

1 **Public Perceptions of Self-driving Cars:**  
2 **The Case of Berkeley, California**

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**ABSTRACT**

Self-driving vehicles represent a technological leap forward that can offer solutions to current transportation problems and dramatically change how people approach mobility. While self-driving cars have the potential to improve safety and increase quality of life, many people appear reluctant to adopt the technology, because they are uncomfortable with safety, liabilities, and control. Public attitudes toward self-driving cars are increasingly important as the public shapes the demand for the technology, policies that govern them, and future investments in infrastructure. Moreover the nature of the technology means that the truly transformative benefits are only realized once self-driving cars are adopted en masse. We investigate public attitudes toward self-driving cars using the responses of 107 likely adopters in Berkeley, California as a case study. What do these people find most and least attractive about self-driving cars, and how do they envision the inclusion of the technology? Would they adopt this technology and in what form? Do an individual's demographics, existing travel behavior, and relationship to cars and technology affect his or her opinion about self-driving cars? We find that individuals are most attracted to potential safety benefits, the convenience of not having to find parking, and amenities such as multitasking while en route; conversely, individuals were most concerned with liability, the cost of the technology, and losing control of the vehicle. Men are more likely to be concerned with liability, and less likely to be concerned with control than women. Individuals with higher income are most concerned with liability, and those with lower income appear to be more concerned with safety and control. Single-occupancy vehicle commuters and cyclists were most concerned with giving up control. All groups were concerned with costs. We present this case study to inform those creating this technology how self-driving cars will likely be perceived by the public.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

2  
3  
4 Transportation by automobile in the United States is becoming increasingly unsustainable.  
5 Rising carbon emissions, increasing congestion, and high traffic accident rates are a few  
6 consequences of auto use. Self-driving vehicles offer an alternative form of individualized  
7 transportation that can be adapted to reduce such negative impacts. While self-driving cars have  
8 great potential to improve the safety, efficiency, and sustainability of our auto-oriented  
9 transportation system, many challenges remain, particularly with public perceptions of safety,  
10 liabilities, and control. The ability of self-driving vehicles to effect transformative change  
11 depends largely on how successful the vehicles are in attracting drivers from private automobiles.  
12 Once a critical mass of self-driving vehicles has been established, network benefits and other  
13 economies of scale enable environmental, safety, and travel time improvements. Public attitudes  
14 toward self-driving cars become increasingly important as the public shapes the demand and  
15 market for the cars, the policies that govern them, and future investments in infrastructure. This  
16 study investigates attitudes of likely adopters towards self-driving cars using the responses of  
17 107 residents of Berkeley, California as a case study.

## 18 BACKGROUND

### 19 20 **The need for a different form of individual transportation**

21  
22 Since the mid-twentieth century, automobiles have been the dominant mode of travel both within  
23 and between cities. While point-to-point travel on demand confers benefits to the individual, it  
24 does so at great costs to society. Automobile travel, particularly single occupancy vehicle (SOV)  
25 driving, contributes intensely to traffic congestion, traveler delays, and vehicle pollution. Traffic  
26 congestion costs the U.S. economy more than \$120 billion, and produces 56 billion pounds of  
27 CO<sub>2</sub> (1). Automobile accidents are a major concern as well. In 2010, there were approximately  
28 35,000 vehicle fatalities in the U.S.; 90% of vehicle crashes can be attributed to driver error (2).  
29 Moreover, cars consume valuable resources. On average, cars sit unused almost 22 hours out of  
30 every day (3).

31  
32 Improvements to the transportation system thus far have been incremental and targeted to  
33 specific concerns. For example, converting gasoline-powered vehicles to electric drive helps  
34 reduce transportation-related carbon emissions, but does little to reduce congestion or motor  
35 vehicle fatalities. Intelligent Transportation Systems (ITS), such as variable message signs,  
36 promise safety improvements, but do not explicitly address transportation's contribution to  
37 climate change. Transportation Demand Management (TDM) strategies like congestion and  
38 parking pricing schemes can go a long way to addressing transportation problems. However,  
39 these strategies are best used in combination with improvements in technology.

40  
41 Self-driving cars represent a technological leap forward that can offer solutions and dramatically  
42 change today's transportation network. A self-driving car (also known as an autonomous car,  
43 personal automated vehicle, driverless car, or robotic car) is defined as a motor vehicle capable  
44 of automated driving and navigating entirely without direct human input. Self-driving cars sense  
45 their surroundings with techniques such as radar, GPS, and computer vision. Advanced control

1 systems interpret electronic sensor information to identify appropriate navigation paths, as well  
2 as obstacles and relevant signage (4, 5).

3  
4 Self-driving vehicle technology has origins as early as the 1920s, when Achen Motor Company  
5 demonstrated a phantom motor car in Milwaukee (6). Other car companies, as well as  
6 electronics companies and universities, experimented with self-driving cars with limited success  
7 (7, 8). Advancements in self-driving vehicle technology accelerated in the 2000s with the US  
8 government sponsored Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) Grand  
9 Challenge in 2004. The DARPA Challenge was the first long distance competition for driverless  
10 cars and attracted more than one hundred teams in its first year (9). The winning robot of the  
11 second Grand Challenge, led by Sebastian Thrun's team at Stanford, sparked the development of  
12 Google's self-driving cars (10). As of 2013, many automotive manufacturers are testing  
13 driverless car systems, including Audi, BMW, Ford, General Motors, Mercedes-Benz, Nissan,  
14 Toyota (11, 12, 13, 14). Based on their perceptions of the desires of potential customers, many of  
15 these systems are not fully autonomous, requiring no driver input, but are rather a form of  
16 'autopilot' that can be switched on and off by the driver.

### 17 18 **Opportunities for self-driving cars**

19  
20 Self-driving vehicles and allied technologies such as connected vehicles, ITS, and electric drive  
21 vehicles have the power to change modern transportation to become more sustainable, safer, and  
22 convenient compared to today's system. Driverless vehicles can allow people to travel on  
23 demand and benefit from the economies of scale that come with being part of a larger  
24 transportation network. Self-driving cars can address issues of safety, congestion, fuel  
25 efficiency, and equity.

26  
27 Improvements in safety could be realized soon after widespread adoption of self-driving  
28 vehicles. Self-driving car sensors can follow traffic rules and be more alert and responsive than  
29 drivers today. In 2010, there were approximately 35,000 vehicle fatalities in the U.S.; many of  
30 these fatalities were caused by distracted driving, drunk driving, and other impairments (3).  
31 Research on connected vehicles has shown that vehicle-to-vehicle communication systems  
32 potentially address 81% of all police-reported vehicle target crashes annually (15). Self-driving  
33 technology includes elements of connected vehicle technology and is likely to gain these safety  
34 benefits as well.

35  
36 Adoption of self-driving vehicles at the city or regional level is likely to result in reduced  
37 congestion across the network once the market penetration of these vehicles passes a certain  
38 threshold. As self-driving vehicles have not been deployed on such a scale, empirically  
39 determined values for optimum market penetration do not exist. However, one can imagine  
40 centralized, demand responsive routing will enable self-driving vehicles to choose a route that  
41 minimizes delay for all users in the system and "reserve" a spot in the network. These vehicles  
42 would then be able to avoid bottlenecks and congestion prone areas before they begin to slow  
43 down traffic. Additionally, forming cars into eight car platoons potentially increases the capacity  
44 of freeway lanes about 367% at 45 mph, according to a computer simulation of the effects of  
45 platooning (20). These capacity improvements would be achieved without having to add lanes,  
46 which uses existing roads more efficiently. Likewise, this will increase the overall throughput in

1 areas where highway expansion is not possible due to physical characteristics of the site (bridges,  
2 hillsides, etc), as well as reduce the amount of land that must be ceded to transportation at the  
3 expense of other open space and developments.

4  
5 Another opportunity for self-driving cars lies with fuel efficiency and environmental benefits.  
6 Platooning vehicles offers immediate benefits to efficiency, regardless of fuel type. The cars  
7 behind the lead vehicle reap aerodynamic benefits and reduce their energy consumption by up to  
8 25% (18). A 2013 Japanese study showed truck platooning improved fuel economy by 15% for  
9 heavy commercial vehicles (19). Since self-driving cars can navigate along a highway with a  
10 precision that human drivers cannot, it can enable vehicles to be powered in non-conventional  
11 ways that can reduce the energy consumption of the transportation sector. Self-driving vehicles  
12 can adopt features of On Line Electric Vehicles (OLEVs), electric vehicles that receive their  
13 power from the roadway using inductive power transfers. According to a 2007 IEEE paper,  
14 “roadway vehicles driven by human operators cannot meet the tolerance demanded by [the]  
15 present [OLEV] system, consequently, system performance is compromised” (17). Self-driving  
16 cars enable these benefits and other technologies through their ability to precisely position  
17 themselves in the roadway or relative to similarly equipped cars.

18  
19 Self-driving cars can also positively address issues of equity. Historically, several groups have  
20 been excluded from the flexible, convenient and speedy travel provided by automobiles (21, 22,  
21 23). The upfront cost of an automobile is high, preventing economically disadvantaged groups  
22 from the benefits of a car. Those who do own cars are likely to spend a disproportionate part of  
23 their household expenses on auto ownership. Additionally, people younger than the legal driving  
24 age, or those who do not have the physical or mental capabilities to drive a car, are restricted  
25 from the benefits of automobile use. With self-driving vehicles, these barriers can be lessened as  
26 one does not necessarily have to know or be able to drive to reap the benefits.

27  
28 From a social perspective, shared driverless vehicles represent the most affordable way for  
29 people to access self-driving technology and its associated benefits. Opening the market for self-  
30 driving cars to those who have been excluded from the automobile market could encourage  
31 adoption, lower the price of the technology, and enhance network benefits. From an  
32 environmental perspective, shared driverless vehicles are a way to reduce the amount of land  
33 consumed for parking, as well as the amount of energy and resources into building vehicles.  
34 Finally, shared self-driving cars potentially could reduce VMT since their presence in the market  
35 will change the way in which people pay for transportation by translating sunk costs into up-  
36 front costs to consumers, discouraging needless trips, encouraging trip-chaining, and sharing of  
37 rides. Shared driverless cars or self-driving taxis have the greatest potential environmental  
38 benefits and their adoption should be particularly targeted.

### 39 40 **Challenges to adoption of self-driving cars**

41  
42 Google’s co-founder Sergey Brin says that autonomous vehicles will be available to the public  
43 by 2017 (26). While self-driving cars are technologically feasible, significant challenges remain  
44 with the legal framework, regulatory changes, cost of technology, and issues of control and trust.  
45

1 As of 2013, California, Nevada, Florida, and the District of Columbia have passed laws  
2 authorizing companies to test self-driving cars on private and public roads; nine other states have  
3 debated similar bills (27). Yet, the legal and regulatory framework still needs work (4). “If the  
4 driver, by design, is no longer in control, what happens if the vehicle crashes? The ‘driver’ could  
5 well be an innocent bystander or might at least bear lesser liability than drivers do today” (3).  
6 Additionally, self-driving vehicles will likely be connected through V2V (Vehicle to Vehicle) or  
7 V2I (Vehicle to Infrastructure) technology (3). Such connectivity will require a large investment  
8 in infrastructure that will either have to be provided by the public sector, or made profitable  
9 enough that a private entity will be able to provide this service. Regulatory changes must be  
10 adopted at the state and local levels to address these issues. The National Highway Traffic  
11 Safety Administration has begun efforts, having defined five levels of vehicle automation and  
12 announced a policy to address safety of self-driving cars (28).

13  
14 Cost of the technology is also a significant barrier to many, and without enough of these vehicles  
15 on the roads, the network benefits will not be achieved. “The LIDAR system used in the Google  
16 car, for example, costs \$70,000” (3). As of 2013, the autonomous driving system costs about  
17 \$150,000 (27). This is more than the average vehicle purchase and illustrates the need to find  
18 technological solutions that the market will bear. Since the success of self-driving vehicles  
19 depends on the widespread adoption of this technology as a replacement to the automobile,  
20 ascertaining public attitudes towards these vehicles is extremely important since it will affect  
21 public support for regulation or expenditures, as well as influence demand for a product  
22 introduced into the market.

23  
24 Control and trust of the technology is also expected to be a significant issue with the public. The  
25 technology is very new and its safety record unproven. Few people feel comfortable using an  
26 unproven transportation technology on a regular basis, as one can learn from a study of the  
27 history of air travel. Although the Wright Brothers flew at Kitty Hawk in 1903, it was not until  
28 the 1920s that the United States had a significant passenger airline network (29). Similar  
29 concerns about the safety and reliability of self-driving technology have been expressed (4, 12,  
30 13, 14). Moreover, people have expressed concerns about giving up control of the car to a  
31 machine, and general beliefs that the car is unsafe. Such concerns about safety and reliability of  
32 a nascent technology are natural, and we intend to study their effect on the enthusiasm for self-  
33 driving vehicles.

34  
35 Self-driving cars are in development and are not yet fully accessible to the public; as such,  
36 limited research about public attitudes toward the technology exists. As of 2013, there have been  
37 two significant public opinion surveys conducted by private firms. In 2011, Accenture surveyed  
38 2,006 consumers in the US and UK. Nearly half of respondents indicated they would be  
39 comfortable with using driverless cars, and the other half was more likely to use the technology  
40 if they could take back control if needed (24). In 2012, J.D. Power and Associates conducted a  
41 survey of 17,400 vehicle owners; 37% said they would be interested in purchasing a fully  
42 autonomous car, but the figure dropped to 20% with the introduction of added costs (25). Since  
43 the existing literature on self-driving cars is limited, and the data on public attitudes are  
44 proprietary, this study collects and contributes new data to the autonomous vehicle discussion.

45  
46

## METHODOLOGY

Public attitudes toward self-driving cars become increasingly important as the public shapes the demand and market for the cars, the policies that govern them, and future investments in infrastructure. Our guiding research questions are:

- What does the public find most attractive and least attractive about self-driving technology?
- How does the public envision the inclusion of this technology in today's network?
- Would the public adopt self-driving technology, and in what form?
- Do an individual's existing travel behavior, relationship to cars, and relationship to technology affect his or her opinion about self-driving cars?

### Data & approach

To understand public perceptions of self-driving vehicle technology, public opinion data is needed. Limited research currently exists, so we developed and implemented surveys for new data. One of the main obstacles to collecting valid data we encountered was that many people did not have enough information about self-driving cars to offer a fully formed opinion. To help control for differences in background knowledge of the subject, we targeted science museum visitors in Berkeley, California. This group was chosen because they were likely adopters, more willing to listen to an informational video designed to ensure all participants had similar information, and the location was accessible to the authors of this unfunded study. We were then able to focus on the effects that differences in demographics and attitudes towards technology and vehicles have on shaping opinion to these cars.

We administered the study to visitors at the Lawrence Hall of Science in Berkeley, California in spring 2013. The Lawrence Hall of Science is a public science museum and research center that offers hands-on science exhibits, student workshops, professional development seminars, and other educational opportunities. The research study was advertised to visitors at time of admission, and candy was used as an incentive and reward for participation. The study was administered in a group classroom setting, took approximately 15-20 minutes, and included a survey and 10-minute video. The survey has five sections, and the video was shown after the second section.

Section A asked questions about an individual's travel behavior and household characteristics. How do you usually commute to work? How do you usually travel for leisure? How many people live in your household? Do you own or lease a vehicle? Do you or anyone in your household expect to purchase a vehicle before 2020? Section B included two questions asking participants to describe their relationship to technology and relationship to cars. For example, do you consider yourself an early adopter, eager to try new technologies, or do you have little or no interest in new technologies? Do you view cars as basic transport, or do you want cars with luxury, style, and energy saving technology? The purpose of these questions was to see whether travel behavior, household characteristics, and one's self-identified relationship to technology and cars might affect one's opinion about self-driving cars. For example, we hypothesized that early adopters of new technologies might be more willing to adopt self-driving cars.

1 After the first two sections, participants were shown a video. As self-driving technology is fairly  
2 new and not well understood, a video was critical so participants understand how the technology  
3 works. Various videos were considered, and the one selected was the most impartial video  
4 found, highlighting both benefits and drawbacks of the technology. The video can be found  
5 here: <http://youtu.be/65QoObF5ft4>.

6  
7 After the video, participants were asked a series of questions about their perceptions of self-  
8 driving cars. In this section, participants were asked to select up to three aspects of self-driving  
9 technology they found most and least attractive. Additionally, they were asked two questions  
10 about the inclusion of this technology in today's transportation network. Would they prefer if  
11 self-driving cars operated in the same lanes as normal traffic, or should self-driving cars be  
12 separated from other modes of transportation? Would they be willing to support a public bond  
13 measure to build new infrastructure, such as special lanes or traffic signals for self-driving cars?  
14 In Section D, participants were asked to consider three scenarios in a future of self-driving cars  
15 and their willingness to adopt the technology. A total of 107 survey responses were collected  
16 along with voluntary demographic information respondents chose to provide.

17  
18 Many measures were taken to ensure a quality research approach. First, the study received  
19 Institutional Review Board approval to ensure proper human subjects treatment. We vetted the  
20 survey with transportation professionals and members of the UC Berkeley faculty, and pretested  
21 the survey before data collection. During administration of the study, we were available to  
22 clarify any questions and ensure completion of the surveys. While participants were free to  
23 decline to answer any question, we followed up with participants who left questions blank to  
24 ensure they purposely left the question blank; this ensured accuracy of our responses. Finally,  
25 we ensured impartiality as best we could during administration of the surveys by refraining from  
26 discussion until after the respondents had completed the survey.

27  
28 We analyzed the data collected in the surveys using a logit model for most questions. The  
29 frequency with which respondents indicated they would use a self-driving taxi is analyzed using  
30 a log-linear regression. The independent variables are dummy coded compared to a control group  
31 with the following attributes: Married, white males with a bachelor's degree and an income  
32 between \$50,000 and \$75,000. The control group had a moderate relationship to technology and  
33 valued automobiles with green technology, luxury, and style. We selected this control group  
34 because it is strongly represented in the sample and provides a good base with which to compare  
35 the responses of those with different attitudes and demographic characteristics.

### 36 **Limitations**

37  
38  
39 The future is difficult to predict. Self-driving technology is not widely adopted and how this  
40 technology unfolds is still unknown. Self-driving technology may take an entirely different  
41 shape than what is familiar to the public, and more information or future events may change  
42 people's attitudes. Stated preferences may change depending on new information and other  
43 factors.

44  
45 While many efforts were made to ensure impartial data collection, there was still bias with  
46 survey distribution, self-selection, and non-response. We intercepted visitors at the Lawrence



1 Hall of Science in Berkeley, and because the population shares certain characteristics, the sample  
2 skewed towards wealthy, educated families with cars. People who are interested in technology  
3 and self-driving cars may self-select into the study. People may answer differently in a group-  
4 administered survey setting as opposed to a close online survey or other settings. Additionally,  
5 the study was constrained by time and resources. A larger survey sample from many locations  
6 would strengthen future research on self-driving technology. In many cases, although our sample  
7 size was large enough to determine meaningful correlations using a logit model, we were  
8 prevented from obtaining correlations on questions where a large number of people answered  
9 ‘maybe,’ reducing that question’s effective sample size.

## 10 **RESULTS & ANALYSIS**

11  
12  
13 We advertised our study at the ticket admissions desk, and intercepted about 200 visitors outside  
14 the study classroom. We received 107 survey responses from 47 males and 60 females. The  
15 respondents were racially diverse: 52% identified as white, 28% as Asian, 14% as Hispanic, 5%  
16 as Black, and 1% as other. The respondents were educated, with 75% of participants having at  
17 least a Bachelor’s degree. Income varied as well, with 23% of participants making less than 50k,  
18 32% making between 50-100k, and 45% making more than 100k. The age of respondents  
19 ranged from 19 to 84, with the majority of respondents (43%) in the 35-44 age bracket. In our  
20 sample, 70% of respondents are married, 20% are single, 6% are partnered, and 4% chose other.

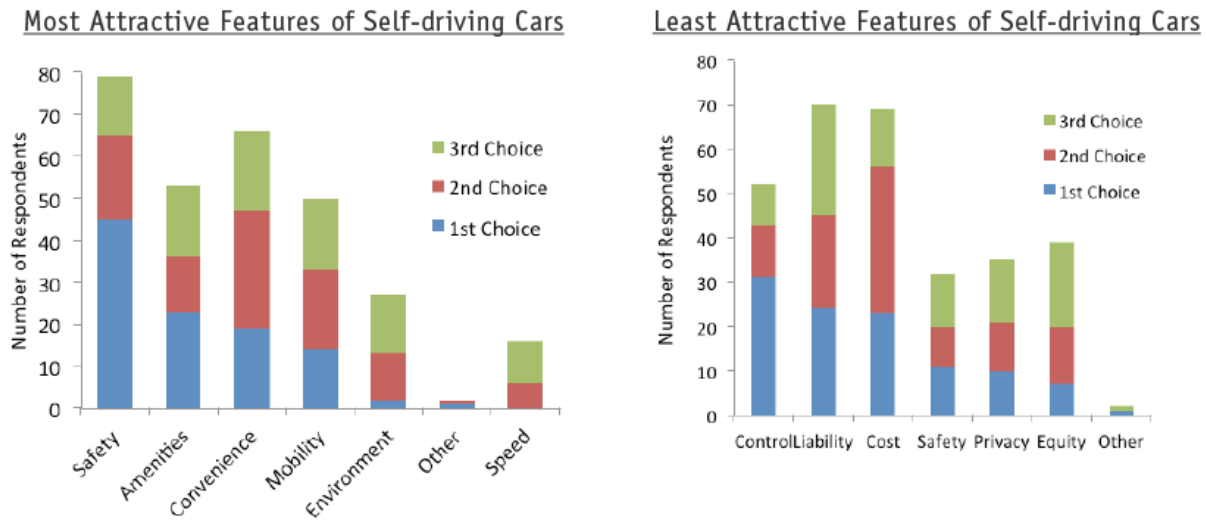
21  
22 This results and analysis section is organized by our guiding research questions:

- 23 ● What does the public find most attractive and least attractive about self-driving technology?
- 24 ● How does the public envision the inclusion of this technology in today’s network?
- 25 ● Would the public adopt self-driving technology, and in what form?
- 26 ● Do an individual’s existing travel behavior, relationship to cars, and relationship to  
27 technology affect his or her opinion about self-driving cars?

### 28 29 **What does the public find most and least attractive about self-driving technology?**

30  
31 From the literature, we identified six attractive features to self-driving cars: amenities (e.g.  
32 ability to text message or multitask while driving), convenience (e.g. not having to find parking),  
33 environmental friendliness, increased mobility, safety, and speed. We identified five concerns to  
34 self-driving technology: lack of control, costs and equity, liability, privacy, and safety. We listed  
35 these factors and asked respondents to select up to three aspects of the technology they found  
36 most and least attractive, and to rank their choices. Participants also had an option of writing in  
37 another factor.  
38  
39

1 **FIGURE 1 Most and Least Attractive Elements of Self-Driving Cars**  
 2



3  
 4  
 5 Respondents found increased safety, amenities like multitasking, and convenience to be the most  
 6 attractive features of self-driving cars. These findings reflect current marketing efforts, which  
 7 often tout safety as the greatest benefit to self-driving cars. Many people are aware of high death  
 8 rates in the United States due to vehicle accidents. The findings also reveal that people are  
 9 interested in self-driving cars as an improvement to their lives, and value personal amenities and  
 10 convenience higher than societal benefits like environmental friendliness and reduced travel  
 11 times.

12  
 13 Respondents were most concerned with liability, costs and control. A number of people feel  
 14 very strongly about lack of control, but the majority of respondents do not share their concern.  
 15 With respect to liability, many cite unreliable technology at work and home as evidence that self-  
 16 driving car technology may also be unreliable. The concern over liability seems to contrast with  
 17 safety as the greatest benefit. This suggests that most respondents believe that self-driving cars  
 18 represent a net safety improvement over the status quo, but a driverless future is not an accident-  
 19 free future. A driverless car network may resemble today's air network, where there are few  
 20 accidents, but those that do occur are more catastrophic and visible than auto accidents today.

21  
 22 These findings reflect key challenges that industry professionals and policymakers must address:  
 23 ensuring quality technology, addressing who is at fault should a vehicle malfunction, and  
 24 appropriately pricing the technology. With respect to costs and equity, people view self-driving  
 25 cars as potentially exclusive and cost-prohibitive. A significant minority of respondents felt  
 26 strongly about loss of control of the vehicle. Education, exposure, and time may persuade those  
 27 to embrace the technology, but we hypothesize that those who are most concerned about control  
 28 will take the longest to accept self-driving cars.

29  
 30

## 1 **How does the public envision the inclusion of this technology in today's network?**

2  
3 To test this research question, we asked participants where they think self-driving cars should  
4 operate: 1) in same lanes as normal car traffic; 2) separated from other modes of transportation  
5 through dedicated lanes, like carpool lanes on freeways; 3) operate on a new network created  
6 solely for self-driving cars, like a separate rail system; or 4) no opinion. Participants were also  
7 asked whether they would support a bond measure to build infrastructure for self-driving cars.  
8

9 Of the 107 responses, 46% believe that self-driving cars should operate with normal traffic, 38%  
10 in separate lanes, and 11% had no opinion. With regards to support of a bond measure for self-  
11 driving cars, 43% of the participants said maybe, 35% favored a bond measure, and 22%  
12 opposed. Responses to these questions suggest that the public needs more information about self-  
13 driving cars before making a decision of how self-driving cars would integrate in today's  
14 network. There is an opportunity to influence public opinion in this realm.

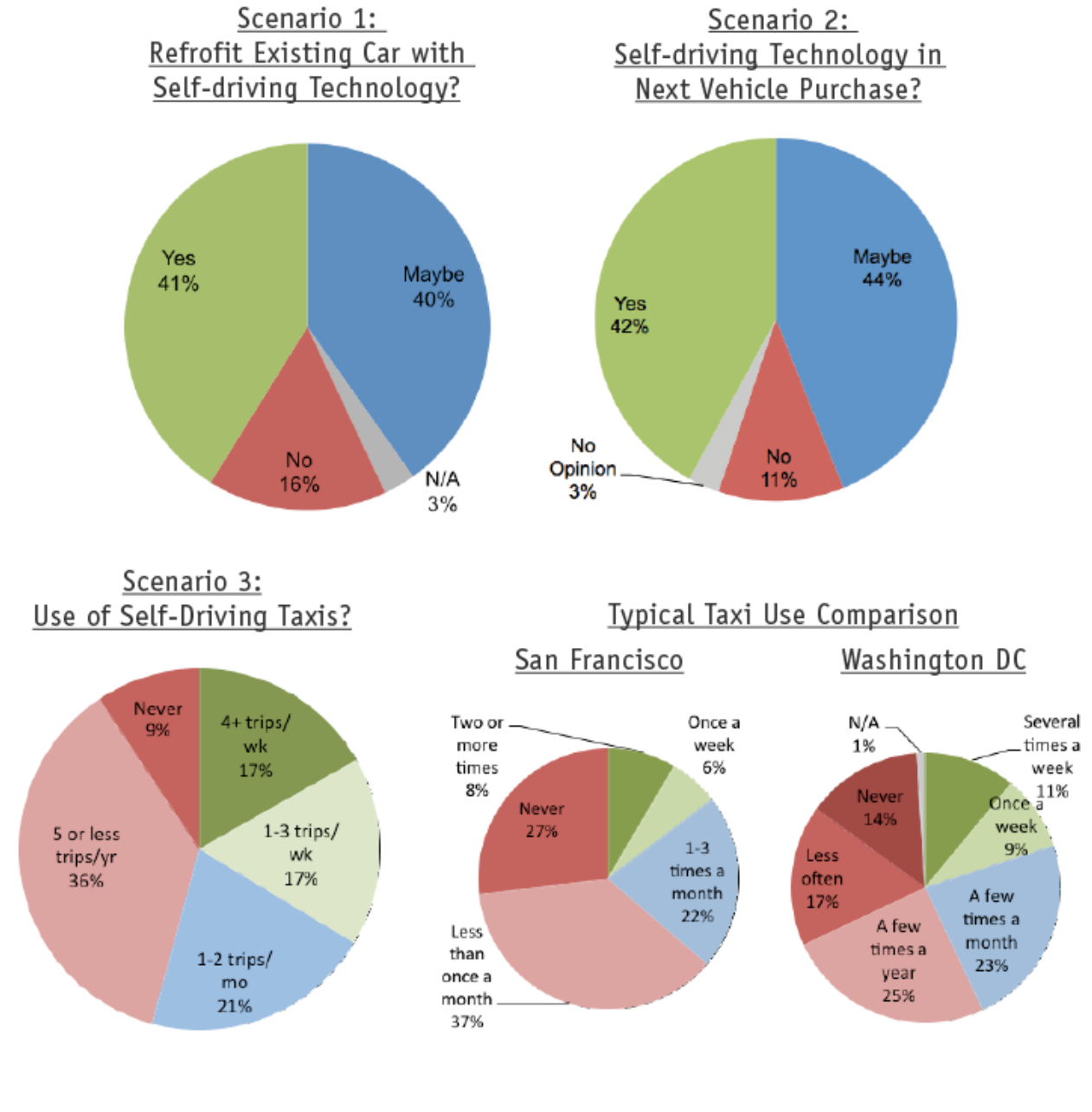
## 15 16 **Would the public adopt self-driving technology, and in what form?**

17  
18 Participants were given three scenarios in a future world of self-driving cars: 1) retrofitting  
19 existing cars with self-driving technology, 2) buying a new self-driving car, or 3) using self-  
20 driving cars as a public transit/taxi service. While the adoption of self-driving cars could be a  
21 transformative event, we framed the scenarios in terms of transportation currently understood:  
22 traditional car ownership and pay-per-use (taxi) service. Responses are reflected in Figure 2.  
23

24 The benefits of self-driving technology depend on vehicle adoption and use en masse. The first  
25 scenario asks respondents if they would retrofit their existing car with self-driving technology.  
26 Assuming retrofits are more affordable than buying new equipment, this option could facilitate  
27 seamless adoption of self-driving technology, as well as accelerate adoption rates. In the second  
28 scenario, respondents are asked whether they would purchase self-driving technology as optional  
29 equipment for their next car. A small percentage of our sample did not want to retrofit their car,  
30 nor had an interest in buying self-driving technology, suggesting people are mostly receptive to  
31 self-driving technology.  
32

33 In the third scenario, we asked participants their willingness to take self-driving cars as a taxi  
34 service. Introducing the phrase "self-driving taxi" proved problematic, as many associate taxis  
35 with high-cost point-to-point travel. While we included language to discourage people from  
36 thinking about costs, it was evident that respondents were curious about cost and this influenced  
37 their responses. Respondents' willingness to use self-driving cars as taxis was not high.  
38 However, self-driving taxis still seem more popular than traditional taxis, when we compare our  
39 data with data from a March 2013 telephone survey of San Francisco residents' use of taxis (34)  
40 and a July 2012 poll of Washington DC residents' use of taxis (33).  
41  
42

1 **FIGURE 2 Self-driving Car Scenario Planning Responses**  
2



1 **Do an individual's demographic characteristics, existing travel behavior, relationship to**  
2 **cars, and relationship to technology affect his or her opinion about self-driving cars?**

3  
4 The results of the logit model (Table 1) show that the men surveyed are more likely to be  
5 concerned with liability and less likely to be concerned with control than women. Married people  
6 value amenities such as multitasking less, but place a high importance on the safety  
7 improvements offered by the technology. Married people are also less concerned with cost.  
8 People coming from larger households, as well as those of Hispanic and Asian decent highly  
9 value the potential of the technology to improve mobility for the impaired.

10  
11 Income also plays a significant role in shaping a person's attitude. Those with higher income are  
12 most concerned with liability, and less concerned with giving up control. Lower income  
13 households appear to be more concerned with safety, and control. People of all income groups  
14 had concerns about cost.

15  
16 Single-occupancy vehicle (SOV) commuters and cyclists are most concerned with giving up  
17 control of the car, while those who primarily carpool or walk are not. Frequent technology users  
18 are less likely to be concerned with the cost of the technology than those who interact with  
19 technology less frequently. Those who use technology less frequently are much more concerned  
20 about control than frequent users.

21  
22 Those who value a car for luxury, image, and prestige are more concerned about giving up  
23 control, revealing that car enthusiasts would be ambivalent towards the technology because they  
24 enjoy driving. Conversely who place a higher importance on a car's fuel economy do not see  
25 giving up control as a major issue.

26  
27

1  
2  
3  
4  
5

**TABLE 1 Most and Least Attractive Aspects of Self-driving Cars vs Respondent Characteristics**

*Most Attractive Elements*

Variable	Control		Cost		Equity		Liability		Privacy		Safety	
	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq
	101	0.0174	96	0.0271	24	0.2465	88	0.6139	10	pos. response	101	0.3848
	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value
Intercept	-1.77	0.28	-13.56	0.99	12.74	1.00	-4.44	0.99			0.56	0.83
Female	1.39	0.12	0.19	0.82	61.74	0.99	-1.52	0.03	Not enough responses to determine correlation		-1.16	0.34
Not Married	-0.32	0.70	3.65	0.00	neg.	(om)	-0.78	0.38			-1.52	0.37
HH Size	0.14	0.66	0.32	0.39	-31.19	0.99	0.17	0.63			-0.78	0.22
Black	0.97	0.50	neg.	(om)	neg.	(om)	neg.	(om)			7.03	0.02
Hispanic	1.88	0.08	-0.63	0.63	neg.	(om)	0.38	0.74			-16.15	1.00
Asian	-1.64	0.11	-1.28	0.20	47.22	0.99	0.78	0.29			2.45	0.08
Under 25K	0.86	0.43	-2.91	0.10	0.21	1.00	0.33	0.83			1.76	0.37
25K-50K	-4.99	0.01	2.32	0.17	neg.	(om)	0.04	0.98			4.15	0.10
75K-100K	-0.61	0.57	2.38	0.15	0.13	1.00	-0.16	0.90			-0.13	0.95
100K-125K	1.79	0.22	1.48	0.34	30.42	0.99	-0.20	0.88			-0.81	0.71
125K+	-1.90	0.10	1.90	0.16	-0.39	0.89	0.81	0.45			-0.20	0.92
HS or Less	-0.16	0.94	0.23	0.92	col.	(om)	neg.	(om)			20.68	0.99
Some Col	1.52	0.10	-2.10	0.14	neg.	(om)	0.56	0.52			-2.57	0.21
Masters	0.60	0.54	-1.65	0.07	46.25	0.99	0.98	0.28			-1.78	0.25
PhD	2.52	0.09	0.13	0.94	-0.78	1.00	0.81	0.49			-2.28	0.23
SOV	-1.68	0.03	8.09	1.00	pos.	(om)	-0.66	0.28			col.	(om)
HOV	0.98	0.45	-7.99	1.00	col.	(om)	0.44	0.74			col.	(om)
Transit	-0.78	0.50	8.48	1.00	col.	(om)	-0.77	0.41			col.	(om)
Bike	-1.30	0.35	-7.62	1.00	col.	(om)	-0.71	0.59			col.	(om)
Walk	2.44	0.14	-9.19	1.00	col.	(om)	1.57	0.35			col.	(om)
Limited	3.65	0.05	-0.50	0.77	neg.	(om)	neg.	(om)		-0.77	0.71	
Heavy	2.45	0.02	-2.45	0.05	61.42	0.99	0.13	0.87		-0.55	0.69	
Early-Adopter	-0.11	0.95	-2.28	0.05	neg.	(om)	0.57	0.54		-0.96	0.53	
Basic	0.48	0.59	-13.98	0.99	19.51	1.00	3.71	0.99		0.14	0.93	
Comfort	-0.55	0.41	2.69	0.99	-27.26	0.99	3.21	0.99		-2.58	0.12	
Fuel Econ	-2.58	0.02	4.05	0.99	-57.87	0.99	2.28	0.99		1.71	0.27	
Luxury	3.53	0.03	3.38	0.99	79.50	0.99	-12.28	0.99		0.11	0.98	

Notes

[1] neg. = negative; (om) = omitted; pos. = positive; col. = collinear

[2] the first-choice/top ranked feature was used in regression analysis

[3] Variable categories (top to bottom): gender, marital status, household size, ethnicity, income, education, typical commute, relationship to technology, & relationship to cars

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1 *Least Attractive Elements*

Variable	Amenities (Multitasking)		Convenience		Environment		Mobility		Safety	
	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq
	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value
	94	0.1394	86	0.6368	20 positive response		88	0.8561	98	0.6954
Intercept	-10.11	1.00	-8.26	0.99			-10.13	0.99	-2.24	0.99
Female	-1.54	0.07	0.94	0.27	Not enough positive responses to determine correlation		-0.21	0.84	0.00	1.00
Not Married	1.56	0.07	-0.10	0.93			0.03	0.98	-0.97	0.16
HH Size	-0.02	0.94	-0.21	0.56			0.94	0.04	-0.16	0.57
Black	neg. (om)		2.85	0.12			neg. (om)		1.23	0.39
Hispanic	-2.80	0.08	1.54	0.23			1.70	0.19	-0.11	0.91
Asian	-0.40	0.67	0.49	0.55			1.52	0.14	-0.29	0.66
Under 25K	-1.15	0.31	-0.78	0.58			1.65	0.21	0.36	0.71
25K-50K	2.20	0.29	neg. (om)				-1.67	0.32	1.22	0.30
75K-100K	-0.92	0.49	0.13	0.92			-2.29	0.27	0.50	0.61
100K-125K	-0.40	0.77	1.33	0.31			-1.15	0.48	-0.73	0.49
125K+	-0.54	0.61	-0.54	0.66			0.11	0.93	0.55	0.50
HS or Less	0.77	0.73	neg. (om)				-1.01	0.63	0.57	0.74
Some Col	0.71	0.43	-1.00	0.38			-1.08	0.34	0.14	0.85
Masters	-0.24	0.78	-0.67	0.51			-1.24	0.32	0.42	0.55
PhD	0.81	0.57	-0.94	0.54			neg. (om)		0.43	0.70
SOV	6.34	1.00	4.28	0.99			2.00	1.00	2.58	0.99
HOV	-10.06	1.00	5.55	0.99			1.26	1.00	2.85	0.99
Transit	6.59	1.00	5.75	0.99			0.47	1.00	1.48	1.00
Bike	5.75	1.00	-10.40	1.00			-11.05	1.00	3.82	0.99
Walk	6.71	1.00	-10.58	1.00			6.23	0.99	-12.53	0.99
Limited	-1.29	0.44	0.11	0.95	-0.01	0.99	-1.57	0.24		
Heavy	-0.43	0.65	-0.35	0.69	0.65	0.48	0.18	0.77		
Early-Adopter	-1.05	0.41	-0.26	0.83	-0.48	0.74	0.22	0.79		
Basic	2.90	1.00	4.23	0.99	2.83	1.00	-0.72	0.36		
Comfort	4.57	0.99	2.76	1.00	2.43	1.00	-0.53	0.27		
Fuel Econ	4.76	0.99	1.24	1.00	3.73	0.99	-0.26	0.65		
Luxury	4.00	0.99	-10.89	1.00	-11.24	1.00	0.52	0.67		

Notes

- [1] neg. (om) = omitted
- [2] the first-choice/top ranked feature was used in regression analysis
- [3] Variable categories (top to bottom): gender, marital status, household size, ethnicity, income, education, typical commute, relationship to technology, & relationship to cars

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TABLE 2 Opinions on Self-Driving Cars vs. Respondent Characteristics

Variable	Where should self-driving cars operate?		Would you support bond for self-driving car infrastructure?		Would you retrofit your car with self-driving technology?		Would you buy a self-driving car?		How often would you use a self-driving taxi?	
	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	Signifce
	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value
Intercept	0.20	1.00	3.18	0.99	-4.25	1.00	1.54	0.42	2.58	0.01
Female	0.79	0.25	-1.41	0.18	2.59	0.11	(om)	(om)	-0.18	0.68
Not Married	-1.83	0.03	-0.69	0.56	-0.14	0.91	(om)	(om)	0.07	0.89
HH Size	0.57	0.07	0.36	0.44	-0.57	0.35	(om)	(om)	0.02	0.93
Black	1.19	0.42	-2.05	0.30	-0.84	0.92	(om)	(om)	-0.20	0.84
Hispanic	-1.74	0.22	-2.93	0.10	0.70	0.64	(om)	(om)	0.74	0.27
Asian	0.25	0.71	-0.30	0.82	-0.49	0.77	(om)	(om)	-0.32	0.51
Under 25K	0.67	0.56	-1.01	0.48	1.20	0.44	-0.71	0.64	-0.35	0.64
25K-50K	1.81	0.21	-0.17	0.93	1.26	0.55	-2.26	0.34	-0.76	0.36
75K-100K	0.69	0.57	-1.65	0.31	2.23	0.29	-1.38	0.39	-0.40	0.57
100K-125K	-0.26	0.83	(om)	(om)	5.73	0.05	-0.67	0.63	1.08	0.18
Over 125K	-1.00	0.31	-3.19	0.06	2.76	0.24	(om)	(om)	0.61	0.33
HS or less	(om)	(om)	2.69	0.30	2.82	0.32	(om)	(om)	-1.21	0.37
Some Col	-0.31	0.71	0.93	0.43	0.60	0.68	-1.27	0.34	0.71	0.20
Masters	-0.79	0.32	-0.64	0.63	1.21	0.49	-0.43	0.79	0.48	0.37
PhD	1.89	0.16	(om)	(om)	-34.27	0.99	(om)	(om)	0.92	0.25
Limited	0.12	0.93	-1.07	0.58	-2.87	0.19	(om)	(om)	0.27	0.77
Heavy	-0.13	0.86	0.88	0.51	3.33	0.03	1.10	0.33	0.24	0.62
Early-Adopter	1.92	0.08	2.34	0.17	32.10	0.99	0.02	0.99	0.47	0.45
Basic	1.78	0.06	1.64	0.29	-0.45	1.00	-1.55	0.28	-1.51	0.01
Fuel Economy	-0.40	0.46	-1.18	0.25	2.14	1.00	0.29	0.80	-0.48	0.20
Comfort	-0.04	0.95	0.57	0.55	1.23	1.00	-0.47	0.72	-0.54	0.23
Luxury	0.45	0.73	-0.52	0.77	-9.89	1.00	0.22	0.92	1.87	0.06

Notes

[1] (om) = Omitted

[2] Variable categories (top to bottom): Gender, marital status, household size, ethnicity, income, education, relationship to technology, & relationship to cars

Table 2 summarizes the results of a logit model (for the first 4 questions) and a log-linear regression (for the taxi question) connecting respondents' personal traits with their responses to the questions related to adoption. We were not able to determine a relationship between positive responses to "Would you buy a self-driving car" and a respondent's personal characteristics. This is because a large number of people responded "Maybe" to this question.

Income level and the relationship of people to technology are correlated to positive responses regarding the adoption of self-driving technology. Early adopters of technology are more likely to desire separate infrastructure for self-driving cars and support public financing of this infrastructure using bonds. Limited users of technology are much less likely to want to retrofit their vehicle with self-driving technology. Wealthier people also would retrofit their car and use a self-driving taxi more often than those with lower income. As mentioned earlier, use of the word 'taxi' seems to connote high expense and luxury, with people valuing luxury strongly favoring self-driving taxis and people interested in bare bones transportation rejecting a potential



self-driving taxi service.

**TABLE 3 Opinions on Self-Driving Cars vs Positive and Negative Aspects**

Variable	Where should self-driving cars operate?		Would you support bond for self-driving car infrastructure?		Would you retrofit your car with self-driving technology?		Would you buy self-driving car?		How often would you use self-driving taxi?	
	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	ChiSq	N	Signifce
	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value	Coeff	P-value
Intercept	1.87	0.10	0.27	0.74	0.30	0.78	1.60	0.15	0.79	0.59
Amenities	-0.95	0.18	-0.34	0.65	0.18	0.84	0.33	0.71	2.07	0.13
Convenience	0.79	0.27	0.88	0.35	0.08	0.93	0.86	0.39	1.65	0.24
Mobility	-0.37	0.64	-0.64	0.45	-0.45	0.63	(om)	(om)	1.35	0.34
Safety	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	2.21	0.10
Environment	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)
Cost	-3.27	0.01	-0.22	0.82	1.16	0.33	0.73	0.63	0.60	0.45
Liability	-2.58	0.04	0.08	0.94	-0.04	0.97	-0.67	0.60	0.01	0.99
Control	-1.26	0.30	1.10	0.29	0.02	0.98	-2.08	0.12	-0.06	0.94
Safety	0.33	0.84	-0.05	0.97	(om)	(om)	-2.06	0.15	-0.60	0.51
Privacy	-2.28	0.09	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	0.82	0.37
Equity	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)	(om)

Notes

[1] (om) = Omitted

[2] Variable categories (top to bottom): positive attitudes, negative attitudes

Table 3 displays the results of a logit model (for the first 4 questions) and a log-linear regression (for the taxi question) connecting respondents’ attitudes towards self-driving cars with their responses to the questions related to adoption. Although buying a self-driving car could not be connected to any of the personal traits, it is clear from these data that people with serious concerns about control or safety are not likely to purchase a self-driving car until their concerns are addressed. Those who value safety and amenities indicated a preference for self-driving taxis. Finally those who have concerns about the privacy, cost, or liability issues with the technology were not interested in government support for the technology through separate infrastructure.

**CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS**

Self-driving cars represent a leap forward for personal transportation with numerous social, environmental, political, and economic implications. As this technology is in its infancy, public perceptions of self-driving cars are increasingly important as the public shapes the demand for the technology, the policies that govern them, and future investments in infrastructure. This technology could transform the very interaction between society and its transportation system in ways that are scarcely imagined. Or, this technology could simply become a better cruise control for private autos or support current auto-oriented transportation and land use trends. Self-driving technology will likely be brought to market in the near future. How we choose to implement this technology will make the difference, and that largely depends on the views of political and market actors.

1 This study attempts to ascertain these views as they exist today. An understanding of the factors  
2 that play a role in such decision making can help the industry tailor its product and marketing to  
3 appeal to the greatest number people, and can help proponents of this technology frame their  
4 message. From our study, we conclude with a few salient points that must be addressed.

### 6 **Cost**

7 Although we made efforts to keep costs out of the study, it is clear that respondents are  
8 concerned about the price of the technology. Wealthier people are more likely to be interested in  
9 self-driving cars than those with lower income. Over two-thirds of respondents of all  
10 demographic groups cite costs as a concern, and likely contributes to why many respondents are  
11 unsure about buying a car in the future. The retrofitting option seems to be a successful  
12 technique for expanding the number of self-driving cars on the roads, as it enjoys support from  
13 those who are concerned about cost. Issues with cost are shared strongly by people of all  
14 incomes. This indicates that reductions in the cost of this technology may increase demand  
15 roughly uniformly over all income groups. We recommend further study quantifying the demand  
16 for self-driving vehicles, estimating people's willingness to pay or other econometric analysis.

### 18 **Safety and Control**

19 Our regressions reveal that safety plays an important role in adoption, and influences people's  
20 willingness to adopt self-driving cars. Most participants are also concerned with liability.  
21 Although most respondents view self-driving cars as an improvement in safety over the status  
22 quo, they are concerned with the technology malfunctioning. People who enjoy cars and driving  
23 (those who identified as driving alone for most trips, as well as those who value a car for its  
24 image or luxury) are more likely to desire greater control of the car, and those who cite safety or  
25 control as a major factor are much less likely to want to buy a self-driving car than others.

### 27 **Convenience, Amenities, and Multitasking**

28 The convenience of a self-driving car is widely cited by study participants as major benefit of the  
29 technology and is not correlated to any specific group. Based on these results, self-driving  
30 technology manufacturers and advocates should emphasize the convenience and amenities that  
31 driverless cars offer in order to ensure widespread adoption.

### 33 **Self-driving Taxis**

34 Self-driving taxis appeal more to individuals with higher income than those with lower income.  
35 Additionally, those who view a car as basic transport were less likely to use a self-driving taxi.  
36 This survey question was hampered by the association of taxis with cost, and we believe that  
37 self-driving taxis or shared driverless cars can be the most affordable option for many.  
38 Interestingly, self-driving taxis appear to be more popular than conventional taxis when  
39 compared to data from San Francisco and Washington D.C. residents, suggesting that self-  
40 driving taxis can still play an important role as public transit. We recommend further study on  
41 self-driving taxis with cost considerations included. Self-driving taxis or shared driverless cars  
42 have great potential to create a sustainable transportation system that is more efficient and  
43 convenient than today's system.

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