# Bias and evidence hierarchies in the evaluation of smarter choices

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#### **Motivations for this Review**

1. Controversy around the robustness of smarter choices (or 'VTBC') evaluations

must clean up illegal traffic

- 2. Growing influence of evidence hierarchies favouring experimental methods
- DfT decision to downplay smarter choices in WebTag





- 1. To examine claims of invalidity or bias in evaluations of smarter choices
- To examine the case for evidence hierarchies (Do RCTs offer a solution to 'low quality' transport research?)
- 3. To consider implications of applying evidence hierarchies to transport research generally

### **Controversy: Alamein Travelsmart Evaluation**

Morton & Mees (2010)

Alleged sources of bias in the evaluation:

- Expectation bias
- Good subject effect
- Non-response bias

Special edition of Transport Policy 16(6) on evaluation of smarter travel (Chatterjee 2009)



**Tony Morton** 

Paul Mees



Ian Ker (2011)

## **The Challenge of Triangulation**

	Household surveys ##		Traffic counts	Possible explanations for trends
	Trips per	Distance	Overall change	
	person	per person		
National trend	-1.2%	-0.9%	-0.5% (car traffic) -0.7% (all vehicles)	
Sustainable Travel Towns	-9%	-5%~-7%		
Darlington	-7%~-10%	-6%~-7%	-2.4% to-3.2% (all vehicles)	Employment growth of 10% during the STT period (often in peripheral business parks) may have led to inward commuting by non-residents, masking reductions in residents' car travel
Peterborough	-8%~ -10%	-7%~ -10%	-2.4%	Population grew by >6% during STT period, so city-wide fall in car traffic of 2.4% equivalent to <i>per capita</i> reduction of $\sim$ 8%
Worcester	-8%~ -10%	-3%	Growth until 2006/07, then fall; -1.9% to -2.6%	Only one non-peripheral counter, meaning that the 'overall' change may be an underestimate of actual reductions.

Sustainable Travel Demonstration Towns, from Sloman et al (2010) (two intermediate columns removed)

#### **Triangulation on a 'Like for Like' Basis** Dungarvan (Irish Sustainable Travel Town) – see Melia (2013)



#### **Approaches to Research Design**



2. Hierarchical

## **Hierarchies of Evidence?**



From Leigh (2009)

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From Leigh (2009)

# If All Are Fully Satisfied

- 1. The main focus of the research is to test (but not explain) a hypothesised cause-effect relationship.
- 2. A representative study population of a sufficient size can be obtained from the target population to whom the intervention would be applied.
- 3. The intervention can be applied selectively to an experimental group within the study population.
- 4. No other factors with a significant influence on the outcome would impact the experimental and control groups differently during the experiment.
- 5. Wider application of the intervention would replicate the causal relationships which applied during the experiment.

#### experimental methods will yield more robust results

#### If Criteria Are Partially Satisfied

- 1. The main focus of the research is to test (but not explain) a hypothesised cause-effect relationship.
- 2. A representative study population of a sufficient size can be obtained from the target population to whom the intervention would be applied.
- 3. The intervention can be applied selectively to an experimental group within the study population.
- No other factors with a significant influence on the outcome would impact the experimental and control groups differently during the experiment.
- 5. Wider application of the intervention would replicate the causal relationships which applied during the experiment.

# Comparison becomes an empirical question

#### **Key Issues: Scale & Social Interaction**



#### **Example – Role of Cycling** Infrastructure in Modal Choice



#### Sustrans Connect2

Sustrans' Connect2 project has transformed everyday travel in communities across the UK, creating new bridges and crossings to overcome busy roads, rivers and railways, and linking these to networks of walking and cycling routes, making it easier for millions of people to walk and cycle for everyday journeys.

Quasi-experimental evidence: no significant modal shift e.g. Brand et al. (2014)



#### Historical/descriptive evidence.

Cycling infrastructure Cycling culture

Symbiotic relationship e.g. Pucher et al. (2010), Melia (2015)

#### Which Types of Question Do We Ask?



"Choice of Question Bias" Jadad and Enkin. (2007)

### Conclusions

- 1. There are reasons for some concern about potential bias in the evaluation of smarter choices (or any other transport intervention involving human behaviour)
- 2. There are no easy answers, but self-contained areas may offer one means of strengthening triangulation
- 3. Experimental methods are only suited to a relatively narrow range of transport questions
- Hierarchies of evidence risk choice of question bias, misapplication of experimental methods and misleading findings for policymakers
- 5. Researchers need to do more to educate policymakers about the limitations of experimental methods and of quantification and certainty in findings.

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