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Dark number and the relation between infringements and penalties

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Abstract

The main objective of this study was to calculate the total amount of traffic infringements in Belgium for drunk driving, speeding, not wearing a seatbelt and handling a phone while driving. This includes both the observed as the non-observed infringements. The latter is the dark number. Calculations were based on three methodologies: self-reports and two types of observations (data collected by researchers and data collected by official authorities). The results show that the risk of being caught for speeding is much higher compared to other behaviour. For drunk driving, a Belgian driver can drive 58,000 km while being drunk. The calculations for not wearing a seatbelt are even worse: a Belgian driver can drive 80,000 unbelted km in Belgium. The results of the present study conclude that extra efforts are needed in Belgium to increase the probability of detection for all kinds of unsafe behaviour on the road.

Keywords: Dark number; penalties; probability of detection; traffic violations

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1. Introduction

In order to keep the traffic environment safe, it is required that all drivers obey the traffic rules. Unfortunately, this remains utopian: some people drive drunk, too fast, unbelted, while using a mobile phone, etc. To ensure that the traffic rules are respected, enforcement (i.e. a set of measures/resources to enforce compliance with traffic rules) is necessary. The measures relate to police surveillance, prosecution and punishment (Slootmans, 2015). That implies that offenders can be sanctioned (e.g. fined, withdrawal of driving license, etc.) for inappropriate behaviour. However, in order to sanction a driver, the traffic infractions needs to be registered.

Yet, not all traffic violations are observed by the police. The unobserved traffic violations are referred to as the "dark number". In the international literature, dark number is defined as the difference between the total amount of violations and the total amount of observed violations (Bovenkerk & Leuw, 2007; Goedseels, Detry & Vaneste, 2011).

The aim of this study is to calculate the dark number for: drunk driving, speeding, not wearing seatbelts and phone handling. These are the factors most contributing to traffic unsafety in Belgium. Calculations were made by using three different methods.

2. Method

2.1. Method 1: estimation based on survey data

A first method used to calculate the dark number in Belgium is based on the attitudinal measurements conducted by Vias institute (Meesmann & Schoeters, 2016). During two months of interviews, approximately 1,500 drivers representative for the Belgian population, were asked to answer several questions about their (self-reported) behaviour and to express their opinions on certain statements concerning traffic safety. For each factor contributing to traffic unsafety, the self-reported behaviour is measured using the following questions:

- Drunk driving: "Over the last 30 days, how often did you drive a car, when you may have been over the legal limit for drinking and driving?"
  - *Answer possibility: __(numeric value ≤ 30)*

- Speeding: " Over the last year, how often did you consciously do the following things?:
  - drive 140 km/h on a highway *(i.e. 20 km/h to fast)*;
  - drive 70 km/h within built-up areas *(i.e. 20 km/h to fast)*;
  - drive 50km/h where you may drive 30km/h *(i.e. 20 km/h to fast)*
    - *Answer possibilities: sometimes, often, and (almost) always*

- Not wearing seatbelts: "When you drive a car, how often do you wear a seatbelt?"
  - *Answer possibilities: never, sometimes, and often*

- Phone handling: "Over the last year, how often did you do the following things while driving, including waiting before a traffic light or in a traffic jam?:
  - talk on a hand-held mobile phone
    - *Answer possibilities: sometimes, often, and (almost) always*

This methodology was inspired by Blom and Wartna (2016) in which, the frequency of self-reported behaviour was used. That methodology was applied to the Belgian context in which the driver frequency and the number of people having a driver license were in a matrix. Those values were multiplied by each other to calculate the dark number for each of the above mentioned misdemeanors. Only for the estimation of the dark number for alcohol, the calculation was different because the driver frequency was omitted.

2.2. Method 2: estimation based on observation data

The second applied methodology is based on the data obtained from the road side surveys conducted by Vias institute (Focant, 2016; Lequeux, 2016; Temmerman, 2016; Riguelle, 2013; Riguelle, 2012; Riguelle & Roynard, 2014). A short description of every type of road side survey is provided:

- Drunk driving: the measurement is performed in collaboration with the police services in Belgium. Car drivers are randomly stopped and submitted to an alcohol test with the aim of obtaining a representative sample of people driving under the influence of alcohol (DUI). To guarantee the representativeness of the results, the place and period were randomly selected by Vias institute. Furthermore, the police checks are performed in an arbitrary way (in other words, no objective or subjective criterion is applied to determine which drivers are submitted to a breath test) (Focant, 2016).

- Speeding: the speed was measured at locations with different speed limits on the Belgian road network. The sites were chosen in a way that drivers could freely choose their driving speed (without having to take into account the speed of other drivers) within the imposed speed limit . More precisely, speeds were measured on locations without special environmental elements like sharp turns of traffic calming measures (Temmerman, 2016).

- Wearing seatbelts: observations of seatbelt use were conducted at intersections with traffic lights, spread across Belgium. When the vehicles were waiting the researchers could observe whether or not the driver and/or passenger(s) were wearing their seatbelt (Lequeux, 2016).

- Phone handling: observation of the illegal use of mobile phones (i.e. without a hands-free kit) were conducted at a series of sites representative of the Belgian road network. All sites were chosen in order to observe the vehicles while driving and not while waiting at traffic lights or intersections (Riguelle & Roynard, 2014).

To calculate the dark number for the different violations using the road side surveys, the observed prevalences were crossed with the driver frequency of the Belgian drivers and the number of Belgians having a driver license. Again, these factors were multiplied by each other. As for the estimations based on survey data, this method was inspired by Blom and Wartna (2016).

2.3. Method 3: estimation based on official data

As a last source of information to calculate the dark number, for the aforementioned violations, is based on official data and a calculation method used by Elvik (2010). Elvik has defined the risk of detection as a function where the number of detected offenses is placed in the numerator and the number of committed offences in the denominator of the function. According to Elvik (2010), the result of this function expresses the number of kilometers driven in violation of the law.

In this present paper, the reasoning of Elvik is taken as a starting point in the estimation of the dark number. On the one hand the numerator could be filled in by official figures of the Belgian police services regarding detected offenses. On the other hand, the denominator could be filled in by multiplying the prevalence measured by the road side surveys of Vias institute with the total number of kilometers travelled on the Belgian road network, provided by the Belgian federal public services. The formula (1) is displayed below:

$$Risk\ of\ detection = \frac{Number\ of\ detected\ offenses}{Prevalence\ measured\ by\ a\ road\ side\ survey\ of\ the\ BRSI\ x\ Total\ number\ of\ kilometers\ travelled} \quad (1)$$

3. Results

In this section, the results of the conducted calculations will be described. First, the results of drunk driving are presented, followed by the calculations for speeding. The results for the remaining violations (i.e., not wearing a seatbelt and phone handling) are described towards the end of this section but less detailed than for drunk driving and speeding.

3.1. Dark number of drunk driving

3.1.1. Method 1: estimation based on survey data

Table 1 and Table 2 present the calculation of the dark number for drunk driving using survey data. The answers to the self-report question "Over the last 30 days, how often did you drive a car, when you may have been over the legal limit for drinking and driving were counted as the number of violations. Values greater than five were counted as six violations.

Table 1. Estimation of the number of traffic violations concerning drunk driving in Belgium using an attitudinal measurement

	A	B	C
	Self-report DUI behaviour past 30 days (= 1 month)	DUI % of Belgian drivers (in 2015)	Estimated violations for DUI per month
			B... x driver licensees* x A…
1	1 time	5.96%	463,650
2	2 times	3.12%	485,433
3	3 times	0.70%	163,367
4	4 times	0.55%	171,146
5	5 times	0.79%	307,285
6	>5 times (≈ 6 times)	1.14%	531,947
	Total		2,122,989

*Note: *Driver licensees: 7,779,367*

Every year, the number of detected offenses is displayed by the Federal Belgian Police on their website. In 2014, 47,041 violations for drunk driving were registered. For further calculation of the dark number, the assumption was made that per month, the number of violations was about 3,920 (47,041/12). Based on the definition of dark number: the difference between the total amount of violations and the total amount of detected violations, an estimation of the dark number for drunk driving is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Estimation of the dark number for drunk driving using an attitudinal measurement per month

Description	N	%
Detected offences	3,920	0.18%
Dark number (All offenses – Detected offenses)	2,119,069	99.82%
All offenses (Table 1)	2,122,989	100%

Based on the survey data of Vias institute, it was found that in Belgium only a fraction of 0.18% (=1/556) of all violations for drunk driving is detected. That implies that the dark number for drunk driving in Belgium is 99.82%. In other words, it means that someone can drive 556 times (0.18/100 = 1/556) in drunk condition before being caught.

3.1.2. Method 2: estimation based on observation data

Focant (2016) has estimated in 2015 that in Belgium the general prevalence of driving under the influence of alcohol is equal to 2,7% based on a road side survey. This percentage is the average of the entire traffic during a whole week at different locations.

In this paper, the driver frequency is added to the prevalence of Belgian drivers under the influence of alcohol. A distinction is made between the people who generally drive on a daily basis (≈ 30 days/month), 4 four times a week (≈ 17 days/month) and only 1 one day a week (≈ 4 days/month). In this present paper, the assumption was made that the driver frequency was independent of drive under influence of alcohol.

Table 3. Estimation of the number of traffic violations for drunk driving in Belgium using a road side survey.

	A	B	C
	% of car drivers who DUI during an average day	Number of people who drive a car per month ...	Number of estimated violations for drunk driving per month
		(…%) of Belgian driver licensees*	A … x B… x …days
1	2.7%	30 days: 5,461,116 (70.2%)	4,423,500
2	2.7%	17 days: 2,038,194 (26.2%)	935,527
3	2.7%	4 days: 217,822 (2.8%)	23,525
	Total		5,382,552

Note: *Driver licensees: 7,779,367

Based on the observation data of Vias institute, it was found that in Belgium only 0.08% of all violations for drunk driving are detected. The dark number is no less than 99.92%. Compared with the calculation using self-reported behaviour, the difference in percentage is only 0,11%. However, in absolute numbers the difference is much larger with more than 3 million violations. Please note that the methodologies are different with regard to how the data were obtained and that survey data are subject to social desirability.

Table 4. Estimation of the dark number for drunk driving using a road side survey per month

Description	N	%
Detected offences	3,920	0.08%
Dark number (All offenses – Detected offenses)	5,378, 632	99.92%
All offenses (Table 3)	5,382,552	100%

3.1.3. Method 3: estimation based on official data

In this section, formula (2) is used to calculate the risk of detection. Special to this way of calculation is the fact that the estimation of the misdemeanors, is expressed as the number of kilometers driven in violation.

This calculation is based on the available data for DUI in 2014/2015. According to the Federal Belgian Police, 47.041 violations were detected for DUI. The prevalence in the population is determined at 2.7%. Furthermore, in 2014 the Belgians drove 102,420 million kilometers according to the SPF Mobility and Transports (2014). Based on these data, the risk of detection can be computed according to this formula (2):

$$Risk\ of\ detection = \frac{47{,}041\ fines}{2.7\%\ x\ 102{,}420{,}000{,}000\ km} = \frac{47{,}041\ fines}{2{,}765{,}340{,}000\ km} = \frac{17\ fines}{1{,}000{,}000\ km} \quad (2)$$

Using this method inspired by Elvik (2010), the risk of detection for drunk driving in Belgium is thus estimated at 17 fines per 1 million kilometers. This means that an intoxicated, Belgian driver can drive 58,824 km before being caught.

3.2. Dark number of speeding

3.2.1. Method 1: estimation based on survey data

The prevalence of speeding is based on the answers on self-reports as displayed in the methodology *(2.1. Method 1: estimation based on survey data)*. Please note that the violations represent at least a difference of at least 20 km/h above the speed limit. The prevalence of speeding is therefore most likely an underestimation of the true prevalence because in Belgium you can be sanctioned when exceeding at least 6 km/h on highways and when the registered speed is at least 6% greater than the speed limit on others roads.

The answer possibilities in the self-report were expressed in qualitative answers. In order to use these qualitative answers in a formula, the answers were translated to quantitative data expressing the number of days per month that the respondent had been speeding. Table 5 provides an overview of this conversion.

Table 5. Violation frequency related to driver frequency (Attitudinal measurements)

Violation frequency/Driver frequency	Daily	4 days/week	1 day/week
Sometimes	8 days/month	4,5 days/month	1 days/month
Often	22 days/month	12,5 days/month	3 days/month
(Almost) always	30 days/month	17 days/month	4 days/month

In Table 6, an overview of the calculations for estimating the number of speeding violations is provided.

Table 6. Estimation of the number of traffic violations concerning speeding in Belgium using an attitudinal measurement per month

	A	B	C	D	E
	Driver frequency	Kind of violation	How often do you drive too fast?	Violation Frequency	Number of estimated violations for speeding per month
					Driver licensees* x A… x C… x D…
1	Daily (70.2%)	Drive 140 km/h on a highway (120 km/h)	1° Sometimes (32.20%)	1° 8 days/month	14,111,523
			2° Often (20.96%)	2° 22 days/month	25,182,296
			3° (Almost) always (5.30%)	3° 30 days/month	8,683,174
2	Daily (70.2%)	Drive 70 km/h within built-up areas (50 km/h)	1° Sometimes (39.87%)	1° 8 days/month	17,418,774
			2° Often (12.62%)	2° 22 days/month	15,162,241
			3° (Almost) always (1.08%)	3° 30 days/month	1,769,401
3	Daily (70.2%)	Drive 50 km/h where you may drive 30 km/h	1° Sometimes (45.67%)	1° 8 days/month	19,952,732
			2° Often (22.47%)	2° 22 days/month	26,996,479
			3° (Almost) always (2.63%)	3° 30 days/month	4,308,820
4	4 days/week (26.2%)	Drive 140 km/h on a highway	1° Sometimes (32.20%)	1° 4.5 days/month	2,962,515
			2° Often (20.96%)	2° 12.5 days/month	5,340,069
			3° (Almost) always (5.30%)	3° 17 days/month	1,836,413
5	4 days/week (26.2%)	Drive 70 km/h within built-up areas (50 km/h)	1° Sometimes (39.87%)	1° 4.5 days/month	3,656,826
			2° Often (12.62%)	2° 12.5 days/month	3,215,251
			3° (Almost) always (1.08%)	3° 17 days/month	374,212
6	4 days/week (26.2%)	Drive 50 km/h where you may drive 30 km/h	1° Sometimes (45.67%)	1° 4.5 days/month	4,188,795
			2° Often (22.47%)	2° 12.5 days/month	5,724,778
			3° (Almost) always (2.63%)	3° 17 days/month	911,277
7	1 day/week (2.8%)	Drive 140 km/h on a highway	1° Sometimes (32.20%)	1° 1 day/month	70,357
			2° Often (20.96%)	2° 3 days/month	136,967
			3° (Almost) always (5.30%)	3° 4 days/month	46,178
8	1 day/week (2.8%)	Drive 70 km/h within built-up areas (50 km/h)	1° Sometimes (39.87%)	1° 1 day/month	86,846
			2° Often (12.62%)	2° 3 days/month	82,468
			3° (Almost) always (1.08%)	3° 4 days/month	9,410

9	1 day/week (2.8%)	Drive 50 km/h where you may drive 30 km/h	1° Sometimes (45.67%) 2° Often (22.47%) 3° (Almost) always (2.63%)	1° 1 day/month 2° 3 days/month 3° 4 days/month	99,479 146,834 22,915
	Total				162,497,031

Note: *Driver licensees: 7,779,367

Each month, the Belgian drivers collect 162,497,031 speeding violations. In 2014, 3,364,044 speed, violations were detected. This implies that, on average, per month280.000 speeding violations are detected. Table 7 presents the estimation of the dark number for speeding:

Table 7. Estimation of the dark number for speeding using an attitudinal measurement per month

Description	N	%
Detected offences	280,337	0.17%
Dark number (All offenses – Detected offenses)	162,216, 693	99.83%
All offenses (Table 6)	162,497,031	100%

Based on the survey data of Vias institute, it was found that in Belgium only 0.17% of speeding violations are detected. The dark number is thus 99.83% based on self-report and with a speed violation of more than 20 km/h. In other words, someone can drive 588 times (0.17/100 = 1/588) while speeding before that speeding is detected.

3.2.2. Method 2: estimation based on observation data

Temmerman (2016) has conducted a road side survey in 2015 concerning speeding within built-up areas. For roads with a speed limit of 30 km/h, the prevalence of speeding (>10 km/h) on an average day was estimated at 40.4%; for 50 km/h-roads: 5.8%. The prevalence of speeding on other roads, are based on the estimations of Riguelle (2012; 2013). He estimated the prevalence of speeding on 70 km/h-roads at 15.7%, on 90 km/h-roads at 7.8% and on highways (120 km/h) at 15.4% . Table 8 shows the calculation for the estimation of the amount of speeding violations. Comparable to the estimations for drunk driving, the driver frequency is incorporated in this table.

Table 8. Estimation of the number of traffic violations for speeding in Belgium using a road side survey.

	A		B	C
	Prevalence of speeding (% of car drivers who speed during an average day		Driver frequency (Number of people who drive a car per month…)	Number of estimated violations for speeding per month
			(…%) of Belgian driver licensees*	A … x B… x …days
1	30 km/h 40.4%		1° 30 days: 5,461,116 (70.2%) 2° 17 days: 2,038,194 (26.2%) 3° 4 days: 217,822 (2.8%)	66,180,700 13,998,310 352,000
2	50 km/h 5.8%		1° 30 days: 5,461,116 (70.2%) 2° 17 days: 2,038,194 (26.2%) 3° 4 days: 217,822 (2.8%)	9,502,320 2,009,655 59,532
3	70 km/h 15.7%		1° 30 days: 5,461,116 (70.2%) 2° 17 days: 2,038,194 (26.2%) 3° 4 days: 217,822 (2.8%)	25,721,850 5,439,932 136,792
4	90 km/h 7.8%		1° 30 days: 5,461,116 (70.2%) 2° 17 days: 2,038,194 (26.2%) 3° 4 days: 217,822 (2.8%)	12,778,980 2,702,642 67,960
5	120 km/h 15.4%		1° 30 days: 5,461,116 (70.2%) 2° 17 days: 2,038,194 (26.2%) 3° 4 days: 217,822 (2.8%)	25,230,360 5,335,994 134,180
	Total			169,659,207

Table 9 shows the dark number for speeding using observation data.

Table 9. Estimation of the dark number for speeding using a road side survey

Description	N	%
Detected offences	280,337	0.17%
Dark number (All offenses – Detected offenses)	169,378,870	99.83%
All offenses (Table 3)	169,659,207	100%

3.2.3. Method 3: estimation based on official data

For drunk driving, the number of kilometers driven in violation could be determined multiplying its prevalence with the total of kilometers driven in Belgium. Such calculation cannot be conducted for speeding because the prevalence differs per speed limit. Therefore, the infractions were calculated per speed limit. Afterwards, these numbers were summed to obtain the total kilometers travelled while speeding. The amount of kilometers travelled on each road type, however, is an assumption, because no official numbers are available. Table 10 shows the used data to calculate the denominator in formula (1).

Table 10. Numbers used for the estimation of dark number concerning speeding using official data

Travelled kilometers per road type	Prevalence per road type	Amount of kilometer travelled while speeding
Total amount of kilometers travelled in Belgium = 102,420,000,000 km		
• 120 km/h (38%) = 38,880,000,000 km	120 km/h = 15.4%	5,987,520,000 km
• 90 km/h (21.5%) = 22,020,300,000 km	90 km/h = 7.8%	1,717,583,400 km
• 70 km/h (21.5%) = 22,020,300,000 km	70 km/h = 15,7%	3,457,187,100 km
• 50 km/h (16%) = 16,387,200,000 km	50 km/h = 5.8%	950,457,600 km
• 30 km/h (3%) = 3,072,600,000 km	30 km/h = 40.4%	1,241,330,400 km
Total		13,354,078,500 km

According to the Belgian Federal Police, the number of speeding violations in 2014 was equal to 3,364,047

$$Risk\ of\ detection == \frac{3{,}364{,}047\ fines}{13{,}354{,}078{,}500\ km} = \frac{252\ fines}{1{,}000{,}000\ km} \quad (1)$$

Using this method (2010), the risk of detection for speeding is estimated at 252 fines per 1,000,000 kilometers. This implies that a Belgian driver can drive 4,000 km before getting caught.

3.3. Dark number of not wearing seatbelts

3.3.1. Method 1: estimation based on survey data

The aim of the calculation for the dark number of not wearing seatbelts is more or less the same as the calculation conducted for speeding. Again the scale (never, sometimes and often) had to be made numeric.

A similar conversion (as for speeding) of qualitative data to quantitative data was needed to occur to calculate the dark number of not wearing a seatbelt. The total amount of violations for not wearing a seatbelt was estimated at 10,087,674 infractions per month. 102,465 number of infractions were sanctioned by the police in 2014, what implies 8,539 sanctions on average per month. Based on this data it can be concluded that only 0.08% of all violations concerning not wearing a seatbelt is detected. The dark number is therefore equal to 99.92%. This percentage is comparable to the dark number percentage for DUI.

3.3.2. Method 2: estimation based on observation data

During the road side survey of seatbelt use, it was observed that 8.3% of the Belgian car drivers/front passengers were not wearing their seatbelt. The estimation of the total amount of infractions for not wearing a seatbelt was identical to the estimation for drunk driving in Table 3. Only the prevalence had to be alterted for the computations of the total amount of violations. Based on these calculations the total amount of violations for not wearing seatbelts is estimated at 16,546,366 in Belgium. It implies that 99.95% of the infractions remains undetected because only 1 in 2000 violations is detected.

3.3.3. Method 3: estimation based on official data

Anno 2014 in Belgium, 102,465 people are sanctioned for not wearing their seatbelt while driving. As stated above, 8.3% of the Belgian drivers do not wear their seatbelt. This means that 8,500,860,000 kilometers are travelled in violation and that a Belgian driver can drive twice around (83,333 km) the world before being caught for not being belted. It has to be taken into account that the assumption is based on the prevalence of not wearing a seatbelt and that the prevalence is equal for all road types.

3.4. Dark number of phone handling

3.4.1. Method 1: estimation based on survey data

The aim of the calculation for the dark number of phone handling the same as the calculation conducted for speeding.

The total amount of violations was estimated at 50,000,086 per month. Knowing that in 2014 only 121,348 (= 10,112) violations concerning the non-hands-free use of the mobile phone are detected, it goes without saying that the dark number is again extremely high, as for the other violations discussed. The dark number for phone handling while driving is estimated at 99.98%. In Belgium, this means that someone can drive 5000 times before being caught while using his mobile phone in an illegal way.

3.4.2. Method 2: estimation based on observation data

The estimation of the total amount of violations was exactly the same as the estimation done for drunk driving and not wearing seatbelts. In the table, only the prevalence had to be replaced. This prevalence was equal to 3.2%. The total amount of violations was estimated at 6,379,344.

Using those data, the result for the dark number could again be calculated. The result of the dark number was a little bit more positive than above, however with 99.85% still extremely high.

3.4.3. Method 3: estimation based on official data

With only 121,348 violations detected each year and a prevalence of 3.2%, it was calculated that per million kilometers 37 drivers were fined in Belgium. This, a Belgian driver can travel 27,009 km without being caught.

4. Discussion

This study could be considered as a first attempt to determine the dark number of various traffic infractions in Belgium. Based on the results, it becomes clear that extra efforts enforcements efforts are very much needed.

Three types of methodology were used per type of infraction to determine the dark number of these infractions. The methodologies consisted of: self-reports, observation studies and studies based on official numbers from the judicial authorities. In particular, the methodology from Blom and Wartna (2016) was applied to the Belgian context for the calculations regarding the self-reports and the observational studies. For the calculations based on the official data, the methodology by Elvik (2010) was applied to the Belgian context.

They found that the dark number in the Netherlands for drunk driving using survey data was around 92% à 98%. With survey data, it was more positive and they found 80%. The results in the present study show an appalling

dark number of traffic infractions in Belgium, sometimes exceeding 99%. The figures in the present paper are somewhat different from the results described in (Blom & Wartna, 2016). That can be explained by two important factors. First, the level of enforcement could vary between Belgium and the Netherlands. However, based on the ESRA results from 2015 the chance on being stopped by the police is comparable (Belgium: 19%; the Netherlands: 18%). Second, in the present analysis driver frequency was included in the equation while in the study by Blom and Wartna (2016) that was not the case.

As stated above, the third and last method was inspired upon Elvik (2010) which included official statistics and the infractions are expressed in number of kilometres driven while in violation. Because the same methodology is applied, it is interesting to compare both countries to one another

The third used method was inspired by Elvik (2010). Below the results of Belgium are compared with those in Norway.

Table 9. Fines/million kilometers – Comparison Belgium and Norway

	Drunk driving	Speeding	Not wearing seatbelts	Phone handing
Belgium	17	252	12	37
Norway	32	45	14	14

When comparing the results for Belgium and Norway, it can be concluded that Belgium has a better enforcement regarding speeding and phone manipulation. For drunk driving, Norway has a better score. The detection risk for not wearing seatbelts is more or less the same.

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