

RoSPA Scotland

Paper on Young Driver at Work Focus Group Findings and interviews with Organisations

Carried out on behalf of:

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Young Drivers at Work Scotland

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Executive Summary

- The principal aim of this piece of work was to identify any issues there may be for employers relating to young driver safety and to identify whether young drivers themselves had any concerns in relation to driving for work. The outcomes will help inform future work in Scotland with companies who employ young drivers.
- Nine companies took part in the young drivers at work study. Employer representatives, all with management responsibility for health and safety, were interviewed from each of the nine companies. A total of 26 employees aged less than 25 years took part in three focus groups held in Scotland in May 2012. The focus groups were conducted with companies who had already taken part in the employer interviews. All findings relate to this sample and are not generalised to other companies based in Scotland.
- The majority of young drivers drove vans up to 3.5 tonne as their main works vehicle. With the exception of one company, the journeys made by young drivers were typically fewer than 30 miles per week.
- Employers most commonly reported vehicle familiarity as the necessary skill for their young drivers to have. Young drivers themselves stated that driving different vehicles was the key difference between driving for work and driving for leisure and commuting. Parking vans was reported by young drivers to be a particular challenge faced when driving for work.
- The licence check was the only step employers took in the recruitment process to make any assessment of drivers' existing skills and experience.
- Four out of the nine employers said that they would like to buy-in driver profiling or advanced driver training for their staff but that the cost of these interventions was prohibitive.
- Other road safety interventions besides in-car practical driver training included 'awareness' raising, telematics, and routine health and safety communication tools.
- Employers shared no consensus view on the best mechanisms for relaying road safety messages to young drivers.
- The young drivers interviewed felt that presentations such as 'Safe drive stay alive' were not relevant for their age group. The young drivers said they would not recommend such 'awareness-raising' events to other young drivers.
- If real-life victims' stories are used for awareness raising events, one focus group recommended that the victims recruited for this purpose would best be at-fault drivers rather than blameless parties. Thus, avoiding the impression that having an accident is outside of your control.
- External driver training from an organisation such as the police force was suggested by the young drivers as a road safety intervention they would like to receive, if available free of charge.

Introduction

Young Drivers

Young drivers up to age 25 make up an estimated 8% of the licence holders but are known to be involved in around 25% of road accidents. Young drivers are more likely to be involved in an accident than any other age group and four times more likely to be involved in an accident when accompanied by passengers their own ageⁱ. In 2009, 20% of all casualties were aged 16-22ⁱⁱ. They are also more likely to be involved in an accident if driving in hours of darknessⁱⁱⁱ.

Young Drivers at Work

Young drivers who drive for work face a combined risk created by their lack of driving experience, which is exacerbated by suddenly being required to drive under different pressures and in different vehicles than they encountered when learning to drive. Managers in companies often do not make any allowance for the fact that these drivers have much less driving experience than other staff, and due to their relatively junior level within the company, the young drivers are likely to be reluctant to express any safety concerns they may have.

RoSPA's Young Driver at Work Project

In 2010 RoSPA launched a Young Driver at Work Toolkit^{iv} for companies who employ drivers between 17 and 25 years of age. This resource was based on research carried out in 2008 and 2009 in England and Wales. This research informed the development of RoSPA's Young Driver at Work Toolkit which was awarded a Prince Michael International Road Safety Award in October 2010

Scottish Government Road Safety Framework to 2020

The 2009 the Scottish Government Road Safety Framework to 2020^v (SGRSF) was published which highlighted young drivers as a priority group and made a commitment to conduct a National Debate on Young Drivers' Safety^{vi}. The national debate on young driver safety report was published in March 2011. The findings made a number of significant recommendations. Recommendation 13 focused specifically on Young "at work" Drivers and the Role of the Employer as follows:-

Role of the employer

The following recommendations build on the work of RoSPA's Young Drivers at Work Report (RoSPA, 2009) and issues raised by road safety stakeholders.

While support was generally high across all male and female survey respondents (61% for females, 78% for males), only 39% of young male drivers aged 21 to 25 years supported the proposal for greater recognition of additional driving qualifications by employers requiring young people to drive at work. This may reflect concerns about reduced employment opportunities. While this wouldn't be a popular intervention amongst those most likely to be effected, these results suggest that this approach would provide an effective incentive for young people with real implications in terms of employment opportunities.

Recommendation 13 (Action): Work with employers to improve the safety of young drivers at work. In particular, we recommend that the Scottish Government:

- *raises awareness amongst employers regarding their role in young driver safety and provide guidance on how they can best perform this role, drawing on RoSPA's Young Driver at Work project*
- *raises awareness of the safety, environmental and financial benefits of eco-driving, and use of data recorders in vehicles used to drive for work*
- *encourages employers to recognise additional driver training qualifications*
- *ensures all tenderers for Scottish Government contracts have a Managing Occupational Road Risk (MORR) policy in place, with a focus on young drivers - the use of MORR policies is a legal requirement so this should not place a high burden on industry - a further recommendation is to measure the quality of such policies in tender evaluation methods so as to sharpen the industry's approach, and*
- *holds discussions with the Health and Safety Executive to discuss possible approaches including developing existing HSE Guidance Notes for employers, giving greater emphasis to young driver issues; encouraging risk assessments for young drivers; and application of RIDDOR to young driver collisions*

National Debate on Young Drivers' Safety

Young Drivers at Work in Scotland

Funded by the Scottish Centre for Healthy Working Lives, RoSPA carried out a piece of work with companies based in Scotland who employ young (17 to 25 years) people in jobs that involve driving for work. It comprised interviews with fleet managers and with young drivers and focus groups with young at work drivers themselves (similar to the methodology used previously by RoSPA).

While the piece of work was similar to that carried out in England and Wales there were two differences which reflected the Scottish context.

These were:

1. The starting point for interviews with companies was different. In that companies taking part were **already aware** of managing occupational road risk. (*Through the Scottish Occupational Road Safety Alliance^{vii} businesses are provided with free information advice and support in the management of occupational road risk.*)
2. Within the Focus Group discussion points with young people there was a question relating to previous road safety education / intervention. (*Scottish schools and educational establishments are provided with a broad range of free educational resources which are both progressive and incremental including support from local agencies.*)

Here is the outcome of this piece of work which is the first of its kind in Scotland and will help to inform future work in Scotland with companies who employ young drivers.

Methodology

The project was publicised, and invitations to participate were issued, through RoSPA Bulletins and eNewsletters and by direct email to companies across Scotland. The project was also promoted at RoSPA Scotland, Scottish Centre for Healthy Working Lives and ScORSA (the Scottish Occupational Road Safety Alliance) events and through partner communications.

Organisations with 17-25 year old employees who drive within the course of their work were invited to take part in a telephone interview and/or a focus group with young drivers. Nine managers from companies in Scotland were interviewed, and three focus groups were conducted involving 26 young employees in total.

The interviews and focus groups were conducted by Lindsey Simkins, RoSPA's Road Safety Research and Evaluation Officer.

SECTION 1 Results of Employer Interviews

Results of Employer Interviews:

1. What type of driving do your young drivers do for work?

Type of Journey

The employers reported that their young staff drove on a variety of types of journey for work. One employer replied that young drivers drove the vans from their homes to the job-sites. Another employer reported that their young drivers only commuted to work and did not drive within the course of their work.

Table 1a: Type of journeys conducted

Journey Type	No. (N=9)
Home to site and On-site	2
Between jobs e.g. property to property	3
Between venues	2
Transporting passengers	2
Collections and deliveries	1
Commuting	2

Length of Journey

The distances that young drivers travelled per week ranged from 10 miles to around 500. Only one employer reported high mileage, with the majority of employers asking young drivers to drive less than 30 miles per week.

Type of Vehicle

The most common type of vehicle driven by young drivers at work was a van. Other vehicles included company and hire cars, a minibus or a people carrier, the employee's own vehicles and in one case, a pick-up truck.

Table 1b: Type of vehicles driven by young drivers

Vehicle	No. (N=9)
Vans up to 3.5 tonne*	7
Minibus or people carrier	2
Company or hire cars	4
Employee's own vehicle	3
Pick-up	1

*In one case this included tipper vans

2. What skills and experience do you think your drivers need to do these journeys?

Vehicle familiarisation was the primary response to this question about necessary skills and experience. The issue of vehicle familiarity may have dominated due to the proportion of young drivers in the sample companies who were given the keys to vans, irrespective of whether they had any experience with driving vans rather than cars. Awareness of the size of the vehicle driven, with particular reference to reversing and parking, were the skills and experience most commonly cited as being required.

One employer reported using a formal 'buddy' scheme, "sitting with Nellie", where their young van drivers go out with experienced drivers before they are allowed to drive, and when they do start driving they are always under supervision from a fellow team member.

Going hand-in-hand with the need for vehicle familiarisation, 5 out of the 9 employers interviewed raised the requirement for their young drivers to have an "appropriate" licence. An "appropriate" licence referred to either international employees being licensed to drive in the UK, trailer training for the B+E licence entitlement, and minibuss training for the PCV entitlement.

3. Any steps in the recruitment process to check for these skills?

The only step taken by employers to check for driving skills and experience during the recruitment stage was checking whether potential employees had a driving licence. This was either a visual check or via the DVLA online system. Only one employer stated that young drivers' previous experience of driving for work was checked as part of the recruitment process. This was in the form of interview questions about the type of work candidates had done in their previous employment.

4. How well do you think this recruitment process works?

One employer, who conducted visual licence checks rather than use the DVLA system, was open about the potential for failings in their procedures; it was possible, for example, that a manager may not spot a counterfeit licence during a visual inspection. Furthermore, not all licence checks were conducted at the point of recruitment. In these cases, new young employees enter the licence-checking system but are not asked to show their licence until the next time the checks are implemented as part of an annual rolling programme. This means that they are actually driving for the company for some time before their licence is checked.

Another employer identified that their current system needed improving and were looking for ways to do so, such as recording when a person's temporary (EU) licence runs out, and asking new employees what any penalty points on their licence were for.

One further employer stated that they would like to be able to improve the process by risk assessing drivers at, or prior to, induction.

5. How well prepared do you think young drivers are when they first come to you?

The vast majority of respondents reported that young drivers are “not very” well prepared when they first start driving for the company. Lack of structured experience driving vans, especially for work, was the most cited example. Transporting passengers and towing trailers were the other areas where young drivers often lacked experience. The only other issues mentioned were motorway driving (N=1) and driving during an early shift (N=1).

6 Thinking about the young drivers you have at the moment, are they at the standard that you would like them to be at?

The most common response to this question was that the young drivers were “probably ok” but that there is more the employers would like to do. One company did not analyse incident statistics by driver age and so was unable to respond with specific reference to young drivers.

Four employers said that they would like to be able to offer advanced driver training or driver profiling for their drivers but that the financial cost of these services was a barrier to doing so. Training on parking and reversing in particular was wished for, rather than solely relying on a driver’s licence as evidence of their competence.

One employer responded that their drivers will never be at the standard they want them to be until there is a zero incident rate across the company.

Commuters

Two companies spoke about having a proportion of young drivers who only commute to work, rather than those who drive ‘at work’. Both companies identified the risks that these young commuter drivers face. The two companies, however, had very different responses to how they managed this risk and how they tackled the driving standard of their young ‘commuter’ drivers. The companies are referred to as Company A and Company B.

Company A:

The Health and Safety at Work Act 1974 covers all employees while “at work”. Therefore the company’s vehicle policy does not extend to commuters as it is outside of the HSE remit. The company does however recognise the risk.

Company B:

The Health and Safety at Work Act 1974 covers all employees while “at work”. Therefore any ‘commuter’ drivers who park in the company’s car park **have** to do a level of driver training as the company has a duty of care to other employees who use the car park

Company A recognised the risks that young commuters faced but felt unable to intervene as commuters fall outside the jurisdiction of the Health and Safety at Work Act. Company B saw this same gap between risk and what was enforceable under legislation, but found a solution whereby commuter drivers *had* to attend at least some level of training.

Interventions

The employers interviewed gave a variety of examples of training or educational interventions that their companies had utilised to help improve the standard of their drivers (all age ranges). These interventions can be grouped into four different categories: traditional practical driver training, driver theory and 'awareness' training, telematics, and routine health and safety programmes.

a) Practical driver training

The practical driver training interventions ranged from companies paying for ex-police drivers to deliver in-car training sessions, to People-Carrier driver training delivered to employees by police drivers on a voluntary basis.

Also included in this category are ad hoc training on reversing and parking; on-site practical driver training, and car to van assessments.

b) Driver theory and 'awareness' training

Interventions again ranged from free events to those that the companies paid for. One example of a free of charge intervention was a one-day road safety awareness event delivered to all employees in the company by the local police force. Drink and drug driving, and speeding were the key road safety issues focused on. The company is monitoring incident statistics to evaluate the day. Another example was a road safety road show delivered jointly by the local council and police force. The road show used videos of real-life victims recounting their experiences.

Paid for interventions included a half-day driver theory classroom-based course, and a presentation comprising group discussion of videos showing real-life examples of dangerous driving.

One international company runs in-house theory courses to accompany practical training on specific risks such as driving in snow and ice.

c) Telematics

Two companies out of the nine interviewed described using in-car technology to monitor drivers' behaviour behind the wheel. The electronic data records behavioural traits such as sharp braking and harsh acceleration. Those drivers recording high levels of such incidents are prioritised for further driver coaching.

d) Routine health and safety programmes

Interventions within this category cover policies and in-house initiatives that form part of the companies' routine health and safety procedures.

One company had a significant number of driving related policies. Two examples of these policies are:

- A journey and fatigue management policy which includes a company taxi account for employees who work late in the office and feel tired, and encouragement to make journeys by train to eliminate the road risk
- Prohibiting employees from driving if they have been awake for 16 hours or more in any one period

Besides formal policies, companies made use of routine health and safety communication tools for passing on both seasonal and general safer driving advice. Examples of these tools were: toolbox talks, managers meetings, use of the health and safety area of the intranet, monthly newsletters, and campaign logos displayed across company depots.

One company relied on incentives to improve driving standards by offering bonuses for careful drivers, and disincentives for risky driving by asking drivers to pay the insurance excess if involved in a crash. Drivers who have an accident-free history for three years, regardless of fault, receive a bonus payment of £100.

7. What do you think are the best ways of getting road safety messages across to young drivers in your company?

The employers interviewed gave a diverse range of ways they had tried, and recommended, to get road safety messages across to young drivers. These are listed below:

- Where the company works in a hazardous environment they try to extend the high culture of health and safety to driving. Employees are asked to treat their vehicle as also being a hazardous environment in which they work
- Real-life experiences from victims or their families where the driver was at fault
- Use of the police designed 'seatbelt convincer' so that drivers can realise for themselves why the company insists that seatbelts are worn
- Messages to be delivered by an external professional expert rather than from in-house. This should help the road safety messages stand out from the 'routine health and safety information' provided by the company
- Individual practical assessments and training
- Monthly newsletter communications to "drip feed" driving safety messages
- The health and safety area on the company website is updated with driving tips
- Toolbox talks and management meetings with managers and supervisors actively cascading information to other employees
- Visual information and driving safety campaign logo's displayed widely across the organisation

One employer suggested that it would be good to utilise young drivers in giving road safety messages to older drivers – making them agents of road safety messages rather than passive recipients.

8. Have you heard of any safe driving schemes or activities from elsewhere that you think might be effective?

About half of the employers could recall a scheme or activity which they felt could be effective. One employer thought that e-learning would be the way forward as a way of avoiding the higher cost of practical driver training. Another employer was very interested in developing a “message programme” – a structured programme of road safety messages relevant to their business, to complement on-going toolbox talks within the company.

The specific schemes which employers recalled are listed below:

- Grampian police – ran a theory plus practical session which included driving in bad weather conditions
- Safe driving for under 24's – ran by an external organisation. Involved talks at schools, colleges and clubs. Targeted at pedestrian safety as well as driver safety
- Use of road safety videos produced by VicRoads Australia to add something new to routine repeat training
- The Scottish police 'Fleetsure' programme which was targeted at occupational road risk managers and delivered free of charge

Summary:

- The employers all identified the need for vehicle familiarisation training, and training focussed on parking and reversing vans, as the main skills and experience that young drivers at work required, perhaps because their driving experience was limited to cars.
- All the employers included either a visual check of driving licences, or used the DVLA online Driver Licence Check system as part of their recruitment process. However, in some cases drivers were allowed to drive for the company for some time before the licence check was conducted.
- Most employers felt that young drivers were not very well prepared for the type of driving they need to do for the company, mainly due to a lack of van driver training.
- Employers have used a range of road safety measures, several of which have involved external agencies, such as the police, local authorities and RoSPA.

Section 2

Results from Young Driver Focus Groups

Young Drivers at Work Focus Groups – Scotland

Three focus groups were conducted in total. Two focus groups were conducted with young people who drive for work (N=14) and a third focus group (N=12) was conducted with first year apprentices who had not yet started driving for work but were due to start within the next couple of months.

1. What type of driving do you do for work?

All of the young drivers who were driving for work drove vans. Only two of the 14 focus group participants who were currently driving for work, had driven a van before. The work for all of the young drivers was of a multi-site nature so they were driving between different work sites, picking up colleagues and equipment. Most of the young drivers in one company also towed trailers.

2. How is driving for work different to driving in your own time?

Driving different vehicles was the main way in which young drivers felt driving for work was different to driving in their private life. In one of the focus groups (N=8) there was general agreement that driving the vans for work had actually made them better drivers. This was because they got used to driving at lower speeds. Further, they reported improved spatial awareness and increased confidence driving in different circumstances.

However, the process by which they acquired this reportedly beneficial experience was unsystematic and risk laden.

In one of the groups (N=6) all of the young drivers perceived their managers' level of interest in their safety as low. They perceived the priority to be, "Just get the job done first". Two participants reported being asked to tow a trailer and drive a 7.5 tonne van even though they did not have the legal licence entitlement to do so.

Although this one group felt low support for their safety from managers, they did report that they felt perfectly able to speak to their own line managers about anything they were uncomfortable with as regards their at-work driving.

Van familiarisation was an issue in both focus groups. In one, the company had recently introduced car-van assessments but not all of the young drivers had received it, and not all of those who had received it were given the assessment before they started driving the vans for work.

One young driver described being given a transit van on their first day at work with the only advice given being to watch the clutch as it was, “a bit jumpy”. This young driver had a “difficult and stressful” experience when trying to park the van for the first time.

The same company also introduced a trailer towing course which the drivers said had helped them with reversing, but not all drivers had access to this course.

All, except one, of the young drivers in the second focus group (N=8), had a test before they were allowed to drive the vans for work. The test, however, was not accompanied by any practice or training. The young drivers also reported not being given feedback from their assessor other than whether or not they had passed. No advice was given before the test; one participant simply recalled being told not to park on the kerb. Prior to the assessment test only one young person had driven a van. All passed the test and were then permitted to drive for the company. The young drivers themselves suggested it would be better to have practice drives in the vans, especially practice with parking, before taking the test.

“All you’ve got to do to drive a van is take the two parts of your licence in, and they give you a set of van keys.” (young driver, male)

One young driver in another focus group said that the only advice they had been given about parking in the vans was to, “park wherever you want”. These young drivers reportedly dealt with the parking risk by relying on their flashing amber lights: “put the beacons on and off you go”.

On a very positive note no drivers in either of the focus groups reported any issues with work pressures affecting how they drove. Both groups in fact said that they had no pressure from work to reach jobs quicker than was safely and legally possible.

3. What, if any, driver education or training did you do before taking lessons to learn to drive?

Young drivers in one focus group recalled attending a ‘Safe drive road show’ organised by the local authority, police, and fire service. They received this intervention in their second or third year at secondary school. The road show used videos of real-life crash victims, and the young drivers in the focus group remembered it being, “depressing with lots of people crying”. One male focus group participant mentioned that it made him, “fear driving a bit, and crashing”.

The consensus amongst the young drivers was that this intervention was inappropriately timed as they were not even thinking about starting to drive at the time of attending the road show. One young driver who reported fearing being in a crash as a result of the road show said that by the time he had started learning to drive he had forgotten most of it anyway.

The young drivers in the focus group of apprentices, who were not yet driving for work, recalled seeing 'Safe drive Stay alive' in their fourth year at school. All of the apprentices had also received the same presentation at work, arranged by their employer. As with the other focus group, these young drivers felt the presentation was not age/life-stage appropriate, but for the opposite reason. They reported that the intervention was aimed at a younger audience and that it involved dancing and singing. They recalled that messages were along the lines of, 'so when you start thinking about learning to drive...', yet they themselves had already passed their test. The young drivers did, however, *all* agree that the presentation made them think about what would happen if they did not wear a seatbelt, and they all now make sure that they put their seatbelt on, even for short journeys.

The message about speeding though from the presentation was not so successful. The young drivers said that this was because they had already experienced speeding without any negative consequences.

4. What, if any, driver training have you done since passing the test?

One young driver in each of the three focus groups mentioned taking their Pass Plus. One participant thought that it had helped with driving on motorways and in busy city centres. All three said that they only took it to lower their insurance premium. Apart from the safe drive road show mentioned previously, and the car to van assessment in one of the companies, the only other post-test training or education received was a police run course organised by an employer. Those focus group participants who had attended this course, however, would not recommend it to others, and they felt that the day was, "...just telling you things that you already know," (male, young driver).

5. Is there any training or support you would like now to help you drive safely?

One of the focus groups mutually agreed that they would go on a free driver training course organised, for example, by the police. They preferred this to be an external course so that any qualifications gained would be their own, rather than an in-house qualification that would remain with the company if they moved on.

Another of the groups revealed that if video presentations of real-life victims are to be used, it would be better to show a victim's story where the victim was the driver who had been at fault. There was the perception that if the victim had done nothing wrong themselves: i.e. had been wearing a seatbelt, or not been speeding or using a mobile phone, then the message would be that there's nothing you can do to avoid an accident.

In two of the focus groups though there was consensus that only their own driving experience, and actually being in an accident themselves, would help.

6. What one piece of advice would you give to someone who is about to learn to drive in order to keep him or her safe?

The advice given consisted of individual comments from participants, which were:

- Take your time on the learning process
- Keep your eyes on the road
- If you're going to use your phone, use hands-free
- Be aware of the size of vans
- Follow the Highway Code
- Wear a seatbelt
- Stick to speed limits

Summary:

The young drivers interviewed were all van drivers, and some also towed trailers. Van familiarisation training was entirely absent in one of the focus groups, and in the other it was in place but not made available to all of the young drivers before they actually started driving.

Parking the vans was considered to be a particular problem. Driving a different vehicle was the key way in which the young drivers felt driving for work was different to driving in their own time.

A couple of examples of pre-driver education were given: 'a safe drive road show', and 'safe drive, stay alive'. Neither of these interventions, however, was thought to be very effective by the focus group participants - the main reason being that they were considered irrelevant to themselves at their age and driving stage.

Police organised driver training, and victim's stories where the victim was an 'at-fault' driver, were given as possible sources of education and training that might help to keep them safe on the roads.

When asked what advice the young drivers would give to other young people just learning to drive, the focus group participants included awareness of the difference between vans and cars, and not being distracted from the road.

Conclusion

Based on this small sample, young drivers who drive for work cover relatively low mileages. However, they often drive vans, with little or no specific van driver training. Both managers and young at-work drivers identified vehicle familiarisation and van driver training, especially parking and reversing, as the main safety requirements.

Having learnt to drive in cars, the young drivers identified driving vans as the main difference between driving for work and driving for private purposes. Where van driver training was provided by employers, it was not always provided to all young drivers who drove vans for work.

One company required its young drivers to pass a test in a company van, but according to the young drivers who took it, did not provide any training or practice before the test, which itself was not a very challenging test. Another company operated a buddy system, in which a new young driver spent time with an experienced one.

Although it was common for the employers to check that the young staff they were recruiting had a valid driving licence, sometimes young drivers were allowed to drive for the company for some time before the licence check was actually conducted.

Recommendations:

- **The recruitment process is the earliest opportunity for employers to find out what experience, if any, new young drivers have of driving for work, and of driving different vehicles especially. Identifying drivers' training needs at the recruitment stage could fast-track their uptake of in-house training, and reveal any legal requirements such as driving licence entitlements.**

During interview, or just after recruitment when driving related company policies and handbooks are provided, new employees could be asked about their current experience of driving for work. Besides highlighting training needs, this dialogue would provide another opportunity to discuss the speed limits for different vehicles such as vans, and to reiterate what driving standards the company expects of its drivers.

- **Three of the nine companies who took part in this study had regional bases in the North East of Scotland. This entailed drivers commuting from, and working within, rural and remote locations. Only one company included commuting as a road risk within their vehicle policy and/or training programme. Companies could be encouraged to include commuters within their road risk policies, especially those in rural areas or with apprenticeship programmes.**
- **The young drivers interviewed were critical of road safety education events that were not perceived to be relevant to their age or stage in their driving life. More targeted events are therefore recommended, and where victims' stories are shown, the young drivers suggested the victim be an 'at-fault' driver.**

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