## The Toll Road Not Taken

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Tom Maze Transportation Seminar Series May 2, 2014



#### Some background about myself

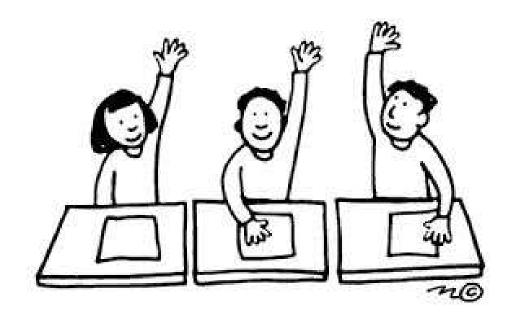
- In transportation engineering since 1990
- Licensed professional engineer
- Licensed attorney
- Used to pay \$2.00 in tolls every weekday to cross the Delaware River (now \$5.00)





#### Differing Perceptions of Toll Roads

Raise your hand if you love toll roads





# Outline Today, we will examine ...

#### Reasons behind toll road attitudes

- o Crisis!
- Modern history of roads
  - 34<sup>th</sup> President, Ike
- Trade-offs of toll financing
- Future of road financing



# TRANSPORTATION FINANCING CRISIS?



#### **Crisis! Equation**

increasing transportation demand

+

increasing construction costs

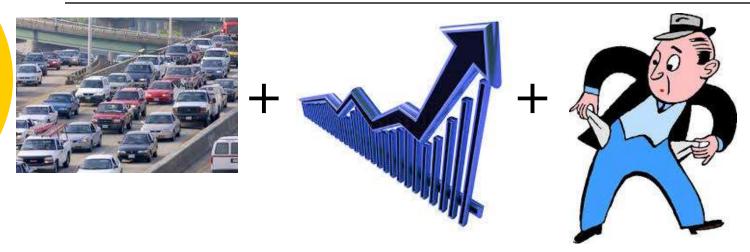
+

decreasing funding

infrastructure crisis!



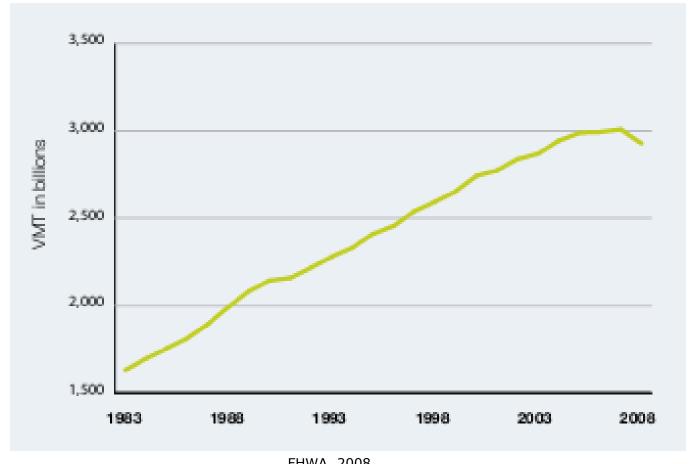
# Crisis! Equation Illustrated







## **Increasing Transportation Demand**





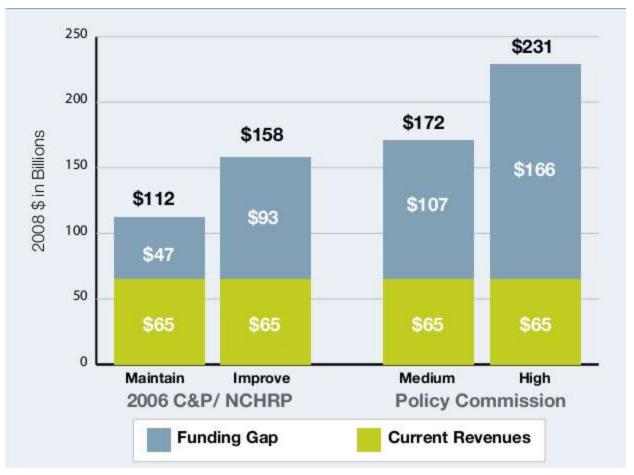


### Construction Cost Index (ENR)



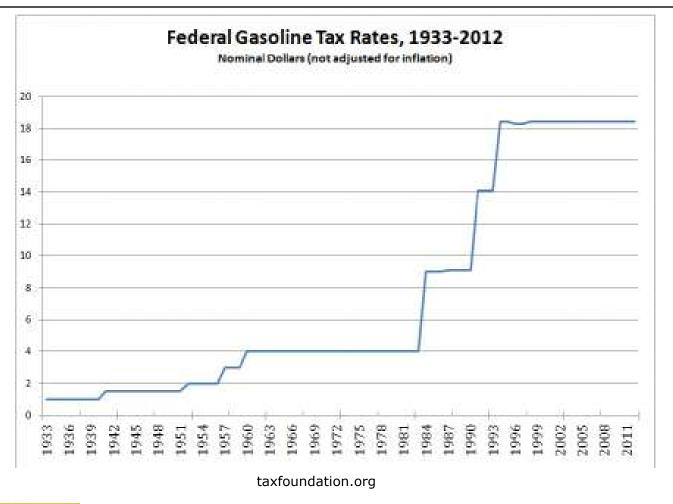


#### **Transportation Financing Levels**



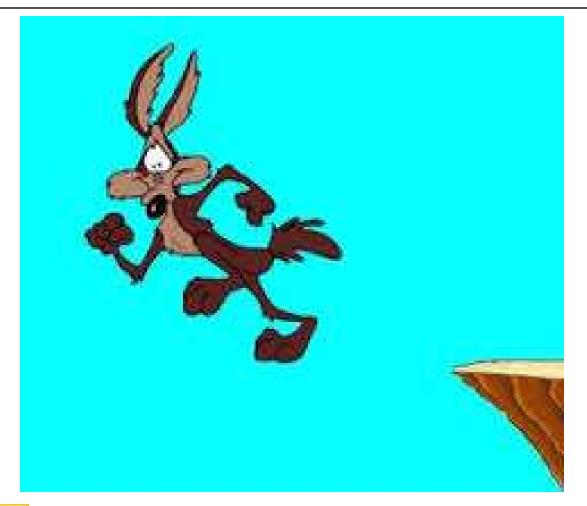


#### Gas Tax Level





## Crisis!





#### A HISTORICAL JOURNEY



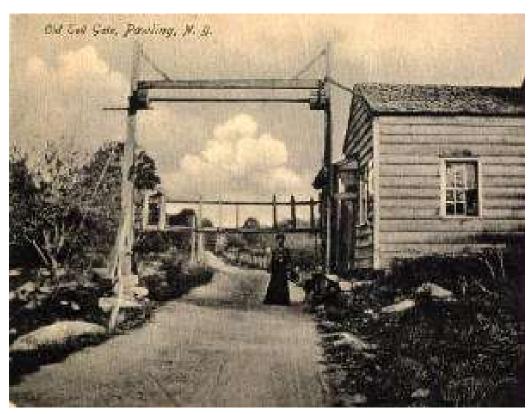
#### Turnpikes

- O What is a turnpike?
- What is the origin of the word?



## **Turnpikes**

- A gate
- O What is shunpiking?





FHWA 2013

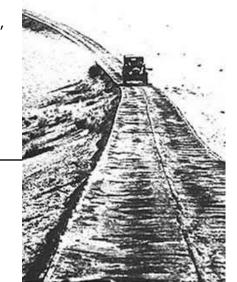
#### Nineteenth Century

- Northeast 73% of turnpikes
- Midwest: MO, IL, MI, IA



- Cumberland Rd/National Pike MD to IL
- Highly regulated
  - Fixed tolls; church & town meeting exemption
- Enormous economic impact





# Toll Roads and Free Roads

- Commissioned by Congress in 1938
- Influential in advocating for HTF
- Federal-Aid Highway
   Act (& Revenue Act)





### 1939 BPR Report

How to finance 6 intercontinental

highways

• 3 E-W

• 3 N-S





#### 1939 Report – Toll Estimates

- 1945-1960: estimated vehicle paying traffic
  - 699 autos and 175 trucks per day
- Average toll rates of 1 cents per vehicle-mille for passenger cars
- Total toll \$72M/year
- Total cost \$184M
- 39.2% solvency ratio



#### 1939 Report – Toll Estimates

- Light transcontinental travel
- Trip lengths < 5 miles 25%-44%</li>
- Median length 6.3 8.9 miles
- Distances shorter than toll-highway

access points





#### Comments on 1939 Report

- BPR's opposition differed from modern
  - Pragmatic approach
- Travel demand post 1960 ↑
  - 1960-1990 commuting increased by 136%
  - Ownership tripled to 153M
- $\circ$  Household income from 1967 to 2008  $extstyle{ au}$



Capacity: 520 vph vs. >2200 vph



#### Highway Act of 1956

- Previously
  - federal excise taxes on motor fuel & vehicles into general fund
  - appropriations for federal aid
- Highway Trust Fund model
- o 90% federal share / 10% state
- o 1st section in ...



Holmes, 2010



#### Highway Act of 1956

- Post WWII autobahns
- Establish 42k miles quickly
  - Not long term solution
- Not intended to restrict state flexibility
- National System of Interstate and **Defense** Highways





#### Highway Act Competing Interests

- Special Assistant for Public Works
   Planning General Bragdon
- Treasury Secretary George Humphrey
- Truckers
- Al Gore Sr., Fallon, Boggs Senate & House













#### 1959 Political Climate

 Receipts of trust fund were expected to exceed expenditures by nearly \$7.7 billion

 Optimistic revenue outlook for trust fund as formulated using "free" roads

model



### 1956 Highway Act Limitations on Federal-Aid Funds

- Beginning of exclusion of new toll facilities on IS
- Turnpikes in existence, include into Interstate System
  - e.g. KS, MA, NJ, PA
- Act meant to promote uniformity
  - bifurcating states into toll and non-toll



# TRADE-OFFS OF TOLL FINANCING



#### **Collection Costs**

- Gas tax collection low cost
  - 1% of revenue
- Tolling more costly
  - New tech allows collection at speed
  - 6-15 cent/transaction operational cost



Worrall, 2009



#### **Local Benefit**

- Gas tax in-state fees
   vs in-state travel
- Tolling capture out-ofstate travelers
  - e.g. I-70
  - But merely shifting and not augmenting?

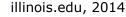




### Link Between Charges and Use

- Gas tax loosely tied, fuel efficiency differences
  - 18-kip ESALS
- Registration and licensing not directly tied to miles traveled
- Tolls direct link







#### Highway Subsidies

- Revenue generated through fuel taxes not cover full cost of transportation
  - bonding, sales tax, property tax, income tax, incident management, externalities
- Subsidies do not promote economic efficiency (tragedy of the commons)
- Tolling could include more impact
  - congestion pricing



### A Double Whammy?

- Tolling amount to paying twice?
  - fees and gas taxes already paid
- o Revenues go to finance same benefit?
  - e.g. TCA fuel for maintenance, tolls to fund operating and bond interest





#### Roads Should be Free

- There ain't no such thing as a free lunch
  - Free roads = misnomer
- Confusion between constitutional right to move freely between states or visit

Free!

another state



#### **Equality**

- Affordability?
  - Exclusion of lower income travelers
- Related housing issue
- Hybrid vehicles



# Other Alternatives? VMT Fee System

- Direct user fee based on miles driven
- Best option identified by congressional commission
- User connects cost with service provided
- User miles and locations (jurisdictions) tracked via GPS





#### Other Alternatives?

- Bonds
- General sales tax, excise tax increase, increase user fees
- Property tax
- Development exactions and impact fees
- Transportation development districts





#### What is a Good Question

 Are you for toll roads or against them?





# More Information on Legal Aspect of Toll Roads

- The Toll Road Not Taken: Could the One Option Less Used Make A Difference?
- Kansas Journal of Law & Public Policy
- 21 Kan. J.L. & Pub. Pol'y 280

