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OVERESTIMATED CRASH RISKS OF YOUNG AND ELDERLY DRIVERS

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Background: Young and elderly drivers are reported to have markedly greater crash rates than drivers of other ages, but they travel less frequently and represent a minority of road users. Consequently, many crashes involving young or elderly drivers also involve drivers of middle age ranges who travel more frequently.

Purpose: To examine crash rates of young and elderly drivers, controlling for ages of all drivers involved in collisions.

Methods: A retrospective longitudinal study conducted on population-wide two-vehicle crashes reported in Great Britain from 2002 through 2010 for driver age ranges (17–20, 21–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59, 60–69, 70+ years) and individual driver ages among those aged 17–20 years. Annual trips made, recorded as part of a National Travel Survey, were used to estimate trip-based driver crash rates.

Results: Crash rates of drivers aged 17–20 years were not significantly different from crash rates of drivers aged 21–29 years (rate ratio=1.14; 95% CI=0.96, 1.33) when controlling for ages of both drivers involved in two-car collisions, and drivers aged 17 years had the lowest crash rate among drivers aged 17–20 years. Crash rates of drivers aged 70+ years equaled crash rates of drivers aged 60–69 years (rate ratio=1.00; 95% CI=0.77, 1.32) and were 1.40 times (95% CI=1.10, 1.78) lower than crash rates of drivers aged 50–59 years.

Conclusions: The current findings are in contrast with reports of high crash risks among young and elderly drivers, and suggest that previous reports may have overestimated the crash risks of these drivers by failing to control for ages of all drivers involved in collisions.

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INTRODCUTION

30 In 2010, 1.24 million deaths worldwide were the result of motor vehicle crashes.¹ The World
31 Health Organization warns that if current trends continue, road traffic fatalities will become the
32 fifth leading cause of death by 2030.¹ Central to concerns for road safety are younger and older
33 drivers who are reported to have markedly greater crash rates per mile driven or per trip made
34 than drivers of other ages.²⁻⁵ Teenage drivers are reported to have fatal crash rates that are as
35 much as 7 times the rate of drivers aged 30–59 years,^{2,3} and drivers aged 70+ are reported to
36 have fatal crash rates in excess of 4 times those of drivers in middle age ranges.⁵ Policymakers
37 have responded by proposing graduated licensing systems for teenagers to foster the
38 development of driver experience in low-risk driving conditions.^{6,7} License renewal regulations
39 have been enforced for older adults in response to reports of high crash rates among elderly
40 drivers,⁸ and health care professionals are increasingly being called to assess the driving abilities
41 of older adults.⁹

42 The majority of crashes that result in driver or passenger injury involve 2 vehicles. A
43 total of 91,870 crashes in Great Britain in 2010 were between 2 vehicles, compared with 23,824
44 crashes involving a single vehicle and 27,460 crashes involving 3 or more vehicles.¹⁰ Younger
45 and older drivers travel less frequently than drivers of other age ranges and represent a small
46 proportion of road users.¹¹ Drivers aged 17–20 years made 654 million trips in Britain in 2010
47 and drivers aged 70+ years made 2.12 billion trips in the same period, compared with 2.81, 4.72,
48 6.22, 3.21, and 4.66 billion trips made by drivers aged 21–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59, and 60–69
49 years, respectively.¹¹ Thus, many crashes that involve younger and older drivers involve drivers

50 of other age ranges who travel more frequently. Crash rates by driver age control for risk
51 exposure (e.g., trips made) but do not control for the travel of other drivers involved in the same
52 collision. We hypothesized that previous reports have overestimated crash rates of young and
53 elderly drivers and underestimated crash rates of drivers of the middle age ranges by failing to
54 control for ages of all drivers involved in multiple-car collisions.

55 **METHODS**

56 **Data Sources**

57 For the current study we used population-wide motor vehicle crashes involving 2 vehicles
58 recorded in Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales) from years 2002 through 2010,
59 provided by the University of Essex Data Archive. The data were collected on location by police
60 officials and include collisions involving one or more casualties. Casualties could include
61 drivers, passengers, or pedestrians. The collision data were processed by the UK Department of
62 Transport (DoT) before being made available for public consumption.¹⁰ Estimated annual trip
63 numbers by gender, driver age range (17–20, 21–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59, 60–69, 70+ years)
64 and for individual driver ages (17, 18, 19, 20 years) within the 17- to 20-year age range were
65 used to measure driver exposure, provided by the UK DoT. The trip data were collected as part
66 of the UK National Travel Survey for which approximately 20,000 respondents complete a 7-day
67 travel diary to record their personal travel patterns.¹¹ An invitation letter to participate in the
68 survey is sent to a random sample of individuals based on their postcode address. A member of
69 the UK National Travel Survey then personally delivers a travel diary to each respondent's home
70 and collects and checks the completed travel diary of each respondent. The annual response rate
71 ranges between 55-60%.¹² Short journeys less than 1 km in length are excluded from the data
72 prior to being made available for public consumption.

73 **Statistical Analysis**

74 **Trip-based crash rates**

75 We conducted generalized Poisson log-linear regression modeling on crash counts involving 2
76 vehicles. In our analysis of driver age ranges, age (17–20, 21–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59, 60–69,
77 70+ years) was included as a factor, with year (2002–2010) as a covariate. Annual number of
78 trips made by drivers of each age range was included as an offset term to control for driver
79 exposure by age and to calculate trip-based crash rates. Thus, trip-based crash rates for each
80 driver age, Age_i , equaled total crashes by trips made, such that

81
$$crash\ rate_{Age_i} = \frac{\sum total\ crashes_{Age_i}}{trips_{Age_i}}. \quad (1)$$

82 We assessed driver crash rates also for individual ages within the 17- to 20-year age range. For
83 this analysis, driver age was categorized as 17, 18, 19, or 20 years and was included as a factor,
84 with year (2002–2010) as a covariate. Annual number of trips made by drivers of each individual
85 age was included as the offset term to calculate trip-based crash rates for each driver age. We
86 also assessed driver crash rates for men and women aged 17 years and older by including gender
87 as a factor, year (2002–2010) as a covariate, and annual number of trips made by men and
88 women aged 17 years and older as the offset term.

89 Crash rates by driver age control for trips made but do not control for trips made by other
90 drivers involved in the same collisions. We controlled for exposure by age of both drivers
91 involved in collisions in our assessment of adjusted crash rates. In our log-linear regression
92 model, crash counts were included by age of both drivers involved in collisions. Driver exposure
93 by age of both drivers was calculated by computing the square root of the product of annual trips
94 made by both driver ages involved in collisions. This was done to adjust for trips made by both

95 drivers and was included as an offset term to measure trip-based crash rates. This meant that the
 96 age range factor (17–20, 21–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59, 60–69, 70+ years) represented the trip-
 97 based crash rates of each driver age range after adjusting for exposure of both drivers involved in
 98 collisions. Thus, adjusted trip-based crash rates for each driver age, Age_i , equaled the sum of
 99 crash counts involving each other driver age, Age_j , divided by the square root of the product of
 100 trips made by both driver ages:

$$101 \quad \text{adjusted crash rate}_{Age_i} = \sum_{Age_j=1}^n \frac{\text{crashes}_{Age_i Age_j}}{\sqrt{\text{trips}_{Age_i} \times \text{trips}_{Age_j}}}. \quad (2)$$

102 In our assessment of adjusted crash rates of individual ages within the 17- to 20-year age
 103 range, crash counts by age of both drivers involved in collisions were included. Driver age was
 104 categorized as 17, 18, 19, or 20 years. For collisions in which the other driver involved in the
 105 collision was older than 20 years of age, age was categorized as 21–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59,
 106 60–69, and 70+ years. Driver exposure, calculated as the square root of the product of annual
 107 trips made by both driver ages, was included as the offset term. Thus, adjusted crash rates for 17-
 108 , 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old drivers were assessed after controlling for ages of both drivers
 109 involved in collisions. In our assessment of adjusted crash rates of men and women, crash counts
 110 were included by gender of both drivers involved in collisions and driver exposure was the
 111 square root of the product of annual trips made by both driver genders.

112 **Population-based crash count estimates**

113 Reported crash counts in the population from years 2003 through 2010 were compared with
 114 crash counts estimated by crash rates of the period starting and ending one year earlier (2002 to
 115 2009). Annual trip data for each driver age were substituted for each year in the crash rates of the
 116 previous year to estimate crash counts for the following year. Prediction error was defined as the

117 absolute difference between reported and estimated crash counts as a proportion of reported
118 crash counts.

119 RESULTS

120 Trip-Based Crash Rates

121 Drivers aged 17–20 years had a crash rate that was 2.33 (95% CI, 2.22-2.44), 4.55 (95% CI,
122 4.35-4.55), and 5.88 (95% CI, 5.88-6.25) times greater than that of drivers aged 21–29, 30–39,
123 and 40–49 years, respectively (Figure 1A; Table 1). The adjusted crash rate of drivers aged 17–
124 20 was 1.14 (95% CI, 0.96-1.33), 1.56 (95% CI, 1.32-1.85), and 2.00 (95% CI, 1.69-2.38) times
125 greater than that of drivers aged 21–29, 30–39, and 40–49 years, respectively (Figure 1A; Table
126 1). Thus, the adjusted crash rate of drivers aged 17–20 years was lower after controlling for age
127 of both drivers involved in collisions and was not significantly different from the adjusted crash
128 rate of drivers aged 21–29 years.

129 (Table 1 here)

130 Drivers aged 70+ years had a crash rate that was 1.28 (95% CI, 1.18-1.33) and 1.14 (95%
131 CI, 1.08-1.19) times greater than that of drivers aged 60–69 and 50–59 years, respectively
132 (Figure 1A; Table 1). The adjusted crash rate of drivers aged 70+ years equaled the adjusted
133 crash rate of drivers aged 60–69 years (rate ratio=1.00; 95% CI, 0.77-1.32) and was 1.40 times
134 (95% CI, 1.10-1.78) lower than the adjusted crash rate of drivers aged 50–59 years (Figure 1A;
135 Table 1). Thus, adjusted crash rates were not greater for older (i.e., 70+) adult drivers than for
136 other age ranges after controlling for age of both drivers involved in collisions.

137 Drivers aged 17 years had a crash rate that was 1.18 (95% CI, 1.02-1.33), 1.32 (95% CI,
138 1.15-1.50), and 1.35 (95% CI, 1.19-1.54) times greater than that of drivers aged 18, 19, and 20
139 years, respectively (Figure 1B; Table 1). The adjusted crash rate of drivers aged 17 years was

140 instead 1.31 (95% CI, 1.44-1.50), 1.21 (95% CI, 1.05-1.39), and 1.21 (95% CI, 1.05-1.38) times
141 lower than the adjusted crash rates of drivers aged 18, 19, and 20 years, such that drivers aged 17
142 years had the lowest crash rate among 17- to 20-year-olds after controlling for age of both
143 drivers involved in collisions (Figure 1B; Table 1).

144 The crash rate of male drivers was 1.12 (95% CI, 1.10-1.15) times greater than for
145 women (Table 1), and the adjusted crash rate of male drivers was 1.25 (95% CI, 1.01-1.56) times
146 greater than for women. Thus, the adjusted crash rate of male drivers with respect to female
147 drivers was greater after controlling for both driver genders involved in collisions as women
148 overall made fewer trips than men (Table 1).

149 **Population-Based Crash Count Estimates**

150 Population-based crash count estimates for age ranges were more accurate overall when based on
151 adjusted crash rates of the previous year (Figure 2A). Figure 2B shows that the prediction error
152 for estimated crash counts was smaller for all age ranges (except drivers aged 30–39 years) when
153 based on adjusted crash rates that controlled for ages of both drivers involved in collisions.
154 Reductions in prediction error were largest for the youngest (17–20 years) and oldest (70+ years)
155 drivers (Figure 2B). Regarding individual ages, crash count estimates were more accurate for 17-
156 , 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old drivers when based on adjusted crash rates of the previous year
157 (Figure 3A) and prediction error was also reduced for each driver age when based on adjusted
158 crash rates (Figure 3B). Thus, adjusted crash rates for age ranges and individual ages were more
159 accurate as a result of controlling for ages of both drivers involved in collisions.

160 **DISCUSSION**

161 Young and elderly drivers travel less frequently than people in other age ranges and represent a
162 minority of road users.¹¹ Many crashes that involve younger and older drivers as a result involve

163 drivers of middle age ranges who travel more frequently. Crash rates control for driver exposure
164 by age but do not control for the travel of other drivers involved in the same collision. Our
165 analysis suggests that previous reports may have overestimated crash rates of young and elderly
166 drivers and underestimated crash rates of drivers in middle age ranges by failing to account for
167 ages of all drivers involved in multiple-car collisions (Figure 1). Furthermore, estimates of crash
168 counts in the population were more accurate when based on adjusted crash rates of the previous
169 year that controlled for ages of all drivers involved in collisions (Figures 2 and 3).

170 Policymakers around the world have responded to reports of high crash rates among
171 young drivers by recommending graduated licensing systems and educational interventions for
172 teenagers to encourage the development of driver skill.^{6,7} Our study shows that crash rates of
173 young drivers may have been overestimated in previous reports. Adjusted crash rates of drivers
174 aged 17–20 years did not differ significantly from the adjusted crash rate of drivers aged 21–29
175 years (Figure 1A) and were lowest for 17-year-olds among drivers aged 17–20 years (Figure
176 1B). In Great Britain, youngest drivers are charged a high premium according to the engine
177 capacity of their vehicle, which restricts youngest drivers to lower performance cars.¹³ Crash
178 risks are linked to driving speed,¹⁴ suggesting that insurance restrictions may reduce crash risks
179 among youngest drivers. Adjusted crash rates reduced smoothly across age ranges (Figure 1A),
180 indicating that driver skill may develop more gradually than currently believed. We recommend
181 that in addition to promoting policies that target young drivers, policymakers should consider the
182 benefits of prolonged driver training initiatives, such as advanced driver training courses and
183 further driver assessments for developing driver skill.

184 License renewal regulations for older adults have been tightened by policymakers in
185 response to reports of high crash rates among elderly drivers.⁸ The American Medical

186 Association now encourages physicians to screen older adults for cognitive and visual
187 impairment that might affect driver safety,¹⁵ charging medical practitioners with difficult
188 decisions about the driving privileges of older adults.⁹ Age-based testing discourages unimpaired
189 elderly drivers from renewing their driver license,¹⁶ which compromises mobility with direct
190 effects on well-being and multiple health outcomes.¹⁷ Our results show that adjusted crash rates
191 were not greater for elderly drivers, which signifies that the strong emphasis on license renewal
192 regulations and screening of older adults may be misplaced. Adjusted crash rates for drivers aged
193 70+ years equaled those of drivers aged 60–69 years and were lower than the adjusted crash rates
194 of drivers aged 50–59 years (Figure 1A).

195 In Great Britain, 83% of car crashes in 2010 involved 2 or more vehicles.¹⁰ Failure to
196 control for ages of all drivers involved in collisions in previous studies may have biased
197 estimates of driver crash rates. Biases in crash rate estimates can occur whenever drivers
198 involved in multiple car collisions differ in their travel patterns. Women make fewer trips than
199 men each year as drivers, and as a result we found that the crash rate of female drivers was lower
200 with respect to male drivers after controlling for both driver genders involved in collisions.

201 The present study has a number of limitations. First, our measures of exposure were
202 based on annual trips made by drivers and controlled for neither the length of journey nor the
203 nature of trips made (e.g., leisure, work commute), for which there may be systematic
204 differences with age. Second, in our analysis of 2 vehicle collisions we did not account for which
205 driver was most likely at fault. Skill level, inexperience, and risk taking behaviors are associated
206 with increased crash risks among younger drivers,^{3,4} and cognitive limitations and visual
207 impairment have been linked to driver error in older age.¹⁸ Age differences in the degree to
208 which drivers are the cause of their collisions may have affected our age comparisons. Third, the

209 reliability of crash data used in our study depend on crashes being accurately reported by police
210 officials, and the reliability of our exposure data depend on respondents to a national travel
211 survey accurately recording their personal travel patterns. Any inaccuracies in our data, however,
212 should not have differed systematically with age or gender of the driver, and thus should not
213 have affected our main findings. The data used in our current analysis represents the most
214 accurate road safety data available in Great Britain.

215 Our current findings suggest that previous reports may have overestimated the crash rates
216 of young and elderly drivers by failing to account for ages of all drivers involved in multiple-car
217 collisions. We focused our current investigation on 2 vehicle crashes in Great Britain over a 9
218 year period (years 2002-2010). Before strong claims can be made about the generality and
219 robustness of our findings, further investigations are needed to assess adjusted crash rates in
220 other countries that adopt different road safety policies. We currently investigated all 2 vehicle
221 crashes involving at least one casualty. It is important to further demonstrate that our findings
222 can be replicated for both fatal and non-fatal driver casualties.

223 The World Health Organization reported that 1.24 million deaths worldwide in 2010
224 were the result of motor vehicle crashes and warns that road traffic injuries will become the fifth
225 leading cause of death by 2030.¹ We recommend that policymakers consider prolonged training
226 programs and assessment initiatives in addition to policies targeting young drivers. We urge
227 policymakers to focus public health initiatives on safeguarding all road users, noting that elderly
228 pedestrians represent the majority of road traffic deaths.⁵

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Table 1. Trip-Based Relative Risk for Crashes by Driver Age in Great Britain, 2002–2010.

Variable	Crash Counts	Trips, ×10 Million	Crash Rate	Adjusted Crash Rate	Relative Risk Crash Rate	Relative Risk Adjusted Crash Rate
17–20 years	10 322	67.48	157.06	71.81	1.00	1.00
21–29 years	18 827	284.93	67.47	63.56	0.43 (0.41-0.45)	0.88 (0.75-1.04)
30–39 years	19 002	544.17	35.22	46.16	0.22 (0.22-0.23)	0.64 (0.54-0.76)
40–49 years	15 584	610.91	26.07	35.95	0.17 (0.16-0.17)	0.50 (0.42-0.59)
50–59 years	10 310	467.93	22.44	27.11	0.14 (0.14-0.15)	0.38 (0.31-0.46)
60–69 years	5775	292.83	20.28	19.32	0.13 (0.12-0.14)	0.27 (0.22-0.34)
70+ years	4622	187.27	25.45	19.36	0.16 (0.15-0.17)	0.27 (0.21-0.34)
17 years	1563	8.07	195.75	16.66	1.00	1.00
18 years	3162	18.99	167.31	21.86	0.85 (0.75-0.98)	1.31 (1.44-1.50)
19 years	2999	20.61	148.83	20.10	0.76 (0.67-0.87)	1.21 (1.05-1.39)
20 years	3088	21.64	144.30	10.99	0.74 (0.65-0.84)	1.21 (1.05-1.38)
Women	28 181	1 096.66	25.71	24.36	1.00	1.00
Men	39 358	1 357.04	28.87	30.51	1.12 (1.10-1.15)	1.25 (1.01-1.56)
Overall	46 531	2 455.51	18.95			

279 Note. Crash counts and estimated trip numbers are average annual figures from 2002 through 2010
280 for Great Britain supplied by the UK Department of Transport. Crash counts are population-wide
281 motor vehicle crashes involving 2 vehicles and represent the total number of crashes involving a
282 driver of each age range (21–29, 30–39, 40–49, 50–59, 60–69, and 70+ years), individual age (17,
283 18, 19, and 20 years), and gender. Stratifying 2 vehicle-crashes (e.g., by age or gender) results in
284 some double counting of collisions. For example, a single crash involving a 17 year old driver and
285 an 18 year old driver is counted both in the crash counts of 17 year olds and in the crash counts of
286 18 year olds. This causes total crash counts across subgroups to vary according to the number
287 stratified subgroups. Estimated trip numbers were collected as part of the UK National Travel
288 Survey. Crash rates for each driver age (or gender) control for number of trips made; adjusted
289 crash rates for each driver age (or gender) control for number of trips made by both drivers
290 involved in collisions. All crash rates and adjusted crash rates were estimated from our regression
291 analyses, except the overall crash rate estimate. Trip numbers are Figures in parenthesis for

292 relative risks indicate 95% confidence intervals. Relative risks for drivers aged 17–20 years and
293 drivers aged 17 years are the reference groups.
294