The Future of Transportation

Technology, policy, and transitions
Electric

- All signs point toward battery-electric

- Pace of transition "depends as much on politics as it does on markets" (John Graham, May 2021)
### Market Share (Sales)

#### Top Countries for Plugin Vehicle Share in 1st Half of 2021

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Market Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>82.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- U.S. (first half 2021): 2.3%
- Most states: <1%
- California: 10.7%
Wuling Hongguang Mini EV

Best-selling EV in China (by a factor of 3 over Tesla this year)

- $4,500
- Cooperation with GM (44%)
- 1,400 pounds, 75 mile range
- ~$900 in upstream subsidies
- Large registration advantages
2022 MotorTrend Car of the Year

Lucid Air

- First units shipped October 2021
- 520/406 mile range, 933/480 HP dream/base
- High-end EV market has been dominant in the U.S.
Policy Landscape

• California and New York 100% electric (light-duty) by 2035
  • Together 31% of the U.S. market, other states likely to follow

• Structured mostly as a mandate
  • Mix-shifting creates a hidden tax on gasoline and subsidy to electric?

• Role of federal targets and overlaps
  • Will federal targets (e.g. 50% by 2030) change if more states aim for 100% on their own?
Federal Policy History

• U.S. federal fuel economy standards (which incorporate EVs) have been in use for 40 years:
  • 2010: 25.5 MPG
  • 2020: 37 MPG
  • 2025: 54.5 MPG (2016)
  • 2025: 37 MPG (2018)
  • 2025: 43 MPG (2021)

• Most U.S. auto producers came out against the 2018 revision, but it polled well among voters
2016 (Obama EPA) vs 2018 (Trump EPA) economic analyses of 2025 CAFE rules:

- Key changes:
  - Safety and size of used car fleet
  - Technology costs
  - Value of CO₂
Federal Policy Future

Build Back Better Bill

- November 8th version, rapidly evolving
  - $12,500 credit for EVs ($8,000 if not union-made)
- GM and Tesla have both exceeded their cap (200,000 vehicles) under the current subsidy
  - Build Back Better would re-open subsidies for 10 years (5 years for imports)
- Limits
  - $80,000 vehicle price cap
  - $500,000 AGI cap (joint filers, recently reduced from $800,000)
  - Back and forth on refundable provision
The Missing Policy: Scrappage

• Vehicle stock in the U.S. has been stable (about 270 million)
  • Scrappage ≈ sales
• Many reasons to think scrappage is beneficial
  • Air quality
  • Safety
  • Stimulus
  • And now, pace of electrification
Scrap Elasticity

What determines if this (gasoline) vehicle will be scrapped, or repaired and driven another 100,000 miles?

- Answer: mostly, its value
- Elasticity about -0.7 (Jacobsen and Van Benthem, 2015)
- Used and new vehicle prices tend to move together
Because cars last so long, changes in the used fleet are important for policy

Understudied in economics: many policy analyses assume a fixed profile of scrappage

Literature: “Cash-for-clunkers” evaluations (e.g. Mian & Sufi, 2012), “Scrap bounty” evaluations (e.g. Hahn (1995), Alberini, Harrington & McConnell (1998))

Less work on the long term ability of policy to alter turnover
Effect of a $1 Gasoline Price Increase on Used Vehicle Prices

- Light trucks
- Sedans
## Link to Scrappage ($1 change in fuel price)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fuel Economy</th>
<th>Used vehicle value</th>
<th>Annual scrap rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 MPG</td>
<td>-$786</td>
<td>+1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 MPG (average vehicle)</td>
<td>-$227</td>
<td>+0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 MPG</td>
<td>+$611</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For a typical used vehicle valued at $7,000 with scrap rate of 3% per year)

Translates to the elasticity of approximately -0.7
Air Quality Benefits

• Preliminary findings from Jacobsen, Sallee, Shapiro, and van Benthem (2021 working paper)

• Large scale health damages occur due to pollution from older used cars

• Key existing regulations are “tailpipe” standards, mandating specific control equipment on new cars, and "smog check," removing gross polluters

• We document the remarkable effectiveness of new-vehicle tailpipe standards and show how further dramatic gains are possible using scrappage policy
Emissions Across Vintages: Nitrogen Oxides

- First regulated in 1972
- Log scale
- Other (local) air pollutants similar reductions
• Graphs hold the VIN stub fixed (year, make, model, trim)

• Age and odometer both increase local air pollutants (but not CO₂)
Results

• Compounding effects from vintage and age create large changes in health damage:
  
  • New $200/year
  
  • Age 20 $2000/year

• Typical values of 15-20 year old vehicles mean that relatively small fees can have a large influence on scrappage
  
  • Scrap/repair decisions take account of cumulated future fees, not just one year

• Scrap effects earlier in the age distribution (around 10 years) also turn out to be economically important
Influencing Scrappage

- Pulling cars into retirement: scrap subsidy
  - Pros: opt-in, possibility that subsidy goes to lower-income groups
  - Cons: most payments don't create additional scrappage, very expensive program, decreases average cost of driving (worsens congestion, other externalities)

- Pushing cars into retirement: registration fees
  - Pros: increases the average cost of driving
  - Cons: increases the average cost of driving
Scrap Policy

• Scrappage is part of an economically efficient strategy to transform the fleet
  • It is also very difficult to incentivize

• Equity
  • Large EV subsidies may go mostly to high-income groups (new car buyers, multi-car households)
  • Flatter registration fees would fall more on low-income groups
  • There is also a significant urban/rural divide on vehicle age
The Other Two Revolutions

Sharing

Customer spending on ridesharing apps shows signs of a slow return

Weekly spending in the US on each app, relative to Uber's peak (%)

- Slow rebound from Covid due to reduction in capital inflows? Perhaps also policies on wages and benefits?
The Other Two Revolutions

Sharing

• Ride-sharing will likely capture the entire taxi market, and then some

• I'm not as optimistic as many about how big the "and then some" will be

  • Children, safety, cleanliness, shopping trips

  • Cost: 3,500 mile break-even, 5th percentile (McKinsey 2018)

  • Psychology, pride of ownership
The Other Two Revolutions

Automation

- Promises to transform
  - Safety
  - Convenience
- Tesla Autopilot (3 billion miles)
- Waymo (20 million miles)
The Other Two Revolutions

Automation

• When automation comes, I think it will change transportation and society more than anything else I've discussed

• Reduced (time) cost of travel

• Urban form: parking, commutes, real estate

• Health and safety, congestion, law enforcement

• Spatial economic growth, urban infrastructure

• Caveat: Trust? Driverless elevator technology took 50 years to capture the market
Alternative Transportation

• Buses and rail
  
  • Some technological improvements (e.g. real-time tracking, bus accident safety), but appears quite limited relative to cars
  
• Vast majority of U.S. population chooses to move by private car
  
  • New technologies seem poised to increase the preference for cars over bus and rail
  
  • Simultaneous public transport investment could slow the shift toward cars
  
• E-Bikes: incredibly rapid technological change, as with cars
  
• Distant future: something altogether new and transformative?
Local Policy

- Los Angeles, especially aggressive charging station subsidies
  - January 2021: 11,000 public charging stations (226 high speed) and 63,000 EVs (nearly 1% of vehicles)
  - High targets for EV sales (how will it meet them?)
- Electricity
  - San Diego electricity prices are quite high (3-4x national average)
  - Solution: subsidize EV owners' electricity
Local Policy

- Local EV tech hub?
  - Rivian (based in Irvine) startup with 800 HP electric pickup, market cap greater than that of General Motors
  - Large-scale lithium mining as close as the Imperial Valley
  - Nickel, cobalt, and manganese from the deep sea may be landed in San Diego