Bus vs. Rail vs.? How Do We Get the Most Bang for Our Transit Investment Buck?



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An Evaluation Framework: Some Thinking Points

- What are the <u>problems</u> that investments in buses or rail transit seek to address?
 - Traffic congestion?
 - Mobility for those without? (because of age, income, or disability)
 - Air pollution, energy consumption?
 - Deserve our share of federal \$\$\$?
 - All great cities have rail transit?



An Evaluation Framework: Some Thinking Points

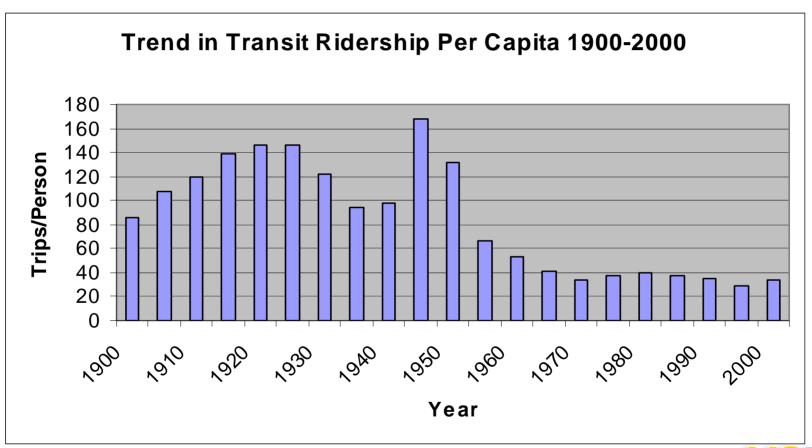
- Do the problem definition and proposed solutions match in scope and scale?
 - Congestion levels are increasing across the road network...
 - Regulating auto use is unpopular...
 - Let's try to lure more drivers onto public transit...
 - Rail lines and busways are dramatic and sexy
 - they are more likely to interest drivers than boring old buses
 - Even if they cover just a tiny fraction of possible CLA origins and destinations Institute of Transportation Studies

An Evaluation Framework: Some Thinking Points

- Do advocates tend to define the problems in terms of their preferred solutions?
 - The problem is that Honolulu doesn't have rail transit (major league sports franchise, new airport, stadium with luxury boxes, etc.)
- Or...
 - Traffic congestion is a serious problem; what are the most cost-effective ways (transit or otherwise) to address this problem?



Transit use nationwide is relatively flat, despite substantial increases in investment



So What Explains Transit Ridership?



What Explains Transit Ridership?

Regional Geography

- Population
- Population Density
- Regional Topography/Climate
- Metropolitan Form/Sprawl
- Area of Urbanization
- Employment Concentration/Dispersion

Metropolitan Economy

- Gross Regional Product
- Employment Levels
- Sectoral Composition of Economy
- Per Capita Income
- Land Rents/Housing Prices

Population Characteristics

- Racial/Ethnic Composition
- Proportion of Immigrant Population
- Age Distribution
- Income Distribution
- Proportion of Population in Poverty

Auto/Highway System

- Total Lane Miles of Roads
- Lane Miles of Freeways
- Congestion Levels
- Vehicles Per Capita
- Proportion of Carless Households
- Fuel Prices
- Parking Availability/Prices

Transit System Characteristics

- Dominance of primary operator
- Route Coverage/Density
- Headways/Service Frequency
- Service Safety/Reliability
- Fares
- Transit Modes (Bus, Rail, Paratransit, etc)

Transit
Patronage



Driving and Transit Use Nationwide

- Between 1993 and 2003...
 - Travel on freeways increased almost 10 times faster (35.4% to 3.6%) than new freeway mileage
 - Rail transit patronage increased more slowly (23.1% to 26.7%) than new rail transit service
 - Inflation-adjusted government subsidies of transit (57.1%) increased much, much faster than total transit patronage (11.0%)



Investments today focus on transit

- Public transit
 - 20% of all government surface transportation expenditures today
 - 3% of all metropolitan person trips
- In Los Angeles
 - 55% of all government surface transportation expenditures through 2030
 - Transit's share of travel project to increase from 3% to 4%

Transit in Honolulu – 1998 to 2003

 Service hours (+13.4%), total inflationadjusted expenditures (+8.0%), and inflation-adjusted expenditures per passenger (+12.1%) are up

 Total ridership (-3.7%) and passengers per service hour (-15.1%) are down



Loss of markets and market share to private vehicles



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- Public regulation discourages pricing (fare) innovations



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- Work rules conflict with increasing demand peaking
- Pressure to expand service as cities grow
- Chronic overcapitalization
 - Focus on tracks and concrete, when rubber and asphalt will do
 - The "ribbon-cutting" problem



Subsidies and the Four Dimensions of Transit Costs

- Nationwide, taxpayers subsidize approximately 2/3 (65.3%) of transit costs.
- Close to 100 percent of transit <u>capital</u> costs are subsidized.
- Over half (58%) of transit <u>operating</u> costs are subsidized.
 - Fares cover 23% of operating costs on "TheBus," and none of the capital costs

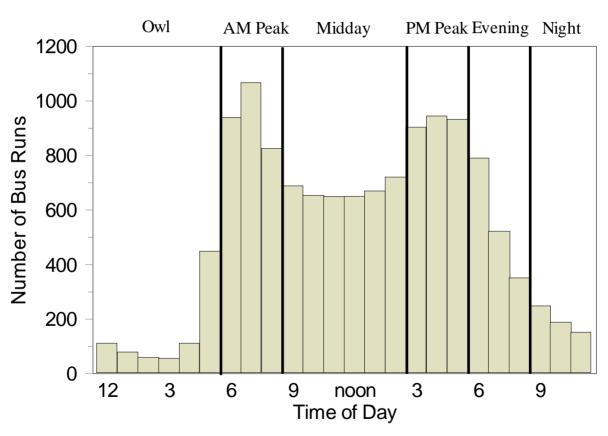


Subsidies and the Four Dimensions of Transit Costs

- Such aggregate data, however, mask the variable nature of transit costs, which vary by:
 - Peak versus off-peak travel
 - Peak direction versus backhauls
 - Trip length
 - Transit mode

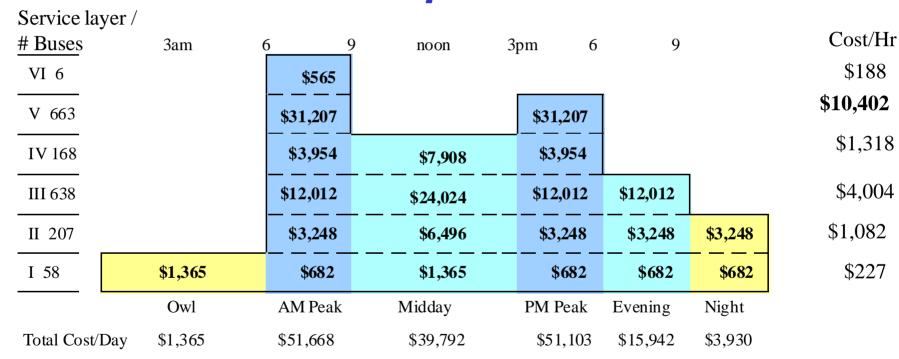


Time-of-Day Variation in Service Levels: Los Angeles MTA



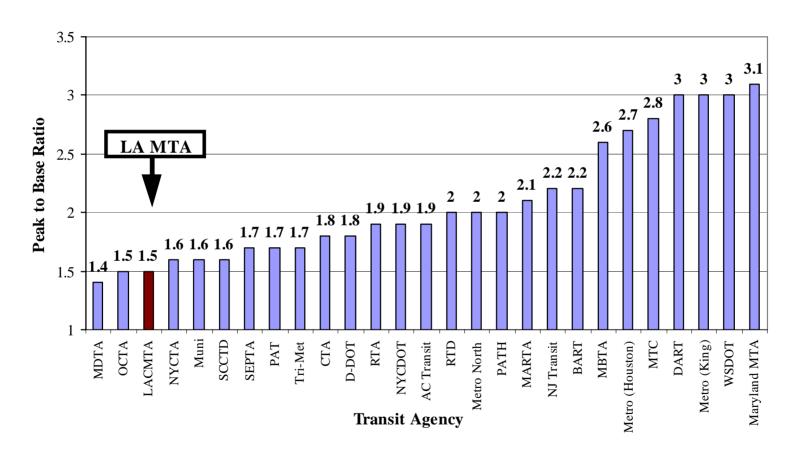


Marginal Cost Approach to Allocating Vehicle Capital Costs





Peak/Base Ratios of the Twenty-Seven Largest Transit Operators (Honolulu = 2.74)





Peak direction versus backhauls

- Transit demand varies by direction too
 - Demand tends to be highest:
 - Inbound in the morning, and outbound in the afternoon
 - Directional peaking is most pronounced on express bus and commuter rail lines
 - Thus, peak hour, peak direction commuter services tend to be most expensive transit trips



Trip length

- Longer trips are more expensive to serve than shorter trips.
 - Exacerbated by "flat fares" that do not vary whether a passenger rides two blocks or ten miles.





Transit Mode

- The very high capacities of rail transit works best in very densely developed, congested corridors where parking is limited and expensive
 - like those found in Manhattan,
 Mexico City,
 Hong Kong, and
 Tokyo





Transit Mode



- Elsewhere, buses are generally less expensive to purchase and operate than rail transit.
 - New RapidBus services realize some of the operating benefits of rail at much lower costs



>> Though the trend in BRT is toward capital-intensive "light rail lite" projects, rather than cost-effective incremental improvements to local bus service Institute of Transportation Studies



Honolulu

It's not Tokyo or Hong Kong, but the physical boundaries and high densities make Honolulu a "transit-friendly" city

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The Most and Least Densely-Settled Large (500,000+) Urbanized Areas in 2001

RANK	URBANIZED AREA NAME	STATE	ESTIMATED POPULATION (1,000)	NET LAND AREA (SQ. MILES)	PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
1	Los Angeles	CA	12,770	2,231	5,724
2	Honolulu	ні	694	135	5,141
3	San Juan	PR	1,306	274	4,766
4	Las Vegas	NV	1,256	270	4,652
5	San Jose	CA	1,655	365	4,534
6	New York- Northeastern NJ	NY	17,146	3,962	4,328
65	Kansas City	MO	1,427	1,036	1,377
66	Jacksonville	FL	886	727	1,219
67	Sarasota- Bradenton	FL	550	464	1,185
68	Nashville	TN	669	571	1,172
69	Birmingham	AL	663	609	1,089

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Source: Highway Statistics, 2002

Many cities have downtown high-rises, but Honolulu is blessed (from a transit perspective) with high residential and visitor densities as well



Large Urbanized Areas with the Most/Least 2001 per Capita Vehicle Travel

46

65

66

67

68

69

Los Angeles

Philadelphia

New Orleans

New York-Northeastern NJ

Honolulu

San Juan

					AVERAGE	
			MILES OF	TOTAL	DAILY	
			ROADWAY	DVMT	TRAFFIC/	
		STATE	PER 1,000	PER	FREEWAY	
RANK	URBANIZED AREA NAME	LOCATION	PERSONS	CAPITA	LANE	
1	Houston	TX	6.1	37.6	18,174	
2	Atlanta	GA	4.7	35.6	19,031	
3	Birmingham	AL	6.9	34.8	12,847	
4	Nashville	TN	4.4	34.3	13,763	
5	Indianapolis	IN	4.7	33.6	16,911	
6	Austin	TX	5.2	32.9	16,424	

CA

PA

HI

NY

LA

PR

2.1

3.1

1.5

2.2

2.2

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22.2

18.4

16.8

15.7

13.4

23,123

14,656

14,014

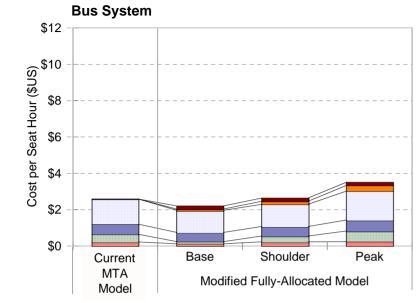
15,557





Transit Mode

- LA in the mid-1990s...
 - For \$128.1 million in operating costs, <u>11.3</u>
 <u>million</u> passengers were carried on the Los Angeles-Long Beach Blue Line (not counting the nearly \$1 billion in construction costs)
 - For \$128.1 million in operating costs, <u>183.6</u>
 <u>million</u> passengers were carried on 17 of the LA
 MTA's 22 busiest lines



Other Capital

Vehicle Capital

Vehicle Hours

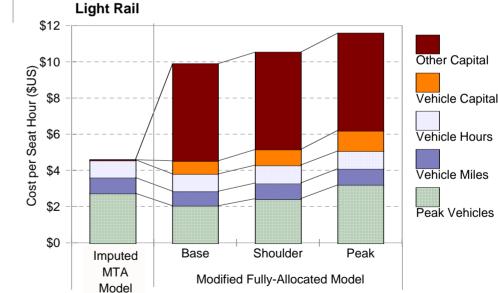
Vehicle Miles

Peak Vehicles

Roardings

Comparison of Estimated Bus System and Light Rail Costs

Using MTA Model and Fully-Allocated Model





- #1: Travel time reliability
 - Travelers like speed, but they like reliability even more
 - Wait and transfer times are especially burdensome (1.5 to 3 times more than invehicle time)
 - Frequent service with few transfers will beat fast service with transfers every time
 - Lesson: Increasing service frequency and schedule adherence attracts lots of riders

- #1: Travel time reliability
 - Lesson: Increasing service frequency and schedule adherence attracts lots of riders
 - Cost-effective ways to improve reliability
 - Better tracking and management of vehicle spacing
 - Realistic schedule setting
 - Real-time "Next Bus" information at major stops
 - Transit signal prioritization
 - Queue jumper and, in limited cases, bus-only lanes

- #2: Price
 - The cost of providing transit varies a lot
 - Peak hour, peak direction, and rail service costs a lot more than off-peak, contra-flow, and bus service
 - But transit fares tend to be "flat," per trip or even per month
 - Long-distance, peak hour, peak direction rail passengers get the biggest government subsidies, while short bus trips in the off-peak tend to require little subsidy
 - This encourages inefficiency

- #2: Price
 - Conventional wisdom holds that lowering fares is a costly way to add riders
 - Fare elasticity research:
 - Fare increases chase away higher-income riders (who can switch to cars)
 - Fare reductions attract lower-income riders (who have fewer choices)



- #2: Price
 - Lesson: Use smartcards to vary fares to reflect costs
 - Lower fares for inexpensive-to-provide trips (short, offpeak, backhaul trips)
 - Higher fares for expensive-to-provide trips (long, peak-period, peak direction, express and rail trips)
 - Would encourage better utilization of existing capacity, such as by adding rapid turnover short trips
 - Would add riders without adding much to costs



The Truth About U.S. Transit:

Most (58%) Transit Users are Bus Riders, and Most Bus Riders are Poor

MODE	MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD	MODAL HOUSEHOLD		
	INCOME CATEGORY	INCOME CATEGORY		
Transit Bus	\$15,000 - \$19,999	\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999		
Urban Rail	\$30,000 - \$34,999	\$15,000 - \$19,999		
Commuter Rail	\$40,000 - \$44,999	\$55,000 - \$59,999		
Private Vehicle	\$45,000 - \$49,999	\$35,000 - \$39,999		

Source: 1995 Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey.

Overall, 1/3 of all transit users come from households with 1995 incomes below \$15,000, and 3/5 from households with 1995 incomes below \$30,000



- #2: Price
 - Lesson: Use smartcards to vary fares to reflect costs
 - Would increase both system performance <u>and</u> social equity
 - since higher-income riders disproportionately consume expensive-to-provide trips and lower-income riders disproportionately consume inexpensive-toprovide trips



But shouldn't we improve bus service and build rail?

 Should we perform coronary artery bypass surgery before we try improved diet, exercise, and medication?

- No.
 - We start with the most proven, cost-effective ways to solve problems before moving to riskier, more expensive options
 - No matter how politically attractive they might be

So when should we build rail?

- That's easy
 - When buses can no longer handle the demand
 - The MTA 204 Vermont operates on 6 min headways in the peak; crush loads require that stops with waiting passengers are sometimes passed
 - The 38 Geary in San Francisco operates articulated (accordion) buses on 7 minute headways in the peak; the service is standing-room-only much of the time
 - The Second Avenue subway in New York City is a great project and long overdue



Rail may one day be a good idea for Honolulu...

- But unpopular complementary policies to limit auto access and market price parking would be required at a minimum..
 - And not before improved and upgraded bus service can no longer handle the loads

 And there are so many, many cost-effective ways to improve the bus network that would, without a doubt, increase transit use far more than any single rail line ever could

Rail may one day be a good idea for Honolulu...

 There are so many more cost-effective ways to improve the bus network that would, without a doubt, increase transit use far more than any single rail line every could

and at a fraction of the cost



First, We Must Solve the Ribbon Cutting Problem

- So how can we get public officials excited about ribbon-cutting media events for things like...
 - More frequent bus service
 - Better schedule adherence
 - Variable fares to reflect variable costs
 - Real time information at busy stops
 - Faster speeds with signal pre-emption, wider stop spacings, and occasional queue-jumper and bus-only lanes?

First, We Must Solve the Ribbon Cutting Problem

- How can we make ribbon-cutting media events out of things like...
 - More frequent bus service
 - Better schedule adherence
 - Variable fares to reflect variable costs
 - Real time information at busy stops
 - Faster speeds with signal pre-emption, wider stop spacings, and occasional queue-jumper and bus-only lanes
- Now that's a challenge



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- Questions? Comments?
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