Including locally-managed HOV lanes in our calculations would shift an even higher percentage of I-985 funds to King and Snohomish Counties.