

On The Right Track?

Designing Optimal Public Transit Contracts

Matías Navarro
Cornell University

2026 Transportation Engineering, Economics, and Policy Workshop
January 30, 2026

How should governments design contracts when outsourcing public transit?

Context: Public transit mitigates externalities, but **low quality** discourages ridership

- 51% of Americans report inadequate bus, subway, or commuter train service (AHS, 2023)

How should governments design contracts when outsourcing public transit?

Context: Public transit mitigates externalities, but **low quality** discourages ridership

- 51% of Americans report inadequate bus, subway, or commuter train service (AHS, 2023)

Trend: Cities are increasingly **contracting out** public transit to private firms

- Ex: Singapore, Paris, Hong Kong, Sao Paulo, London, Santiago
- Why? → To discipline operators and benchmark performance and costs

How should governments design contracts when outsourcing public transit?

Context: Public transit mitigates externalities, but **low quality** discourages ridership

- 51% of Americans report inadequate bus, subway, or commuter train service (AHS, 2023)

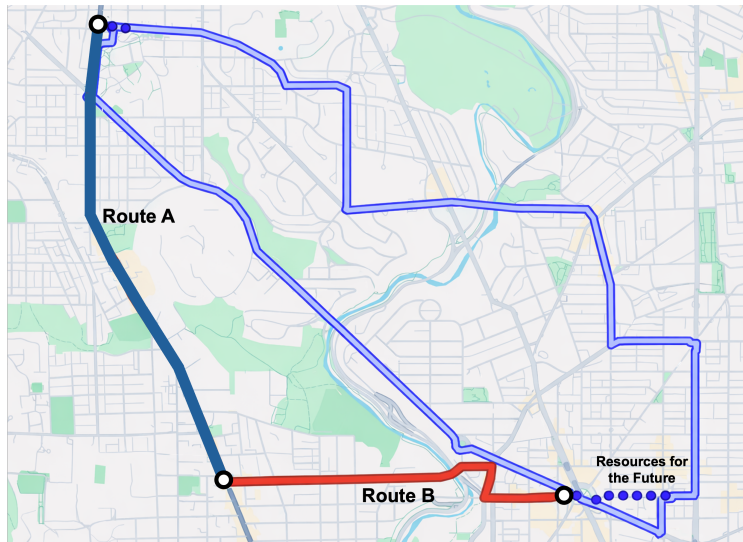
Trend: Cities are increasingly **contracting out** public transit to private firms

- Ex: Singapore, Paris, Hong Kong, Sao Paulo, London, Santiago
- Why? → To discipline operators and benchmark performance and costs

Challenge: How to design these contracts?

- **Quality targets:** Too lax → poor service. Too strict → high costs
- **Route bundles:** Too few → weak competition. Too many → weak coordination

Washington D.C. Example



This Paper

Policy variation

- Large contract reform affecting 40% of transit routes in Santiago, Chile in 2022
 - Stricter **quality targets** and smaller **route bundles** (more operators)

Research question

- How should **quality targets** and **route bundles** be designed in public transportation contracts to maximize welfare?

Empirical approach: Transportation Engineering + Economics

1. Event study: Estimate how operators respond to quality target and route bundle changes
2. Model: Simulate counterfactual contract designs to identify optimal contract parameters

Roadmap

Background and Data

Descriptive Evidence

Model and Counterfactual Analysis

Setting and Institutional Details

Transit Agency



For travelers: Sets public transit fares

For operators:

- Sets quality targets for service attributes
- Creates route bundles for auction

Setting and Institutional Details

Transit Agency



For travelers: Sets public transit fares

For operators:

- Sets quality targets for service attributes
- Creates route bundles for auction

Bundle 1



Bundle 2



Bundle 3



Bundle 4



Setting and Institutional Details

Transit Agency

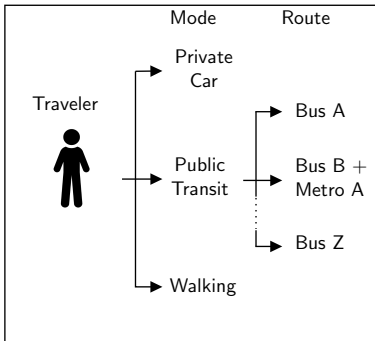


For travelers: Sets public transit fares

For operators:

- Sets quality targets for service attributes
- Creates route bundles for auction

Travelers



Setting and Institutional Details

Transit Agency

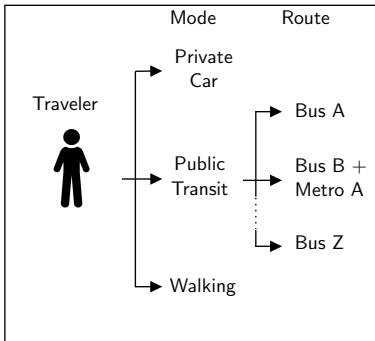


For travelers: Sets public transit fares

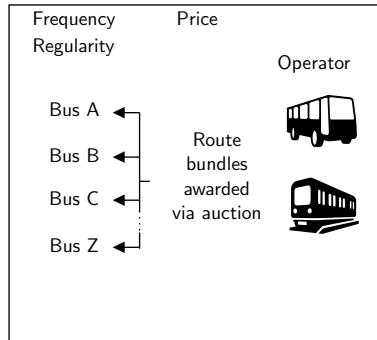
For operators:

- Sets quality targets for service attributes
- Creates route bundles for auction

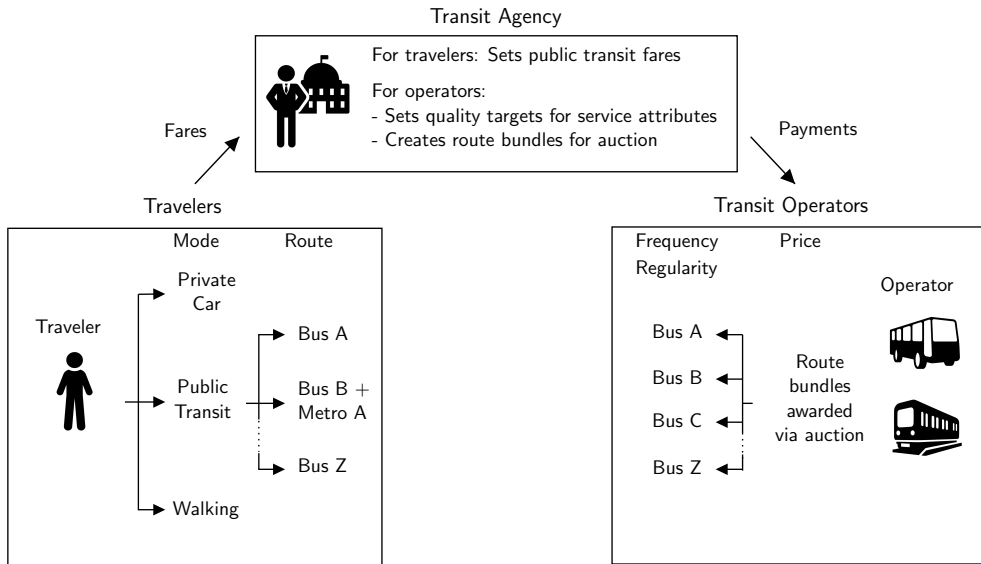
Travelers



Transit Operators



Setting and Institutional Details



Data Sources

1. Quality targets and route bundles → Policy variation
 - Transit contracts data: Before and after the contract reform.
2. Frequency and headway regularity choices → Transit Operators
 - GPS (30 sec) for all buses (2022–2023): $\sim 15\text{M}$ a day.
3. Transportation mode and public transit route choices → Travelers
 - Household travel survey (2012–2013): Representative sample of $\sim 50,000$ trips.
 - Smartcard data (2012–2023): All transit trips ($\sim 30\text{M}$ a week) and itinerary.
4. Traffic flows and travel time → Traffic congestion
 - Traffic readers and Google Maps API (2022): 70 locations in 15-min intervals.

Roadmap

Background and Data

Descriptive Evidence

Model and Counterfactual Analysis

Descriptive Evidence: Do stricter Quality Targets bite?

Treated group

112 routes

+

Control group*

31 routes

=

Difference-in-differences sample

Aug 2022 – Aug 2023



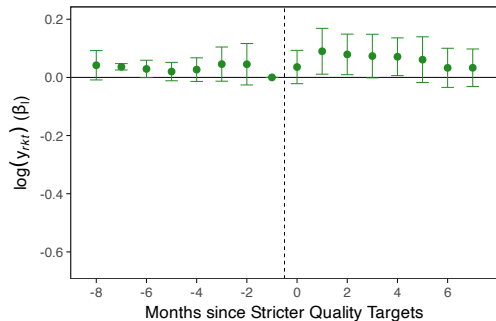
*Spillovers: Only 0.8% of O–D pairs have choice sets that include both a treated and a control route.

Descriptive Evidence: Do stricter Quality Targets bite?

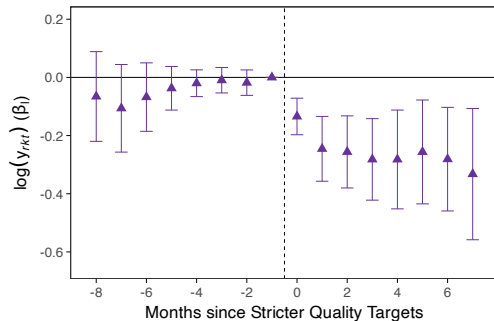
I compare treated and control routes over time:

- If similar trends before the reform → Groups are comparable ✓

Effect on Frequency



Effect on Headway Regularity

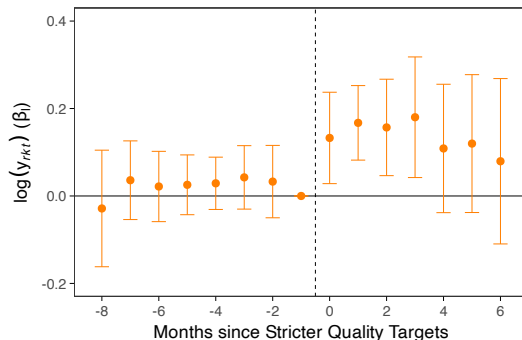


Descriptive Evidence: Do Travelers respond to better Service Quality?

I compare treated and control routes over time:

- If similar trends before the reform → Groups are comparable ✓

Effect on Ridership



Descriptive Evidence: Takeaways

Stricter quality targets improve reliability and travelers respond

- Headway regularity improves by 16% and ridership increases by 11%
- Suggests penalties may be lower than effort costs of improving regularity

I develop and estimate a model to:

- Map changes in contract design into firms' costs of providing service attributes
- Capture traveler substitution patterns within transit and across modes
- Quantify welfare implications of alternative contract designs and optimal policy

Roadmap

Background and Data

Descriptive Evidence

Model and Counterfactual Analysis

Model Overview

Transit Agency

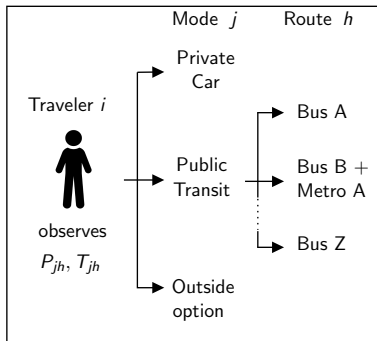


For travelers: Sets public transit fares P_h

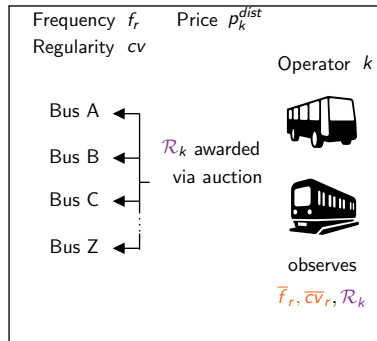
For operators:

- Sets quality targets $\bar{f}_r, \overline{cv}_r$
- Creates route bundles \mathcal{R}_k

Travelers



Transit Operators



Model Overview

Transit Agency

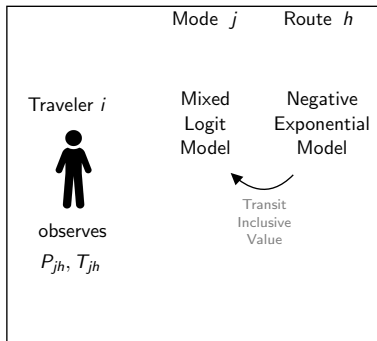


For travelers: Sets public transit fares P_h

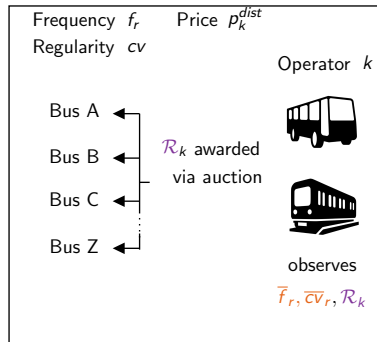
For operators:

- Sets quality targets $\bar{f}_r, \overline{cv}_r$
- Creates route bundles \mathcal{R}_k

Travelers



Transit Operators



Model Overview

Transit Agency

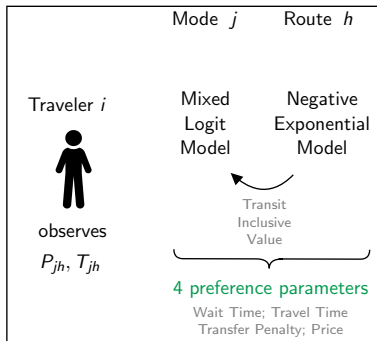


For travelers: Sets public transit fares P_h

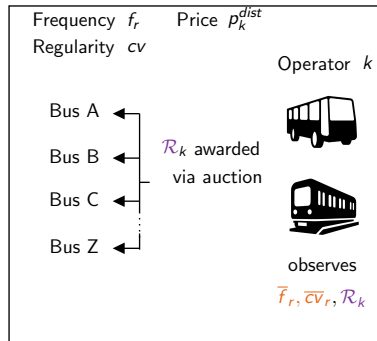
For operators:

- Sets quality targets $\bar{f}_r, \overline{cv}_r$
- Creates route bundles \mathcal{R}_k

Travelers



Transit Operators



Model Overview

Transit Agency

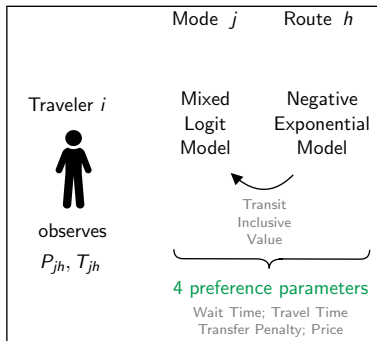


For travelers: Sets public transit fares P_h

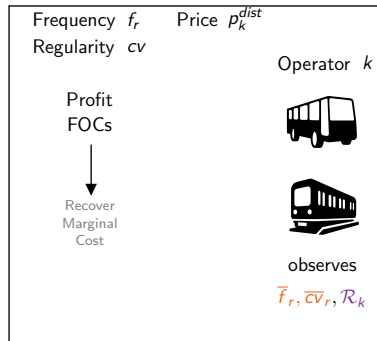
For operators:

- Sets quality targets $\bar{f}_r, \overline{cv}_r$
- Creates route bundles \mathcal{R}_k

Travelers



Transit Operators



Model Overview

Transit Agency

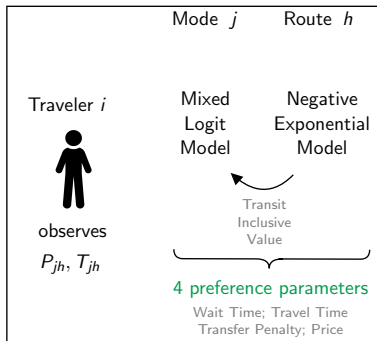


For travelers: Sets public transit fares P_h

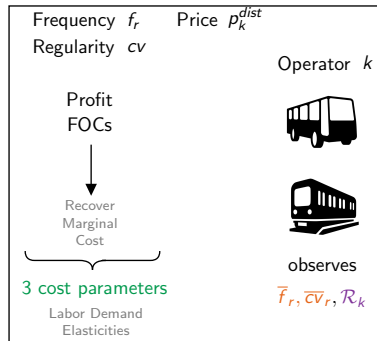
For operators:

- Sets quality targets $\bar{f}_r, \overline{cv}_r$
- Creates route bundles \mathcal{R}_k

Travelers



Transit Operators



Model Overview

Transit Agency

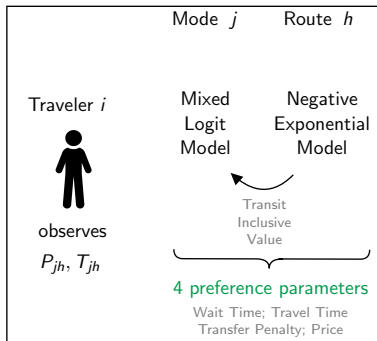


For travelers: Sets public transit fares P_h

For operators:

- Sets quality targets $\bar{f}_r, \overline{cv}_r$
- Creates route bundles \mathcal{R}_k

Travelers

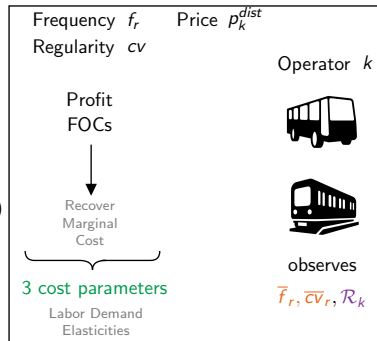


Equilibrium

Demand = $D(\text{Price}, \text{Time})$

Time = $\tau(\text{Demand}, \text{Flows})$

Transit Operators



Counterfactual Analysis: Policy Questions

I simulate counterfactual scenarios to answer

1. How efficient are the baseline quality targets and route bundling relative to:
 - Social planner
 - Unregulated monopoly: Pure market power
 - Regulated monopoly: Role of competition

Counterfactual Analysis: Policy Questions

I simulate counterfactual scenarios to answer

1. How efficient are the baseline quality targets and route bundling relative to:
 - Social planner
 - Unregulated monopoly: Pure market power
 - Regulated monopoly: Role of competition

2. What are the welfare implications of optimal route bundling design?
 - I evaluate mergers of existing bundles → Optimal composition: ongoing work

Counterfactual Analysis: Policy Questions

I simulate counterfactual scenarios to answer

1. How efficient are the baseline quality targets and route bundling relative to:
 - Social planner
 - Unregulated monopoly: Pure market power
 - Regulated monopoly: Role of competition
2. What are the welfare implications of optimal route bundling design?
 - I evaluate mergers of existing bundles → Optimal composition: ongoing work
3. What are the welfare implications of optimal quality targets?
 - I focus on the headway regularity target → Frequency target assumed optimal

Counterfactual Analysis: Efficiency of Baseline Contract Design

| | Baseline (1) |
|---|-----------------|
| Panel A: Prices | |
| Bus Price (\$) | 0.90 |
| Bus → Metro Transfer Price (\$) | 0.10 |
| Panel B: Service Attributes | |
| Δ Frequency (%) | 0.00% |
| Δ CV of Headways (%) | 0.00% |
| Avg. Wait (min) | 5.30 |
| Avg. Speed (km/h) | 19.06 |
| Panel C: Trips | |
| Transit (M) | 0.15 |
| Private Car (M) | 0.19 |
| Panel D: Welfare and Fiscal Cost | |
| Δ Welfare (T) | 0.00 |
| Δ Consumer Surplus (T) | 0.00 |
| Δ Producer Surplus (T) | 0.00 |
| Δ Externalities (T) | 0.00 |
| Δ Regulator Net Cost (T) | 0.00 |

Counterfactual Analysis: Efficiency of Baseline Contract Design

| | Baseline (1) | Social Planner (2) |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Panel A: Prices | | |
| Bus Price (\$) | 0.90 | 0.37 |
| Bus → Metro Transfer Price (\$) | 0.10 | 0.13 |
| Panel B: Service Attributes | | |
| Δ Frequency (%) | 0.00% | 19.50% |
| Δ CV of Headways (%) | 0.00% | -19.96% |
| Avg. Wait (min) | 5.30 | 4.15 |
| Avg. Speed (km/h) | 19.06 | 22.20 |
| Panel C: Trips | | |
| Transit (M) | 0.15 | 0.28 |
| Private Car (M) | 0.19 | 0.10 |
| Panel D: Welfare and Fiscal Cost | | |
| Δ Welfare (T) | 0.00 | 544.56 |
| Δ Consumer Surplus (T) | 0.00 | 329.24 |
| Δ Producer Surplus (T) | 0.00 | -0.24 |
| Δ Externalities (T) | 0.00 | -215.56 |
| Δ Regulator Net Cost (T) | 0.00 | - |

Counterfactual Analysis: Efficiency of Baseline Contract Design

| | Baseline (1) | Social Planner (2) | Monopoly (U) (3) |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Panel A: Prices | | | |
| Bus Price (\$) | 0.90 | 0.37 | 2.11 |
| Bus → Metro Transfer Price (\$) | 0.10 | 0.13 | 0.10 |
| Panel B: Service Attributes | | | |
| Δ Frequency (%) | 0.00% | 19.50% | -29.26% |
| Δ CV of Headways (%) | 0.00% | -19.96% | 39.93% |
| Avg. Wait (min) | 5.30 | 4.15 | 8.79 |
| Avg. Speed (km/h) | 19.06 | 22.20 | 16.01 |
| Panel C: Trips | | | |
| Transit (M) | 0.15 | 0.28 | 0.07 |
| Private Car (M) | 0.19 | 0.10 | 0.24 |
| Panel D: Welfare and Fiscal Cost | | | |
| Δ Welfare (T) | 0.00 | 544.56 | -943.98 |
| Δ Consumer Surplus (T) | 0.00 | 329.24 | -95.76 |
| Δ Producer Surplus (T) | 0.00 | -0.24 | 0.18 |
| Δ Externalities (T) | 0.00 | -215.56 | 848.40 |
| Δ Regulator Net Cost (T) | 0.00 | - | - |

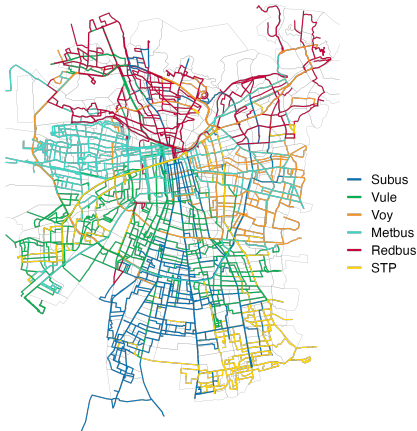
Counterfactual Analysis: Efficiency of Baseline Contract Design

| | Baseline (1) | Social Planner (2) | Monopoly (U) (3) | Monopoly (R) (4) |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Panel A: Prices | | | | |
| Bus Price (\$) | 0.90 | 0.37 | 2.11 | 0.90 |
| Bus → Metro Transfer Price (\$) | 0.10 | 0.13 | 0.10 | 0.10 |
| Panel B: Service Attributes | | | | |
| Δ Frequency (%) | 0.00% | 19.50% | -29.26% | -4.88% |
| Δ CV of Headways (%) | 0.00% | -19.96% | 39.93% | -8.98% |
| Avg. Wait (min) | 5.30 | 4.15 | 8.79 | 5.41 |
| Avg. Speed (km/h) | 19.06 | 22.20 | 16.01 | 19.06 |
| Panel C: Trips | | | | |
| Transit (M) | 0.15 | 0.28 | 0.07 | 0.15 |
| Private Car (M) | 0.19 | 0.10 | 0.24 | 0.19 |
| Panel D: Welfare and Fiscal Cost | | | | |
| Δ Welfare (T) | 0.00 | 544.56 | -943.98 | -1.25 |
| Δ Consumer Surplus (T) | 0.00 | 329.24 | -95.76 | -1.21 |
| Δ Producer Surplus (T) | 0.00 | -0.24 | 0.18 | 0.02 |
| Δ Externalities (T) | 0.00 | -215.56 | 848.40 | 0.06 |
| Δ Regulator Net Cost (T) | 0.00 | - | - | 67.73 |

Counterfactual Analysis: Optimal Route Bundling for Current Regulation

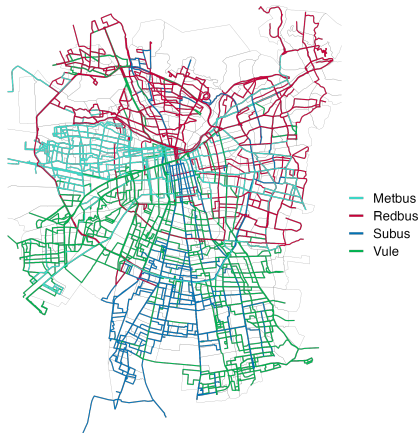
Baseline (6 firms)

$\Delta \text{Welfare (T)} = 0.00$



Optimal (4 firms)

$\Delta \text{Welfare (T)} = 91.06$

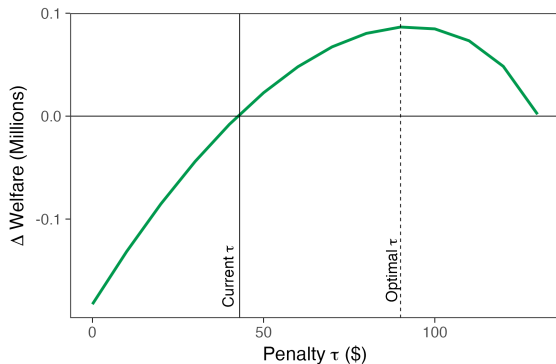


Better coordination + scale economies

Counterfactual Analysis: Optimal Headway Regularity Target

The penalty has the form: $\tau^w \cdot (\bar{C}V_r - CV_{rt})$

- I set the headway regularity target $\bar{C}V_r$ at the Planner's solution under baseline prices.
- I solve for the penalty τ^{w*} that maximizes social welfare.



Policy Takeaways

1. Contract design is a cost-effective lever to improve transit and support mode shift
 - Quality targets: Reliability \uparrow 16% \rightarrow Ridership \uparrow 11%
2. Wait time is a key traveler welfare margin
 - Wait time is valued at $1.8\times$ in-vehicle travel time \rightarrow central for policy evaluation
3. Network coordination remains central in multi-operator systems
 - Fragmented contracting (\uparrow competition) can undermine system-wide performance
4. Quality regulation can improve user experience without large budget expansions
 - Most gains came from reallocating firm effort rather than expanding fleets

On The Right Track?

Designing Optimal Public Transit Contracts

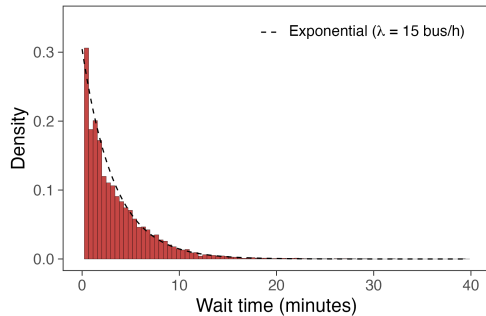
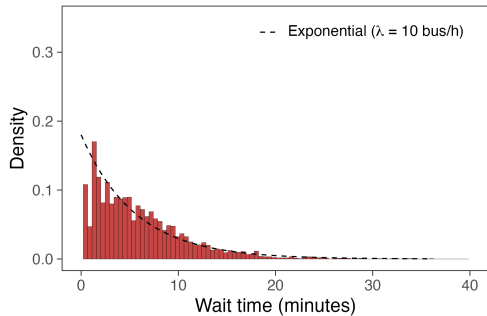
Matías Navarro
Cornell University

min26@cornell.edu

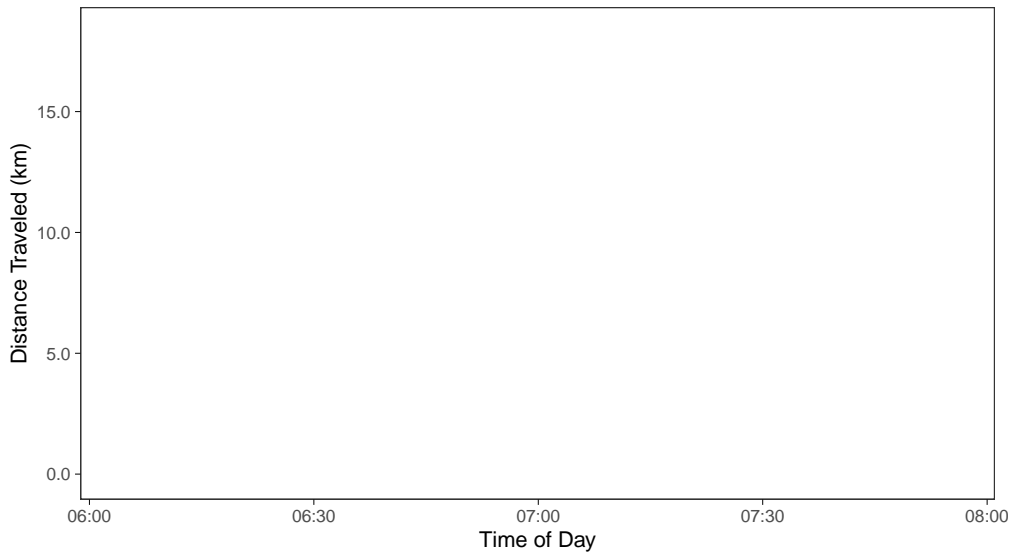
Roadmap

Appendix

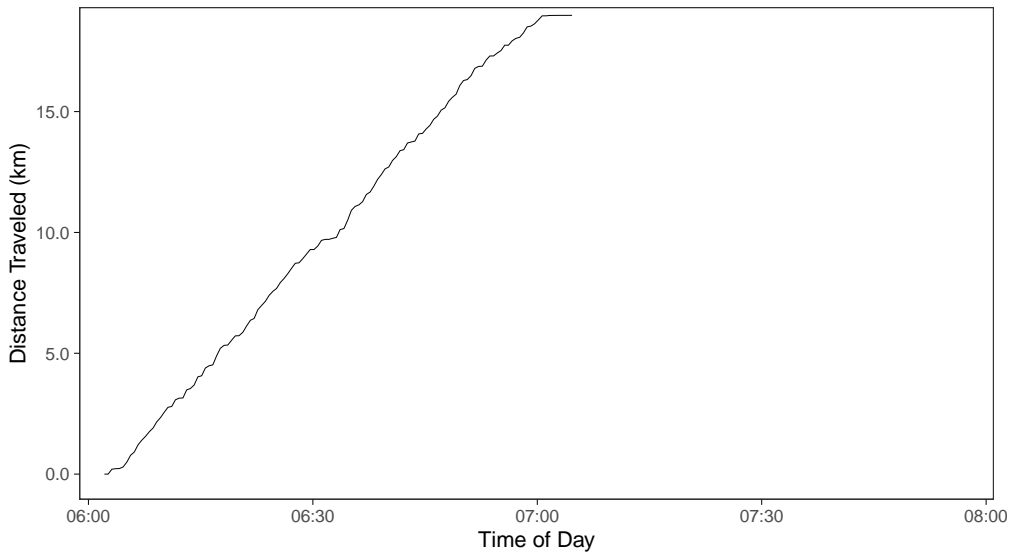
Travelers: Wait time distribution

[◀ Return](#)

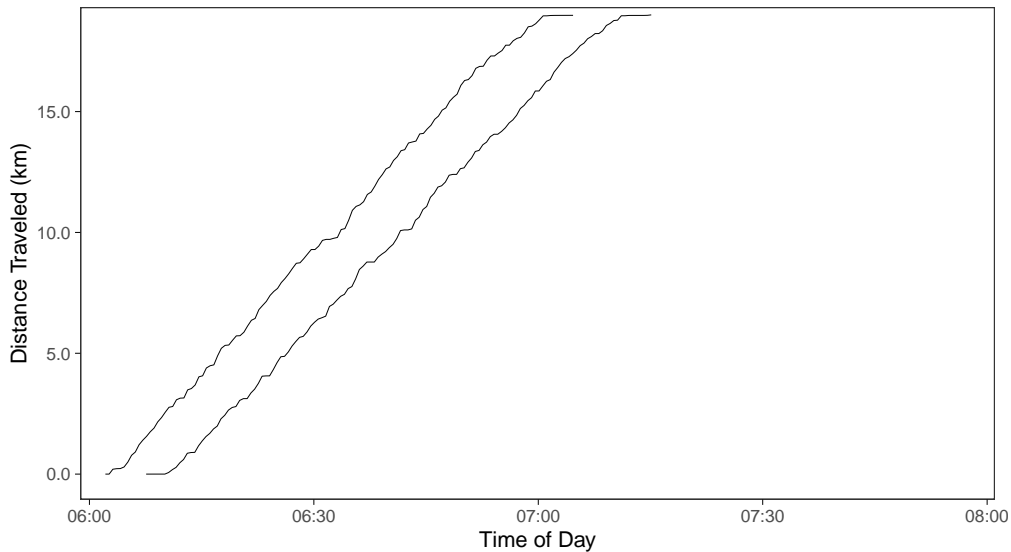
Service Attributes: Frequency and Headway Regularity



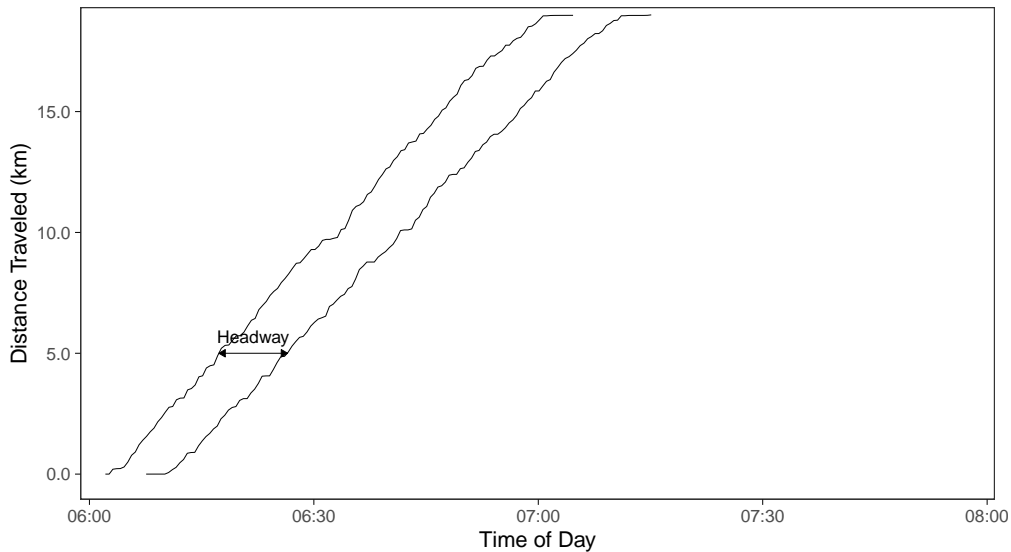
Service Attributes: Frequency and Headway Regularity



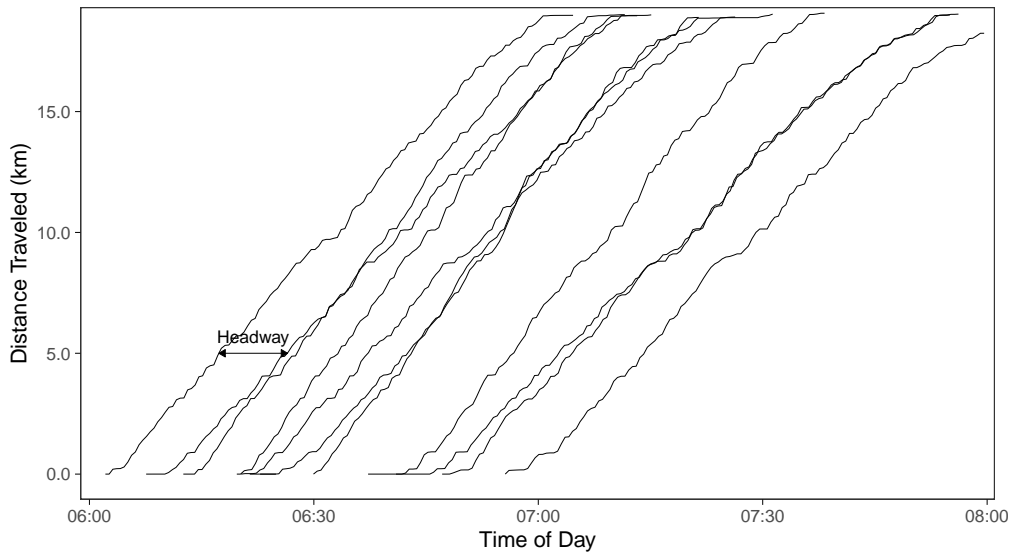
Service Attributes: Frequency and Headway Regularity



Service Attributes: Frequency and Headway Regularity



Service Attributes: Frequency and Headway Regularity



Service Attributes: Frequency and Headway Regularity

