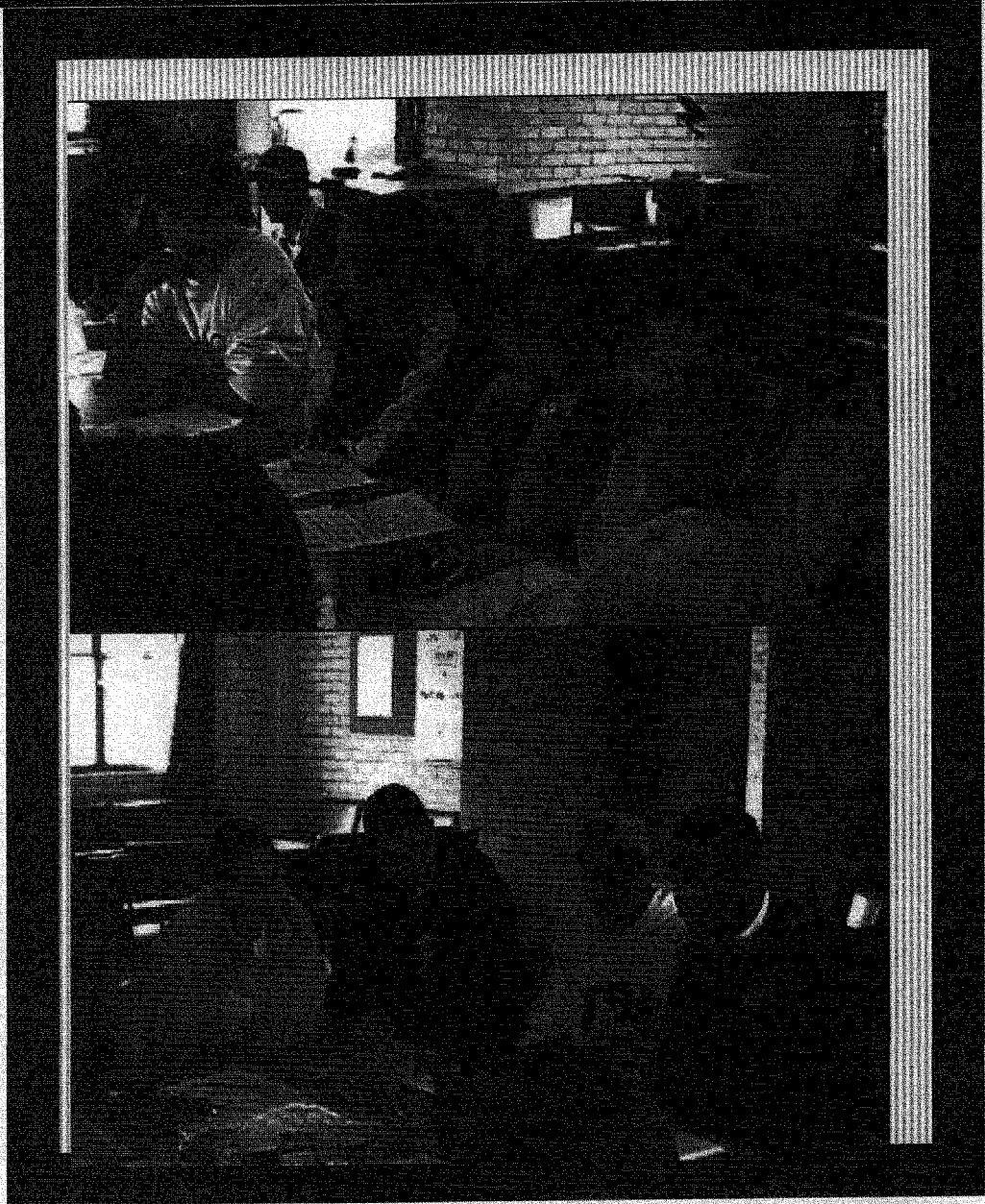


SUBMISSION TO THE INQUIRY INTO NATIONAL ROAD SAFETY 2003

DRIVING CULTURES: Driving with a Difference



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Introduction

In order to further reduce road fatalities and trauma it is necessary to address driving cultures in Australian society. Driving culture includes advertising which encourages and reinforces already existing social attitudes such as the general acceptance of speeding. It is therefore important that social attitudes broadly are questioned and discussed. As an example, the intensification and increase of speed in Australian society, as in other Western nations has not been evaluated or questioned to a great extent. To what extent speed of mobility continues to increase needs to be assessed on a broad level. What level of speed can we tolerate and to what extent should we expect speeds to continue to increase? The intensification of expectations that speed will increase could be seen as a contributing factor to the increase in aggression and stress on the roads.

Measures that we wish to recommend focus on community development approaches which involve consultative community processes and programs and active engagement of young people and the analysis of advertising among other aspects of the cultural environment contributing to the conflicting roles of the car in Australian society. Dr Zoë Sofoulis will outline our approach to advertising in the second part of this submission. In this part the focus will be on the latest research on preventive programs. Preventive programs which involve the community on a number of levels are more effective and democratic (Praktanis and Turner 1996). Targeted education programs which are actively engaging and participatory are most effective in dealing with attitudes and expectations, and critically evaluating behaviours. We will therefore outline here a program we developed for provisional licence drivers and the approach it encompasses in working with young people.

The paper presents discussion of prevention programs and the sort of interactive approach that is most effective with young people. Talking about the range of meanings that people have for road rules, for example speed, shows the ambiguities that are found in ideas of what speeding amounts to that are also found within the community generally. Talking about these issues brings out the underlying assumptions and beliefs that are guiding people's interpretations of road rules and driving practices allowing them to be critically evaluated. It is argued that when young people get to talk about their driving it helps to bring about more awareness of their driving and safer driving practices.

Workshops on driving behavior funded by New South Wales Attorney General's Crime Prevention Division, were held with provisional licence drivers aged 17-20 years old. The workshop is a discussion focused, classroom based, facilitated program, designed to

encourage reflection on driving practices amongst young drivers.

The workshops are youth focused with facilitated discussion providing guided interaction and activities, as the primary pedagogical practice. This gives young people an opportunity to voice their views and ideas, hear others' responses and to look critically at their own driving practices and views. Discussions about driving also show some of the cultural themes operating in their attitudes to driving which can then be critiqued and evaluated.

One aim of the workshops was to see if young people would continue to talk about their driving after the workshop. This was found to be the case with those who we were able to follow up. The paper will include comments and discussions from young people and examine the role of discussion and creating language within which young drivers can think, talk about and critique their own driving, producing more awareness of what they are doing and hence more choice. Discussion material and responses from pilots workshops and focus groups held in 2001 with young drivers will be presented.

Our approach is based on cultural research and the varied meanings that people give to their experiences. In order to understand driving behavior it is important to have some link to, and way of understanding and dealing with the different views people have. This is one of the aims of our research. We are concerned with the ways people see and interpret the driving experience. This will help to lead towards more effective education campaigns and approaches.

Our research program with young drivers has involved focus groups and workshops with around 400 young people on issues related to driving and passengers. Reports have been produced on all projects which include the following:

2001 Road Safety and Young Drivers - \$64,000 from NSW Attorney General's Crime Prevention Division – 85 participants

- 6 focus groups in Western Sydney, Bathurst and Lithgow
- 3 workshops – Western Sydney, Bathurst and Orange

2001 3D Drink, Drug, Drive Project - \$10,000 Blue Mountains, Hawkesbury and Penrith Councils – 38 participants

- 6 focus groups in Penrith, Hawkesbury and Blue Mountains

2002 "Getting Around" - \$25,000 to develop a program for Year 11 for Youth and School programs, NSW Roads and Traffic Authority – 204 participants

- 8 pilot workshops in regional New South Wales and Western Sydney

2002 Driving Messages - \$25,000 internal UWS grant to develop and pilot focus groups and questionnaires on media related to cars and driving – 52 participants

- 2 pilot focus groups in Western Sydney
- 40 questionnaires in Western Sydney

2003-2005 Transforming Drivers - ARC Linkage Grant \$400,800 in partnership with NRMA (Motoring and Services) – 500+ participants

- 2 stakeholder forums
- 8 focus groups on media
- 12 focus groups on gender and ethnicity
- 6 community forums

2003 Speed Prevention – Blue Mountains, Hawkesbury and Penrith Councils – 36 participants – youth focus on ideas for local speed prevention programs

- 4 focus groups

SKILL FOCUSED

There is international agreement amongst those researching in the area of road safety that the sorts of methods that have been tried in the past are limited in their effectiveness. Attempts to deal with and improve road safety can be considered to have fallen into two broad categories - the environment and behavior.

The environment approach deals with the standard of roads and other features of the traffic environment. There have been some obvious developments and benefits in this area such as the building of better roads, improving the safety features of vehicles, compulsory seat belt wearing and so on. These sorts of developments can only go so far, however and tend to focus on the road environment rather than the social environment more broadly.

Another feature of the environment is police presence and the use of speed cameras and random breath testing. Clearly, these initiatives have also made a difference, but again it is limited. The police cannot be everywhere all the time. When the police focus on a particular area they find that the traffic slows down and behavior improves. As soon as the police presence is removed however, behaviors revert very quickly to their previous forms. Enforcement also reinforces reliance on authority and does not influence or impact on social attitudes.

The major area of concern remains the driver and this is also seen as the most difficult aspect of road safety to deal with. Attempts to deal with behavior have tended overwhelmingly to focus on driving skill. Researchers have noted, however, that driver behavior does not change substantially through skill based training. The training often focuses on dealing with sudden and dangerous situations which drivers find in their experience rarely occur. Drivers who tend to take risks, "come to realise that illegal or risky behaviors do not necessarily lead to crashes" (Watson, 1997).

As Watson notes, crashes are relatively rare events so that emergency procedures are not practiced. Drivers who are trained in emergency control procedures subsequently revert to their pre-training behaviors when faced with an emergency. Driving skill which is adequate in the average driver, it is concluded, is difficult to modify in a lasting way. In addition, a focus on skill does not deal with the fact that people choose to speed regularly, to tailgate others and engage in other risky behaviors, for a range of reasons which need to be examined.

A number of researchers have noted the short lived nature of skill based driver

awareness campaigns. (Barry Watson 1997, McDonald 1994). Further it does not appear that inadequate vehicle handling skills is the major cause of road accidents (Christie 1995). As Watson states; "the emphasis on practical driving skills ignores the powerful influence that motivational and attitudinal factors can exert on driver behavior."

Watson recommends, along with a number of other researchers (he cites, Job 1995, Christie 1995 and Watson et al. 1996 among others) that driver training should focus more on addressing "the wide range of perceptual, cognitive, motivational and attitudinal factors which influence driver judgment and decision-making".

It has been noted since the 70s that ability is relatively unimportant "compared with motivation in determining safer driving behaviour" (Saffron 1982, Naatanen and Summala 1976). Choices that drivers make have more influence on safety than actual skill in handling difficulties. The choice to overtake on double lines or to maintain high speeds rather than leave a more desirable margin for safety, have a great impact on the difficulties likely to occur. Driving behavior of this sort is considered to be a frequent cause of traffic accidents (Saffron 1982).

In line with such a focus on car handling skill many drivers regard this kind of skill as the most important feature of driving, particularly males who feel that they are 'good' drivers who 'know what they are doing' and therefore should be able to determine for themselves what speed they wish to travel at rather than have it decided for them. By 'good' driver what is often meant is ability to handle a vehicle, although there is increasing attention on other aspects of the driving environment such as traffic and the need to be patient, aware of what is going on and consideration of others.

Males traditionally regard skill as the most important factor, as calls for more skill development indicate (SMH, Letters to the Editor, for example, January 2001, *Wheels Magazine* (August 2002) Letters Page "Scream & Shout", Redshaw 2002) and this is the area where they see themselves as superior to women. Young males continue to maintain a consensus that women are just not as good at handling a vehicle (RTA 2000). Young males maintain that doing burnouts, 'throwing it out round corners' and handling speed, makes them better drivers whereas young women are more likely to regard caution as making them good drivers (Redshaw 2001b).

The main point is that while skill development does not produce lasting reductions in road crash rates, many in the driving community regard skill as the most important feature of the driving experience. The focus on car handling skill in young drivers could play a major part in the lack of social awareness, that is, the car in the social environment, or awareness of the sorts of consequences that can follow from certain behaviours in cars.

Aspects of Driving Behavior

The sorts of factors in driving behavior that need to become the focus of attention are other aspects of the driving environment including the attitudes, beliefs, assumptions and expectations which inform responses to these. A number of researchers have noted the need to consider and deal with the attitudes and beliefs which bring about or are behind less safe driving practices (Saffron 1982, Parker et al. 1996). Saffron suggests that changing the behavior of the ordinary driver involves a need to change societal attitudes overall. A wide acceptance of speeding, with little awareness of the implications, is combined with a focus on the individual and their needs and desires at the expense of the whole community or others in the social environment (Redshaw 2000). A recent review of road safety programs (Catchpole 2003) recommends that driver training in vehicle control skills should not be provided through schools, that advanced vehicle control skills should not be taught to learners and novice drivers, and that driver training in vehicle control skills should not be provided at specialist off-road facilities.

The social environment includes the community as a whole, encompassing housing, shops, schools, industry, entries and exits of various kinds, as well as people of all ages, animals and a range of motorised and non-motorised vehicles. Raising awareness of the social environment is important in improving road safety. When asked who are road users, young drivers will immediately mention cars and other motorized vehicles before eventually including pedestrians and non-motorised vehicles. As another example, speeding affects motorists turning onto and off roads where speeding occurs, as well as pedestrians trying to cross these roads. This effect of speeding is not often considered or noted in campaign messages. Advertising meanwhile, often reinforces the open road where there are no other vehicles or other features of the social environment, particularly for large powerful vehicles that appeal to men.

While drivers' attitudes, beliefs and judgments are couched within the context of their own individual needs alone, without seeing the bigger picture of the road environment, those attitudes, beliefs and judgments will be similarly limited in scope. These limitations also affect perceptions. A recent survey by AAMI showed the major irritations of motorists to be 'people hogging the overtaking lane' and 'people going too slow' which are often complaints of young drivers (Channel 7, 6.00 News 14.10.03). One young woman in a focus group reported that she had been told not to drive "too slow" when she was learning. The emphasis on speed has a major effect on the experience of driving.

In their model of driver training and education, Hatakka et al. (2002) include attitudinal and motivational factors. The four areas they outline are vehicle maneuvering, mastery of

traffic situations, goals and context of driving, and goals for life and skills for living. The focus has been predominantly on the first of these in driver training with new graduated licensing procedures designed to develop mastery of various traffic situations. The last two however, goals and context of driving and goals for life and skills for living, are not covered in any aspect of the licensing process. Hatakka et al. include in goals and context of driving, the purpose, the environment, the social context and presence of passengers. This is the broader driving environment, both inside and outside the car, though their focus is on the environment of the individual and the inside of the car, encompassing personal decisions and planning. This level could also deal with understanding the different motives of other drivers and the broader social and cultural context of driving. Goals for life and skills for living is concerned with personal skills for dealing with various situations in life. It encompasses understanding personal motivations and pressures related to driving.

Research on substance abuse prevention programs shows the importance of building personal skills, self-esteem and social skills in helping young people to lead healthy lives (Weissberg 2003). Lifestyle and cultural issues are significant in dealing with driving goals and motivations (Gregersen 1996). Young people need skills and resources to deal with the pressures of driving cultures that precede them, such as being pressured to drive faster by the traffic around them. Speeding is related to the mastery of skill by many young males. One young male commented in a focus group that he was not going to stop speeding since he knew what he could handle.

BACKGROUND RESEARCH

The most effective prevention programs are ones that involve the community as well as media and targeted programs in schools (Flay 2000). In addition the most effective targeted programs are those which are interactive and participant centred (Tobler and Stratton 1997, Flay 2000). Programs which seek to do more than increase knowledge, that is, effect some attitude and awareness change, require significant participant activity and interaction. Analyses of various programs in the US has suggested that "the correction of normative beliefs may be more important than skills development" (Flay 2000: 862).

In their analysis, Tobler and Stratton (1997) distinguished non-interactive and interactive programs and coded 120 school-based programs. They found that how the program is delivered is a central ingredient in the success of such programs and more significant than the content of the program. Non-interactive processes emphasize content and increasing knowledge in a didactic presentation mode. Where experiential activities were incorporated, "these activities remained focused on the individual and not on interactions with others ... ideas were shared with and received feedback from the leader rather than from ... peers" (108).

In interactive programs, interactions include everyone and are "both *participatory* and *between peers*". "Structured small group activities ... introduce program content and promote the acquisition of skills" (109). They state that a highly structured format of this kind is developmentally appropriate for younger adolescents, however, the least structured format is more appropriate for older adolescents (109-110). The leaders in these interactive groups "encouraged everyone to participate, promoted positive supportive interactions between the adolescents, and assumed an authoritative role only when it was necessary to correct a misconception" (110).

Many programs in Australia, particularly offender programs with drivers and education programs such as U-Turn the Wheel, involve minimal discussion and interaction amongst peers and promote an authoritative relationship to the presenter.

Flay (2000) in his more recent analysis confirmed the greater effectiveness of interactive programs. He gives a brief history of the focus of prevention programs as having moved from information to affective approaches, which included values clarification and intrapersonal decision-making, to the third generation where social skills and correction of normative beliefs was included. The scope of many of these programs, however,

tended to be too narrow in the array of personal and social skills covered and did not necessarily include content designed to motivate students to avoid particular behaviours (862). Changing how teachers interact with students as well as using innovative teaching methods which encouraged maximum student activity and participation, improved the effectiveness of many programs.

DRIVING WITH A DIFFERENCE

1. Workshop Pilots

The Driving with a Difference workshop, funded and supported by the New South Wales Attorney General's Department and the Centre for Cultural Research at the University of Western Sydney, is an interactive discussion based program with maximum participant input (Redshaw 2001c). The emphasis is on discussion and engagement with peers on driving related issues. Three pilot workshops were held with 45 provisional licence drivers in Western Sydney and regional New South Wales. It was not possible to hold follow-ups for the workshops held in regional New South Wales. The workshop is 6 hours with a follow-up of 2-3 hours. Participants were aged 17-19 years.

The community of inquiry approach from the Philosophy for Children program, with its focus on discussion and the students' questions, is the basis of the workshop. The Philosophy for Children program shows how philosophical thinking is relevant and important in that it develops and empowers children and young people in analytic skills of critical as well as creative thinking, and engaging with each other in debate over issues important to them (Lipman 1985, Redshaw 1995). Driving with a Difference employs this inquiry approach with a community focus.

The workshop offers an approach to driver education that is challenging to many teachers and others involved in road safety education. Whereas the traditional educational approach within road safety is to present statistics and graphic pictures in a lecture style format with a few questions at the end, the approach of the workshop is more consultative and discussion focused. Young drivers talk about their questions, views, issues, opinions and experiences related to driving. This is an opportunity to reflect on driving practice, their own, as well as their friends' and others. The feedback is that they value this opportunity for discussion with some guidance, very highly.

2. Responses

In the evaluation participants stated what they valued most in the workshop. The most useful parts of the workshop reported were overwhelmingly the discussions:

"Discussing issues with groups of people your own age is what I found useful. The workshop gives you a chance to see how your peers feel about driving and access how you drive by comparing experiences."

"Talking things through, hearing what others have to say."

"The discussions and identification of premade conceptions of other drivers"

"Discussions about road safety and other attitudes of other students",

"Being able to see other people's views on driving",

"Discussing what other people feel about what happens to them on the road helped me to realise I'm not the only p-plater on the road",

"Give a wider indication about other p-plate drivers views and opinions about the road, the people and the driving",

"Getting me to think about what I feel subconsciously about issues on the road",

"Discussion with other drivers of my age cause we don't usually discuss how we drive in general chit chat",

"Talking about why driving is so important because it makes me so appreciative about having my license, talking about what is involved with driving and accidents because it makes me more aware".

3. Cultural Learning

The *cultural learning approach* (Redshaw 2001a) focuses on the interpersonal in dealing with specific socially and culturally interactive activities such as driving. It is a group process examining, in interaction with others, the culture and underlying beliefs, expectations and assumptions, both social and individual, implicit in those activities. It emphasizes participation and peer learning in an interactive framework of facilitated discussion and analysis, the social nature of activities people are engaged in, such as driving, and the contradictory meanings and expectations operating there. The aim of the approach is to produce a space for safe reflection in order to assess and change the ways in which the activity is viewed culturally.

The *cultural learning process* has been developed for the purpose of facilitating guided discussion and critical thinking about the practice of driving in a concrete way (Redshaw 2001a). It draws out the implications of driving practices that are seen as problematic, but for which there is a high level of community acceptance, such as speeding. The justifications given for these practices express community or cultural attitudes which can then be examined. The sorts of cultural issues that are brought out in the workshop include:

- The tendency to focus on external controls - car, conditions, roads, others and the need to emphasise personal control
- Questioning speeding, overtaking, tailgating as "natural" ways to behave and respond

■ The need to encompass self-skills and social evaluation and awareness skills as well as vehicle maneuvering skills and traffic situations

4. Focus on driving

Materials such as question sheets and group discussion exercises have been developed for this program, designed specifically for provisional license drivers. These materials encourage the participants to look concretely at their own driving and how they behave in cars with others, as passengers and drivers, and in relation to other drivers. Comments on the worksheets and questionnaires filled out as part of the workshop showed that there was some real learning about what they are actually doing as drivers:

"Made me think about what my driving style was"

"You thought about what you actually do on the road".

"Learning about the way I think in relation to driving and why I think that way. This is useful because now that I'm aware of this I can do things to counter it so I don't drive dangerously."

"Realising that you can't stereotype everyone. I don't like being classed as a reckless young hoon and realising that I don't have to and can't be in such a hurry."

The outcomes of the workshop were to:

- Highlight social and cultural aspects
- Create awareness of self and others as drivers
- Develop language amongst young drivers through which to explore driving experience
- Facilitate and encourage development of positive attitudes

Feedback showed that many were more aware of their treatment of other drivers as well as others in the car and what they were doing while driving.

5. What will change

Participants were asked at the end of the workshop what they would focus on improving.

Speeding was top of the list:

"Speed (slow down), lane keeping"

"Reducing my speed. Turning my music down."

"Merging, doing the legal speed – therefore leaving earlier not to be in a rush"

"Reducing speeding"

Others included attitude:

"My attitude"

"Getting annoyed with slower drivers"

"Lane changing, attitude in some situations"

"Being more aware"

"Focus"

"I think I will try for more tolerance of other drivers in knowing that they are just doing their own thing and are not there to annoy me."

At the follow-up participants were asked what was different about their driving since the workshop. Responses ranged from no change from 2 males, to being more aware of other drivers and not taking 'silly risks'. Some of the other responses were:

"I have more confidence because I am being more aware and considerate of conditions"

"I have been a lot more aware of my surroundings and have slightly decreased in my speeding"

"I check speed limits more"

"A lot more considerate/understanding"

"Don't look down on people if they are doing less than speed limit or doing something that I wouldn't do"

"Follow the limit. Accept that other people make mistakes"

They were also asked what they had noticed about the way they view other drivers. There was some evidence that there were changes in this area with responses such as:

"Leave room for their opinions and actions"

"Don't look down on people if they are doing less than speed limit or doing something that I wouldn't do"

"I take them into consideration because I realise I have to be more aware."
(Females)

"My attitude has changed on the way I view other drivers"

"I am more courteous about other drivers now"

"Starting to understand other drivers and why they do certain things" (Males).

Other comments expressed more caution and awareness where other drivers are concerned:

"I try and watch out and not just think that I know what they are going to do"
(Male).

Some participants expressed a less optimistic attitude:

"Don't trust any of them" (Female)

"I don't like them"

"I have noticed how lacking in courtesy other drivers are" (Male).

One participant answered 'no' indicating that they had not noticed anything about the way they think of other drivers.

The responses to the question overall showed there had been more thought about how

they respond to other drivers and how they think of them. Many were more inclined to regard other drivers in a more generous way, as making mistakes or at least not always doing what we expect they will do or we want them to do. There was acknowledgement of needing to give other drivers space, not 'looking down' on them and generally being 'more courteous'.

6. Conversations - establishing more language and dialogue

While 6 of the participants in the Western Sydney group said they had not talked to others about their driving in the last month, 12 said they had talked with friends, family or siblings. It was commented to the facilitator by one of the participants at the beginning of the follow-up that they did find themselves talking more about their driving. A teacher also noted that she had heard conversations about driving in the corridors. This is a very positive result as it shows that there is at least the need or tendency to express and discuss ideas about driving and possibly more critical evaluation of driving.

It is important that young drivers not only have the space to discuss their driving with their peers and reflect on their own driving, but also that they have a means for establishing a healthy and positive dialogue about driving.

The workshop is discussion focused and thus employs and develops the discussion skills of the participants, enabling them to hear each other's views and learn from one another which is important for this age group in particular.

In order to have a real impact on driving behaviour, and cultures which influence driving behaviour in problematic ways, it is important that there is maximum community involvement. This can take many forms, but it is argued in the literature assessing prevention programs that an integrated approach involving school, parents, media and community on various levels are more successful (Flay 2000).

Weissberg et al. outline six characteristics of coordinated prevention programming that works (2003: 428-429):

1. Uses a research-based risk and protective factor framework that involves families, peers, schools and communities as partners to target multiple outcomes.
2. Is long term, age specific, and culturally appropriate.
3. Fosters development of individuals who are healthy and fully engaged through teaching them to apply social-emotional skills and ethical values in daily life.
4. Aims to establish policies, institutional practices, and environmental supports that nurture optimal development.
5. Selects, trains and supports interpersonally skilled staff to implement programming effectively.
6. Incorporates and adopts evidence-based programming to meet local community needs through strategic planning, ongoing evaluation, and continuous improvement.

Effective prevention requires a coordinated approach between government departments and agencies, as well as researchers and policy makers. It also requires attention to the well-being and development of young people, and not just compliance with the law. The involvement of young people in risky behaviours is a result of social practices which encourage self-enhancement through risk-taking. Where young people have poor self-esteem or confidence in themselves, cars offer a means to promote and enhance self-esteem and confidence. If you drive a certain kind of car you have to drive it in a particular way or, as one young person put it, "you kill the cred". This is problematic when it is the only or primary means of gaining some sense of control and confidence in themselves. A coordinated broad-based community approach is required to deal with this type of issue.

Major advances have been made in effective prevention programs and understanding the types of programs that are most effective as well as how to evaluate them (Weissberg et al. 2003). Prevention programs in health are more advanced and broad based than those in road safety. Road safety is another high risk area for young males in particular, and presents considerable health costs as well as emotional and financial costs to families and communities. Catchpole (2003) recommends that road safety

education be seen in the context of health education programs and other personal development and health promotion programs, though with an explicit focus of its own. The focus should be on the broader context of driving and not just the immediate environment of the car and relate to personal and social development.

The NSW Health Department's Youth Alcohol Action Plan 2001-2005 notes the significance of alcohol and road trauma amongst young people. Young drivers or motorcyclists, compared to 26-59 year olds are twice as likely to be speeding or fatigued, to be distracted by something in the vehicle, to lose control of the vehicle, more likely to make errors overtaking, less likely to wear seat belts or helmets. Measures cover a wide variety of fronts including mentoring programs for at risk students, staff forums, information services, school programs, parenting programs and peer drug education models for schools. There does not appear to be a relationship with researchers and it is not clear if any evaluation of the programs is being carried out. The department's youth policy "Young People's Health: Our Future" (1999) outlines a number of initiatives to increase access to health services and advice which includes partnerships with education to develop school based programs. There is thus a comprehensive approach in health to youth issues, though not necessarily a coordinated one with ongoing evaluation.

In line with the latest research on preventive programs, coordinated approaches which include communities, school programs and media, and ongoing evaluation, are required to deal with youth specific issues in the context of the social and cultural environment. These need to be research coordinated and evaluated, and delivered on a broad scale to determine their effectiveness. There does also need to be appropriate training and support for those delivering high quality programs. Programs also need to be age and culturally appropriate. Less structured programs are appropriate for older adolescents and aspects of their culture need to be taken into consideration.

Where the young people involved in our workshops have responded very positively to the discussion focus, teachers have not always been as positive. Schools where students had obviously well developed discussion skills have tended to respond more positively to the program whereas schools where students lacked development in this area were more inclined to favor more highly structured programs. In order to achieve real results it is important to go beyond the traditional methods of teaching and actively engage youth, developing their ability to discuss and argue important issues, hear each other's views and work through important points with each other.

The Driving with a Difference workshop has been developed with these factors in mind.

We would like to see it implemented and evaluated on an ongoing basis as part of a coordinated approach involving health, the roads and traffic authority, schools, parents, communities, media and researchers.

Conclusion

- ▶ Road safety for young people requires a more comprehensive effort in dealing with identity and the social importance of cars and driving.
- ▶ Social and emotional skills are as important as car handling skills in managing the task of driving.
- ▶ As young adults, young drivers need programs which give them the opportunity to work through issues related to cars and driving with each other.
- ▶ Prevention programs need to be well developed and resourced to be effective.
- ▶ They require appropriate implementation and involvement of various government departments in a coordinated whole of government approach.
- ▶ They require innovative teaching methods which emphasise active engagement of young people so that they can learn from and with their peers.
- ▶ There needs to be appropriate training for delivery of such programs.
- ▶ Ongoing evaluation and involvement of researchers is an important element of the development of real strategies.

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