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How do passengers influence drivers' propensities for angry driving? Different effects of supervisors versus friends

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ABSTRACT

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: Passenger Propensity for angry driving Self-monitoring Impression management

A lot of researchers discussed the influence of passengers on drivers' behaviors without reaching a consistent conclusion. This study aimed to offer some new evidence concerning this issue. The study examined different effects of supervisors and friends as passengers Leary and Kowalski, 1990). People actively change their behaviors for the purpose of fitting expectations from social situations and smoothing the interpersonal interactions, or the purpose of getting favorable appraisals and awards for themselves (Tedeschi et al., 1974).

Impression management consists of two components: impression motivation and impression construction (Leary and Kowalski, 1990). Impression motivation is a process that people are motivated to control impressions of other under certain conditions. When there are passengers present in a car, the driver may perceive himself/herself as "in the eye of public", which raise the impression motivation. Yet different passengers raise the driver's impression motivation to different levels. Despite the family relationship, there are two important relationships in people's daily interactions, one is with supervisors and the other is with friends. Here we limit one's supervisor to someone that has an officially higher rank than the person and usually takes direct or indirect supervising responsibility on the person, mostly in working settings. From our daily experience, there is usually a larger interpersonal distance between supervisor and subordinate than between friends. Moreover, the supervisor often holds a large amount of resource that the subordinate might need and the subordinate usually could not diminish the power of his/her supervisor over himself/herself. In contrast, people usually choose those with similar attitude or value as friends (Lau et al., 1990). Affective-related social support or emotional understanding is more possible to be induced between friends (Yue, 2006). Thus compared with a friend passenger, a supervisor passenger would raise more impression motivation of a driver and would have more influence on the driver's behavior.

Impression motivation only determines the extent to which people are willing to change their behaviors. The second factor of impression management, impression construction, also affects people's behaviors (Leary and Kowalski, 1990). Impression construction process includes the person's expected image in front of others and the corresponding behaviors to achieve the image. In other words, one would form a specific image he/she expects to present in front of specific others (i.e., the impression management object) and adjust his/her behaviors to fit the image. The expected image is formed based on the perception of what the management object values. Such perception might come from the object's characteristics, roles, words, daily behaviors, etc. Sometimes even negative behaviors would emerge as an impression management result (Jellison and Gentry, 1978; Leary and Kowalski, 1990). Because many impression management results are presented as certain behaviors, in this paper we describe such perception as a kind of "behavior standard". During interpersonal interactions, an impression management object usually conveys his/her own value through a specific "behavior standard". Individuals would use the perception and judgment of this behavior standard to guide impression construction process. Impression construction thus is a process to present oneself based on received behavior standard. As a result, whether an individual could clearly perceive the behavior standard has a direct effect on the results of impression construction (usually specific behavior presented to the object). If an impression management object reveals a clear standard, individuals could fit the standard and present themselves correspondingly. When the object fails to convey a standard, individuals also need to present a reasonable and positive image. In this case, the behavior standard would be mainly determined by the specific social norm in the situation. Thus, the presence as well as the content of a behavior standard is of great importance to individual's impression management process.

Applying to driver-passenger interactions, research found that the existence of passengers could impel drivers to reduce nondesired behaviors (Ellison-Potter et al., 2001). But what are or behaviors? When a passenger does not deliver his/her behavior standard directly, the driver could not smoothly form an expected image in front of the passenger and thus would choose a desirable image according to the passenger's role. Specifically, when the passenger is a supervisor of the driver, we predict that the driver would construct his/her image as a mild and safe driver with low propensity for angry driving behaviors. When the passenger role is friend, the driver would perform more casually due to a lower impression motivation, which could result in high propensity for angry driving behaviors when encountered with an angry situation. This prediction is similar to the results from a qualitative study, in which the drivers interviewed mentioned different impression management goals with respect to different interaction objects. For example, drivers reported slowing down the speed to show responsibility when a parent or a client was in their cars, while speeding up to show off driving skill when a friend was aside (Fleiter et al., 2010). When the driver could clearly perceive a passenger's behavior standard, it is expected that the driver would change his/her own behaviors accordingly. Thus a reversed behavior standard would lead to reversed propensity for angry driving. This clear standard, rather than the passenger role, would dominate the impression construction direction.

1.2. t : t

Self-monitoring, which refers to the extent to which an individual concerns with environmental cues and self behaviors, and the ability of adjusting self-presentation in social interactions, is closely related to the impression management (Snyder, 1974). Gangestad and Snyder (2000) posited that the main goals of self-monitoring were to maintain positive self-image and to help impression management. A great amount of research has been conducted on the construct and scale-development of self-monitoring and an agreement was reached that self-monitoring generally consisted of two major components, self-monitoring ability and self-monitoring propensity (Briggs et al., 1980; Gangestad and Snyder, 2000; Lennox and Wolfe, 1984; Li and Zhang, 1998). A person with high self-monitoring ability exercise control over impression management process (e.g., sensitive to specific social cues and knowing what is proper to do or to say under a certain circumstance), while a person with high self-monitoring propensity

exercise control over impression management process (e.g., taking value of being liked by others and actively changing behaviors to fit the environment) (Li and Zhang, 1998). Self-monitoring affects people's behaviors of impression management, such that high self-monitors are more cautious in choosing an image strategy which has a potential to be undesirable. The results of impression management process could also be different with different levels of self-monitoring. For example, high self-monitors were more likely to get liked when using ingratiation and low self-monitors were likely to be regarded as toadies (Turnley and Bolino, 2001).

Applying to driving situation, high self-monitors would adjust their behaviors flexibly according to passengers, while low selfmonitors would behave more according to the determination of inner-self. As a result, we expected that high self-monitors would display more differences in the driving behaviors with different passengers present. Moreover, the two components of self-monitoring would cast different effects on driver's behaviors in different situations. Specifically, when a passenger delivered a clear behavior standard, the driver could easily behave according to the standard. Thus, self-monitoring propensity rather than selfmonitoring ability would exert more effect on drivers' behavior propensities. The comparative dominance of the two components would be reversed when there was no clear behavior standard. great conce. serious conseque from Finland, the Un

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Table 1

Standardized scores for each response in propensity for angry driving.

Item	Response (1)	Response (2)	Response (3)	Response (4)
1	1.32	5.29	3.61	5.90
2	2.65	1.10	4.94	5.45
3	3.13	5.13	1.29	6.13
4	4.10	5.26	1.26	5.97
5	5.13	1.48	6.42	4.23
6	1.19	3.81	5.00	6.29

described above was adapted into "You are driving your car down a road t /"

2.1.2.2. t . Self-monitoring was measured by Chinese Self-Monitoring Scale developed by Li and Zhang (1998), which consisted of two subscales, ability and propensity. The two dimensions were independent with a non-significant correlation of .06. The Ability subscale consisted of 13 items (Cronbach's α = .79) and the Propensity subscale consisted of 10 items (Cronbach's α = .67). The participants were asked to rate from 1 (extremely uncharacteristic) to 5 (extremely characteristic) on each item. A higher score indicated a higher self-monitoring ability/propensity. An item example of the ability subscale item was "In an unfamiliar situation, I can quickly realize how to behave appropriately." and an example for the propensity item was "In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be rather than anything else."

2.1.3.

The participants were asked to read an instruction and imagine a driving situation. For no-passenger group, participants were instructed to imagine that he/she was driving alone. Participants were asked to fill in a form about some environmental information such as weather and road condition to ensure that the participants were involved in the imagining procedure. For the supervisor-passenger and the friend-passenger groups, participants were instructed to recall a supervisor or a friend he/she knew, and to imagine that he/she was driving while the supervisor/friend was aside. Participants were also asked to fill in a form about the passenger's information.

After the situation-imagination procedure, all the participants completed a questionnaire about propensity for angry driving and the self-monitoring scale.

2.2.

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One-way ANOVA showed that drivers' PAD scores were significantly different across three conditions ((2,208)=43.82, <.001, $\eta^2 = .30$). Bonferroni post hoc test found that the PAD scores under three conditions were significantly different from each other (s < .001). Specifically, the PAD score for the drivers of friend group (=23.38, =5.72) was significantly higher than the PAD score for the drivers of alone group (=18.63, =6.09), and both the two groups of drivers scored significantly higher than supervisor group (=14.80, =5.16), supporting Hypothesis 1.

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We divided the two passenger conditions into subgroups according to the descriptions of the passengers the participants imagined. For the supervisor-passenger group, 35 participants described the passengers as "introversive/cautious/steady". participants described the passengers as "extrover-47 sive/unconstrained/open". The 19 participants left in this condition could not be clearly categorized into either subgroup. For the friend-passenger group, 43 of 56 participants described the friends as "extroversive/unconstrained/open". Nine participants described the friends as "extroversive/unconstrained/open", the number of which was too small to conduct parametric statistics such as ANOVA. The four participants left in friend condition could not be categorized into either group. Thus we compared four new groups (no-passenger, supervisor-introversive, supervisorextroversive, friend-extroversive) to see whether a rough sketch of passenger could affect driver's angry driving. One-way ANOVA showed that the drivers' PAD significantly differed across the four groups ((3,172) = 26.00, < .001, $\eta^2 = .31$) (see Fig. 1). Bonferroni post hoc tests revealed that all the groups were significantly different from each other (s < .05), except for a non-significant difference between the supervisor-introversive group and the supervisor-extroversive group (=.38).

2.2.2. t

The participants who scored either the higher or the lower half of all the participants on the self-monitoring ability subscale were taken as either the high or the low self-monitoring ability group. A 2(self-monitoring ability: high/low) × 4(condition: nopassenger/supervisor-introversive/supervisor-extroversive/friend extroversive) two-way ANOVA on PAD revealed a main effect of condition ((3,168)=23.31, <.001, η^2 =.29), which was similar to the results in the last section. Either the main effect of

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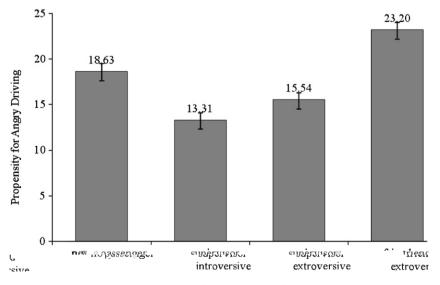


Fig. 1. Drivers' propensity for angry driving in four subgroups.

Detailed information about four subgroups with high and low self-monitoring ability in Study 1.

			PAD	PAD
Low self-monitoring ability	No passenger	25	18.79	6.16
	Supervisor-introversive	21	12.68	5.07
	Supervisor-extroversive	28	15.25	5.48
	Friend-extroversive	18	21.73	5.23
High self-monitoring ability	No passenger	26	18.47	6.14
	Supervisor-introversive	14	14.25	4.23
	Supervisor-extroversive	19	15.95	4.26
	Friend-extroversive	25	24.26	4.99

t : PAD, propensity for angry driving.

Table 3

Detailed information about four subgroups with high and low self-monitoring propensity in Study 1.

			PAD	PAD
Low self-monitoring propensity	No passenger	27	20.18	6.50
	Supervisor-introversive	14	15.02	5.37
	Supervisor-extroversive	26	16.56	4.38
	Friend-extroversive	22	23.64	4.98
High self-monitoring propensity	No passenger	24	16.88	5.17
	Supervisor-introversive	21	12.17	4.03
	Supervisor-extroversive	21	14.27	5.64
	Friend-extroversive	21	22.73	5.48

t : PAD, propensity for angry driving.

self-monitoring ability or the interaction between self-monitoring ability and condition reached significance (s > .10) (see Table 2 for the details about the eight groups). These results did not support Hypothesis 2.

The participants who scored either the higher or the lower half of all the participants on the self-monitoring propensity subscale were taken as either the high or the low self-monitoring propensity group. A 2(self-monitoring propensity: high/low) × 4(condition: no-passenger/supervisor-introversive/supervisor-extroversive/friend-extroversive) two-way ANOVA on PAD also revealed a main effect of condition ((3,168)=25.66, <.001, η^2 =.31). Moreover, the main effect of self-monitoring propensity was significant ((1,168)=8.36, <.01, η^2 =.05). The drivers with low self-monitoring propensity scored higher on PAD (=18.85, =.58) than those with high self-monitoring propensity (=16.52, =.57) (see Table 3 for the details about the eight groups).

2.3.

No matter what characteristics the supervisor had, a supervisor passenger could generally reduce the driver's propensity for angry driving comparing with driving alone. When the supervisor passenger did not deliver a clear standard of driving, the driver behaved according to a generally accepted social standard and presented himself/herself as a gentle and safe driver. When the situation did not offer a clear behavior standard from passengers, the drivers did not actively adjust the behavior according to superficial characteristics of the passenger. When the passenger was a friend of the driver, the driver would show an increased propensity for angry driving. This indicated that the driver's impression motivation was lower in front of friends and would not intentionally control his/her behaviors or display socially desirable behaviors.

The results were further supported by the analysis of data from the driving log study. Among the 263 responses there were 48 reports of a supervisor passenger present during the driving, 30 reports of a friend passenger, and 110 reports of driving alone². A preliminary summary of the drivers' responses showed that when the passenger was a supervisor of the driver, the driver hardly behaved angrily. The drivers usually exercised forbearance even when he/she reported "very angry". The driver's angry driving behaviors (blaspheming, flashing, etc.) increased apparently when the passenger was a friend. To quantify the effect of passengers' role on drivers' angry driving behaviors, three traffic experts rated the drivers' responses from "guite gentle" to "guite extreme" on a 7-point scale. The inter-rater consistency was .97. One-way ANOVA showed that there was no significant difference across the three groups as to the level of angry emotion (<1). However, the ratings of the responses were significantly different across the three groups ((2,178) = 11.53, <.001, $\eta^2 = .11$). Bonferroni post hoc analysis revealed that the rating of friend-passenger group (=4.03, = 1.21) was significantly higher than the other two groups (<.01), and that the no-passenger group (=3.04,

= 1.42) scored marginally higher than the supervisor-passenger group (=2.46, =1.44)(=.055). These results showed the same pattern of drivers' propensity for angry driving when driving alone, driving with a supervisor, or with a friend. These results added to some extent external validity to the lab study in Study 1.

Moreover, most drivers described his/her friends as extroversive. This was probably because those who were extroversive, open and cheerful were more likely to make friend. It was also possible that an extroversive person was more likely to pop out from a participant's mind to be a friend.

Self-monitoring is a stable personality trait (DePasquale et al., 2001). When the situation did not offer a clear behavior standard from the passenger, self-monitoring ability did not affect driver's PAD, which did not support our hypothesis. It was possible that

² For supervisor group, the average age was 34.00 ± 8.81 years old and the average driving experience was 9.67 ± 8.20 years. For friend group, the average age was 33.67 ± 9.55 years old and the average driving experience was 6.34 ± 6.60 years. For no-passenger group, the average age was 35.31 ± 7.76 years old and the average driving experience was 5.36 ± 3.85 years.

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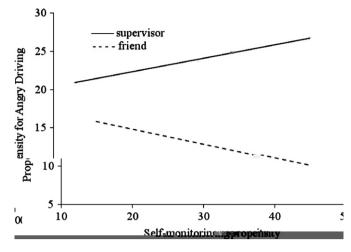


Fig. 2. Drivers' propensity for angry driving in two conditions with high or low self-monitoring propensity (Study 2).

the propensity component of self-monitoring moderated the influence of the condition. This finding indicated that the driver did not need to perceive the passenger's behavior standard through his/her self-monitoring ability since the standard was quite apparent. The extent to which the driver changed his/her behaviors according to the situational cues was dominantly depended on the driver's propensity to take impression management process.

4. General discussion

The current study revealed the potential influence of passengers on drivers' behaviors. Passengers with different roles (supervisor versus friend) and different standards (with versus without a clear behavior standard) affected drivers' propensities for angry driving in opposite directions. Two studies found that the drivers changed their propensities for angry driving according to their perceptions of the passengers' behavior standards. These findings offered new insights that the social influence of passengers on drivers could go beyond simple characteristics such as gender or age of the passengers.

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In reviewing the two studies, we found one result particularly interesting. In Study 1, although some supervisors were described by the drivers as "extroversive/unconstrained/open", the drivers' PAD were lower than those who drove alone (15.54 versus 18.63). Yet the pro-violence supervisor in Study 2 resulted in a higher PAD of drivers compared with no-passenger condition in Study 1 (23.62 versus 18.63). This might indicate that when the drivers offered the description of a supervisor or a friend, they did not explicitly realize the relationship between the characteristics and the behavior standard. Under such no-standard situation, the passenger's role would guide the drivers' construction of a desired behavior. These results could also explain some of the conflicting findings from previous studies on what kind of passengers would raise aggressive or safe driving. Sometimes the drivers constructed their behaviors according to the external role or superficial characteristics of the passengers, while in other times the behavior standards of the passengers could be explicitly perceived and guided the drivers' behaviors.

To further clarify the different influence of the passenger role and the passenger's behavior standard, we reanalyzed the four passenger groups in the two studies. The drivers' PAD scores of four t 49 (2012) 429–438

Table 6

Effect sizes of four comparisons between the passenger group and the control group (= 18.63).

	PAD ()	Effect size (η^2)
No standard-supervisor	14.80	.12
No standard-friend	23.38	.14
Reversed standard-supervisor	23.62	.17
Reversed standard-friend	13.02	.25

t : PAD, propensity for angry driving.

passenger groups were compared separately with that of the control (no-passenger) group in Study 1 and resulted in four effect sizes (see Table 6). The η^2 s of the two no-standard groups were lower than those of the two reversed-standard groups. The drivers were more influenced by the behavior standards that were clearly conveyed (through a clear description of the passenger's characteristics and previous angry driving behaviors) than by those that were not clearly delivered. The perception of a freely imagined passenger could surely lead the drivers' behaviors towards a "reasonable and socially desirable" direction. However, such "reasonable behaviors" were not as clear as those in Study 2. Moreover, the results showed that friends cast a greater influence on drivers. Although the drivers had more impression motivation when the passenger was a supervisor, the behaviors in front of a supervisor might still restrict the driver's behaviors to a smaller range.

Wilde (1982) proposed in the risk homeostasis theory that the risk

to response in a socially desirable manner or to fit the experimenters' expectations was consistent with the tendency to fit the passengers' expectations. Since high self-monitors are doomed to be highly sensitive to environment cues and sometimes the impression management process could even occur unconsciously (Cheng and Chartrand, 2003), we could not fully rule out the possibility of social desirability problem. Yet we could expect a similar pattern of the passenger effect in real driving situations, which was partly supported by the similar results from Study 1 and the driving log study (which was of higher external validity).

4.3. t t

The influence of passengers was found in several experiments, while in the current study, a passenger who conveyed a clear behavior standard through driver–passenger interactions played an important role on the driver's behaviors. In spite of this potential implication in changing drivers' behaviors, most traffic education and advertisement keep focusing on the drivers. The interactions between the driver and passengers could help a lot on the improvement of traffic safety.

The results of this study offered two ways for traffic management department to promote drivers' safe behaviors and thus prevent road accidents. From the perspective of passengers, the passengers could be informed about the pattern of influence of passengers on drivers. The passengers could be educated to clearly convey a "safe" standard or a concern of accidents to the driver. From the perspective of drivers, safe education could directly set the passengers' standard for drivers and inform drivers of the passengers' expectation of a "safe driver" and a road environment with few accidents. The examples of the advertisement could wrote: "% of the passengers favor a safe driver", "% of the passengers prefer safe driving as opposed to speedy driving", "Most passengers are always worrying about being involved in a traffic accident".

4.4. tt t t

In the daily lives, drivers are encountered with various types of interpersonal relationships. However, in the current study we only focused on two types: supervisor and friend. Although we caught a general picture of drivers' impression management processes and the moderation effect of self-monitoring through these two important types of driver–passenger relationships, further research could explore such process in other relationships such as family members or strangers.

Another limitation was the lack of direct measurement of the driver's perception on the passenger's behavior standard. We did not take this measure because such perception was quite a subtle process through the interaction between the driver and the passenger. Explicitly asking the drivers about their perceptions of the passenger's behavior standard might be a direct proof of the impression management process at the expense of external validity of the study. However, the results of the main effect of passenger standard and the moderation effect of self-monitoring could support our reasoning of the impression management processes taken by drivers. Moreover, in Study 2 a group of undergraduate students rated either the supervisor or the friend described in the materials on the propensity for angry driving and it can be inferred from the results that the drivers would perceive the two different persons in the expected way. Further research could be developed to seek some strategies to satisfy these goals.

In the current study we asked the drivers to imagine driving with a passenger aside. This method may lack external validity for we did not import a real passenger in the situation (and it was impractical to invite a driver to the study accompanied by his/her supervisor). However, the scenarios used in the PADS were validated in the current study as well as in several previous studies (Dahlen and Ragan, 2004; Maxwell et al., 2005). Such scenario imagining method in measuring drivers' behavior intentions was also common in other driving research (e.g., Ryeng, 2011). Adding a specific passenger in such a scenario would not raise much difficulty of imagination. Moreover, the data collected in the driving log study (which was conducted in a more externalized manner) reached a similar pattern of results when the passengers did not deliver a clear behavior standard, suggesting that the results from the current study may go beyond the imagining condition.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix A. The propensity for angry driving scale

The following survey contains several different scenarios one might encounter while driving. Please read each of the scenarios carefully and decide which of the potential responses most closely match how you would respond in that situation.

- You are driving your car down a road. Without warning, another car pulls out in front of you from a parking lot. You had to brake suddenly to avoid hitting it. How do you respond?
 - (1) Let out a sigh of relief and drive on.
 - (2) Lean out your window and yell at the other driver.
 - (3) Honk your horn to let the other driver know they almost caused an accident.
 - (4) Follow and stop the other car so you can teach him a lesson with force.
- 2. You are driving on a single lane road. For no reason the car in front of you is constantly braking and accelerating causing you to driver in the same manner. How do you respond?
 - (1) Honk your horn and loudly curse at the driver.
 - (2) Make to pass and stop the car so that you can beat the driver.
 - (3) Slow down a little and keep a safe distance.
 - (4) Deliberately tailgate the car and occasionally lay on the horn.
- 3. You are in a full parking lot. You see a driver leaving and you put on your blinker to indicate you intend to take the parking space. As the other driver pulls out, a second driver cuts in front of you from the other side and takes the parking space. How do you respond?
 - (1) Glare angrily at the other driver as you move on to find another parking space.
 - (2) Let out a sigh and look for another space to park.
 - (3) Wait for the other driver to get out of the car and then scream at him/her for the inconsiderate behavior.
 - (4) Stop your car, and approach the other car to teach the driver a lesson.
- 4. You are driving in a traffic jam. Out of nowhere, a car comes up from behind and attempts to squeeze in front of you. How do you respond?
 - (1) Nothing, let the car squeeze in.
 - (2) Roll down the window and yell at the other driver as you close ranks on the car in front of you to prevent the driver from cutting in front of you.
 - (3) Let the car squeeze in but honk your horn to demonstrate your disapproval to the other driver.
 - (4) Honk your horn and curse the driver in your car as you close ranks on the car in front of you to prevent the car from getting in front of you.

- 5. You are driving on the national highway. One of the cars in front of you keeps switching from one lane to another. Thus traffic is being slowed. How do you respond?
 - (1) Yell at the driver in your car and honk your horn to show your displeasure.
 - (2) Pull up next to the other car so that you can honk your horn and scream obscenities at the driver for blocking traffic.
 - (3) Let out a sigh and slow down with the rest of the traffic.
 - (4) Speed up to pass and stop the car so that you can teach him a lesson with force.
- 6. You are driving on a city street. Without warning, a pedestrian suddenly runs in front of your car nearly causing you to hit him/her. How do you respond?
 - (1) Do nothing except feel grateful no one was injured.
 - (2) Actually stop your car and get out to yell at the pedestrian for being careless and stupid, even try to beat him/her.
 - (3) Yell the traffic rule at the pedestrian out your window.
 - (4) Curse loudly at the pedestrian out your window telling them next time you are not going to stop.
- 7. You are driving on the highway. The driver in the car in front of you throws a half-full bottle out his/her car window. The bottle hits your windshield. How do you respond?
 - (1) Honk your horn and yell at the other driver from within your car.
 - (2) Speed up next to the car and yell obscenities or make obscene gestures at the other driver.
 - (3) Let out a sigh and accept the bad luck.
 - (4) Speed up so that you pass the car and then throw something out your window to hit the other car.
- 8. While making a left-hand turn you accidentally cut off another car. In response, the other driver follows you to the next intersection at which point he/she pulls up to your car and proceeds to yell obscenities at you until the light turns green. When the light turns green the other driver takes off in a hurry. How do you respond?
 - (1) Follow the car to the next intersection so that you can yell obscenities back.
 - (2) Sigh in relief that the whole ordeal is over.
 - (3) Tailgate and stop the car so that you can teach him a lesson with force.
 - (4) Yell back at the other driver telling him to relax because it was an accident.
- 9. You are traveling in a single-lane road late at night and the car coming at you in the other lane has on high beams. You flash your lights but the bright lights of the other car do not change. How do you respond?
 - (1) Wait for the car to pass so you can see the road again.
 - (2) Honk your horn and yell out your displeasure.
 - (3) Put your high beams on in retaliation.
 - (4) Turn around and follow the other car with your high beams on.

Items 2, 4, and 6 were not included in the final scale.

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