



# Driving and alternatives: Older drivers in Michigan

Lidia P. Kostyniuk\*, Jean T. Shope

*Transportation Research Institute, University of Michigan, 2901 Baxter Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2150, USA*

## Abstract

**Method:** A statewide telephone survey of Michigan drivers and former drivers aged 65 and older collected information on transportation mode choices, experience with alternatives to driving, and whether drivers planned for when they could no longer drive. **Results:** Results showed that most older adult households owned at least one automobile, and that the automobile was the primary mode of transportation. Most former drivers obtained rides from relatives and friends. Use of public transportation was low, and some seniors were not aware of available public transportation services. Older drivers did not plan for driving cessation. Over half the drivers who perceived a likelihood of driving problems within 5 years expected to keep driving beyond 5 years. **Impact on industry:** Because of their lifelong reliance on the automobile, their desire to drive themselves, and their lack of experience with public transportation, efforts to enhance the mobility of older people should consider this background while alternatives to the personal automobile are developed.

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**Keywords:** Older drivers; Transportation mode choice; Mobility of older persons; Driving cessation

## 1. Introduction

As people age, physical changes associated with aging and disease often affect perceptual, motor, and cognitive abilities required for driving an automobile safely (Eby, Trombley, Molnar, & Shope, 1998). Effects of these changes are seen in crash rates based on vehicle miles driven, which start increasing exponentially for drivers around age 65 (Evans, 2000). Automobile-based transportation systems and land-use patterns in the United States, however, have made Americans so dependent on the automobile that the ability to drive is often equated with mobility, and perceived as necessary for maintaining independence, autonomy, and self-esteem (Carp, 1988; Gonda, 1982; Eisenhandler, 1990). This presents a problem for American society because the number of older drivers and their proportion in the driving population are growing (National Center for Statistics and Analysis, 2001) and will continue to grow as the cohort of “baby boomers” ages (Burkhardt & McGavock, 1999).

Many aging drivers continue to drive because they see no other way of maintaining their mobility (Kostyniuk & Shope, 1998). Unlike earlier cohorts of older people that included many members never licensed to drive, and who

relied on public transportation, the present cohort of older drivers matured with the automobile and relies on it for personal mobility. Because very few public transit options provide the same mobility, convenience, and security that a car provides, older individuals are reluctant to use public transit and special paratransit services that may be offered in their communities (Rosenbloom, 1988). Analysis of data from the 1995 Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey (Federal Highway Administration, 1997) shows that only about 2.5% of all trips taken by Americans, aged 65 and older, involved the use of public transit.

Many older people who no longer drive depend on family and friends to provide transportation (Kostyniuk & Shope, 1998). Although accepting rides as a passenger has benefits such as personal contact to combat loneliness, this option can exact a psychological price on the older passenger. In a study of over 700 community-dwelling older nondrivers, Carp (1972) found that older passengers identified several negative aspects of accepting rides: feelings of indebtedness that became burdensome and demeaning when reciprocation was impossible; schedules or routes of drivers that did not meet their needs as passengers; and nervousness about the driving skills of the people who gave them rides.

Moving to a location or setting where driving is less essential for meeting the basic necessities of life is one way to address mobility problems. Although studies have exam-

\* Corresponding author. Tel.: +1-734-764-2466; fax: +1-734-936-1076.

E-mail address: lidakost@umich.edu (L.P. Kostyniuk).

ined declining health as a factor in relocating one's place of residence (Colsher & Wallace, 1990; Litwak & Longino, 1988; Silverstein, 1995), no studies were found in which driving was isolated and examined for its contribution to such decisions. The ability to provide for one's own transportation, however, appears to be an implicit factor in these decisions.

Transportation provides access to what is needed for social and emotional well being as well as life's necessities (Carp, 1988). When access is not available to older people, the resulting isolation and depression can be primary factors in increased risk of disease and death (Kaplan, 1992, 1995). As plans are made for transportation systems and services for the older citizens of the future, several basic questions should be answered. Do older drivers give any thought to the time when they will be unable to drive and how they will plan to meet their mobility needs? What can we learn that might help older adults to plan? Knowledge about alternatives acceptable to older people is important for the planning and marketing of transportation alternatives that will be used by older people and that will help them to meet their needs. Minimizing resource expenditures on systems and services that will not be viable is essential.

Because of the wide variability in the aging process as well as the various health conditions that can affect driving abilities, there is no precise age at which a driver becomes an "older driver." However, examination of vehicle crash data shows notable increases in vehicle crash rates and mortality among drivers aged 55 to 70 (e.g., Evans, 2000). As noted earlier, one measure, crash rates based on vehicle miles driven, starts increasing exponentially at about age 65. Other measures, such as mortality rates per crash and mortality rates per miles driven, start to increase at age 55. Most studies define older drivers as age 65 and older, but some studies categorize drivers as "older" at age 55, and others at age 70. This paper follows the more widely accepted convention of considering drivers starting at age 65 as older.

This paper examines the mobility choices of drivers and former drivers aged 65 and older in Michigan. Data are from a multiyear research project on the reduction and cessation of driving among older drivers conducted at the University of Michigan Transportation Research Institute (Kostyniuk, Shope, & Molnar, 2000, 2001), which included a focus-group study of current and former older drivers as well as adult children of older drivers, and a telephone survey of 1,053 current and former older drivers from Michigan. Specific questions explored in this paper are the following:

- How much do older drivers and former drivers rely on the private automobile?
- What experience do older drivers and former drivers have with public transportation?
- Do older drivers plan for meeting their future mobility needs if or when they might be unable to drive?

## 2. Methodology

A telephone survey about the experiences, behaviors, and emotions associated with driving reduction and cessation among people aged 65 and older in Michigan was developed. The survey was preceded by a focus group study (Kostyniuk & Shope, 1998) that identified issues faced by older drivers, defined concepts, and identified dimensions to be studied. These results were then used to develop the telephone survey, quantitative findings from which could be generalized to the population of older drivers and former drivers in Michigan. Only results concerned with transportation modes used, experiences with alternatives to driving, and planning for future mobility needs are reported in this paper.

Driver license records from the Michigan Department of State were used to obtain a sample of subjects for the survey. Names and addresses of people aged 65 and older who were currently licensed to drive or whose driver's license had expired in the previous 2.5 years were obtained. A random sample, stratified by the current or expired status of the license, was then drawn. The selected sample was proportional by urbanicity (i.e., urban, suburban, or rural), and by 5-year age increments. Letters were sent to potential subjects explaining the purpose of the survey and inviting them to participate when contacted by telephone.

Subjects were interviewed in May and June of 1999. The interviews were conducted by professional interviewers from a marketing research company using a computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI) system. In all, 3,235 households were contacted. In 391 cases, the potential respondents were not eligible to participate because they were deceased, moved out of state, were in a hospital or nursing home, or were unable to complete an interview because of a physical or mental condition. A portion (1,777) of potential respondents or their "gatekeepers" refused to participate, and 1,067 agreed to be interviewed. In all, 1,053 telephone interviews were completed, a response rate of 37%. On average, interviews lasted 30 minutes. Upon completion of an interview, a token payment of a \$10 check was sent to the respondent.

Weights were developed to account for nonresponse to the survey and to expand the results to represent the total population of Michigan citizens aged 65 and over who were currently licensed to drive or whose drivers' licenses had expired in the last 2.5 years, and who were well enough to respond to the survey.

## 3. Survey respondents

The average age of the 1,053 respondents was 74.2 years with a standard deviation of 5.9 years. The oldest respondent was 96 years old. Of all respondents, 58% were female, 60% were married, 55% had not gone beyond high school, 71% had an annual household income below \$50,000, 95% lived in their own home, 43% did volunteer work, and 12%

Table 1  
Drivers and former drivers by age and gender

Age	Drivers		Former drivers	
	Male (n = 432) (%)	Female (n = 554) (%)	Male (n = 12) (%)	Female (n = 55) (%)
65–74	51.2	50.9	25.0	21.8
75–84	40.5	43.3	41.7	43.6
84+	8.3	5.8	33.3	34.6
Total	100	100	100	100

worked for pay. As for race, 92% of the respondents were Caucasian, 5% were African American, and 3% were of other races or refused to answer.

Ninety-five percent of the survey respondents were licensed to drive. Their driver license status was known from their Michigan driver license records. Of the respondents currently licensed to drive, 84% reported driving regularly, and 3% reported not driving at all. One-fourth of respondents not licensed to drive reported driving at least occasionally. Respondents who reported driving at least occasionally were classified as drivers in these analyses, and people who did not drive were classified as former drivers, regardless of their driver license status. The majority of former drivers were women, as they composed a greater proportion of drivers who had not renewed their drivers' license in the past 2.5 years, but were still alive. Men were also more likely than women to continue driving without a license (33% of men without a license reported driving regularly compared to 14% of women). Table 1 shows the distribution of drivers and former drivers by age and gender.

#### 4. Results

The survey results are reported under three main headings. The first heading addresses the question of how much older drivers and former drivers rely on the private automobile. The second section shows the extent of the experience that older drivers and former drivers in Michigan have with public transportation, and the third section shows the extent to which older drivers plan for their future mobility.

##### 4.1. The private automobile

Most respondents had access to a private automobile and used it for most of their trips. Among drivers' households,

Table 2  
Transportation mode relied on most often

What transportation do you rely on most often?	Drivers (n = 986) (%)	Former drivers (n = 67) (%)
Drive own car	89.7	0
Passenger in car	9.4	94.8
Dial-a-ride	0	5.2
Public transit bus	0.3	0
Walk	0.3	0

Table 3  
Frequency of riding as a passenger

How often do you ride as a passenger?	Drivers		Former drivers	
	Male (n = 432) (%)	Female (n = 552) (%)	Male (n = 12) (%)	Female (n = 54) (%)
Often	13.4	47.3	43.1	49.3
Occasionally	51.4	39.8	28.5	42.9
Rarely	32.2	11.8	19.8	7.8
Never	3.0	1.1	8.6	0.0

less than 1% did not own or lease a car, and 52% owned or leased more than one car. Among former drivers' households, 34% did not have a car, and 66% owned or leased one or more cars.

Respondents were asked which mode of transportation they relied on most often and second most often. Table 2 shows that the private automobile was relied on most often by both drivers and former drivers. No one relied primarily on public transit buses and only a small portion of the former drivers relied on dial-a-ride (a form of special transit) for their primary mode of transportation.

The automobile was also the secondary mode of transportation for most respondents. Of those drivers who primarily drove themselves, most stated that riding as a passenger was their secondary mode. Of people who could drive themselves, but who were usually passengers, 83% reported driving as their secondary mode. Very few drivers relied on any type of public transportation even as a secondary mode of transportation. Of former drivers who relied primarily on getting rides, 67% reported no secondary mode of transportation. The remaining former drivers reported walking (18%), using taxis (7%), or using special transit services (6%) such as dial-a-ride as their secondary mode.

Table 3 shows the frequency of riding in a car as a passenger by gender. For both drivers and former drivers, women were more likely to be passengers than men. Among respondents who drove, women were three to four times more likely to be passengers than men.

Table 4 shows that when the respondent was a passenger in a car, the driver was most often a family member or friend. Spouses were most often the drivers when people who can drive were passengers, and adult children were drivers when former drivers (who were twice as likely to be widowed than

Table 4  
Driver's relationship to passenger

When you are a passenger, who drives?	Drivers (n = 956) (%)	Former drivers (n = 65) (%)
Spouse	42.0	31.6
Adult child	25.4	49.4
Friend	23.8	14.5
Other relative	7.6	3.4
Volunteer	0.8	0.0
Caretaker/hired help	0.0	1.4

the current drivers) were passengers. Close to one-third of both drivers and former drivers reported that they did not obtain rides from anyone other than the driver they identified.

4.2. Public transportation

When asked if at anytime in their life they had ever used public transportation such as a bus, taxi, subway, or train on a regular basis, 60% of both older drivers and former drivers responded that they had not. Most of those who had experience with regular use of public transportation reported that it was acquired long ago. However, for about one-fourth of the former drivers in this group, the experience was more recent.

Although some level of public transit is available in every county of Michigan (Michigan Department of Transportation, 2002), findings from the focus groups conducted earlier in this research had suggested that many older drivers and former drivers were not aware of the public transportation options available to them. The telephone survey respondents were asked a series of questions about the availability in their neighborhood of four public transportation services. Table 5 shows the responses to these questions. Availability of regular transit bus service in the neighborhood was reported by about one-third of the respondents. Approximately two-thirds of the respondents reported that special transit services such as dial-a-ride or senior vans were available in their neighborhoods, and about one-fourth of the respondents reported that volunteer drivers were available. Availability of taxi service was reported by approximately 55% of the respondents. Uncertainty about the existence of a service varied with the service. Close to one-third of the respondents did not know if there was a volunteer driver program in their area, and 13% did not know if special transit services were available to them. Only 8% were uncertain about taxi service, and 6% were uncertain about regular transit bus service. There were no differences between the responses of drivers and former drivers.

Those respondents who reported that a public transportation service was available in their neighborhood were asked, in an open-ended question, how they knew that the service was available. Table 6 shows the distribution of the

Table 5  
Respondents' knowledge of availability of public transportation

	Yes	No	Don't know
Is there a public transit bus service with bus stops within 2 miles of your home? (n = 1045) (%)	33.2	60.7	6.1
Is there a senior van service or dial-a-ride in your neighborhood that picks people up at their homes (n = 1040) (%)	66.1	20.9	13.0
Are there volunteer drivers in your neighborhood who give rides to seniors? (n = 1019) (%)	25.2	51.7	32.1
Is taxi service available in your neighborhood? (n = 1044) (%)	55.2	37.0	7.8

Table 6  
Ways of learning about public transportation services

How did you become aware of this transportation service?	Public transit bus (n = 331) (%)	Special transit (n = 688) (%)	Volunteer drivers (n = 258) (%)	Taxi (n = 560) (%)
Saw vehicles and/or stops	75.5	36.3	–	65.4
Friends/family	2.4	14.8	36.0	6.1
Newsletter, newspaper	9.5	26.8	15.3	6.7
Advertising/phone book	6.6	8.0	4.3	13.3
Senior club, church	0.9	12.3	31.6	1.6
Work(ed) or volunteer(ed) there	0.3	0.4	11.6	0.5
Don't know	3.7	0.3	0.4	6.3

manner in which the respondents became aware of each of the public transportation services.

Most respondents who knew about the existence of regular bus service and taxi service in their neighborhoods knew of it because they saw the vehicles and bus stops. However, knowledge about special transit services and volunteer drivers was more likely to come from newsletters, newspapers, and from family, friends, senior clubs, and social groups.

Respondents who knew about a particular service in their neighborhood were asked if they had ever used that service. One-third of respondents who knew about the regular bus service had used it. For the taxi service, this proportion was 24%, for special transit it was 10%, and for the volunteer driver service it was 8%. However, most of these respondents reported that they rarely used the services.

The level of satisfaction with each of the public transportation services was asked of those who had reported using each type of service. The majority of those who used a public transportation service stated that they were at least somewhat satisfied. Of those who used the volunteer driver service, 89% were very satisfied, whereas 64% of those who used the special transit services reported being very satisfied. Of those who used taxi services, 56% were very satisfied, as were 46% of those who used the regular transit bus service.

Respondents who were at least somewhat satisfied with a particular service were asked in an open-ended question why they were satisfied. The most frequent reason given (28% of all comments) was that the service took the persons where they wanted to go. Convenience and reliability/punctuality were also mentioned.

Very few users of special transit and no users of the volunteer driver program reported being dissatisfied. About one-quarter of the regular transit bus users and 13% of those who used taxis stated that they were somewhat or very dissatisfied. The most frequent reason given by these users for dissatisfaction with public transportation services was that the service was unreliable/unpunctual and that it took too long. Several respondents commented that the regular bus and special transit were inconvenient, that the regular bus and taxi were unpleasant, and that the taxi was expensive.

Table 7  
Amount of thought about stopping driving by perceived likelihood of driving problem within 5 years

How much have you thought about what you might do if you had to stop driving?	Is there a real chance that your driving ability could become a problem within the next 5 years?		
	No ( <i>n</i> = 544) (%)	Do not know ( <i>n</i> = 118) (%)	Yes ( <i>n</i> = 299) (%)
A lot	2.6	3.8	13.8
Some	21.1	28.0	38.9
A little	31.3	24.1	29.1
Not at all	45.1	44.1	18.3

Respondents who had a public transportation service in their neighborhood but had never used it, were asked in an open-ended question why they had not used it. The overwhelming reason for not using each of the public transportation services was that the respondents did not need to use them. Reasons for never using the regular bus service included comments about long waits, inconvenience, and route limitations (e.g., “does not take me where I want to go”).

#### 4.3. Planning to meet future mobility needs

The focus group results had suggested that many older drivers did not plan or prepare for the time when they would no longer be able to drive. This issue was addressed in the telephone survey, with drivers classified based on their responses to the question, “Is there a real chance that your driving ability could become a problem within the next 5 years?” Fifty-six percent of the drivers indicated that there was no chance that their driving ability could become a problem within the next 5 years, 13% were not sure, and 31% stated that there was a real chance. This perceived likelihood of potential driving problems was a good discriminator for behaviors associated with driving reduction such as decreases in miles driven, and avoidance of and discomfort with driving in bad weather, heavy traffic, unfamiliar areas, and on freeways. The perceived likelihood also correlated well with self-reported overall health, vision, and functionality (see Kostyniuk et al., 2000). Thus, it seemed that if anyone was thinking about a future without driving, it should be the drivers who felt that they might have problems with driving in the near future.

Drivers were asked how much thought they had given to what they might do if they had to stop driving. Table 7 shows the distribution of drivers’ responses by the perceived likelihood of a problem with driving ability within 5 years. Drivers who thought that there was a real chance of a problem were nearly five times more likely to report that they had thought a lot about the situation than those who did not perceive a potential problem.

The drivers who reported that they had thought at least a little about what they might do if they had to stop

driving were asked if they thought about anything specific that they might do. Approximately 52% of the drivers stated that they had thought about specific actions. This percentage did not vary significantly by the perceived likelihood of a problem in driving ability in the next 5 years.

Those respondents who said that they had thought about specific things they might do if they had to stop driving were asked if they had thought about each of six possible actions. The distribution of their responses is shown in Table 8, classified by their perceived likelihood of a problem in their driving ability within the next 5 years. An example helps to interpret the table. The first cell of Table 8 shows that 32.9% of the 155 respondents who did not think that there was a real chance that their driving ability could become a problem within 5 years and who had thought about some specific action they might take, reported that they had thought about moving somewhere with better public transportation services.

The proportions of respondents who reported having thought specifically about moving somewhere with better public transportation services, to senior housing with transportation, closer to their children, or learning more about public transportation were similar across the three groups, classified by the perceived chance of driving ability problems within the next 5 years. There were differences, however, in the proportions of respondents who reported having thought about arranging for rides and/or hiring someone to drive. Drivers who felt that there was a real chance or were not sure that they might have a problem with their driving ability within the next 5 years were more likely to have thought about ways of arranging for rides or hiring someone to drive than those who did not perceive a real chance of a problem.

Former drivers were asked if they had made any preparations for the time that they would have to stop driving. All of them responded that they had not made any arrangements before stopping driving.

Table 8  
Percent who thought about specific action by perceived likelihood of driving problem within 5 years

Yes, have thought about the following	Is there a real chance that your driving ability could become a problem within the next 5 years?		
	No ( <i>n</i> = 155) (%)	Do not know ( <i>n</i> = 31) (%)	Yes ( <i>n</i> = 130) (%)
Moving somewhere with better public transportation services	32.9	31.4	35.7
Moving to senior housing with transportation	33.5	37.7	32.5
Moving closer to children	19.8	17.7	20.9
Making arrangements for rides	23.1	39.1	45.2
Hiring someone to drive	8.6	26.1	17.8
Learning more about public transportation	30.1	28.0	27.4

Table 9  
Expected years of driving by perceived likelihood of driving problem within 5 years

How long do you expect to keep driving?	Is there a real chance that your driving ability could become a problem within the next 5 years?		
	No (n = 502)	Do not know (n = 83)	Yes (n = 256)
Less than 1 year	0.0	0.0	1.34
Between 1 and 3 years	1.5	8.0	15.7
Between 3 and 5 years	12.2	24.4	30.8
Between 5 and 10 years	29.9	28.9	33.6
Ten years or more	56.4	38.6	18.4

Drivers were asked how long they expected to keep driving. Their responses are shown in Table 9, classified by the perceived likelihood of a driving ability problem within 5 years. Current drivers who thought that there could be a problem with their driving ability in 5 years expected to keep driving for shorter periods than the other drivers. However, about one-third expected to continue driving for 5 to 10 years, and about 18% expected to keep driving for 10 years or more. This indicates that about half of the older drivers who felt that their driving ability could be impaired in some way within the next 5 years still expected to keep driving for more than 5 years.

## 5. Discussion and implications for planning for the mobility of older people

The findings from the telephone survey show that the private automobile is by far the preferred mode of transportation for older drivers and former drivers in Michigan. When they do not drive themselves, they are passengers in a car. Almost two-thirds of former drivers rely solely on obtaining rides in relatives' or friends' cars for all their mobility needs. This group has little experience with public transportation, and uses it only when there are no other options. Some older drivers and former drivers in Michigan are not even aware of what public transportation services are available in their neighborhoods.

Older drivers are not making preparations for the time when they can no longer drive. None of the former drivers in the study had made any specific preparations for their mobility before stopping driving. Some older drivers, however, do consider the possibility that they might not be able to drive themselves and do think about what they might do to meet their mobility needs. Drivers who perceive a likelihood of a problem with their driving ability within the next 5 years are more likely than others to consider what they might do if they could no longer drive themselves. They are also more likely to start thinking about arranging for rides or hiring someone to drive them. The majority of older drivers expect to keep driving as long as they can, even if they have concerns about their driving ability in the near future.

The lifelong reliance of this cohort of older drivers on the automobile, their desire to drive themselves, and their lack of experience with public transportation have several implications for the planning of safe and acceptable mobility provisions for older people. The first is that it is desirable to help older drivers keep driving as long as they can do so safely, and to help them to stop driving when it is no longer safe to do so. Several approaches may be useful in accomplishing this. Increasing consideration of older driver limitations in road and vehicle design may extend the time older drivers can drive safely (Federal Highway Administration, 2001; Lupton, 2001; Vala, 2001). New intelligent transportation system (ITS) technologies in the areas of vision enhancement, collision avoidance, and way finding may also help, but care must be taken that such systems are compatible with the needs of older drivers and do not make the task of driving more complicated and difficult. Driving assessment may be of value in determining the ability to drive safely and suggest limitations on conditions when driving can be done safely. Although the concept of driving assessment has been around for some time (for a review, see Eby et al., 1998), efforts have increasingly been underway to evaluate and refine the assessment tools (Eby, Molnar, Shope, Vivoda, & Fordyce, in press; Staplin, Lococo, Stewart, & Decina, 1999). Education, training, and other intervention programs can also contribute to maintaining mobility by helping older drivers overcome or compensate for declining abilities, avoid high-risk driving environments, or plan for a time when they can no longer drive (Marottoli & Drickamer, 1993; McKnight, 1988; Ostrow, Shaffron, & McPherson, 1992; Owsley, Stalvey, & Phillips, 2003; Wilkins, Stutts, & Schatz, 1999).

The second implication of the older drivers' lifelong reliance on automobiles and lack of experience with public transportation is that alternative transportation for older persons would be more acceptable if the range of options was expanded by more appealing alternatives that had as many characteristics of the private automobile as possible. For many older persons, retaining ownership of their own car, even if they do not drive it themselves, provides a symbol of independence. They could keep the car keys and arrange for someone else to drive them. For those who cannot find or hire a personal driver, group ownership of a fleet of automobiles, which are driven by volunteers or by hired drivers is a possibility. Some programs of this type already exist (e.g., Freund, 1997) and could be adapted to other communities. Another possible mobility option might be offered by enterprising individuals who could provide personal services, including transportation, to a small group of older persons. Community-based volunteer driver programs are an example of a public transportation alternative that retains some of the characteristics of the private automobile. Although the study reported here included only a small number of people who received rides from volunteer drivers, all who did were satisfied. Volunteer driver programs have also fared well in comparison to other elderly mobility

programs. In a nationwide examination of community-based transportation programs for the elderly (Beverly Foundation, 2002) five volunteer driver programs were selected among the top 11 “senior-friendly” programs. Other combinations of vehicle ownership using volunteers or drivers might also be acceptable. There may be logistic and legal issues with some of these approaches that need to be addressed. However, they do not appear to be insurmountable barriers to the implementation of badly needed innovative alternatives.

In planning transportation options and services to meet the mobility needs of the elderly in the near future, it is important to recognize the value placed on transportation. Transportation enables older persons to maintain the social support systems needed for good quality of life and reduces the risk of premature morbidity and mortality by decreasing isolation and depression. It should also be recognized that personal control in deciding where and when to go is very important to older persons (Kostyniuk & Shope, 1998; Marottoli et al., 1997). There will always be a place for special public transit services similar to those in place now for some portion of the elderly population. However, there is a growing critical need for more desirable options that provide mobility for older people while allowing them to retain as much independence as possible.

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**Lidia P. Kostyniuk**, PhD, is a research scientist in the Social and Behavioral Analysis Division at the University of Michigan Transportation Research Institute. Dr. Kostyniuk's research interests are in older driver safety and mobility, travel behavior, and transportation safety.

**Jean T. Shope** is a senior research scientist and head of the Social and Behavioral Analysis Division at the University of Michigan Transportation Research Institute. She is also on the faculty of the Department of Health Behavior and Health Education in the University of Michigan School of Public Health. Dr. Shope's research interests are older driver safety and mobility, adolescent and young driving behavior, and the development and evaluation of health education programs, especially substance abuse prevention.