

1           **Rewarding safe and environmentally**  
2 **sustainable driving: a systematic review of**  
3 **trials**

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14           Transportation Research Board Annual Meeting January 2014

15  
16           Paper submitted for presentation and publication

17  
18           Paper revised from original submission

19  
20           Word count: 6,136 (max = 7,500 – 750 = 6,750)

23 **ABSTRACT**

24 The paper reviews trials designed to reward safe and environmentally sustainable  
25 driving. The most common type of trial offered monetary rewards to drivers for not  
26 speeding or for reducing mileage. Seven trials were identified. The most successful  
27 incentive schemes for reducing speeding were associated with a 60-80 percent  
28 reduction of speeding. Trials designed to reduce mileage were not as successful and  
29 resulted in mileage reductions of 0 to 10 percent. Small samples and high attrition  
30 rates (i.e. participants dropping out of the study before it was completed)  
31 characterized most trials. There is also likely to be self-selection bias, but the size of  
32 this bias is difficult to determine. Data for Sweden and Denmark suggest that it could  
33 be substantial. Hence, the effects found in the trials reported so far reflect what can  
34 be accomplished in groups of highly motivated drivers.

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36 Key words: rewards, incentive systems, safe driving, environmentally sustainable  
37 driving

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41 **1 INTRODUCTION**

42 Many years ago, Paul Hurst (1) wrote a paper entitled: Can anyone reward safe  
43 driving? At that time, technology that can monitor driver behavior hardly existed.  
44 Hurst was not too optimistic about the idea of effectively rewarding drivers for safe  
45 driving. He had noticed, however, that there were reports that drivers who continued  
46 driving after their license had been suspended tended to drive cautiously, so as not to  
47 attract the attention of the police or other drivers. In what he labeled a  
48 “Machiavellian” argument, he proposed that drivers could perhaps be motivated to  
49 safe driving by introducing a law many would be tempted to violate, but only by  
50 driving cautiously and inconspicuously, the way drivers with suspended licenses were  
51 driving.

52 Today, this line of reasoning is mainly of historical interest. There is technology  
53 which can monitor many aspects of driver behavior, notably speed, lane position,  
54 headway, use of turning indicators and kilometers driven. By installing such  
55 technology in cars, it is possible to reward safe and environmentally sustainable  
56 driving. The objectives of this paper are: (1) to systematically review trials rewarding  
57 safe and environmentally sustainable driving by means of pay-as-you-drive insurance  
58 schemes, (2) to synthesize the findings of these trials. As far as is known, this is the  
59 first paper summarizing trials rewarding driver behavior. The following main  
60 research problems will be discussed:

- 61 1. What types of rewards have been offered and how large are these rewards?
- 62 2. Do the rewards influence driver behavior?
- 63 3. Are the effects on driver behavior related to characteristics of the trials, in  
64 particular the size of the reward?
- 65 4. What are the principal methodological problems of studies that have  
66 evaluated the effects of pay-as-you-drive insurance schemes?
- 67 5. Can study findings be formally synthesized by means of meta-analysis?

68 Before presenting the studies that were retrieved, the concepts of safe and  
69 environmentally sustainable driving will be briefly defined. Safe driving denotes any  
70 changes in driving behavior that can be expected to reduce accident involvement.  
71 This includes, e.g. reducing speed, increasing following distance, abstaining from  
72 driving in high-risk conditions, such as at night, and reducing the distance driven.  
73 The concept of environmentally sustainable driving might strike some people as a  
74 contradiction-in-terms, since any use of a motor vehicle is associated with unwanted  
75 effects on the environment. This point of view is, however, not very helpful since it  
76 implies that the only way to avoid damaging the environment is by not driving a  
77 motor vehicle. In this paper, driver behavior will be regarded as environmentally  
78 sustainable if the amount of driving is reduced or if driver behavior reduces or  
79 minimizes fuel consumption and pollution emissions.

80

81 **2 STUDY RETRIEVAL**

82 Relevant studies were identified by searching ScienceDirect and TRIS using “pay-as-  
83 you-drive” as search term. Moreover, the ancestry approach was applied, i.e. studies  
84 were identified by examining the reference lists of papers identified in the literature

85 databases. Priority was given to papers reporting empirical research; in particular the  
86 effects on driver behavior of trials intended to motivate drivers to driver more safely  
87 or in a way that reduces impacts on the environment.

88 A total of seven trials reporting the effects of various types of pay-as-you-drive  
89 insurance schemes were found. This is a surprisingly small number, considering the  
90 fact that there seems to be great interest in developing insurance schemes that may  
91 improve safety. Moreover, the trials that were found differ in many important  
92 respects. It is therefore not easy to synthesize their findings. The next section reviews  
93 each of the trials.

94

### 95 **3 REVIEW OF PAY-AS-YOU-DRIVE INSURANCE TRIALS**

#### 96 **3.1 The Borlänge trial**

97 The first trial that was found took place in September and October 2002 in the city  
98 of Borlänge, Sweden (2-4). A total of 95 drivers volunteered to join the trial, which  
99 was an extension of the trial with Intelligent Speed Adaptation (ISA) that took place  
100 in several cities in Sweden around 2000. Drivers were assigned to six groups:

- 101 1. A group offered a bonus of 500 SEK (1 SEK = 0.10 US Dollars in 2002) per  
102 month, with no incentive to change behavior.
- 103 2. A group offered a bonus of 250 SEK per month, with no incentive to change  
104 behavior.
- 105 3. A group offered a bonus of 500 SEK per month, from which 0.1-1.0 SEK  
106 was subtracted for each minute spent speeding. The amount subtracted  
107 depended of the level of speeding (up to 10 percent above speed limit, 11-20  
108 percent above, more than 20 percent above)
- 109 4. A group offered a bonus of 250 SEK per month, from which 0.1-1.0 SEK  
110 was subtracted for each minute spent speeding, depending on the level of  
111 speeding.
- 112 5. A group offered a bonus of 500 SEK per month, from which 0.2-2.0 SEK  
113 was subtracted per minute spent speeding, depending on the level of  
114 speeding.
- 115 6. A group offered a bonus of 250 SEK per month, from which 0.2-2.0 SEK  
116 was subtracted per minute spent speeding, depending on the level of  
117 speeding.

118 The trial was small. Each group consisted of 16 drivers, except for group 6 which  
119 consisted of 15 drivers. A seventh group consisted of 19 drivers who refused to take  
120 part in the trial, but whose speed continued to be monitored by the ISA-device. The  
121 trial lasted two months. The stakes were highest for group 5. This group could earn  
122 1,000 SEK during the trial, but lose up to 2 SEK per minute of speeding. If, as an  
123 example, a driver drives 20 minutes per day (60 days in two months), total driving  
124 time is 1,200 minutes. Spending 10 percent of the time speeding at the highest level  
125 would then carry a penalty of  $2 \times 120 = 240$  SEK.

126 Effects were evaluated by comparing speeding in September 2002 (during) to  
127 September 2001 (before) and October 2002 (during) to October 2001 (before).  
128 Overall, the rate of speeding was reduced by about 35 percent from September 2001

129 to September 2002. The corresponding reduction from October 2001 to October  
130 2002 was 43 percent.

131

### 132 **3.2 The Belonitor trial**

133 The Dutch Belonitor trial took place on the main roads of the country (5). Taking  
134 part in the trial offered reward points that could be used to take part in more than  
135 100 activities as well as winning a monthly first prize worth 500 Euros (only one  
136 driver won this prize each month). The report does not state when the trial took  
137 place, but in 2002 500 Euros corresponded to about 470 US Dollars. The trial lasted  
138 about 16 weeks and rewarded drivers for keeping the speed limit and keeping a safe  
139 distance to the car in front of them. 62 drivers took part in the trial.

140 The maximum number of reward points earned was about 360. Each reward point  
141 was worth 0.04 Euros in the first two weeks of the trial, 0.02 Euros in the next two  
142 weeks and 0.01 Euros after five weeks.

143 Large reductions were found in both speeding and short following distances. Exact  
144 figures are not stated, but speeding was reduced by about 50 percent and short  
145 following distances were reduced by almost 60 percent immediately after the start of  
146 the trial. However, the effect on following distances gradually eroded during the trial  
147 and was down to about 30 percent when the trial ended.

148

### 149 **3.3 The Minnesota pay-as-you-drive trial**

150 The Minnesota pay-as-you-drive trial involved 130 households (6). 50 households  
151 were offered a mileage-based price selected randomly between 0.05 and 0.25 US  
152 Dollars per mile driven. Another 50 households continued to drive without the  
153 charge. The final 30 households formed a control group. The trial lasted three  
154 months.

155 Kilometers driven were reduced by 4.4 percent for those subject to the mileage-based  
156 charging system compared to those who did not pay per mile driven. There was a  
157 larger reduction in mileage among households who were assigned to the highest price  
158 per mile.

159

### 160 **3.4 The North Texas pay-as-you-drive insurance trial**

161 This trial took place in nine counties in North Central Texas (7). The trial was  
162 initiated by local government, but administered by Progressive Insurance. Car owners  
163 who had insured their cars at Progressive were offered to participate in a trial with  
164 pay-as-you-drive insurance. A total of 3,014 car owner volunteered to participate.  
165 The trial did not have a control group.

166 Participants were paid 50 US Dollars for uploading mileage data to Progressive after  
167 six months and again after twelve months. Participants could also earn 25 dollars for  
168 every five percent they reduced their mileage during a period of six months. They

169 could earn up to 175 dollars per six months or 350 dollars in total for the duration of  
170 the study.

171 Overall mileage was reduced by 4.7 percent. The largest reduction was found during  
172 low-volume daytime hours, the smallest reduction at night. There was a high rate of  
173 sample attrition, as only 1,173 cars of the 3,014 that were recruited completed all  
174 phases of the study. The report does neither state the mean age of study participants,  
175 nor their distribution by gender.

176

### 177 **3.5 The Dutch pay-as-you-drive young driver trial**

178 This trial was targeted at young drivers and offered a monthly discount on the  
179 insurance premium of up to 50 Euros (*€*) (about 73 US Dollars in 2008). 30 Euros  
180 could be earned by not speeding, 15 Euros by reducing mileage and 5 Euros by not  
181 driving during weekend nighttime hours. 100 drivers took part in the trial, 41 drivers  
182 served as a control group. The trial lasted four months. Data on driver behavior were  
183 collected before, during and after the trial.

184 The rate of speeding among drivers who took part in the trial was reduced by slightly  
185 more than 5 percent. In the control group, the rate of speeding increased during the  
186 same period. No effects were found for mileage and nighttime driving.

187 The effect on speeding in this trial was very small compared to the other trials  
188 discussed so far. The differences in effects found in the various trials will be  
189 discussed later in the paper.

190

### 191 **3.6 The Danish pay-as-you-speed trial**

192 The Danish pay-as-you-speed trial was targeted at young drivers (*9-10*). As the trial  
193 got underway, it turned out to be difficult to recruit the desired number of young  
194 drivers. The trial was therefore extended to include drivers of all ages. Drivers were  
195 randomly assigned to the following experimental conditions:

- 196 1. One group that was given information from an ISA-system in the car when  
197 they violated the speed limit.
- 198 2. One group who was offered a 30 percent discount on their insurance  
199 premium. Penalty points were assigned for speeding and earning the full  
200 discount was only possible by not speeding.
- 201 3. One group who was offered both the discount (with penalty points for  
202 speeding) and information about speeding.
- 203 4. A control group. The control group was neither given information about  
204 speeding nor offered an economic incentive.

205 A total of 146 drivers took part in the experiment. The experiment lasted for three  
206 45-day periods. There was no change in the rate of speeding in the control group.  
207 The information group reduced their rate of speeding by about 33 percent; there was  
208 a slight tendency for the effect to erode towards the end of the experiment. The  
209 incentive group reduced the rate of speeding by about 25 percent. Finally, the group

210 that was exposed both to information and incentive reduced the rate of speeding by  
211 about 75 percent.

212

### 213 **3.7 The Australian risk-based charging trial**

214 This trial took place in Sydney, Australia, and included 148 drivers (11-12). Driver  
215 behavior was logged during a before-period of five weeks. Following this baseline  
216 period a kilometer-based insurance scheme was introduced intended to give  
217 incentives to reduce driving, drive less at night and speed less. During the baseline  
218 period, drivers had earned a budget, from which money was withdrawn if drivers did  
219 not reduce kilometers driven, the amount of nighttime driving and the amount of  
220 speeding. The maximum incentive (reward to be paid) for a driver who reduced  
221 kilometers driven by 15 percent, nighttime driving by 20 percent and speeding by 45  
222 percent was estimated to be AUD 119 (equal to US Dollars 94 in 2009).

223 The trial lasted for four weeks. Overall kilometers driven were reduced by nearly 10  
224 percent. There was no change in the number of kilometers driven at night.  
225 Kilometers driven speeding were reduced by 42 percent.

226

## 227 **4 COMPARING THE TRIALS**

### 228 **4.1 Similarities and differences**

229 The trials that were presented in section 3 have both similarities and differences. All  
230 the trials, except the North Central Texas pay-as-you-drive trial, are based on  
231 comparatively small samples. These samples were in all cases obtained by recruiting  
232 volunteers; i.e. the samples are self-selected and not drawn at random from a  
233 sampling frame. Therefore, none of the samples can be regarded as representative of  
234 the general population of drivers. There is likely to be self-selection bias in all studies,  
235 in the sense that those who volunteered to participate are likely to be more motivated  
236 to test the rewarding systems than other drivers and more willing to accept the  
237 detailed monitoring of their behavior required for the rewarding systems to function  
238 as intended. Table 1 lists key information about each trial.

239 All studies, possibly with the exception of the Dutch Belonitor trial, experienced  
240 considerable attrition, i.e. participants who withdrew and did not complete the study.  
241 Attrition rates (for those studies where they are stated or can be estimated) vary  
242 between 17 percent and 61 percent. It is likely that such high attrition rates reinforce  
243 self-selection bias.

244 There are also a number of differences between the studies. First, the targets for  
245 intervention differ. The most common target is speeding, but driving distance is also  
246 common. Night-time driving was targeted in two studies and following distance in  
247 one study.

248 Most of the trials included drivers of all ages, but two trials were targeted specifically  
249 at young drivers. Only the Dutch PAYD trial (8) succeeded in recruiting a sufficient  
250 number of young drivers to complete the trial. The Danish trial (9-10) did not  
251 succeed in recruiting enough young drivers and had to be extended to drivers of all

252 ages. The size of the reward offered also varied between trials. The maximum reward  
253 was highest in the Swedish and Danish trials (2-4, 9-10).

254 As for the effects of the trials, it is in most cases possible to extract several estimates  
255 of effect from each study. To give an example, an early presentation of the Swedish  
256 pay-as-you-speed trial (2) contains a total of 204 estimates of effect (24 in Table 1; 36  
257 in Figure 4; 24 in Table 2; 48 in Table 3; 24 in Table 4; 36 in Figure 5; 12 in Figure 6).  
258 This obviously gives a very detailed picture of the results of the trial. It also allows  
259 for examining whether there is a dose-response pattern in the results. On the other  
260 hand, it makes it more difficult to extract the best summary estimate of effect from  
261 the study. It is also clear that many of the estimates of effect are highly uncertain and  
262 based on very small sample sizes – in some cases down to 10 drivers.

263 The problem of extracting a single best summary estimate of effect from studies  
264 presenting multiple estimates of effect is compounded by the fact that, in many  
265 studies, there are many ways of estimating effects. The Dutch pay-as-you-drive trial  
266 involving young drivers is a case in point (8). Data on speeding were recorded four  
267 times for both the incentive group and the control group:

- 268 1. Before the start of the trial
- 269 2. During the first phase of the trial
- 270 3. During the last phase of the trial
- 271 4. After the end of the trial

272 The percentage of distance driven while speeding in these four periods in the  
273 incentive group was, respectively, 18.6 %, 17.7 %, 17.6 % and 20.5 %. The  
274 corresponding percentages in the control group were: 17.9 %, 19.0 %, 19.7 % and  
275 19.7 %. When commenting on these changes, the authors of the study only make  
276 within-group comparisons, e.g. they test the differences in the incentive group  
277 between 18.6 % and 17.6 % statistically. This, however, is only one way of estimating  
278 effects. Some examples of the many ways effects in this trial can be estimated are:

279 Within-group speeding rate-ratio (incentive):  $17.6/18.6 = 0.946 = 5.4$  percent  
280 reduction in speeding.

281 Between group speeding rate-ratio (odds ratio):  $(17.6/18.6)/(19.7/17.9) = 0.860 =$   
282 14.0 percent reduction in speeding.

283 Difference in differences:  $(17.6 - 18.6) - (19.7 - 17.9) = -1.0 - (+1.8) = -2.8$   
284 percentage points reduction in speeding.

285 Which of these estimators of effect is the best? None of them are wrong, but they do  
286 not convey the same information. Estimators that utilize as much of the information  
287 contained in the study as possible would often be regarded as best, but these  
288 estimators may be associated with a larger variance than simpler estimators. If, in the  
289 Dutch study which is used here as an example, one thinks that the control group  
290 provides information about how speeding would have developed in the absence of  
291 the trial, then an estimator of effect that relies on data for both the incentive group  
292 and the control group should be preferred to an estimator of effect that ignores  
293 information about the control group.

294

295 **4.2 The possibility of synthesizing study findings by means of meta-analysis**

296 Can the findings of the studies discussed above be formally synthesized by means of  
297 meta-analysis? Meta-analysis is feasible whenever there are:

- 298 1. Multiple statistically independent estimates of the effect of the same or  
299 similar treatments.  
300 2. The statistical precision of each estimate of effect is known or can be  
301 calculated.

302 It is clear that both requirements are problematic with respect to the studies  
303 presented above. As noted, many of these studies present multiple estimates of  
304 effect. These estimates cannot be regarded as statistically independent, since many of  
305 them are based partly on the same data, for example comparing different treatment  
306 groups to the same control group. Data for the control group will then be identical  
307 for all treatment groups, which will make the estimates of effect correlated. To make  
308 sure estimates are statistically independent, it would therefore seem necessary to  
309 extract a single estimate of effect from each study. A drawback of doing so would be  
310 that important information is lost, for example information showing that different  
311 treatments are associated with different effects.

312 Most studies present statistics intended to show uncertainty in estimates of effect.  
313 These statistics differ from study to study and it is not entirely clear how to convert  
314 the different statistics to a common metric. Besides, not all studies state uncertainty  
315 in the results. The statistical precision of estimates of effect is therefore not known  
316 for all studies. An alternative might be to base a synthesis on the sample size for each  
317 estimate of effect.

318 Despite these difficulties, an attempt has nevertheless been made to compare the  
319 findings of the studies discussed in section 3. This comparison is not a meta-analysis;  
320 it is more akin to a structured interpretation of study findings. The comparison  
321 consists of the following steps:

- 322 1. Identify studies with identical targets (e.g. all studies targeting speeding).  
323 2. For studies presenting data for a control group, estimates of effect were  
324 stated as odds ratios, i.e.: (after in treated group/before in treated  
325 group)/(after in control group/before in control group).  
326 3. For studies containing more than one group or treatment, the most and least  
327 effective treatments were identified.  
328 4. For studies containing only a single treatment whose effects were measured  
329 at several points in time, the largest and smallest effects were identified.  
330 5. Compare the effects of the most and least effective treatments between  
331 studies.

332 Table 2 reports the results of this comparison for studies targeted at speeding. There  
333 is a high level of consistency in study findings for all studies, except the Dutch study  
334 that was targeted at young drivers. The effects found in that study were considerably  
335 smaller than in the other studies. The most effective incentive systems reduce the  
336 rate of speeding by 60-80 percent. The least effective incentive systems are  
337 apparently also associated with a reduction in speeding, although much smaller than  
338 the most effective incentive systems. Note that in two of the studies, the Dutch

339 young driver trial (8) and the Australian risk-based charging trial (11-12), all  
340 participants were subject to the same incentive system. The comparison in these two  
341 studies is therefore either between different phases of the trial (the Dutch trial) or  
342 between drivers who were influenced by the incentives and drivers who were not  
343 (the Australian trial).

344 The trials offered drivers very different maximum rewards. The largest reward was  
345 offered in the Danish trial, 700 Euros (about 1020 US dollars in 2008). To earn the  
346 entire reward, a driver had to avoid any speeding. In one of the experimental groups,  
347 drivers reduced speeding by close to 80 percent. If the assumption is made that the  
348 amount paid to drivers is proportional to the reduction of speeding, drivers reducing  
349 their speeding by close to 80 percent would be rewarded by about 553 Euros. Similar  
350 estimates of the effective reward paid to drivers were made for the other trials  
351 quoted above. The results are presented in Figure 1.

352 There is a very clear dose-response pattern, which makes sense according to  
353 economic theory. A logarithmic function fits the data very well. The most effective  
354 incentive systems are very effective and go a long way towards eliminating speeding.  
355 The results of these trials show that it is indeed possible to effectively reward safe  
356 driving. How about trying to reward drivers for reducing their driving? Only four  
357 trials targeting mileage have been found, and their percentage effects are much  
358 smaller than the effects found in the trials targeting speeding. In the Minnesota pay-  
359 as-you drive trial (6), overall mileage was reduced by only 4.4 percent. The largest  
360 reduction was found for weekend travel (8.1 percent), the smallest for weekday off-  
361 peak travel (3.3 percent). The trial in North Texas resulted in an only slightly greater  
362 overall reduction of mileage, at 4.7 percent (7). The reduction ranged from 5.7  
363 percent in daytime to 3.6 percent at night. The Dutch young driver trial (8) did not  
364 find any effect on driving distance. The Australian trial (11-12) found an overall  
365 reduction of kilometers driven of 9.8 percent. Recreational travel was reduced by  
366 17.6 percent, whereas shopping and personal business travel increased by 1 percent.

367

## 368 **5 DISCUSSION**

369 The possibility of promoting safer and more environmentally sustainable driving by  
370 means of rewards has been discussed for a long time. It is, however, only during the  
371 last 10-15 years that technology for monitoring driver behavior has become  
372 sufficiently reliable to implement field trials designed to reward drivers for driving  
373 less, complying with speed limits, curtailing night-time driving or keeping a safe  
374 distance to vehicles in front of them. Rewarding people for doing the right thing is  
375 generally regarded as more desirable and more effective than punishing them for  
376 doing the wrong thing. Still, there have been few trials designed to reward drivers.  
377 These few trials differ greatly among themselves, but a common problem is  
378 difficulties in recruiting drivers, high attrition rates and small sample sizes. Moreover,  
379 the drivers who volunteer for the trials are unlikely to be representative of drivers in  
380 general. In particular, drivers who sign up for pay-as-you-speed trials may be less  
381 likely to speed than other drivers and therefore more likely to earn the reward  
382 offered.

383 It is difficult to determine precisely how large the self-selection bias is. In the  
384 Swedish trial (2-4), drivers were speeding 13-17 percent of their driving time before  
385 the trial. At the time of the trial, about 55 percent of traffic in Sweden was speeding  
386 (13). The rate of speeding was therefore, as one might suspect, considerably lower  
387 among drivers joining the trial than among drivers in general.

388 The rate of speeding among the Danish drivers who took part in the ISA-reward trial  
389 was 10-17 percent before the start of the trial. The mean speed of these drivers on  
390 roads with a speed limit of 80 km/h was 5-10 km lower than the mean speed of  
391 traffic on these roads. On roads with a speed limit of 50 km/h, trial drivers drove 3-5  
392 km/h slower than the mean speed of traffic (10).

393 These comparisons suggest that drivers taking part in the pay-as-you-speed trials  
394 were less likely to speed than other drivers. Complying even better with speed limits  
395 was therefore comparatively easy for these drivers and did not add much to their  
396 travel time. The cost of complying with speed limits, both in terms of longer travel  
397 time and in terms of driving at a lower speed than the most preferred, would be  
398 greater for drivers speeding more often. An incentive system might be less effective  
399 for these drivers.

400 Unfortunately, most trials do not report whether effects were related to how  
401 frequently drivers were speeding before the trial. The only trial to report this kind of  
402 information is the Australian risk-based charging trial (12). The trial found a positive  
403 correlation between the rate of speeding before the trial and the rate of speeding  
404 after the trial. The data had a correlation of 0.54 with a line of proportionality  
405 showing no effect. These data do not lend strong support to the hypotheses that  
406 drivers who commonly speed will reduce their speeding more than drivers who rarely  
407 speed when monetary incentives are given for not speeding.

408 A related point is that drivers taking part in the trials knew that their behavior was  
409 being monitored even before the rewarding systems took effect. This may have  
410 influenced behavior. In some trials, drivers earned a budget based on their baseline  
411 behavior. This may have given drivers an incentive to adapt behavior so as to earn  
412 the largest possible budget. When rewarding started, some drivers may have felt that  
413 they could afford to spend a fair amount the budget they had earned, in particular if  
414 they would still earn a net reward.

415 It is therefore doubtful if the results of the trials designed to reward drivers for  
416 complying with speed limits can be generalized to drivers in general. There is a risk  
417 that the effects found in the trials presented in this paper are larger than those that  
418 would be found among drivers who speed more frequently.

419 An interesting question is whether it is possible to overcome self-selection bias and  
420 design systems that would be attractive even to high-risk drivers. Unfortunately, the  
421 studies that have been reported so far do not give much reason for optimism in this  
422 respect. A study of the use drivers made of a voluntary ISA (Intelligent Speed  
423 Adaptation) system (14) found that drivers who enjoyed speeding used the system  
424 less often than drivers who were more inclined to comply with speed limits. The  
425 Danish ISA-trial (9) experienced greater difficulties in recruiting young drivers, a  
426 high-risk group, than in recruiting middle-aged drivers. A study of incentives to

427 tempt drivers to buy cars with Intelligent Speed Adaptation (ISA) (15) found that  
428 very strong incentives must be offered to persuade drivers who dislike ISA to buy a  
429 car having such a system. Many years ago, Leonard Evans (16, 17) found that drivers  
430 wearing seat belts were less often involved in accidents than drivers not wearing seat  
431 belts. Self-selection bias with respect to voluntary use of safety measures thus  
432 appears to be a common phenomenon, which is perhaps not easy to counteract.

433 There is little doubt that the effects found in the trials reviewed in this paper are real,  
434 not methodological artifacts. The observed reductions in speeding are, for example,  
435 not likely to be the result of regression-to-the-mean, chance variation, faulty speed  
436 data or a sudden increase in congestion leading to reduced speed. The trials therefore  
437 show that it is possible by means of rewards to motivate people to drive less and  
438 comply better with speed limits. These effects were, however, observed in samples  
439 who volunteered for the trials and who were probably more motivated to change  
440 behavior than drivers in general. Moreover, effects on the number of accidents or on  
441 pollution were not evaluated in any of the trials.

442

## 443 **6 CONCLUSIONS**

444 The main conclusion of the study presented in this paper can be summarized as  
445 follows:

- 446 1. Modern technology offers the possibility of monitoring driver behavior in  
447 great detail. This creates a possibility for rewarding safe behavior.
- 448 2. A limited number of trials have been reported in which drivers were  
449 rewarded for reducing their driving, complying with speed limits, not driving  
450 at night and keeping a safe distance to cars ahead of them.
- 451 3. All these trials have been successful in promoting the behavior that was  
452 rewarded. The largest effects were found in trials rewarding compliance with  
453 speed limits. Rewarding drivers for driving less has had smaller effects.
- 454 4. In all trials, drivers volunteered to participate in the trial. This is likely to  
455 generate self-selection bias. The effects found represent the effects of the  
456 incentive systems among drivers who were more highly motivated to test  
457 such systems than drivers in general.
- 458 5. In planning future trials, it may be relevant to use as preliminary guidelines  
459 that: (1) Speeding is the most promising target for incentives among those  
460 tested so far; (2) The larger the incentives, the greater the effects; (3) There is  
461 a risk that incentives become less effective over time; continuous monitoring  
462 of behavior is therefore needed.

463

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TABLE 1:

Characteristics of trial	Trials in chronological order (PAYS = Pay-as-you-speed; PAYD = pay-as-you-drive)						
	Borlänge PAYS	Dutch Belonitor	Minnesota PAYD	Dutch PAYD	Danish PAYS	Texas PAYD	Australian PAYD
Total sample size	114	212	130	228	146	3,014	148
Treatment conditions	6 conditions	1 condition	2 conditions	2 conditions	3 conditions	1 condition	2 conditions
Treatment group(s)	16-16-16-16-16-15	62	48-51	100 (at end of study)	36-36-36	3,014	26-80
Control group	19	150	31	41 (at end of study)	37	No control group	29
Mean age in sample (years)	57	47	Not stated	24	39	Not stated	41
Percent female	26	2	Not stated	40	36	Not stated	58
Treatment attrition rate	17 % (September); 51 % (October)	Not stated; could be zero (Table 1)	24 % (at end of study)	38 % (228 at start; 141 at end of study)	38 % (146 at start; 91 at end of study)	61 % (3,014 at start; 1,173 at end)	28 % (148 at start; 106 at end of study)
Targets for treatment	Speeding	Speeding; following distance	Distance driven	Distance driven; speeding; night-time driving	Speeding	Distance driven	Distance driven; speeding; night-time driving
Maximum reward	1000 SEK	500 Euro (lottery win)	Mileage budget based on before-period	50 Euro insurance discount per month	700 Euro	350 US Dollars	Mileage budget based on before-period
Penalty	0.1-1.0 or 0.2-2.0 SEK/minute speeding	No penalty was implemented	Entire budget spent if distance was the same; gain by reducing driving	The entire discount could be lost by not changing behavior	0.07 Euro per penalty point (points depended on level of speeding)	No penalty, but reward could only be earned by reducing mileage	0.15-1.20 or 0.20-2.40 AUD/km
Change in rate of speeding, following distance or night-time driving	-35 % (all treatment groups; September) +14 % (control group; September)	-50 % for speeding; -60 % for short following distance	Not relevant for study	-5 % (speeding; treatment group) +10 % (speeding; control group); no change in night-time driving	-33 % (information); -27 % (incentive); -80% (incentive and information); no change in control group	Not relevant for study	-42 % for speeding; +1 % for night-time driving
Change in kilometers driven	Not stated	Not stated	-4.4 %	No change	Not stated	-4.7 %	-9.8 %
Dose-response pattern	Yes, partly	Yes, effects tended to reduce as the reward was reduced	Yes, higher price associated with larger reduction in driving	The study did not test for a dose-response pattern	Yes, combined incentive and information most effective	The study did not test for a dose-response pattern	Yes, a large budget was associated with larger rewards

**TABLE 2:**

Trial	Largest percentage effect	Group in which observed	Smallest percentage effect	Group in which observed
Borlänge trial	-75	High bonus, high price	-33	Low bonus, low price
Dutch Belonitor trial	-69	Week 2 of trial (bonus 0.04 Euro)	-44	Week 11 of trial (bonus 0.01 Euro)
Dutch young driver PAYD trial	-14	Phase 2 of trial	-10	Phase 1 of trial
Danish PAYS trial	-79	Information and incentive	-31	Incentive only
Australian PAYD trial	-62	Those who made money	-2	Those who did not make money

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FIGURE 1:

