

Urban mobility in Lagos: Evaluating the Impact of a Large-Scale Transit Reform

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Development Economics • Impact

Motorized Trips in Lagos, Nigeria

Taiwo 2015

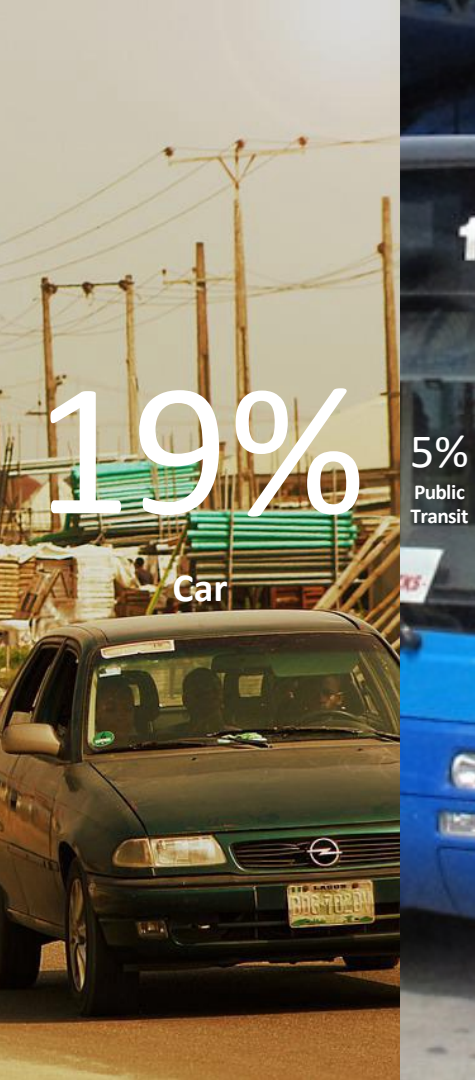
19%

Car



Motorized Trips in Lagos, Nigeria

Taiwo 2015



Motorized Trips in Lagos, Nigeria

Taiwo 2015

19%

Car

5%
Public
Transit

72%

Private Transit

"Danfo"



Lagos Bus Reform Initiative



40 routes
820 new city buses

2019-2023

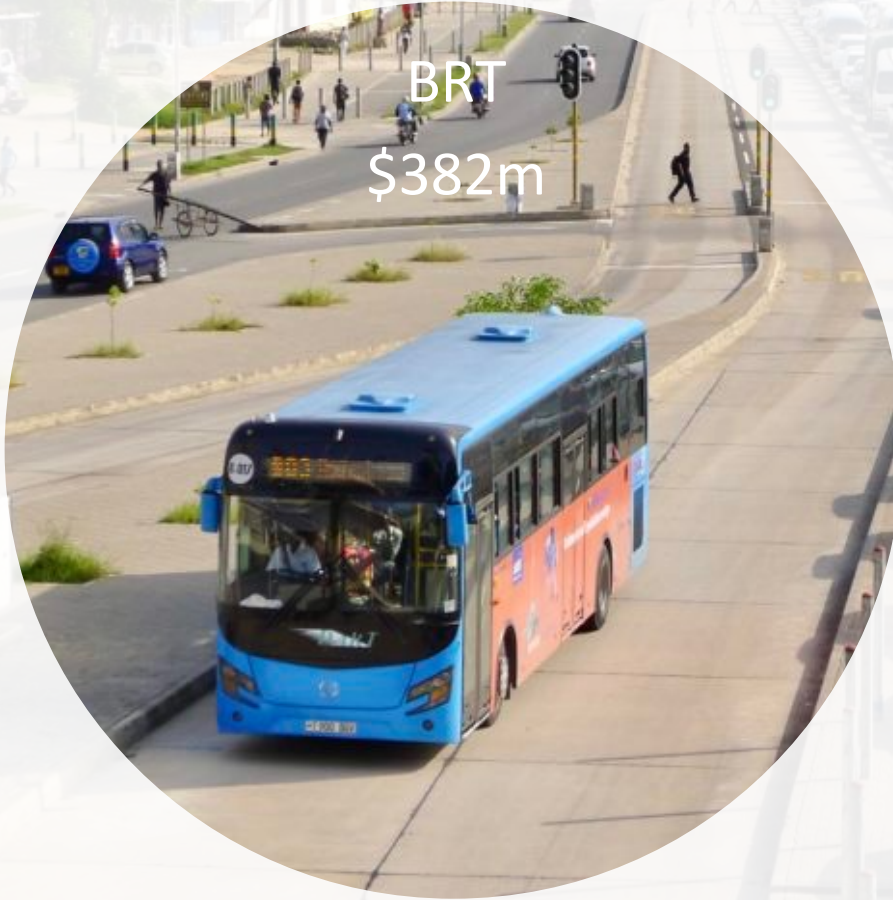
Lagos Bus Reform Initiative

An aerial photograph of a very busy street in Lagos, Nigeria. The street is filled with a large number of yellow minibuses, which are a common mode of public transport in the city. Pedestrians are walking along the sidewalks, and there are various shops and buildings lining the street. The scene depicts a typical busy day in a major urban area.

40 routes
820 new city buses

Existing network
759 private routes
75,000 minibuses

Dar es Salaam Bus Rapid Transit



Dar es Salaam Bus Rapid Transit

BRT
\$382m

1.3% of trips

Private transit: 60%



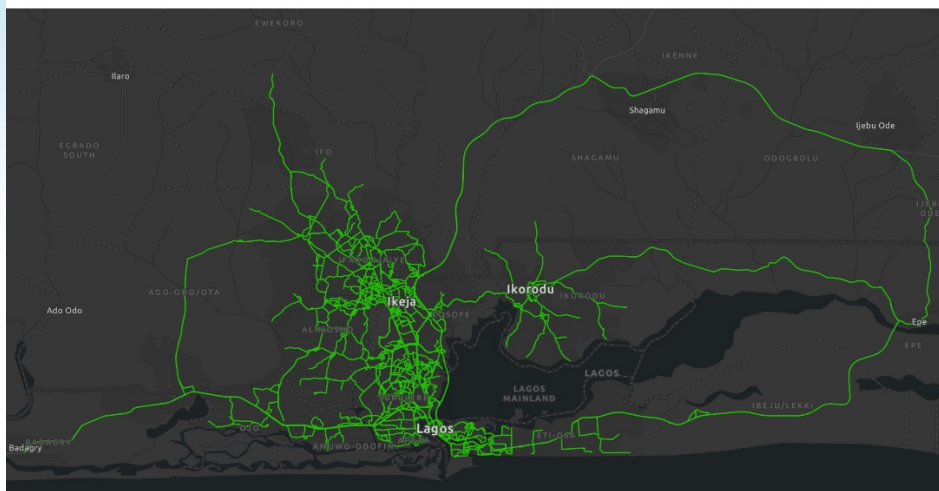
Background & Objectives

- **Collaboration with LAMATA to conduct original research on mobility in Lagos to document the **impact** of current or planned **reforms**:**
 - Understanding the impacts of the Bus Reform Initiative (BRI) on mobility
 - Do danfos compete with or complement public transit?
 - What is the response to the public transit improvement, what are the benefits to commuters?
 - How to further regulate or support the paratransit sector?
 - Understand preferences of commuters
 - Gender-specific changes in constraints to mobility
- **Generate original geospatial and survey data to feed into the updated Lagos Masterplan:**
 - Mobility data
 - Danfo network and activity data
 - Parameters of commuters' valuation of time, sensitivity to price

Deeper dive
into the data



Based on Large Scale Spatial Data Effort

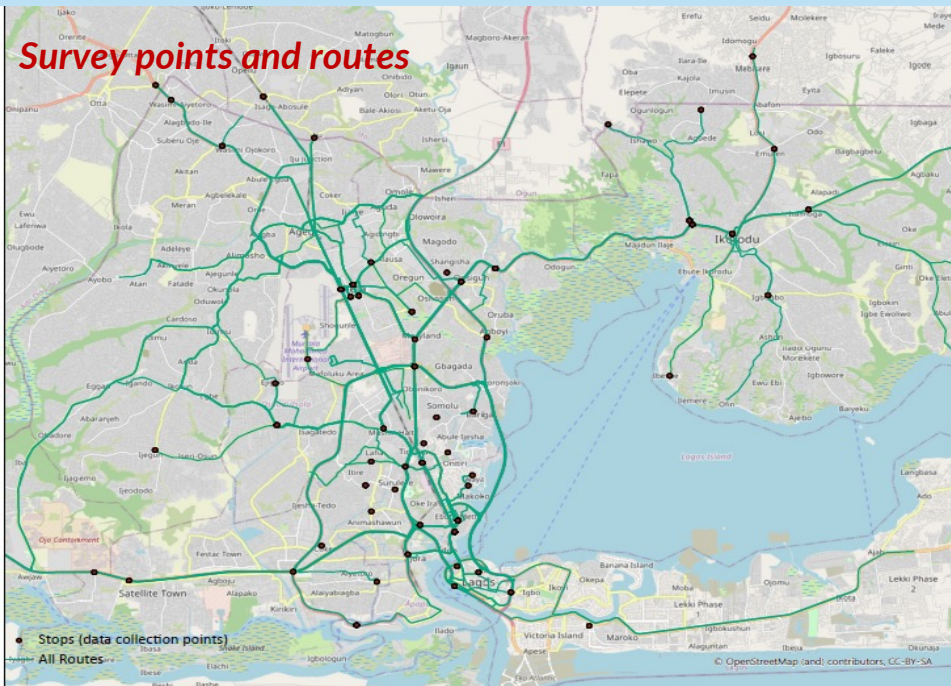


Private transit: Data collection since Oct 2020

- **Danfo network census (2022):**
 - 759 routes, 30,000km
- **Motorpark and bus stop observation surveys:**
 - Arrival and departure from 278 routes at 48 terminals + 79 bus stops
 - 15 surveys from Nov 2020 – 2023
 - *Variables:* Fares, departures, driver queues, wait times
- **Danfo driver surveys**
 - 854 drivers, 5 rounds
 - *Variables:* Demographics, trip diary, income, cost

Congestion (~500 routes, March 2020-Present)

Based on Large Scale Spatial Data Effort

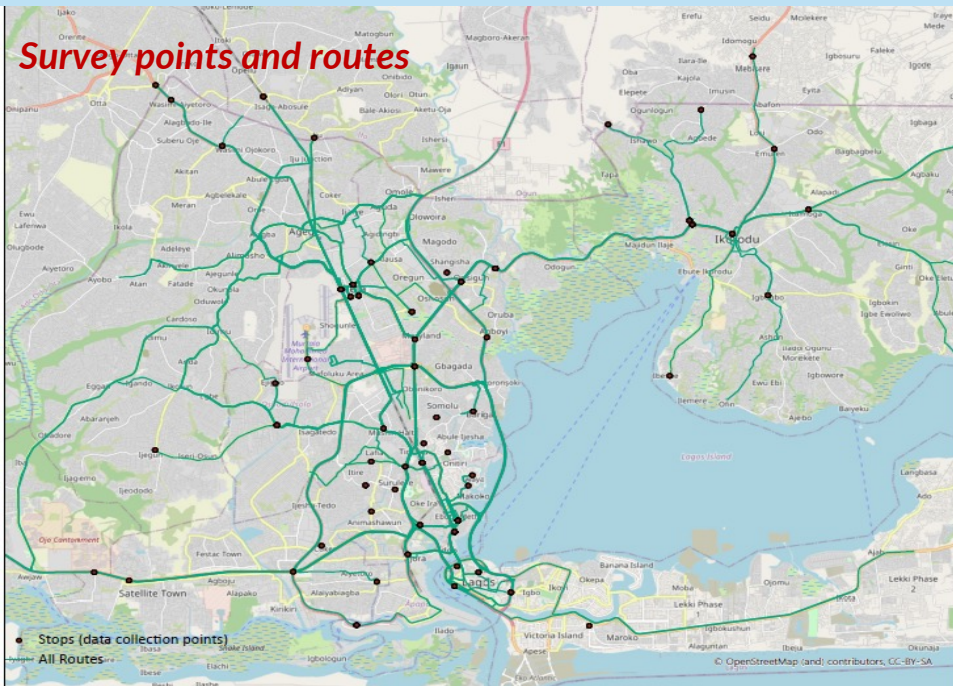


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Based on Large Scale Spatial Data Effort



Commuter :

- Pilot Wait Time (640)
- Commuter survey (1000)
- Public transit e-ticketing data
- MTN mobility data

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Outline of the study

Research question: commuters

- 1) What factors are important for commuters deciding whether to adopt new mode of transportation?
- 2) What is the total benefit of the BRI for commuters ?
- 3) What are the gender specific constraints on mobility



Data and method

- E-ticketing data
- Commuter's pilots & survey
- Mobility data from MTN
- Model of commuter choices between modes

Research question: danfos

- 1) What is the danfo market model?
- 2) How do informal operators react to the new public option?



Data and method

- Danfo network mapping
- Danfos drivers surveys and network observation
- Model of danfos drivers' decisions

Research question: congestion and pollution

- 1) Do congestion and pollution improve as a result of the BRI – and by how much ?

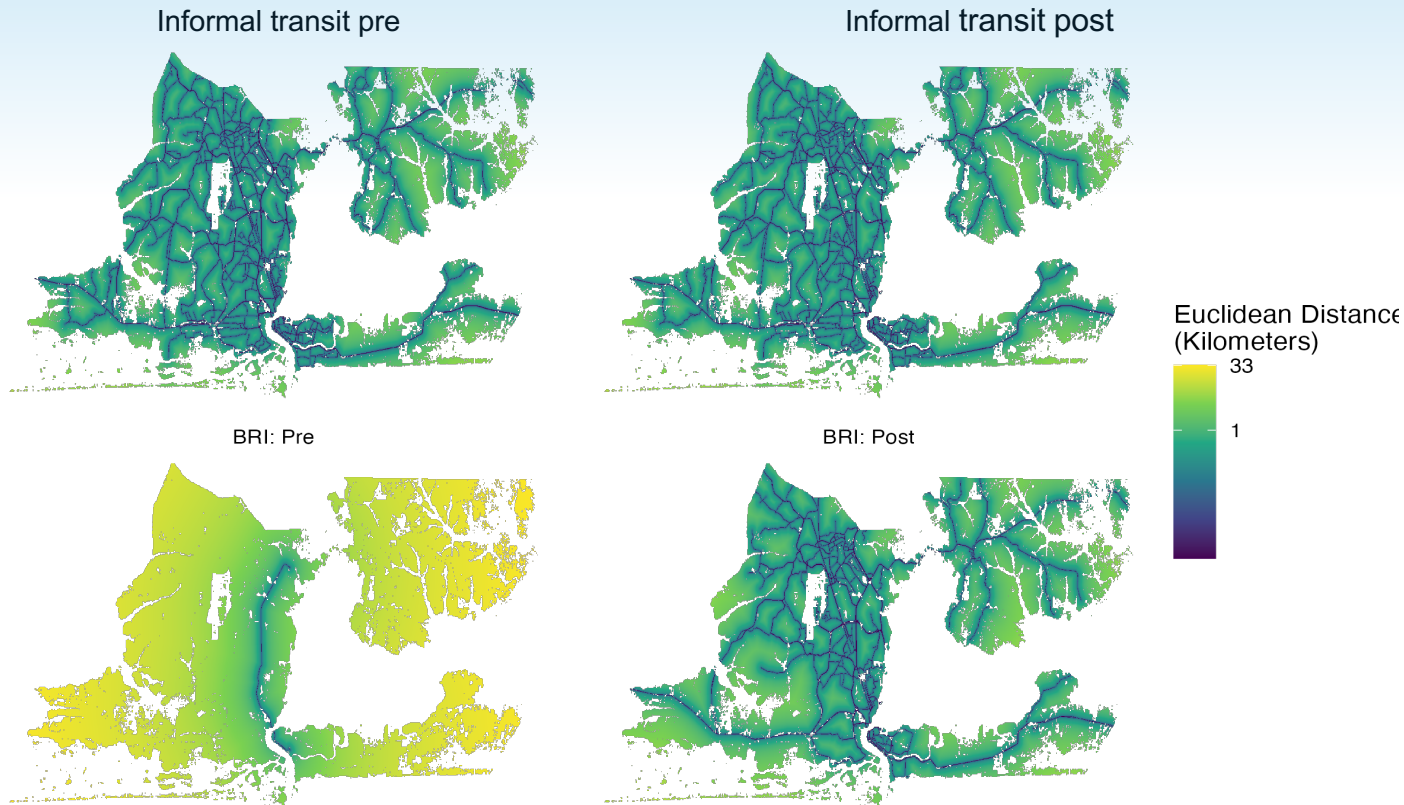


Data and method

- GPS data
- Model of CO₂ emissions

Public transit access increased but danfos are crucial for mobility

- BRI improved access to public transit by about 85 % within the metro area
- 50% of Lagos metro territory was within 1.7 km from a public transit line in 2023
- In our survey, 62 % of motorized trips are taken via danfo post reform



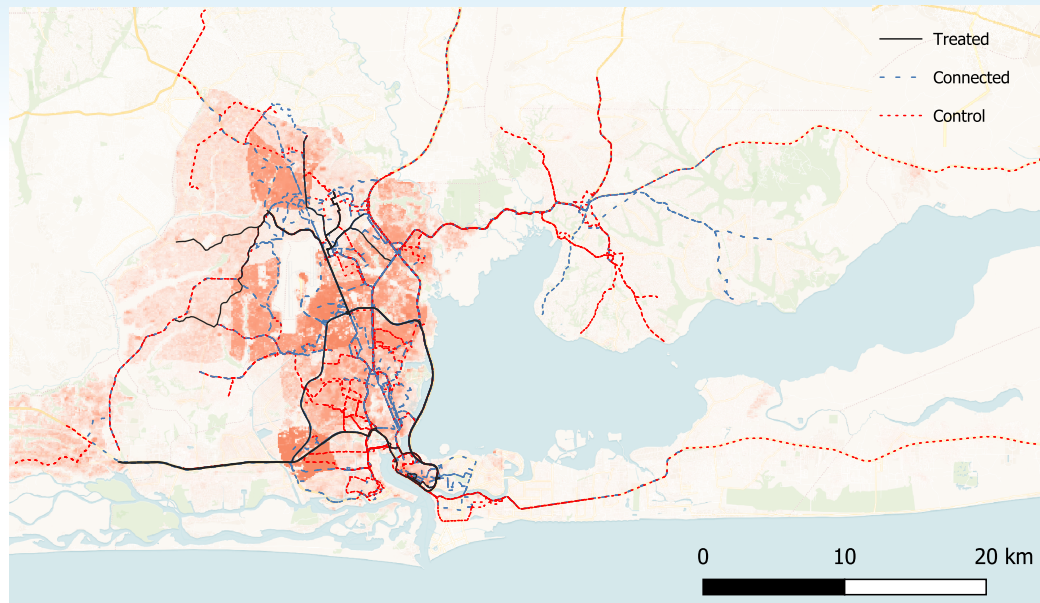
Evaluating the paratransit response



Study design: quasi-experimental and experiments combined

Leveraging the roll-out plans in a staggered differences-in-differences design and high frequency data on congestion, public buses and danfo activity

- **Treated** are routes that see a new bus line open after November 2020
 - These are the lines we expect most impact
- **Connected routes** are routes that share a node with a treated routes
 - These are lines that may indirectly impacted, e.g. by danfo changing routes
- **Controls** are routes that are not part of the plans for these phases



Paratransit response to the new bus system

When public transit enters a route:

- **Reduced danfo frequency and fares**
 - Minibus departures fall by 11% - 22%
 - Suggestive evidence of 2-7% price decline due to increased competition.
- **Drivers lose and switch to other routes**
 - Make fewer trips and earn 11% less
 - 23-29% decline in minibuses waiting in queue
 - More likely to switch to another route starting at the same terminal
- **No detectable change in congestion**

New public transit also affects "connected" routes

On danfo routes connected to BRI:

- **Supply of drivers rises**
 - Drivers from treated routes switch to connected-> longer danfo queues
- **Prices for commuters fell:**
 - Up to 8% decline in prices on routes which are connected to many treated routes.
- **No change in danfo frequency**
 - Already buses waiting in these queues -> departures determined by demand

Commuters' revealed preferences and stated constraints



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Recovering the time and price sensitivity of commuters

- **Value of time is key to optimize scheduling**
 - Ran a pilot asking 640 participants if they accepted a (random) offer to wait at a bus stop
 - Correcting for whether they are in a rush
 - The average cost of waiting for a commuter = ₦18.94/min
- **Sensitivity to price is key to optimize pricing within constraints**
 - Used e-ticketing data around changes in ticket price
 - Reaction to change – switching mode, less trips, ...- gives us the sensitivity of commuters to price
 - 10% reduction in prices leads to 6.8% more trips on the public system.



Increased competition in transport benefits even commuters who do not use the BRI

- New system generated \$1.47 million in monthly value for commuters.
- 10% of the total commuter gains come from the response of the private sector.
 - Large number of commuters on connected routes benefit from lower prices.

Welfare effects



- Danfo drivers lose \$0.75 million per month—about half the benefit to commuters.
 - Route switching among drivers drives most of these losses

Key takeaways of the study



Key findings

- The BRI increased **access to public transit** but danfos still represent 62% of the trips – 42% of Lagos city is within 500 m of a danfos line, 27% within 500 m of a blue bus line.
- Introducing **new public routes benefitted commuters directly and indirectly**: due to the new routes, danfos drivers switched to ply connecting routes and lowered their prices, benefitting commuters on connected routes
- **Overall benefits to commuters amount to 1.47 million USD/month**. 10% of the total commuter gains come from the response of the private sector.
- Danfos losses (due lost customers or quitting working) are equivalent to ½ of these benefits.
- **No clear effect on congestion** based on the data from the first phase of the BRI.



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Moving forward



Next steps: Key questions for urban transit integration

- Key challenge is understanding what blend of public and private transit offers the most efficient, equitable, and scalable solution for Lagos?
- Having geospatial and survey data systems in place is critical to understanding paratransit response and developing solutions.
- Do paratransit systems reorganize naturally into feeder services when public transit is introduced? Or must planners actively guide this integration?
 - What are the routes where danfos have an advantage?
 - Could danfos drivers be incentivized to become feeders or formalize?
 - What compensation, capital expenditure for fleet upgrading, training would this require?



Thank you!

*For any questions or follow-ups:
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