

Exploring how Lifespan Experiences with Car Driving relate to the Narrative Identities of German Older Adults

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Abstract

Despite the distinct significance that car driving appears to have in modern societies, the nature of this significance is not yet fully explored. While it is well-known that the freedom of car driving has practical, as well as social importance, its psychological importance is investigated to a lesser degree. Nevertheless, research in this area is required, as the psychological significance of car driving could be a relevant factor to explain the negative effects of driving cessation on well-being. Eisenhandler's (1990) asphalt identikit states that the possession of a driver's license, as well as driving activity, are positively related to identity. Since a number of studies have already investigated the importance of the possession of a driver's license for one's social identity, the aim of this Bachelor's thesis was to bridge the gap in current literature and to explore the relevance of lifespan experiences with driving activity, which were expected to be significant for narrative identity. Six individual qualitative life story interviews were conducted with participants between 60 and 84 years of age, who were drivers or former drivers living in rural areas in Germany. Through holistic content analysis (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998) the major themes and meanings that appeared in the participants' narratives, as well as the meanings which participants associated with (anticipated) driving cessation, were extracted. The outcomes showed that participants focused on a variety of themes within their narratives. Furthermore, the meanings that were associated with driving activity were very individual and diverse, depending on the interviewees' personal car driving experiences. Generally, driving activity seemed, to a greater or lesser degree, to be relevant for all participants' narrative identities. Moreover, the content of the participants' car driving related narratives appeared to entail features of the three-factor structure of narrative identity (McLean et al., 2019) which, furthermore, corroborated the assumption that driving activity is important to narrative identity. Overall, driving activity seemed to have a stronger and more personal relevance for the narrative identities of the female participants but only rather practical importance for the male participants. Driving cessation seemed to generally have a practical significance for the interviewees but no relation to their narrative identity. However, this might have been caused by the circumstance that the meanings of anticipated, rather than actual driving cessation were explored. Although much research still needs to be conducted, this study was the first step to improve the understanding of the psychological relevance of driving activity and provided early evidence for a possible relation between driving activity and narrative identity.

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Introduction

Since Carl Benz' invention of the modern automobile in 1886, car driving became increasingly common, down to the present day at which it is the most important means of transportation in many societies. In Germany, 46.5 billion cars are currently registered ("Navigation und Service", 2019) and 77 per cent of all private households own at least one car (Käfer, 2015). In a survey of 2017, 91 per cent of the responding German car drivers assured they could not imagine living without a car (Petersen, 2017). Adjacent to this apparent significance of car driving, public debates about license revocation legislation for older drivers arise with increasing frequency in Germany (Trapmann & Brauer, 2019; Weber, 2019). Age-related cognitive (Anstey, Windsor, Luszcz, & Andrews, 2006) and health issues (Antin, et al., 2017; Dickerson, et al., 2017), as well as an increased accident risk from the age of 70 on (Donorfio, Dambrosio, Coughlin, & Mohyde, 2009), raise the question of whether older people should quit driving at some point in their lives. Nevertheless, the decision of whether driving cessation at a certain age should be established by law, shall be well informed, as driving cessation in older adults is associated with several negative consequences. To enable such an informed decision, the aim of the current study was to contribute to a better understanding of the nature of this distinctive importance of car driving, as well as to shed light on how this importance might relate to the effects of driving cessation.

Most evident, driving is an important means of transportation. The individual mobility that car driving provides, enables people to independently follow their everyday businesses. Driving cessation, therefore, can be a decisive turning point in many areas of one's life. On the one hand, driving cessation is related to practicality and lifestyle implications. One might be confronted with difficulties in performing daily living activities and meeting basic needs independently, such as grocery shopping or visiting the doctor, when no longer being a driver (Mullen, Parker, Wiersma, Stinchcombe, & Bédard, 2017; Weeks, Stadnyk, Begley, & Macdonald, 2013). Furthermore, driving cessation can be an obstacle to productive engagement, e.g. paid work (Curl, Stowe, Cooney, & Proulx, 2013). On the other hand, social implications are associated with becoming an ex-driver (Mullen et al., 2017). Older adults who ceased driving have been found to have decreased engagement in both leisure activities (Azad, Byszewski, Amos, & Molnar, 2002; Mullen et al., 2017) and out-of-home activities (Marottoli, et al., 2000; Mullen et al., 2017). This cutback likely leads to declining friendships and lesser integration within the social community, as well as to loneliness (Mezuk & Rebok, 2008; Mullen et al., 2017).

Both the loss of functional independence and the barrier to maintaining social relations with friends, relatives and community, related to driving cessation, are consistently associated with negative emotional consequences (Azad et al., 2002; Mullen et al., 2017). For example, decreased well-being (Cvitkovich & Wister, 2001; Plastow, 2016), as well as increased depression rates (Choi & Dinitto, 2015; Marottoli, et al., 1997; Ragland & Satariano, 2005) were frequently linked to becoming an ex-driver. To counteract these negative effects of driving cessation, interventions aiming at enhancing the mobility and community engagement of older people who ceased driving, have been already developed (Cameron, Rapoport, Sanford, & Naglie, 2016). Nevertheless, although these interventions have been proven to yield good results, the negative emotional consequences of driving cessation can only partly be explained by its practical and social implications (Windsor, Anstey, Butterworth, Luszcz, & Andrews, 2007). It appears that car driving has importance, over and above individual mobility, which should be considered as well, when debating driving cessation.

For this reason, researchers came to explore the psychological importance of being able to drive. One part of this psychological significance seems to stem from the relationship of car driving to identity. Eisenhandler (1990) argued that the obtainment of a driver's license, as well as the activity of driving, which she summarized as asphalt identikit, enable people to identify as competent and independent individuals. The asphalt identikit relates to identity as it provides drivers with a positive sense of self and serves the purpose of disidentifying with old age. Such a disidentifier is important for older adults since old age is stigmatized in society and related to a negative social identity (Eisenhandler, 1990). Driving cessation, according to Eisenhandler (1990), is perceived as the loss of the valued 'driver identity' and linked to adopting an identity that is experienced as older and more dependent. Therefore, stopping driving is linked to a more negative sense of self.

So far, most research concerning a relation between car driving and identity concentrated on the first component of the asphalt identikit, namely the obtainment of a driver's license, and investigated it within the framework of social identity theory. Pachana and Jetten (2015) and Pachana, Jetten, Gustafsson, and Liddle (2016), for instance, followed up on Eisenhandler's (1990) claim that a driver's license serves as a disidentifier with old age. According to them, being entitled as a driver serves two purposes, namely functional advantages and influencing one's social identity positively. The positive effects on one's social identity were considered to result from the driver license's capacity to enable its owner taking on the valued group membership of a driver. This group membership is perceived as being

related to characteristics such as youth, independence and agility (Pachana & Jetten, 2015). Thus, the possession of a driver's license enables the driver to disidentify with old age. In line with the social identity model of identity change (SIMIC), Pachana and Jetten (2015) and Pachana et al. (2016) saw part of the negative effects of driving cessation as being related to a resulting change in social identity. Driving cessation leads to the loss of the valued social identity of a driver since older adults who hand over their driver's license change their social identity of 'young' older adults with one of 'old' older adults. The new group membership is stigmatized and indicating dependence and vulnerability. Therefore, driving cessation is experienced as a marker of ageing, which leads older adults who stop driving to fear being perceived as older and also to subjectively feel older. This mechanism of social identity loss was considered to be partly responsible for driving cessation's negative impacts on peoples' health and well-being (Pachana & Jetten, 2015).

Some research, however, has also investigated a relationship between identity and the second component of the asphalt identikit: driving activity. While the obtainment of a driver's license has been found to be important for one's social identity, there are indications that driving activity has importance for one's personal identity, more specifically for narrative identity. Within the narrative approach, identity is conceptualized less a kind of a substance but more as a temporal and developmental story (Polkinghorne, 1991). People form their narrative identity by constructing stories about particular events or periods in their lives (McAdams & McLean, 2013). By sharing their stories and revising them when new experiences are made, people make meaning of their experiences and draw conclusions about what their stories convey about who they are. Different stories about the self are integrated so that the individual derives at a coherent and evolving narrative identity which provides a person's life with purpose (McAdams & McLean, 2013) and is closely linked to their well-being (McLean, et al., 2019).

Although it is not certain whether the complete structure of narrative identity is already captured, McLean et al., (2019) could provide empirical evidence for a three-factor structure of features among which identity relevant narratives might vary: Motivational and Affective Themes, Autobiographical Reasoning, and Structure. The factor Motivational and Affective Themes relates to the different themes which identity relevant narratives might cover, i.e. experiences of autonomy (agency) and experiences of strong connections with others (communion), as well as the valence of these narratives (McLean, et al., 2019). Autobiographical Reasoning, according to McLean et al. (2019), takes place if narratives cover meaning making or reflection, especially in relation to perceived change or development of the self or past

events. The factor Structure refers to the order of content in, and coherence of identity relevant narratives (Mclean, et al., 2019).

In a study by Siren and Hakamies-Blomqvist (2005), ten narrative interviews were conducted to investigate the marginalization of older female car drivers in Sweden. Inter alia, the personal meanings which older Swedish women attached to their driving activity experiences within a life course perspective were examined. The gathered narratives did not only demonstrate how important car driving was for the women but, taking into account the narratives' content, also indicated that the women's experiences with driving activity were likely significant for their narrative identities. Especially the driving related themes and meanings covered in those narratives displayed examples of and considerable variation in several narrative identity relevant features. For instance, the women's narratives displayed a positive emotional tone as their driving related experiences were predominantly framed in positive terms by them. Moreover, motivational themes, like agency, e.g. being independently able to maintain one's hobbies when driving, and communion, e.g. being able to take care of relatives when driving, were discussed. Personal meaning making, which can be considered as part of Autobiographical Reasoning (Mclean, et al., 2019), was especially noticeable. The women's stories revealed that driving activity meant freedom, independence, luxury, lifestyle, and emancipation, but also duty and responsibility to them. Moreover, driving activity commonly seems to be concern to personal meaning making as it was consistently associated with meanings like independence (Donorfio et al., 2009; Pachana et al., 2016; Rothe, 1994; Rudman, Friedland, Chipman, & Sciortino, 2006; Siren & Hakamies-Blomqvist, 2005), competence (Pachana et al., 2016), maturity (Rothe, 1994), status (Rothe, 1994), freedom (Donorfio et al., 2009; Pachana et al., 2016; Rothe, 1994; Siren & Hakamies-Blomqvist, 2005), and a connection with society (Donorfio et al., 2009) in several other studies.

The purpose of this paper was to explore the assumed importance of driving activity for peoples' narrative identity, as well as a possible variety in this importance. So far, no study exists that explicitly investigates a relationship between narrative identity and experiences with driving activity. Because Siren's and Hakamies-Blomqvist's, (2005) main focus was the marginalization of older female drivers, the present study intended to bridge the gap in current literature and to examine the content of older peoples' driving related narratives explicitly in light of covered themes and meanings and how these could relate to narrative identity. This was an important first step to verify whether the narrative identity relevant themes and meanings found in Siren's and Hakamies-Blomqvist's, (2005) study might relate to axiomatic importance

of lifelong experiences with driving activity for narrative identity. Since one's narrative identity is also related to his or her well-being and changes in narrative identity might precede changes in well-being respectively, results of this study could not only provide a better understanding of the distinctive importance of car driving but also help to explain part of the negative effects of driving cessation (Adler, Lodi-Smith, Philippe and Houle (2016) (as cited in in Mclean, et al., 2019)). Furthermore, despite the fact that especially older people are affected by the negative consequences of driving cessation, in Germany controversies about forced driving cessation for older adults are coming up more and more. Therefore, another aim of this paper was to investigate the meaning of (anticipated) driving cessation for German older adults and how this meaning might relate to their potential identity relevant narratives of experiences with driving. If results indicate a connection between driving activity and narrative identity and/or the negative effects of driving cessation, this could give input for further quantitative research to inform the debate about license revocation legislation at a certain age. Moreover, results might contribute to the improvement of existing interventions for a gentler driving cessation for older adults.

Therefore, the research questions of this study were:

- 1.) What are the themes and meanings in German older adults' potential identity relevant narratives of personal experiences with driving activity?
- 2.) How do German older adults integrate the meaning of (anticipated) driving cessation within their potential identity relevant narratives of driving activity?

The discovery of narrative identity relevant themes and meanings in narratives about car driving activity in the study of Siren and Hakamies-Blomqvist (2005), adjacent to the indication of driving activity being the subject of diverse personal meaning making in many different cases, raised two reasonable assumptions. First, driving activity is important for narrative identity and second, there is great variability in the themes and meanings of experiences of driving activity that might be integrated within narrative identity. The first assumption is, furthermore, corroborated given the fact that, usually, narrative meaning making does not only concern extraordinary activities but also ordinary and occupational experiences in life, such as car driving (Christiansen, 1999). Moreover, the assumed importance of driving activity for narrative identity suggests that driving cessation might be rather negatively related to narrative identity.

Method and Analysis

Participants

The present interview study was conducted in April 2019. Three women and three men were interviewed (n=6) and the age of the participants ranged between 60 and 84 (mean=70.7, standard deviation=9.1). Among the participants were five current drivers and one ex-driver. A first inclusion criterion was that participants had to be 60 years old or older since the study focused on older adults. Although there is no standardized classification of that kind of age-related groups, the WHO (2016) provides orientation by defining 60 years as the margin to define someone an older adult. Moreover, being a German driver or former driver was an inclusion criterion as the public debates about license revocation legislation for older drivers in Germany provided the context of this research. The last inclusion criterion was that participants had to live in rural areas or micropolis areas. This relates to the exclusion criterion of being under institutional care and living in a metropolis. These criteria were chosen since Plastow (2016) indicated that car driving and driving cessation might have no identity relevant meaning to older adults if there is no basic practical dependence on car driving. Another exclusion criterion was, having a severe cognitive impairment, such as Alzheimer's disease. Such impairments likely have a special influence on the importance and personal meaning that driving and driving cessation have for affected individuals (Sanford, et al., 2018). Therefore, including participants with such severe cognitive impairments could have impeded the study's ability to investigate how older adults generally make meaning out of driving related experiences.

Interview

In order to obtain car driving related life course narratives from participants, a semi-structured interview scheme with nine open questions, based on the life story interview of McAdams (2008), was developed (see Appendix A for complete interview scheme). The goal of this interview was to get a clearer picture of the kind of lifelong experiences with driving activity that older adults remember and to explore how the themes and meanings of these memories are integrated into one's narrative identity. The interviews were conducted with each of the six participants individually. The interview questions covered five different topics. In the first question, participants were asked to think of their life long experiences with cars and car driving as if they were a story or a book with different chapters. Then, the participants were asked to name and describe each chapter. Afterwards, three questions about key scenes in the

life story were asked. Participants had to describe specific experiences they made with cars and/or car driving that were for some reason especially memorable for them. They were asked to narrate memories concerning their childhood, teenager, and adult life, which could range from positive experiences, over turning points, up to negative experiences. Thereafter, participants were asked three questions about their anticipated future, especially about how they would anticipate driving cessation. If participants already quit driving, they were, instead, asked how they experienced driving cessation and what this experience meant to them. Furthermore, one question regarding the overall meaning, cars and car driving had for the participants over the course of their lives, was asked. Finally, the participants were invited to reflect on the interview procedure. To get richer narratives, throughout the interview encouraging probes were used that asked participants to describe their experiences more in detail. For example, participants were repeatedly asked what, when, where and with whom the specific situations, which they narrated during the interview, happened, as well as for their thoughts and feelings during and the perceived significance of the memorised situations.

Procedure

Participants were approached by means of purposeful sampling. The researcher did personally ask people, whom she knew and who fulfilled the inclusion criteria, to participate in the study. This led to the present sample consisting entirely of close friends and relatives of the researcher. Since the researcher herself conducted the interviews this meant that interviewer and interviewees had a close relationship and knew each other well. For example, the interviewer did already know some of the content of the memories narrated by the participants. Although this enabled a good rapport between interviewer and interviewees and likely facilitated more detailed narratives, the mentioned relationship probably also influenced the interviewer's frame of reference during the interviews. As this partly determined how the interviewer used probes to guide the interviews, her frame of reference should be considered when discussing the results of the interviews. Moreover, although it was tried to sample for variance regarding gender, age and driving status of the participants, only one person that already ceased driving and still fulfilled all inclusion criteria could be found by the researcher.

Before the interview started, the researcher explained to the participants that the aim of the study was to find out more about their experiences related to driving and driving cessation, as well as about what those experiences meant to them. However, the participants were not informed, prior to the interview, that another aim of the study was to find out whether and, if

yes, how their experiences related to their narrative identity. This information was withheld until after the interview to prevent that the participants would be biased. Since one aim of this exploratory study was to find out whether experiences with driving activity are in fact relevant for peoples' narrative identities, participants should not have felt forced to find a connection between their memories of driving and their identity, if in reality there would have been none. Furthermore, prior to the interview, the researcher informed the participants about their rights and the nature of the study. She mentioned especially that taking part in the interview would be completely voluntary and that the participants could quit their participation at any time without having to state a reason for that. This was of particular importance since the close relationship between interviewer and interviewees could have put pressure on the participants to do the interviewer a favour. Moreover, the researcher mentioned that the interview would, by no means, be some kind of clinical analysis or therapeutic session. Lastly, participants had to give active, explicit and written informed consent (see Appendix B for an exemplar of the information sheet and informed consent) before they could participate in the interview. Thereby, participants had to actively agree to both being audio recorded and that their pseudonymized data could be used and saved for scientific purposes (e.g. that their responses could be quoted in scientific reports). The present study was reviewed and approved by the BMS ethics committee of the University of Twente (Request Number: 190538).

The interviews were audio-recorded by means of version 2.3.2 of Audacity(R) recording and editing software, which was operated on the laptop of the researcher. The interviews took place at the participants' homes. The time the interviews lasted, ranged between 48 and 114 minutes (mean=76 minutes, standard deviation=24.6), depending on how talkative the participants were. Generally, it seemed like participants sometimes had difficulties with remembering specific situations or remembering enough details on specific situations with car driving. Many probes were needed to obtain rich narratives. Sometimes, when an answer from a participant subliminally revealed a certain meaning that a specific experience might have had for him or her, the researcher used closed questions to check those kinds of assumptions. Moreover, when a participant was not talkative at all, the interviewer occasionally asked for experiences which she knew the participant had made with car driving. Hereby, the interviewer's frame of reference was helpful to get rich narratives from the participants. Apart from this, participants often strayed away from the topic of a particular question towards memories unrelated to driving activity. Then the interview had to be redirected towards the topic at issue. Moreover, although the researcher always tried to find a quiet place for the

interviews, it repeatedly came to interruptions, e.g. phone ringing. Furthermore, sometimes participants seemed afraid that the interviewer could somehow evaluate their psychological health, especially when participants were talking about negative memories or personal meanings. Despite the fact that participants were informed beforehand that the interviews were by no means something like a clinical analysis or therapy session, the impression came up that they wanted to appear especially rational because they knew that the interviewer studied Psychology.

Analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim, except for names and places which were pseudonymized to ensure confidentiality. In order to enable simplification of the transcription workflow by decreasing the speed of the sound, the audio files of the interviews were imported in MAXQDA 2018 (VERBI Software, 2017). The coding scheme was developed following an inductive approach, which means that codes were generated directly from the data. Although the theoretical context mentioned in the introduction informed the researcher during this process, she decided to not directly analyse the data in light of McLean's et al. (2019) three-factor structure of narrative identity. Primarily, this was decided as the current study was the very first one to investigate a potential relationship between driving activity and narrative identity. Therefore, the researcher wanted to stay exploratory and open-minded in her analysis of the data and also investigate the driving activity related themes and meanings that reached beyond McLean's et al. (2019) empirical structure. Additionally, the scope of this Bachelor's thesis did not allow for a separate, deductive round of coding which could have considered the data in light of the three factors. As a method for developing codes, the holistic content analysis from Lieblich et al. (1993) was chosen. This method was selected as it was expected that the relevance of narratives about car driving experiences for narrative identity would be reflected rather in the narratives' content, namely the themes and meanings of experiences with driving and driving cessation, than in their structure. Moreover, due to the small sample size and exploratory nature of the study, a categorical content analysis would have been inapplicable.

Six steps were taken to derive at the final coding scheme (see Table 1). The first step was to read the transcript in question freely and open-mindedly, for at least two times, to get a feeling for the possible patterns within that interview. Afterwards, the researcher read the transcript again, in order to take notes about her first and overall impression, along with recurring topics and exceptions or contradictions from those topics within the particular

interview. These notes informed the third step in which the interviewer had to write down the most important topics, also called foci, which occurred in the interview. A focus could be characterized by a large amount of information or much detail or repetition devoted to a certain topic within an interview. Hereby, the researcher concentrated especially on the different themes and meanings of both driving activity and driving cessation, that interviewees referred to in their narratives. During this third step, it was tried as much as possible to keep the context of the whole interview in mind to facilitate at best a holistic analysis of its content. In the fourth step again MAXQDA 2018 (VERBI Software, 2017) was used to colour code the transcript in question for each of its foci separately. Afterwards, the foci were revised and, if they seemed to be related to each other, clustered in overarching topics, in order to derive at the final coding scheme (see Table 1) in the sixth and last step.

To avoid possible researcher bias, the first interview transcript was coded by two different researchers independently. Then, emerging differences were discussed until consensus was reached. Although the coding of the second independent coder resembled that of the researcher very much, she did keep her codes closer to the participants own words and used longer units of analysis to keep more context within the coded chunks. During the discussion, the researcher came to the conclusion that the independent coder's deviations would likely serve the exploratory and holistic nature of the study and, therefore, adjusted her own coding scheme. Consequently, the units of analyses to which the foci of the coding scheme were applied, were meaningful phrases, such as whole sentences or even short paragraphs. Although usually only one focus per fragment was coded, occasionally two or more foci had to be applied per fragment. This was, however, very rare. For the results section, mostly quotations constituting prototypes of certain foci and examples of the variability of a focus were chosen. Nevertheless, sometimes also excerpts, that were particularly difficult to code, were cited. The chosen quotations were translated into English by the researcher and, additionally, the German version was kept in the appendices (see Appendix C for the German version of quotations). This should ensure more transparency in the translation process since a distortion of the meaning of the quotations cannot be excluded, due to the fact that no professional translation service could be consulted.

Results

First, research question number one, regarding the themes and meanings in driving activity related narratives of German older adults, will be answered. Second, it will be described how the participants narrated anticipated or actual driving cessation, to answer the second research question. All participants could tell narratives of their experiences with driving activity. However, the depth of these narratives varied from rather rational and shallow descriptions of driving experiences to profound explanations of the personal meaning of car driving and connections of those meanings to one's general personality and self-understanding. This implies that while car driving experiences were relevant to the narrative identities of the participants, the extent of this importance might have differed from person to person. The themes and meanings that were covered in the narratives were very diverse and individual too, ranging from positive to negative driving experience and covering not only driving but also cars in general, as well as the possession of a driver's license. Despite this great diversity, freedom/independence, pleasure and risk were very recurrent themes and meanings. An overview of the most important themes and meanings, which will be, as explained above, called foci in the further course of this paper, can be found in Table 1. Moreover, Table 1 illustrates how the foci were clustered into overarching topics. To stay in line with the holistic content approach (Lieblich et al., 1993), the results were presented in Personas. Each Persona is labelled with an alias and characterizes one participant. The Personas are structured into descriptions of the foci and overarching topics that emerged in the interview of the particular participant, as well as a summary of how the respective participant (anticipated) driving cessation. If an interviewee's account of (anticipated) driving cessation was already covered within a focus, this summary was omitted. Generally, the topic of driving cessation was avoided by most participants and when it was discussed attention was directed at practical use rather than emotional implications or meaning.

Table 1

Overarching Topics and Foci per Participant

<u>Persona</u>	<u>Overarching Topic</u>	<u>Focus</u>
Amanda	Mastering Difficulties	Mastering difficult Skills in General Mastering Driving Skills Mastering Driving as Emancipation
	Conduct on the Road	Friendliness Consideration
	- no overarching topic -	Eye Disease and own Driving as Risk Factor
	Driving Cessation	Acceptance Dependence Difficulties with Alternative Transportation Options
Anthony	- no overarching topic -	Driving as a Means of Transportation?
	- no overarching topic -	Risk and Cautiousness
Bob	- no overarching topic -	Pleasure and Freedom
	- no overarching topic -	Dire Driving Experiences
	- no overarching topic -	Driver's License as Symbol
Betty	- no overarching topic -	Driving Confidence
	- no overarching topic -	Driving as Part of her Role as a Mother
	- no overarching topic -	Driving as Comforter and Relaxation
Chris	Luxury gives Way to Practicality	Freedom and Pleasure Transportation and Subsistence
	- no overarching topic -	Danger
	- no overarching topic -	Acceptance of Driving Cessation
Catherine	- no overarching topic -	Individual Independence and Freedom
	Driving as a Mother	Driving as a 'Place for Thinking' Driving as stressful Necessity Driving as pleasant Possibility

Amanda:

Amanda was an 84 years old former driver. As she was a relative of the interviewer, it was comparatively easy to build a good rapport with Amanda, which resulted in the obtainment of rich narratives but also induced the interviewer to ask more closed questions, when she expected a certain experience to come up in Amanda's narratives. Therefore, the personal relationship between Amanda and the interviewer might not only have facilitated but also biased the results of this interview. In general, Amanda was very talkative. This manifested itself in the duration of the interview, which was with almost two hours the longest of all interviews, as well as in the variety of topics which Amanda mentioned. Nevertheless, she did also digress a lot and talked about topics unrelated to the interview questions. Therefore, parts of the transcript could not be used to answer the research questions. Furthermore, Amanda talked predominantly positive about her experiences with and the meanings she related to car driving. Overall, the positive valence and richness of her driving related narratives suggested that experiences with car driving had great importance for Amanda's narrative identity. As specified in Table 1, nine different foci, partly grouped in three overarching topics, emerged in Amanda's interview: Mastering Difficulties (Mastering difficult Skills in General, Mastering Driving Skills, Mastering Driving as Emancipation), Conduct on the Road (Friendliness and Consideration), and Driving Cessation (Acceptance, Dependence, Difficulties with Alternative Transportation Options), as well as the stand-alone focus of Amanda's Eye Disease as a Risk Factor.

Mastering Difficulties

One overarching topic of foci in Amanda's narratives was her strong belief in her personal ability to master difficulties, whether in general or related to driving.

Mastering difficult Skills in General

When focusing on mastering difficult skills in general, Amanda described her accomplishments and abilities with technical skills, for example, her skipper license or her work as a lab technician and a medical assistant. She related her success in mastering these skills to her headstrong personality “ *That...if someone says something like: ,You are not able to do this‘, I mean then I am not like this, then I always think: ‘Well, whether I am able to do it or not, I need to prove that first, whether I am able to do it or not’.* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 1.1) “, which made her believe in her ability to reach her goals when working hard: “*...when I want that and when I make an effort, even if the others say: ‘No, you*

are not good in this', when I take an effort and when I want that and when I exert myself...if I do not exert myself I will not be possible...and I went to driving school and everything...that I then accomplish it!" (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 2.1).

Mastering Driving Skills

In line with Amanda's experiences of her ability to master technical skills, was her focus on how she mastered her driving skills. Amanda described how she overcame initial difficulties with driving and traffic, for example at the freeway: *„Also, for example the freeway: 'Oh God the freeway and there a car is coming and even a truck, oh God oh God! You have to watch out for that, first it is coming...'. Later, well what did you think then, well something like: 'There a car is coming, then I have to...then I will take over. Sure, I will not jog behind it'. That was different but you grew with the traffic"* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 3.1), and how that confirmed her even more in her ability to master difficulties: *"Yes, that was the first drive on my own...and then, that gave me such a confirmation. Well, you have to do this then you are also able to do it but if you do not do it and you keep your car in the garage, then it will not work out"* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 4.1).

Mastering Driving as Emancipation

An especially important meaning of Amanda's experiences of mastering driving seemed to be the emancipation of her father. She described that it was unusual for a woman to drive a car at that time and, that her father told her that she could neither drive nor make her driver's license because she is a woman. Therefore, she tried to prove him wrong and succeeded by mastering driving and being the first one in her family to drive, yet before her father and her brother. Amanda explained that the experience of learning to drive revealed to her that she as a woman could master difficulties that some men could not. For example, she told from a trip where she realized that she could drive better than her brother: *„We wanted to always take turns. That was not possible, I said: 'This is not possible! Even if I do not have my driver's license for long yet but it is no use, you cannot drive my car, you will break it', and then I drove the whole time. Then I became confident more and more and then I realized: 'Oh, that goes well, you are not bad in this. Your brother, he is not able to do this like you'. In the past...brothers were always privileged and I was a girl so I was not privileged and then I have that...well, I thought: 'You are able to drive. You are not bad at this'.* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 5.1)" and how this provided her with joy.

However, contradictory to this general tone of accomplishment and ability, Amanda described situations of dependency on others, whenever technical know-how of cars was required. Although Amanda mentioned that this dependency was a weird feeling, which made her somehow insecure, she did not seem to believe in her capability to master her difficulties with technical know-how of cars: *Well, personally I always had a weird feeling: ‘You are not able to do this on your own...you are not able to do this on your own’, because Anthony did always do it. If something did not work, I always called: ‘Come and fix it for me!’, this...this inner certainty that I could handle this alone was missing. Because I had too little knowledge for...I could handle technology in radiography but this was something different”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 6.1).

Conduct on the Road

The second overarching topic of foci that appeared in the narratives of Amanda was Conduct on the Road. Amanda often focused on themes like friendliness and consideration when talking about her own but also about others’ behaviour in relation to car driving.

Friendliness

When talking about the beginning of her driving, Amanda described vividly many situations on the road in very positive terms and mentioned that people were especially friendly to her and helped her with her car or driving. She outlined, for example, a situation where a man helped her with parking her car and how experiencing this friendliness provided her with feelings of safety: *“Then, it was always like this, if you were not entirely, entirely secure, the people were incredibly helpful. That must be said, so friendly. Then I could not pull in, then they stood there and waited until I pulled in. I said: ‘I will not be fast, I am slow’. ‘That does not matter, then I stand here and wait until...until you pulled in and the leftover space, if I think I fit in, there I pull in’. [...] Oh, I was glad, I was absolutely glad. I thought: ‘Nice’, and then he also took care and afterwards I felt so safe as he stood there next to me and took care”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 7.1). Later, when talking about what driving meant to her in more general terms, Amanda explained that she considered courtesy and friendliness towards other road users as an especially important conduct: *„That one should behave in a certain manner and that if you want to cross the street, that you then look first, or when they, I mean, when they let you cross the street that you wave or that you show that you are pleased that they stopped to let you cross the street”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 8.1).

Consideration

Moreover, Amanda explained that drivers should have consideration for future generations. According to her, drivers should drive considerate and careful, in order to protect pedestrians, especially children: *„I think consideration is important, also if you do not drive considerate how should the children learn this? We always let children cross the street because with children it is important that they do not run because they are afraid of a car driver because that is very important to us that one is considerate. If you know you are older anyways that consideration is very important”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 9.1), and behave eco-friendly by driving a pollution-free car: *„Yes, we already did...we only did not know with the diesel engine cars, we did drive a diesel for a long time but already when we lived up north in K, then we started considering...and eco-friendly, the thing [our current car] is eco-friendly, you can drive it everywhere...can drive everywhere, because it does not eject pollution”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 10.1). Repeatedly, Amanda related her but also her husband’s careful and eco-friendly driving to their self-understanding of being considerate people.

Eye Disease and own Driving as Risk Factor

A self-standing focus of Amanda’s narratives about driving was the theme of the influence of her eye disease on her driving. According to her, getting the eye disease made her feeling insecure on the road. Amanda described this disease as a risk and as a disturbing factor since it made her become very slow and caused driving to be very difficult for her: *„Yes, then I got an eye disease, namely cataract. But that was still ok. I had to undergo surgery on both eyes [...]. Then I underwent surgery and before, before I underwent surgery I said: ‘I will not drive a car anymore. I am somehow for that...some kind of disruptive factor for traffic’, because I always had to concentrate very much, that I would not hit anyone or something like that. And then you are also a bit slower, it was still ok but you get the feeling: ‘I cannot drive this fast’, and that means that you cannot adapt yourself to the traffic. I found that silly somehow”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 11.1). Again, her consideration applied especially to children: *„When I think about the risk, especially for children, that would be...well, I mean hitting an adult with the car is also not exactly the bee’s knees but children...we have also children here, I find that too dangerous”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 12.1). According to Amanda, being a potential risk factor for children was the reason why she ceased driving.

Driving Cessation

When talking about driving cessation, three foci emerged in the narratives of Amanda: Acceptance, Dependence, and Difficulties with Alternative Transportation Options.

Acceptance

First of all, Amanda seemed not really disturbed by talking about driving cessation and she explained that it did not really influence her: „*Yes, well then I thought: ‘That is not too bad’, then I thought: ‘Then you just travel by boat’.*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 13.1). This indicated that she accepted her driving cessation.

Dependence

Despite Amanda’s acceptance of driving cessation, she related this ease of stopping to drive to the fact that her mobility is still sustained through the driving of her husband Anthony: „*I do not think so, then I also did not...back then I also did not have the problem anymore that I had to go somewhere. If I wanted to go somewhere, then I drove with Anthony*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 14.1). Amanda also described that she is dependent on her husband Anthony and that she fears to lose her mobility when Anthony has to stop driving.

Difficulties with Alternative Transportation Options

Amanda related this fear of Anthony’s driving cessation to the fact that using public transport at her place and at her age is supposed to be very complicated: „*Anthony was always with me. Therefore, I was not really impressed [by driving cessation]. If Anthony would not have been there and I had to...well that would have influenced me very much, if I had to drive the bus, that is also a factor of time*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 15.1).

Anthony:

Anthony was a 79-year-old male driver. Although he was as well a relative of the interviewer, in contrast to Amanda he was not very talkative. Instead, building rapport was rather difficult and Anthony digressed a lot and he especially equivocated questions about emotions or meaning. Rather Anthony was talking very rational and more about his general attitudes than about his personal experiences with cars and driving. Eventually, the little pronounced detailedness and meaning making in Anthony’s narratives could be a sign that for him driving-related experiences were less important to his narrative identity. Nevertheless, two

distinct foci emerged in this interview: Driving as a Means of Transportation? and Risk and Cautiousness.

Driving as a Means of Transportation?

Anthony mentioned extremely often that car driving was just a means to an end for him, more specifically a means for transportation: „*I always saw the car like this, namely the good mean, the good capacity of the car to transport you somewhere*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 1.2), and that he had not really strong or emotional memories of experiences with cars or driving: „*I mean it [a memory of car driving] has to be appropriately strong if you want or want to be able to remember it. Well, it was not like this with the car, I have always...always seen the car as a means to an end*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 2.2). Nevertheless, several indications in his accounts of driving contradicted with these statements. First of all, Anthony described vivid memories related to car driving, when talking about his childhood and teenage years. In this memory, for example: „*I had the first contact [with cars] when the Americans, which had, at this time, occupied U, drove through the neighbourhood. Then they had, they seemed to like me the little blond boy and they took me with them in their jeep and then driving through the neighbourhood and also chasing chickens and everything. For me that was, of course, interesting to see*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 3.2), he talked about his interest in driving and framed this in rather positive terms. This indicated that Anthony, in fact, had some rather strong and emotional memories of his experiences with car driving, even though this might not have been consciously aware to him. Moreover, a theme which Anthony talked much about were the standards he demands from cars. He related these standards to his and his wife’s personal attitudes: „*Yes, as I said before, I told you my personal attitude to [cars], that was always: for us pretty and comfortable, inexpensive, I do not want to say cheap but it should be inexpensive but always appropriate. Well, the comfort was always a bit more important than the price because I always said: ‘If you only look at the price, then you have only trouble’. Well, the price was part of this, of course, but it had lower importance and above all, really important for us was, it had to have the right configuration towards nature*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 4.2).

Especially the standard of Eco-Friendliness seemed to be important to Anthony as he talked very much about this being the most important standard for him: „*Above all other things, really important for us was, it had to have the right configuration towards nature. Well, I would*

never...therefore I cannot understand why so many people buy SUVs today. SUVs are uncomfortable, absolutely uncomfortable, extremely heavy, burn a huge amount of fuel and, on top, which I find especially devastating, are a danger for the smaller [cars]. If such an SUV hits a smaller car then you know exactly what will happen, maybe the [driver of the smaller car] will not even survive and above all the environment will be totally ruined” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 5.2). Anthony related this standard to his general attitude that he does not want to behave in a manner that gets him something at the expense of others: *„That is my motto in life. You are born because you want it so. You direct it, you are the protagonist, you can create your life how you want. Well, you can pick a nice place to live and so forth, a nice car or nice grandchildren. You will get it, everything is part of it but, and this ‘but’ is really important for me, never at the expense of others”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 6.2). Anthony’s strong focus on these standards related to driving, as well as his reflections on how his driving related to his general personal attitudes raised doubts about whether he sees driving really only as a means for transportation.

Risk and Cautiousness

Anthony claimed to be a person who lives without fear but cautiousness. Eventually he came to this conclusion by engaging in narrative meaning making, as he told several narratives of both the experiences that showed the risk of driving to him: *„That was really tragic once, in fact, a truck drove towards me, I drove again a company car, a bus from the company that I worked for. Then I instinctively, I do not know whether I did really think about it, I had to jump over because in the middle of the bus was the cover for the engine. Can you imagine that? There were such busses where you could lift up that [cover] in the middle and there was the engine. But at this moment I jumped up in the car, jumped over on the passenger’s seat and then the [truck] already came and hit the whole driver’s side. The truck hit my vehicle. He did not pay attention, made a turn and then I jumped instinctively on the passenger’s side and the whole [driver’s] side was dented. Well, probably I had not survived this...but, essentially, it also showed me that you have to be careful on the streets* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 7.2)”, and of the behaviour he took to minimize this risk: *„I left the lights on, I maintained safety distance, I trained how the car reacts when it is slippery and so on, no small things that dangle around [hanging from the rear mirror], there were not many things, a few basically. I mean, in addition, there are a few more things that you also do unconsciously”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 8.2).

Driving Cessation:

When it came to the topic of driving cessation, Anthony avoided to talk about this issue and equivocated questions in this direction: „*Well, I think, if it actually happens, then it has to have certain reasons. Since it is still like, if you have your driver’s license, then you have it and if you have to surrender it for some reason, then you know then whether you still live here or if you are in a retirement home one day or whatever. I just think what is really important and what you know for sure, there will be the day when you have to surrender it, your driver’s license. Everything else will fall into place*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 9.2). His insistence on not being able to know the circumstances or meaning of his future driving cessation seemed to underline Anthony’s aversion for this topic.

Bob:

Bob was a 74-year-old male driver, who was an acquaintance of the interviewer. Moreover, Bob did not only drive in his free time but was also employed as a truck driver for several years. Nevertheless, he was not very talkative and gave rather short answers, even after several probes. Moreover, Bob described driving mainly in practical terms and stayed very shallow in his narratives. Like in Anthony’s case, a reason for this might have been that driving-related experiences were relatively unimportant to Bob’s narrative identity. However, he seemed a bit afraid that he could be somehow clinically assessed during the interview, as he repeatedly mentioned that he coped well with his negative driving experiences and, therefore, did not need a psychologist. Even though it was pointed out several times that there were no right or wrong answers and that the interview was no clinical assessment, this fear of being somehow assessed could be a reason why Bob’s answers were rather shallow and did not really cover the meaning that driving might have had to him. Overall, three individual foci emerged in the narratives that Bob presented: Pleasure and Freedom, Dire Driving Experiences, and his Driver’s License as a Symbol.

Pleasure and Freedom

One focus of Bob’s narratives, which stood out from the shallow and rational descriptions but involved talking about meaning, was that he described the positive meanings that car driving had for him. Thereby, he mainly described experiences related to feelings of pleasure and freedom. He explained for example how he enjoyed trips with his wife and his son: „*Yes, young family and that were nice moments with F and that was really awesome. When we drove on the freeway, we sang a lot*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation

1.3), or that he chose voluntarily to drive the longer trips for his work as a truck driver because he enjoyed driving to different countries: „*In H I could have also...at the company site I could have been driving every day too but I did not want to crawl there. For me, freedom was important, well to Italy and then he [his boss] knew where I drove and that was the best for me*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 2.3). Strikingly, Bob related these meanings of pleasure and freedom primarily to car driving experiences in his past. When talking about present driving activity, Bob rather described that he recognized negative changes in the circumstances and, therefore, in the experience of his driving. He framed the past in rather positive terms by describing feelings of freedom and pleasure: „*Yes, freedom somehow and you could...there was no speed limit yet. That was like, no that was...no that was just...of course there was a speed limit of 50 in villages. That has always been there. But on the country road, where you could really belt. Freeway, that was the great freedom*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 3.3), but the present in rather negative terms, related to high costs and stress and, therefore, to the decreased pleasure of driving: „*Yes, enjoying car driving...people often say or bikers always say ‘I am cruising nicely’. That is not possible anymore, that was way easier in the past because there was less traffic, fewer trucks than today*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 4.3).

Dire Driving Experiences

Over the course of the interview, one theme were Bob’s dangerous and dire experiences with driving. Inter alia he talked about a major accident on a family holiday trip, where he and all other passengers had to stay in the hospital for several weeks. Although he mentioned how dire those experiences with driving were, his descriptions sounded rather rational and he did not talk about any kind of personal meaning that those experiences could have for him. Instead, he highlighted that he did cope well with these experiences when he explained: „*Yes, if I talk to you this openly, then that means to me, or for you it means that I cope well with this. That is how I think about it and I do not need a Psychologist for that*” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 5.3). Bob’s insistence on having coped well with the accident might indicate that his descriptive style of narrating could also be related to his fear of being psychologically assessed rather than to the memory of the accident not being relevant to his narrative identity.

Driver's License as Symbol

Finally, when focusing on his driver's license, Bob talked about emotional value. He described his driver's license as a valuable symbol and patent that he does not want to lose, even if he would cease driving: *„No, what we already talked about...for me, it would be important that I could drive as long as possible and then I will not give...I will not give it up, I keep it. I will cease driving; I sell the car or I give it away and then I will not drive anymore but I will not give up the driver's license! As a symbol, it will be framed, yes”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 6.3). Nevertheless, he did not explain what symbolic meaning his driver's license has to him, even after several probes were used.

Driving Cessation:

When talking about driving cessation Bob described it rather negative and as an inevitable and decisive turning point which would decrease his quality of life. For example, he explained how he could not cope with stopping to drive as he is used to the freedom of driving: *“Yes, they talk about [license revocation legislation for older drivers]. It will happen, it will happen. If I would be young, I would adapt to it. But I cannot adapt to it anymore, I grew up in freedom”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 7.3).

Betty:

Betty was a 69-year old acquaintance of the interviewer and is currently still a driver. During the interview, Betty talked predominantly positive about her memories of driving activity. Moreover, she provided rich narratives including explanations and examples of the personal meaning that driving had for her and her self-understanding. Therefore, it might be suggested that her experiences with driving activity were important for her narrative identity. Three different foci emerged when analysing the interview with Betty: Driving Confidence, Driving as Part of Mother-Role, and Driving as Comforter and Relaxation.

Driving Confidence

The first focus of the interview covered Betty's descriptions and memories concerning her driving ability. Betty explained that she did not fear driving as soon as sitting in a car and how this enabled her to always drive independently when necessary: *„Well, I always got into the car and drove and then I was...well, when I sit in the car, I am not afraid, then I drive anywhere and I do not worry about it. If I sit in the car that is over. Well, before you always think: ‘Will you make it?’, but as soon as I sit in the car that is over and then I also drive safely.*

*Also, I drive anywhere, I did drive in Italy as well etc.” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 1.4). Furthermore, Betty gave examples of how she handled difficult driving situations successfully: „Well, it was an adventure when I drove to H for the first time together with R when he was still little. That is something else than just driving around the block, well...but when I have to drive, then I drive” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 2.4), and how those experiences gave her the proud and confidence in her own driving ability: „There I was happy. Then you think: ‘And you managed it anyway’ [...]. Yes, I told myself: ‘You manage it still, you manage it and you are able to do it’, something like this. Then you are certainly a bit proud. **If you think about what car driving means to you as a person, also in relation to such moments, does it eventually say something about you or does car driving mean anything to you? Well, what means meaning? I was glad that I did it and that I accomplished it. I was just happy, I was happy that I did it, then you got self-confidence” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 3.4). While Betty described all her driving experiences in a very positive tone and also mentioned that she had always only positive experiences with car driving, her description of how she hit a bicycle rider was a small contradiction to that: „Well, a particular car ride was when the boy hit me. That was serious, I still see the boy flying at me” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 4.4). Nevertheless, the focus of driving Confidence indicated that car driving is an important repository of self-confidence for Betty as it signalled to her: “You are able to do it”.***

Driving as Part of her Role as a Mother

The second focus of Betty’s interview concerned how she related driving activity to her role as a woman and a mother. Betty stated that she thinks that all women need a driver’s license and a car to fulfil their role in a satisfactory manner. In her opinion, women are solely responsible to care for the kids and driving is a means to facilitate this caring, e.g. by being able to drive the kids to their principal and recreational appointments. More specifically, Betty described the driving activity as an important part of her own mother role, when talking about caring for her disabled son: „Yes, I had to drive to physiotherapy with R for a long time, from begin on. From 1988 until he moved out. Well, then he was already 20 years old, until then I drove him to school and to physiotherapy and everything. I was really jolly glad that I had the driver’s license. That was really a good thing that I took my driving test” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 5.4). She mentioned that even though the driving was sometimes exhausting, enabling her kids to come around gratified her: „I was happy that I could enable them [her kids] to...that I could drive them everywhere. You are also a bit proud.

Although I sometimes feel like a taxi driver, ultimately you think: ‘Well, you do it for your kids’, and then you do it” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 6.4). It seemed like, for Betty, being a good mother was closely connected to her driving activity.

Driving as Comforter and Relaxation

The last focus described the positive influence her own and others’ driving had on Betty. Betty mentioned that she generally enjoys all driving activity because it relaxes her and gives her positive feelings: *„Well, as I said, already as a child I have always been sleeping [in the car]. Well, I sleep a lot [in the car]. When we drive to Italy I could drive even further, I enjoy car driving as a passenger. I mean I also drive alone to H and everything, that does not matter for me, I would even drive further but that is nothing to me”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 7.4). Moreover, Betty explained that the feeling of being independent, when being able to drive, served her as a comforter during times of upset and bad mood: *„For me it was just, I was independent, I could drive a car, I did not always have to ask: ‘Could you drive me on occasion?’. [...] Well, I needed the car, otherwise, you are stuck here. If I am in a bad mood and if I feel shut in, I get into the car and drive to B, even if I just walk through a store then that is enough for me but I went away for a moment. The car is also some kind of comforter, well, you know you have a car and you could go away”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 8.4).

Driving Cessation:

The importance, which car driving seemed to have for Betty, became even more accentuated when she was asked how she would anticipate driving cessation. She called driving cessation a catastrophe and mentioned that she would not want to stop driving soon: *„Well, [I wish] that I can still drive for a couple of years. That is important to me, that has to work out!”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 9.4). However, Betty’s fear of driving cessation seemed not to stem from the important personal meanings of driving, which she described earlier. Rather her fear seemed to be caused by the fact that she is living on the countryside, wherefore driving cessation would restrict her mobility enormously: *„Yes yes, [driving cessation] would really be dramatic. Now you just leave the house, you get into the car and you drive. It could be different if you would live in a metropolis, if you would not need a car anyways but here in the countryside...I mean in a metropolis in K or B everyone takes the tram or the subway or whatever. But I mean, those people are used to it, they leave their cars behind and say: ‘Gosh, I will be faster by taking the subway’, but here...we live in the*

countryside and that would be tough” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 10.4).

Chris:

Chris was 64 years old man, who is still a driver but currently drives only very little due to health conditions. For about one decade he owned a removal company, which caused truck driving to be the main part of his duties during this time. Chris was an acquaintance of the interviewer too. Although he answered every question very fast, he mainly gave short answers and many probes were needed to get detailed narratives. Chris talked mostly negative about his driving experiences and he often described how the meaning that driving had for him downgraded over time. Driving seemed to have a rather negative connoted relevance for Chris narrative identity. As it can be found in Table 1 five foci, whereof two were grouped into one overarching topic, emerged within Chris’ interview: Freedom and Pleasure, and Transportation and Subsistence, which were grouped into Luxury gives Way to Practicality, as well as Danger, and Acceptance of Driving Cessation.

Luxury gives Way to Practicality

Although Chris talked predominantly negative about his experiences with driving activity, he somehow focused on a change of the meaning of driving. This change was from driving as a positive and luxury means of freedom and pleasure toward driving as a rather negative, practical means of transportation and subsistence. Reasons for this negative shift of meaning seemed to mainly be changes in his general life circumstances: *„Well, as I said before, except a little bit of relaxation, I could never really enjoy car driving. Maybe at the very beginning, when I got my driver’s license, I found it great but over the course of my life was it mainly a means to an end, always. Do you know why you could never really enjoy it? Do you have any idea what could be the reason for this? It was mainly because of the life circumstances because it was all about the kids and not about some kind of pleasure”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 1.5). Therefore, this overarching topic of foci was named Luxury gives Way to Practicality.

Freedom and Pleasure

When talking about his childhood and young adult years, Chris described car driving activity and the meaning it had to him in more positive terms. In his younger years the individual mobility of driving seemed to mean freedom: *(first family holiday with the car) “Yes, that was*

some kind of freedom, because if you now...I also had two siblings, if you wanted to go somewhere with five people, earlier on we also went to my grandmother from time to time, by train. That was quite a different category, with the car you were freer, everything was packed into the car and then you could think where you wanted to go basically and that was, of course, difficult before” (see Appendix C for German version of Quotation 2.5), and independence to him: *“Actually, also already with 16 years I took a driving test. For a moped [...]. For me as a teenager that was really a hit, because then I could decide where I wanted to drive and everything. You did not need to be taken by your parents or so, but it was certainly good, you were really flexible and really mobile and everything”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 3.5). Moreover, Chris described riding his motorbike, when he was a younger adult, as pleasurable and relaxing: *“Well, the first time driving a moped, riding a motorcycle, I think that had always a great value. [...] At the beginning it was also mobility but later, when we already had a car and then additionally a motorcycle, then it was just pleasure. **Thus, driving as a pleasure?** Yes, exactly and also to relax a bit. Sometimes, well sometimes it is also like that, if you drove more than 100 kilometres then you are more relaxed afterwards”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 4.5).

Transportation and Subsistence

Later, when he became a father and when driving became the main part of his job as a truck driver, Chris mentioned that driving had a more negative and practical meaning for him. Chris called driving repeatedly a means to an end. In the context of his father role, the meaning driving had to him changed from pleasure to a not really enjoyable means of transporting his children: *“That changed, other things like raising up the children and everything were more important than. Well, then the car was just a means to an end, namely to transport the children or to go to school. [...] I mean the goals are just different, well it is just like this...yes, exactly, the kids were just more important than a motorcycle or whatever”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 5.5). Regarding Chris’ job as a truck driver, driving lost its meaning of freedom and became a stressful and exhausting means of subsistence for him: *“Important was, in any case, the thing with the truck driving. We carried out removals and, therefore, we did get through whole Europe, more or less. But there driving had simply a different quality, it was not really related to freedom but that served a particular end, namely the job. It was just like this, you got to know your limits because, for example, if you...so, we did load up a truck and then we drove to Italy or Spain. Then we drove the whole distance at*

once, thus it was critically if you were 24 hours or whatever on the road, to still be able to concentrate” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 6.5).

Danger

A standalone focus that emerged in Chris’ interview was the theme Danger, more specifically the danger of driving. Chris described experiences of serious crashes and momentary nodding while driving, which highlighted this danger to him. Talking about incidents that happened in his younger years and rather within a free time context did not really seem to impact Chris. However, talking about accidents that happened later in Chris’ life, when he was working, seemed to cause driving to get a more negative meaning for him. He described how, after one especially serious accident, he developed a fear of driving. While Chris reflected on this fear he developed, it appeared as if especially feelings of control and trust were important to him in his car driving. Being reminded of the danger of driving, however, seemed to cause these feelings to vanish: *“As I said before, I remember well that it was really difficult for two weeks. Maybe it was also good that I had to drive because maybe otherwise I would have said I do not do it anymore. But for that reason, I somehow got over it because the car overturned so many times and also...you realise that you do not have control over the car anymore which overturns. Therefore, you probably lose this fundamental trust but later it got better. Today, well afterwards, just as I said, well two weeks later it was basically ok again. [...] If you have this fundamental trust then at least I think that I also have control about the car and that I can steer it in every situation and so on. If you then realize that it is not like that, that things can happen, like accidents and other things that you cannot control,[...] and that haunts you then, well after the accident happened I was totally littered with bruises but nothing was as bad as this lack of fundamental trust”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 7.5). Nevertheless, Chris mentioned that the negative meaning of driving, as well as the fear, decreased after he had to continue driving as a means of subsistence.

Acceptance of Driving Cessation

The last focus of Chris’ interview was his acceptance of Driving Cessation as a natural process. Chris explained that stopping his truck driving business led to reduced driving and also to a decreased importance of driving in his life. He seemed to have ambivalent feelings about this reduction: *“What did you think and feel or how do you feel now about this decrease in your car driving? Well, I really like it, [...] but it is, of course, a restriction, it is also a restriction for me and also now I have to wait until Catherine [his wife] is back so that I can*

drive to physiotherapy” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 8.5). Nevertheless, Chris seemed to accept and consider voluntary driving cessation if necessary. While he mentioned that driving cessation would be a restriction of his freedom, due to the bad alternative transportation options at the village he is living, at the same time he considered reorienting himself after driving cessation to do more in his immediate life space: *“It would be like this, also now if you think about public transportation then it is, of course, a restriction if you are then basically confined indoors or confined to the village at least, then you also have to, if you still want to do something, you also have to organize yourself differently. I could also imagine doing more here, hence in the village, maybe also to meet some older people and to take more initiative here. But that would be a consequence of [the reduction of driving], I mean now as I am retired it is already like this, that you orient yourself differently. As you describe it, it seems to be relatively ok to you. Yes, that is part of it. No, well it is not always nice but it is just like that, that are also life circumstances that force you to some things that you do not like”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 9.5). Generally, Chris seemed very calm and accepting when talking about possible driving cessation. He created the impression as if driving cessation would be at most a practical limitation of his mobility for him but it did not seem as if driving cessation would have any significant personal meaning for him.

Catherine:

Catharine was 60 years old and she was an acquaintance of the interviewer too. Currently, Catherine is a driver. During the interview, she was very talkative and provided vivid and detailed narratives about her car driving experiences and what driving activity meant to her over the course of her life. On the one hand, Catherine talked very much about a general fascination that she had for cars and driving: *“Well, for me no danger or whatever was radiated by cars but only fascination from the smell and the speed”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 1.6). On the other hand, she often reflected on how situations with her own car driving related to her role as a mother. Depending on the effects it had on her children, Catherine’s driving activity conveyed meanings of being a good mother or being a bad mother to her. Therefore, it can be suggested that Catherine’s experiences with car driving were important for her narrative identity. As stated in Table 1, four foci became apparent in Catherine’s interview: Individual Independence and Freedom, Driving as a ‘Place for Thinking’, Driving as stressful Necessity, Driving as pleasant Possibility. The last three foci were, furthermore, grouped into the overarching topic: Driving as a Mother, since the meaning

of driving that emerged in those foci was related to Catherine's role and self-understanding as a mother.

Individual Independence and Freedom

One discrete focus of the interview covered Catherine's explanations of how driving meant individual independence and freedom to her, as it enabled her to explore new possibilities: "*When I got the driver's license, I enjoyed my new freedom. **Was that a meaning of car driving for you, this freedom?** Yes, definitely. Then you are also independent if you somehow...then we also drove to Holland and checked that out and of course, I did not do that by bicycle, well I did not ride my bicycle this fanatically but more often within M. That was for me really...at that time other modes of transport were not as developed as today, so [car driving] enabled to do things that you could not do before. Also new possibilities to transport things from A to B or to engage in activities together with other people, because my beetle fitted four people and since I was a student at that time, at that time there were not many students who had a car, well, that is really different today, therefore in our peer group, we were two people with a car as my friend had one as well, really independent. We could drive everywhere with eight to ten people also to another club in the evening, also to R. That was exciting, well that was really nice*" (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 2.6).

Driving as a Mother

One overarching topic of foci covered the diverse meanings that driving activity got for Catherine after she became a mother: "*Well, the turning point in the meaning that cars had for me was certainly giving birth to my first child*" (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 3.6). These new meanings were, in contrast to the meanings of independence and freedom, not only focused on herself but also much on Catherine's close relationship with her family.

Driving as a 'Place for Thinking'

The first focus within this overarching topic covered Catherine's descriptions of how her driving activity, especially since she became a mother, meant a relaxing and stress relieving 'me-time' for her. She mentioned that driving became a 'Place' where she had time to think about her own issues: "*Yes, that was also related to...well, since I had the kids, I also consciously slowed down in relation to driving and I like that. **Why do you like that?** Well, I also make use of care driving as a place to think, time for myself, of course, I always try to still*

pay attention to the traffic. [...] and thereby I can think incredibly well. Car driving is also...it lets me relax” (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 4.6).

Driving as stressful Necessity

Another focus comprised Catherine’s negative experiences with driving, related to her role as a mother. She described driving related situations where she was forced to expose her son to discomfort and risk. According to Catherine, this caused driving to get a negative meaning of an exhausting and stressful, and sometimes even terrific, necessity for her. She mentioned bad feelings of dependence, helplessness and worries about her child, as well as that she felt like an uncaring mother in relation to these driving experiences: *“It happened sometime at the end of April, he [her son] was only eight weeks old and I drove to A and got into a heavy blizzard, that was a doozie. I needed three hours for the way back home and the car was somehow not really warm. I drove with the baby next to me in the Maxi-Cosi, he cried for three hours it was just terrible and I was so glad when we arrived at home. Honestly, I was really afraid about my child because it was so cold and I really did not know what to do. I could not stop anywhere as it was the country road and had to drive up the snowy hill, that was a terrible car drive. I only thought: ‘Hopefully I get home safe’, and somehow it was also...not really dark but it was also not bright anymore, it was horrible. [...] I remember this as a terrible car drive where I was really afraid about my child. [...] I primarily felt like a bad mother as I had to or wanted to work again already after eight weeks and what I expected of my child, waking him up in the afternoon...I always worked in the afternoon and bundling him off to the car. He did not like car driving anyways and...yes, I felt really bad. Yes, that was not nice for me, that I had to take him with me and that I knew that he did not feel good with this, then I did not feel good as well, although I normally like car driving. [...] Yes, I felt so dependent on the weather conditions and because I had to drive and I could not change it. That was really stressful, also during the weeks after the, after the incident. Whenever I took him with me, I thought: ‘Hopefully nothing bad happens!’, well, deer could cross the street as well, before I did not even think about such things“* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 5.6). These negative experiences with driving let Catherine avoid it during that time and her driving activity became a solely means to get to work for her: *„Well, then I was glad that I had a short duty stroke here in W, only two and a half kilometres and then [the meaning of driving] changed in so far as that I did not really use the car for something else [than driving to work] as I really did not want to drive anymore. I found it so terrible”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 6.6).

Driving as pleasant Possibility

Contrary to the focus of Driving as stressful Necessity was the focus of Driving as pleasant Possibility which Catherine related as well to her role as a mother within her narratives. Catherine described positive experiences with driving after becoming a mother, where situations that involved conscious and voluntary driving, meant a pleasant possibility of mobility and relaxed family time to her: *“Yes, also I always thought about mobility and that it is nice, especially in this car, that we could drive all together and that we could consciously take the car to experience something”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 7.6). She mentioned family excursions and highlights for the kids that were enabled through her driving activity. As her children enjoyed the driving and driving together in this context, Catherine explained, she enjoyed it as well: *“Yes, when we...when we then were on the way with four kids together in this [new] car, we went on many great trips. First and foremost, to amusement parks and big playgrounds and we also visited friends and while we were on the road the kids started to play games related to cars, namely ‘Yellow car’, then you always exchanged high-fives and I really enjoyed that. Or we did sing in the car together with the kids, pretty weird but for us it was enough and the kids enjoyed it that we were all together since in the car you also did not sit behind each other but facing each other with a small table in the middle and then the kids played board games and everything during the drive. That was really relaxed”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 8.6).

Driving Cessation:

When talking about driving cessation, Catherine mentioned that she fears driving cessation, as this would likely change the circumstances of her life, namely forcing her to stop living in the countryside. Nevertheless, Catherine did not seem to be worried about driving cessation in relation to a possible loss of the personal meanings which she connected with driving. Rather, Catherine explained that she thinks that the main meaning, which driving has to her, would change in the light of driving cessation: *“I also do not think that [car driving] will still have this meaning then. I see it with my parents or, more specifically, with my mother who did drive until she was 82 years old. She certainly only used the car to go grocery shopping and something like this but not to visit other people or to make trips or whatever. I think the meaning [of driving] will basically narrow to independent living and will not be about trips or travelling or whatever anymore”* (see Appendix C for the German version of Quotation 9.6).

Discussion

The aim of this study was to get a better understanding of the special importance of car driving and its effects on the consequences of driving cessation by investigating a possible relationship between German older adults' driving related experiences and their narrative identities. Therefore, it was explored how memories of driving activity were narrated by these older adults, more specifically, what kind of themes and meanings appeared in those possibly identity relevant narratives. Moreover, it was examined how those German older adults integrated the meaning of actual or anticipated driving cessation within their car driving related narratives.

The findings of this study corroborate the initial assumption that car driving has a distinct importance that reaches beyond the means of transportation. Not only did every participant, to a greater or lesser degree, narrate about his or her experiences with driving activity but, all interviewees could tell some narrative of their driving experiences that conveyed a meaning, other than mobility, to them. As expected, the themes and meanings that appeared within the participant's narratives were very diverse and individual. First, the themes ranged from rather self-focused to more other focused. Catherine's narratives, for example, covered the theme of Driving as a 'Place for Thinking', where she described the meditative effects and uses that driving had for her personally. The theme Conduct on the Road, however, concentrated on responsible behaviour toward other road users and future generations, which Amanda considered to be the duty of every driver. Furthermore, some themes were more concerned with emotions, e.g. positive emotions as in Bob's, Catherine's and Chris' focus on Pleasure and Freedom, or negative emotions, like in Chris' narratives about danger. In contrast, other themes dealt with rather practical content, i.e. in the focus of Anthony who talked about Driving as a Means for Transportation. As stated earlier, change in the meanings that were related to driving, was a recurrent theme as well. Mostly such changes were described as proceeding from positive to negative meanings, such as from pleasure to stress in Bob's case or from luxury to practicality as Chris described it.

In conformity with the narrative identity approach (McAdams & McLean, 2013), most participants derived at conclusions about who they are from telling their narratives. Meaning-making out of driving related experiences could, for example, be found in the narratives of Amanda who related her memories of car driving to her personal ability to master difficulties. Furthermore, meaning making was present in the narratives of Betty and Catherine who both

draw conclusions, of how they fulfilled their role as a mother from their experiences with driving activity. The meanings that participants drew from their driving related narratives, were partially in line with those meanings found in Siren and Hakamies-Blomqvist's (2005) and the other studies mentioned in the introduction. For example, meanings of freedom and independence could be found within the narratives of the German older adults as well. Contrary to Eisenhandler (1990), however, no participant related driving activity to 'not being old'. A reason for this might be that the asphalt identikit, like Pachana and Jetten (2015) and Pachana et al. (2016), did focus more on the influence of the obtainment a driver's license on identity, and less on the influence of driving activity itself. In this study, however, the meaning of their driver's license was not discussed with the participants during the interviews. Only Bob mentioned that his driver's license had an important symbolic meaning for him, but he remained unclear about whether this meaning could have been something like the disidentifier with old age as stated in Eisenhandler's (1990) asphalt identikit.

When interpreting the results in terms of McLean et al.'s (2019) empirical three-factor structure, features of the narrative identity relevant factors Affective and Motivational Themes, and Autobiographical Reasoning could be found to a certain degree in all participants' narratives. Again, there was much variety between participants in terms of how and how much they focused on Affective and Motivational Themes, and Autobiographical Reasoning. Moreover, the style of narrating driving related memories varied much in detail and strength of self-relevance between interviewees. When comparing the differences between participants, it was noticeable that there is a contrast in the way men and women narrated their experiences of driving. Overall, the male participants talked rather shallow and descriptive about their memories related to driving. Neither agency nor communion seemed to play a significant role in the men's narratives and they mostly framed their driving activity related memories in negative terms. This negative valence was, for example, related to the danger and stressfulness the men saw in car driving. Instead of engaging in autobiographical reasoning, they related car driving to rather general meanings. Those meanings were mostly pragmatic, like Chris' focus on Transportation and Subsistence or Bob's focus on Risk. Although driving activity was also related to some general positive meanings like pleasure and freedom by the male interviewees, it seemed like car driving had, overall, a more practical than narrative identity-related importance for them.

The female participants, however, provided rich and detailed narratives. In relation to Affective and Motivational Themes, the female interviewees talked in more positive terms and

with a clearer focus on agency and communion about their driving. For example, Amanda's focus on Mastering Difficulties or Catherine's focus on Individual Independence and Freedom were strongly positive framed accounts of their own agency in relation to their driving experiences. Moreover, Catherine's focusing on her Driving as a Mother was positively, yet also negatively, expressed and concerned communion as she narrated how her driving experiences affected her connection with her children. In the light of Autobiographical Reasoning, women seemed to relate their experiences with driving more to their self-concept. For instance, Amanda concluded in her story that driving meant to her emancipation from her father as mastering driving changed her self-concept and showed her that she could reach her goals, even though her environment argued for the contrary. This is in line with Eisenhandler (1990) who stated that car driving enables the driver to identify as a competent individual. Furthermore, Betty and Catherine engaged in Autobiographical Reasoning since they related their experiences with car driving to how it enabled but also hindered them in fulfilling their role as a mother. Overall, the women were more reflective when narrating their memories of driving activity which suggested that car driving had rather personal than only practical meanings to them. This was in line with Siren and Hakamies-Blomqvist's (2005), who also found rather personal meanings, such as emancipation, duty and responsibility in the driving related narratives of women.

The gender differences in both narrative style and content in this study indicate that there could be a stronger relation between driving activity and narrative identity in women than in men and that for men the importance of driving might be rather confined to its practicality. Generally, driving activity appears to have a more personal meaning for the women but only a general and rather practical meaning for the men. These findings seem counterintuitive when thinking of common stereotypes about car driving as being a particularly male field of interest. Since whether in advertisements, TV programs or newspapers, driving activity occurs to be rather associated with men, one would as well expect driving to have a more personal meaning for men than for women. On the one hand, it might be that the astonishing results of the present study were caused by the very small sample size of six participants. Due to the exploratory nature of this research, it is difficult to draw a generalizable conclusion about a possible gender difference in the relation between narrative identity and experiences with car driving. On the other hand, it has been suggested that women have overall more elaborated narrative identities than men (McLean, 2008). This could explain why during the interviews it was relatively easier to find out about the personal meanings and self-relevance of driving activity for the female

than for the male participants. Apart from that, Siren and Hakamies-Blomqvist's (2005) found that especially the personal meanings that older women attach to driving activity are less embedded in our conceptions of car driving because older women are marginalized as drivers. Therefore, the results of the current study might also only appear counterintuitive because one usually does only learn about the importance of car driving for men but not about that for women.

When talking about driving cessation, the participants seemed to rather view this as a separate topic and did not really connect their anticipations or memories of driving cessation to the other driving-related narratives they had told. Generally, driving cessation appears to be less of an emotional but more a practical issue for all participants. Both men and women did not really connect meaning to but rather analytically describe their (anticipated) driving cessation. While it was sometimes accepted and sometimes feared by the participants, except from Bob for whom the driver's license had a symbolic meaning, all participants were rather concerned with losing their mobility than any emotional or personal relevance of driving. Thus, it seems as if driving cessation generally has not much relevance for the narrative identities of the German older adults in the current study. This might indicate that the negative consequences of driving cessation could be less likely caused by a presumed effect of the cessation of driving activity on narrative identity than by the practical and social identity related implications of the loss of one's driver's license. On the other hand, these results could possibly be also explained by the circumstance that only one participant who actually experienced driving cessation, could be sampled. Although her driving cessation did not appear to influence Amanda's narrative identity much, this was too little information to conclude general nonexistence of such an influence. Moreover, although there was no influence of anticipated cessation of driving activity in the other participants too, that might not imply that there cannot be an effect if it comes to actual driving cessation in those participants. For this reason, the second research question regarding how German older adults integrate driving cessation within their narrative identity could be answered only limitedly.

Strengths and Weaknesses

The method of the life story interview (McAdams, 2008) in conjunction with a holistic content approach (Lieblich et al., 1993) appears to be one of the strengths of this study as they enabled relatively broad and impartial insights into the participants' own experience of their driving activity. Especially against the background of marginalization of older female drivers

(Siren & Hakamies-Blomqvist, 2005), an unbiased investigation of the meaning that car driving had for the participants is valuable. Moreover, since this was the first study that examined the possible importance of driving activity for peoples' narrative identity it was necessary to choose such an exploratory approach. However, the researcher was still a student who was rather untrained in conducting life story interviews or interviews in general, as well as in applying the holistic content analysis. Nevertheless, to still be able to ensure virtual reliability and validity of the study results, several actions were taken to compensate for the researcher's own inexperience. First, regularly debriefings about the study design and progress were held with the researcher's supervisor so that the researcher could benefit from the supervisor's more profound experience. Furthermore, to ensure the reliability of the coding process, the first interview transcript was coded independently by the researcher and by a second student researcher too. This second student researcher was experienced in so far as she had to use the same method of analysis in her study. Differences in the two codings of the first interview transcript were discussed and negotiated to ensure that the development of the coding schemes was not biased by the subjective perception or frame of reference of the researcher.

This frame of reference of the researcher, however, seems not only to be a potential weakness but also a potential strength of the research. When participants hesitated to tell driving related narratives or when they did not know where to start, the interviewer could encourage them by suggesting some of the experiences which she knew the participants had made with car driving. Nevertheless, her knowledge about the interviewees' experiences also caused the student researcher to get difficulties with not using too much closed questions or directive probes and with attuning to the interviewees' answers. Eventually, the interviewer expected certain answers of the participants but disregarded others. The close relationship between interviewer and interviewees, however, facilitated a good rapport and trust and, thereby enabled the researcher to ask also for more sensitive topics, like accidents. In this way, very personal and detailed narratives could be obtained from the participants, which might have remained concealed if someone less known by the participants had conducted the interviews.

Further Research and Implications

Since the current study was only very exploratory and the first of its kind, its results cannot be generalized to other participants in other study settings yet. Nevertheless, this study could corroborate the assumption that driving activity might be significant for narrative identity and, furthermore, indicated that the kind of this significance is likely very individual depending

on the particular person and their experiences with driving activity. Therefore, future research could build up on the current study, in order to examine whether its results can hold in general. Future qualitative studies could, for example, further improve the reliability and validity of the findings by interviewing older adults unknown to the interviewer in question. This could help to ensure that a relationship between interviewer and interviewees does not distort results, either by means of the interviewer's frame of reference or through discomfort in the interviewees. Additionally, more interviewees could be sampled to enable a categorical content analysis with a deductive coding round using a coding scheme informed by the three-factor structure of narrative identity (McLean et al., 2019). This would appropriately expand the scope of the current research which was rather concerned with the general themes and meanings of driving related narratives and, furthermore, would enable to explicitly investigate whether the gender differences found in this study could relate to an actual difference in the relation of driving activity and narrative identity between men and women. Moreover, by sampling more participants who actually ceased driving it could be reviewed whether there is really no association between the influence of driving activity on narrative identity and the negative effects of driving cessation. Finally, in future studies, a professional translation service should be used to prevent a distortion of the results, especially in the possible event of non-German researchers wanting to use the study results.

Outcomes of the current and future studies could inform the development of driving cessation interventions. While at the present time such interventions aim more at practical support for older adults who want to cease driving, future interventions should also consider providing psychological support during the process of driving cessation (Cameron et al., 2016). This is important since a possible impact of driving cessation on narrative identity cannot be ruled out. Moreover, intervention developers might want to take into account that driving cessation could have a different meaning and impact for men than for women or could even be more personally related to the character and the experiences of the person who wants to cease driving. Therefore, it might be reasonable to use the results of the current study to provide individually tailored driving cessation intervention programs. Overall, especially in Germany, the findings of this research should be regarded, when deciding whether and under what conditions driving cessation for older adults should be regulated by law.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding that further qualitative and quantitative research still has to be conducted, this study provided more clarity about the self-contained importance of driving activity for identity, independent of the possession of a driver's license. Overall, the current study provides first evidence for the assumption that car driving experiences are important to the narrative identities of German older adults, albeit the driving activity related themes and meanings that lead to this importance, as well as the general significance of car driving, might be very individual from person to person. Nevertheless, one possible pattern in this importance might be that driving activity has a rather personal meaning for women but a more practical meaning for men. To what extent the suggested relation of experiences with driving activity and narrative identity might or might not affect the emotional consequences of driving cessation has yet to be investigated.

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Appendix A: Interview Scheme

Einleitung

Dies ist ein Interview über Deine Lebensgeschichte im Zusammenhang mit den Erfahrungen die Du mit Autos und/oder Autofahren gemacht hast. Als Sozialwissenschaftlerin bin ich daran interessiert Deine Geschichte zu hören, eingeschlossen der Vergangenheit an die Du Dich erinnerst und der Zukunft, die Du Dir vorstellst. Die Geschichte ist selektiv; das heißt sie muss nicht alles was Dir jemals passiert ist beinhalten. Stattdessen werde ich Dich bitten Dich auf einige wenige Haupterinnerungen aus Deinem Leben die Du mit Autos oder Autofahren verbindest, zu fokussieren (z.B. das Spielen mit Spielzeugautos als Kind; in den Urlaub fahren; Deine allererste Fahrt; mit dem Auto zur Arbeit pendeln; ...). Es gibt keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten auf meine Fragen. Stattdessen ist Dein Auftrag mir einfach etwas über die wichtigsten Dinge die in Deinem Leben in Zusammenhang mit Autos und Autofahren passiert sind, und wie Du Dir Dein Leben in diesem Zusammenhang in Zukunft ausmalst, zu erzählen. Ich werde Dich durch das Interview leiten, so dass wir es in zwei Stunden oder weniger abschließen können.

Bitte nimm zur Kenntnis, dass mein Zweck dieses Interview durchzuführen NICHT ist, herauszufinden ob etwas mit Dir nicht stimmt oder irgendeine Art von klinischer Analyse durchzuführen! Genauso wenig solltest Du dieses Interview als eine Art „Therapiesitzung“ sehen. Dieses Interview dient einzig und allein Forschungszwecken und dazu Studenten in wissenschaftlichem Arbeiten zu trainieren, und sein Hauptziel ist es einfach Deine Geschichte zu hören. Sozialwissenschaftler sammeln die Lebensgeschichten von Menschen um die unterschiedlichen Wege in denen Menschen in unserer und in anderen Gesellschaften ihr Leben leben zu verstehen und um die verschiedenen Wege auf denen Menschen herausfinden wer sie sind, zu verstehen. Alles was Du hier sagst ist freiwillig, anonym und vertraulich.

Ich denke Du wirst das Interview genießen. Hast Du noch irgendwelche Fragen?

A. Lebens Kapitel

Bitte beginne indem Du Dir Dein Leben vorstellst als wäre es ein Buch oder eine Geschichte, die alle wichtigen persönlichen Erfahrungen die Du mit Autos und/oder Autofahren in Verbindung bringst, beinhaltet. Stell dir vor, dass das Buch ein Inhaltsverzeichnis mit den Titeln der wichtigsten Kapitel Deiner Geschichte beinhaltet. Zu Beginn beschreibe bitte kurz und knapp was diese wichtigsten Kapitel in Deinem Buch sein könnten. Bitte gib jedem Kapitel

einen Namen und erzähle mir ein kleines bisschen über den Inhalt jedes Kapitels, und sage ein zwei Worte über die Übergänge von einem Kapitel zum nächsten. Als Erzähler solltest Du mir in Großen und Ganzen eine Zusammenfassung des Handlungsablaufes Deiner Geschichte von Kapitel zu Kapitel geben. Du kannst so viele Kapitel auswählen wie Du möchtest aber ich würde empfehlen Dich auf eine Anzahl zwischen 2 und 7 zu beschränken. Wir sollten nicht mehr als 20 Minuten für diesen ersten Teil des Interviews verwenden, deswegen halte die Beschreibungen Deiner Kapitel bitte relativ kurz.

B. Haupterinnerungen in der Lebensgeschichte

Nun, da Du den generellen Handlungsablauf Deiner Lebenserfahrungen mit Autos und Autofahren dargelegt hast, würde ich den Fokus gerne auf einige wenige Haupterinnerungen lenken, die aus Deiner Geschichte herausstechen. Eine Haupterinnerung ist ein Ereignis, das zu einer bestimmten Zeit an einem bestimmten Ort passiert ist. Betrachte eine Haupterinnerung als einen Moment in deiner Lebensgeschichte, im Zusammenhang mit Autos und als Autofahrer, der aus einem bestimmten Grund heraussticht – eventuell, weil dieser Moment eine besonders gute oder schlechte, anschauliche, wichtige oder denkwürdige Erinnerung für Dich ist. Für jede dieser Haupterinnerungen werde ich Dich bitten im Detail zu beschreiben was passiert ist, wann und wo es passiert ist, und was Du in diesem Moment gedacht und gefühlt hast. Außerdem werde ich Dich fragen warum Du denkst, dass dieser Moment besonders wichtig in deinem Leben ist, was dieser Moment für Dich bedeutet und was Du denkst was dieser Moment über Dich als Person aussagt. Bitte sei spezifisch in Deinen Beschreibungen.

1. Haupterinnerungen: Kindheit

Bitte beschreibe ein oder zwei frühe Erinnerungen (aus Deiner Kindheit oder Jugend) die als besonders positive, negative, anschauliche oder bedeutungsvolle Erinnerungen an Autos und/oder Autofahren herausstechen. Bitte beschreibe diese Erinnerungen im Detail. Was ist passiert, wo und wann ist es passiert, wer war involviert und was hast Du gedacht und gefühlt? Warum ist dieser Moment eine Haupterinnerung für Dich? Was bedeutet dieser Moment für Dich und was sagt er über Dich und Dein Leben aus?

2. Haupterinnerungen: Erwachsenenleben

Bitte beschreibe zwei oder drei Erinnerungen (Episoden oder Momente) die als besonders positive, negative, anschauliche oder bedeutungsvolle Erinnerungen an Autos und Autofahren während deines Erwachsenenlebens herausstechen. Bitte beschreibe diese

Erinnerungen im Detail. Was ist passiert, wo und wann ist es passiert, wer war involviert und was hast Du gedacht und gefühlt? Warum ist dieser Moment eine Haupterinnerung für Dich? Was bedeutet dieser Moment für Dich und was sagt er über Dich und Dein Leben aus?

3. Wendepunkt

Wenn Du über Dein Leben zurückblickst, ist es eventuell möglich bestimmte Haupterinnerungen zu identifizieren, die als Wendepunkte herausstechen – Episoden die eine wichtige Veränderung in Dir, in den Bedeutungen und/oder der Wichtigkeit die Autos und Autofahren für Dich haben, kennzeichnen. Bitte identifiziere eine bestimmte Episode in Deiner Lebensgeschichte, die Du nun als einen solchen Wendepunkt wahrnimmst. Wenn Du keinen Hauptwendepunkt, der besonders hervorsticht, identifizieren kannst, beschreibe bitte einen Moment in Deinem Leben in dem Du eine wichtige Veränderung im Zusammenhang mit (der Bedeutung von) Autos und/oder Autofahren durchgemacht hast. Bitte beschreibe erneut was passiert ist, wo und wann es passiert ist, wer involviert war, und was du gedacht und gefühlt hast. Warum ist dieser Moment/diese Episode ein Wendepunkt für Dich und was bedeutet dieser Wendepunkt für Dich und was sagt er über Dich und Dein Leben aus?

Nun werden wir über die Zukunft sprechen.

C. Zukunfts-Skript

1. Das nächste Kapitel

Deine Lebensgeschichte über Autos und Autofahren beinhaltet Hauptkapitel und Erinnerungen aus Deiner Vergangenheit, die Du beschrieben hast, aber sie beinhaltet auch wie Du Dir Deine Zukunft vorstellst. Bitte beschreibe was Du als Dein nächstes Kapitel in deinem Leben mit Autos und Autofahren siehst.

2. Träume, Hoffnungen und Pläne für die Zukunft

Bitte beschreibe deine Pläne, Träume oder Hoffnungen für Deine Zukunft als Autofahrer/im Zusammenhang mit Autos.

3. Erwartete oder tatsächliche Beendigung des Autofahrens

Bitte beschreibe was Du denkst und fühlst, wenn Du Dir vorstellst and irgendeinem Punkt in deinem Leben aufzuhören Auto zu fahren. Bitte beschreibe was das für Dich bedeuten würde und was es über Dich und Dein Leben aussagen würde. / Bitte beschreibe deine Erinnerungen daran wie Du aufgehört hast Auto zu fahren. Was ist passiert, wo und wann ist

es passiert, wer war involviert und was hast du gedacht und gefühlt? Was hat es für Dich bedeutet mit dem Autofahren aufzuhören? (Falls du diesen Moment als Verlust empfunden hast, beschreibe bitte diesen Verlust und den Prozess des Verlustes. Wie bist du mit dem Verlust umgegangen? Welchen Einfluss hatte dieser Verlust auf Dich und Deine Lebensgeschichte?)

F. Lebens-Thema

Wenn Du über Deine gesamte Lebensgeschichte im Zusammenhang mit Autos und Autofahren zurückblickst, mit all ihren Kapiteln und Momenten aus der Vergangenheit und in der Zukunft, kannst du ein zentrales Thema, eine Botschaft oder Idee die sich durch die gesamte Geschichte ziehen, erkennen? Was ist dieses Haupt-Thema? Gibt es eine generelle Bedeutung die das Autofahren für Dich hat? Bitte erkläre.

G. Reflektion

Vielen Dank für Deine Teilnahme an diesem Interview. Ich habe nur noch eine weitere Frage an Dich. Viele der Geschichten die Du mir heute erzählt hast handeln von Erinnerungen die aus dem Alltag herausstechen. In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass die meisten Leute ihre Lebensgeschichte normalerweise nicht auf diesem Weg teilen, frage ich mich, ob Du eventuell für einen letzten Moment darüber reflektieren könntest, wie dieses Interview heute für Dich war. Was waren Deine Gedanken und Gefühle während des Interviews? Was denkst Du hatte dieses Interview für einen Effekt auf Dich? Hast Du irgendwelche weiteren Fragen oder Anmerkungen zum Interview-Prozess?

Appendix B: Information Sheet and Informed Consent

Informationsblatt

Sehr geehrte/r Frau/Herr ...,

Dieses Informationsblatt dient dazu Sie über den Zweck, die Prozedur (mit allen verbundenen Risiken und Vorteilen), und Ihre Rechte als Teilnehmer dieser wissenschaftlichen Studie zu informieren, sowie Sie darüber wie Ihre Daten genutzt, gespeichert und gesichert werden in Kenntnis zu setzen. Ich [Isabelle Fabienne Klukas] möchte hiermit sicherstellen, dass Sie über die Art meiner Studie Bescheid wissen und, dass Sie sich bewusst sind, dass Ihr Einverständnis zu jeder Zeit freiwillig ist. Sollten Sie irgendwelche Fragen haben, fragen Sie mich gerne jederzeit.

Diese wissenschaftliche Studie wird zu Trainingszwecken der Bachelorstudentin Isabelle Fabienne Klukas durchgeführt und ist eine Grundvoraussetzung zur Erlangung des Bachelor of Science in Psychologie an der Universität Twente. Des Weiteren hat die Studie den Zweck ein besseres Verständnis dafür zu schaffen, welche Bedeutung Lebenserfahrungen mit Autofahren für Menschen ab 60, die in ländlichen Gebieten oder Kleinstädten in Deutschland leben, haben.

Ihre Teilnahme beinhaltet ein ca. zweistündiges Interview und wird wahrscheinlich ein besseres Verständnis der psychologischen Dimension des Autofahrens (persönliche Bedeutungen) ermöglichen. Die Ergebnisse der Studie könnten für Programme zur Unterstützung der Aufgabe des Autofahrens oder zur Verbesserung alternativer Transportmöglichkeiten von Nutzen sein. Um die ethische Korrektheit dieser wissenschaftlichen Studie zu gewährleisten, wurde sie vom BMS Ethik Komitee gesichtet und genehmigt. Trotzdem könnten einige Fragen des Interviews negative Erinnerungen oder Vorstellungen betreffen und deswegen unangenehm für Sie sein. Deswegen seien Sie sich bitte bewusst, dass Sie Ihre Teilnahme an diesem Interview zu jeder Zeit widerrufen oder abbrechen können, ohne einen Grund hierfür nennen zu müssen. Außerdem können Sie jederzeit die Antwort zu einer bestimmten Frage verweigern.

Während des Interviews werde ich Sie bitten über bestimmte Erinnerungen, Erfahrungen und Erwartungen im Zusammenhang mit Autos und Autofahren zu sprechen. Um die Daten die ich in diesem Interview gewinne, interpretieren zu können, muss ich eine Tonaufnahme des

Interviews anfertigen. Sollten Sie hiermit nicht einverstanden sein, müssen Sie Ihre Teilnahme an der Studie zurückziehen. Des Weiteren werde ich das aufgenommene Interview transkribieren. Teile dieses Transkriptes werde ich möglicherweise ins Englische übersetzen und in meinem wissenschaftlichen Bericht zitieren. Mittels einer holistischen Inhaltsanalyse werde ich das Transkript des Interviews analysieren, um ein besseres Verständnis davon zu bekommen, welche Bedeutung lebenslange Erfahrungen mit Autos und Autofahren für Menschen haben können. Des Weiteren werde ich Ihr Alter und Ihr Geschlecht dokumentieren, um die Interpretation meiner Daten richtig kontextualisieren zu können. Zu jeder Zeit, während und nach meiner wissenschaftlichen Studie, haben Sie das Recht Zugang zu, Berichtigung, oder Löschung Ihrer persönlichen Daten zu verlangen.

Alle Namen und Orte werden für den Zweck der Studie pseudonymisiert und Klarnamen werden zu keinem Zeitpunkt dokumentiert oder gespeichert. Das Transkript des Interviews wird im ISO 27001- und NEN 7510-zertifizierten Home Verzeichnis oder Projekt und Organisations Verzeichnis, das vom UT (LISA) Service gehandhabt wird gespeichert, um sichere Datenspeicherung zu gewährleisten. Außerdem werde ich eine Kopie der Tonaufnahme auf der lokalen Festplatte meines Laptops speichern, um die Transkription der Tonaufnahme durchführen zu können. Sobald die Transkription durchgeführt ist, werde ich die Kopie der Tonaufnahme von meinem Laptop löschen. Um die sichere Speicherung auf der lokalen Festplatte meines Laptops zu gewährleisten werden die Tonaufnahme, sowie das pseudonymisierte Transkript mit dem Programm VeraCrypt verschlüsselt. Des Weiteren ist der Zugang zu meinem Laptop durch meinen Fingerabdruck, sowie durch ein Passwort und eine PIN, die jeweils nur ich kenne, gesichert. Nach Beendigung der Studie müssen die Rohdaten (das Transkript des Interviews) für zehn Jahre im ISO 27001- und NEN 7510-zertifizierten Home Verzeichnis oder Projekt und Organisations Verzeichnis gespeichert werden, um eine eventuelle Gültigkeitsprüfung der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit zu ermöglichen, wohingegen die Tonaufnahme permanent gelöscht wird. Der Volltext meines wissenschaftlichen Berichtes wird von der Universität Twente archiviert und kann über die Webseite essay.utwente.nl öffentlich eingesehen werden.

Formular Informiertes Einverständnis für die Studie: ‘Exploring how Lifespan Experiences with Car Driving relate to the Narrative Identities of German Older Adults’

Bitte ankreuzen

Ja **Nein**

Teilnahme an der Studie

Ich habe die Informationen über die oben genannte wissenschaftliche Studie am 11.05.2019 gelesen und verstanden. Ich hatte die Möglichkeit Fragen über die Studie zu stellen und meine Fragen wurden zu meiner Zufriedenstellung beantwortet.

Ich stimme freiwillig zu an dieser Studie teilzunehmen und ich verstehe das ich jederzeit Antworten auf Fragen verweigern oder meine Teilnahme abbrechen kann, ohne dafür einen Grund nennen zu müssen.

Ich verstehe, dass die Teilnahme an der Studie ein Interview mit Tonaufnahme beinhaltet. Nach dem Interview darf diese Tonaufnahme transkribiert werden, Teile des Transkripts dürfen ins Englische übersetzt und in dem wissenschaftlichen Bericht über die Studie zitiert werden.

Risiken im Zusammenhang mit einer Teilnahme an der Studie

Ich verstehe, dass die Teilnahme an der Studie folgende Risiken beinhalten könnte: einige Fragen könnten negative Erinnerungen oder Vorstellungen betreffen, diese könnte ich als unangenehm empfinden.

Datennutzung

Ich verstehe, dass die Informationen die durch das Interview gewonnen werden, von Isabelle Fabienne Klukas zum Schreiben ihrer Bachelor These genutzt werden.

Ich verstehe, dass persönliche Informationen, durch die man mich identifizieren könnte (z.B. mein Name oder mein Wohnort) nicht veröffentlicht oder anderweitig geteilt werden.

Ich stimme zu, dass die Antworten die ich während des Interviews gebe in Isabelle Fabienne Klukas wissenschaftlicher Studie zitiert werden dürfen.

Zustimmung zur Tonaufnahme

Ich stimme zu, dass von dem Interview, an dem ich teilnehme, eine Tonaufnahme angefertigt werden darf.

Zukünftige Nutzung und Wiederverwendung der Daten

Ich gebe meine Zustimmung, dass das Transkript des Interviews im ISO 27001- und NEN 7510-zertifizierten Home Verzeichnis oder Projekt und Organisations Verzeichnis, das vom UT (LISA) Service gehandhabt wird, für zehn Jahre archiviert werden darf, um eine eventuelle Gültigkeitsprüfung der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit zu ermöglichen.

Ich stimme zu, dass die durch das Interview gewonnenen Informationen für zukünftige Studien dieser Art mit anderen Forschern geteilt werden dürfen. Dies beinhaltet KEINE Informationen durch die ich direkt identifizierbar bin. Zukünftige Forscher werden mich NICHT für eine erneute Einwilligung zur Nutzung dieser Information kontaktieren. Die Daten dürfen NICHT zu kommerziellen Zwecken weitergegeben werden.

Unterschriften

_____	_____	_____
Name	Unterschrift	Datum

Ich habe das Informationsblatt zur informierten Zustimmung korrekt an meinen potentiellen Studienteilnehmer ausgehändigt und kann, nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen, bezeugen, dass er dieses gelesen hat und verstanden hat, dass seine Teilnahme an der Studie freiwillig ist.

_____	_____	_____
Isabelle Fabienne Klukas	Unterschrift	Datum

Kontakt Details für weitere Informationen zur Studie

Isabelle Fabienne Klukas, i.f.klukas@student.utwente.nl

Kontakt Informationen für Fragen zu Ihren Rechten als Teilnehmer an einer wissenschaftlichen Studie

Sollten Sie irgendwelche Fragen zu Ihren Rechten als Teilnehmer an einer wissenschaftlichen Studie haben, oder sollten Sie weitere Informationen wünschen, oder sollten Sie irgendwelche Anliegen mit der oben genannten Studie mit jemand anderem als Isabelle Fabienne Klukas besprechen wollen, kontaktieren sie bitte das Sekretariat des Ethik Komitees der Fakultät Behavioural, Management and Social Sciences der Universität Twente via ethicscommittee-bms@utwente.nl

Appendix C: German Versions of Quotations

Quotations Amanda

Quotation 1.1:

“Das, nicht wenn einer sagt hier: ‚Das kannst du nicht‘, ich meine dann bin ich nicht so, dann denke ich immer: ‚Na ja, ob du es kannst oder nicht kannst, das musst du ja erstmal beweisen, ob du es kannst oder nicht kannst‘.“

Quotation 2.1:

„...wenn ich das will und mir Mühe gebe und dann auch die anderen sagen: ‚Nee, das kannst du nicht so‘, wenn ich mir Mühe gebe und das will und mich auch anstrenge...wenn ich mich nicht anstrenge geht es ja nicht...und auch so zur Fahrschule gegangen bin und das so alles...dass ich das dann auch das schaffe!“

Quotation 3.1:

„Auch z.B. hier die Autobahn: ‚Oh Gott die Autobahn und da kommt hinten ein Auto und dann noch ein Lastwagen, oh Gott oh Gott! Da musst du ja drauf achten, der kommt der erst...‘. Später was, naja was hast du da so gedacht, so naja: ‚Da kommt ein Auto, dann muss ich...dann werde ich den überholen. Ich zuckte da ja nicht hinterher‘. Da war das anders. Aber du bist mit dem Verkehr gewachsen“

Quotation 4.1:

„Ja, das war so die erste Fahrt die alleine für mich...und dann so, das gab dann eine Bestätigung. Na ja, du musst das machen, dann kannst du das auch, aber wenn das nicht machst und das Auto in der Garage stehen lässt, dann geht das nicht“

Quotation 5.1:

“Wir wollten uns immer abwechseln. Das ging nicht, ich sagte: ‚Das geht nicht! Ich habe zwar noch nicht lange in einen Führerschein aber es nützt alles nichts, du kannst mit meinem Auto nicht fahren, du machst das Auto kaputt‘, und dann bin ich die ganze Zeit gefahren. Dann wurde ich immer sicherer und dann habe ich gemerkt: ‚Oh, das geht gar nicht so schlecht. Das kannst du gar nicht so schlecht. Dein Bruder, der kann das nicht wie du‘. Früher...die Brüder sind dann immer so, die werden vorgezogen und ich als Mädchen dann nicht so und dann habe ich das...also da habe ich gedacht: ‚Du kannst doch fahren. Du machst das gar nicht so schlecht‘.“

Quotation 6.1:

„Also ich persönlich hatte immer so ein komisches Gefühl ‚Du hast das nicht selbst... du kannst das nicht selbst machen‘, weil W das immer gemacht hat. Wenn es dann nicht ging, dann habe ich immer angerufen: ‚Komm doch und mach das!‘, diese...diese innere Sicherheit, dass du das alleine bewältigen kannst, die fehlte. Denn ich habe zu wenig Kenntnisse gehabt um...ich konnte im Röntgen mit Technik gut umgehen, aber das war was anderes“

Quotation 7.1:

“Dann war es auch immer so, wenn du nicht so ganz...ganz sicher warst, die Leute haben einem unwahrscheinlich geholfen. Also das muss man sagen, so was Nettes. Dann konnte ich nicht in eine Parklücke rein, dann haben die sich hingestellt und haben gewartet bis ich drin war. Ich habe gesagt: ‚Ich kann aber nicht so schnell. Ich bin langsam‘. ‚Macht nichts, dann stehe ich da und warte bis...bis sie da drin sind und den Platz den sie mir lassen, wo ich meine da könnte ich noch reinpassen, da fahre ich eben rein‘. [...] Oh, ich war froh, ich war froh bis zum geht nicht mehr. Ich habe gedacht: ‚Schön‘, und dann hat er ja auch so aufgepasst und nachher habe ich mich so ganz sicher gefühlt, wenn er danebensteht und aufpasst und guckt“

Quotation 8.1:

“Dass man sich auch bestimmt verhalten sollte und wenn man dann selber über die Straßen gehen möchte, dass man dann erst guckt oder, wenn die, ich finde, wenn die einen rüber lassen, dass man so winkt oder das man zeigt, dass man sich gefreut hat, dass sie angehalten haben“.

Quotation 9.1:

“Rücksicht ist wichtig finde ich, auch wenn du nicht rücksichtsvoll fährst, wie sollen die Kinder das Lernen? Wir lassen auch immer Kinder rüber, weil bei Kindern ist wichtig, nicht dass sie so dann laufen, weil sie Angst haben: ‚hier da kommt ein Autofahrer‘, denn das ist für uns unwahrscheinlich wichtig, das man rücksichtsvoll ist. Wenn man weiß, dass man das sowieso älter ist, dann ist rücksichtsvoll also sehr wichtig“

Quotation 10.1:

“Ja, wir haben vorher schon...wir haben nur nicht gewusst mit dem Diesel, wir haben auch lange Diesel gefahren, aber als wir noch gewohnt hatten oben in K, da fing es schon an zu überlegen und umweltfreundlich, das Ding ist umweltfreundlich, das kannst du überall...kannst du überall hinfahren, denn der macht ja keine...kein Gift“

Quotation 11.1:

“Ja, dann kriegte ich es mit den Augen und zwar grauen Star. Das ging aber noch. Ich musste den grauen Star dann operieren lassen und an beiden Augen [...]. Dann wurde es operiert und also vorher, bevor es operiert war habe ich gesagt: ‚Ich fahre nicht mehr Auto. Ich bin irgendwie für das...für den Verkehr so ein Störfaktor‘, weil ich mich immer konzentrieren musste ganz doll, dass ich keinen irgendwie anfare oder so. Du bist dann auch ein bisschen langsamer, also es ging noch so, aber du hast das Gefühl: ‚Ich kann nicht so schnell fahren‘, und das heißt ich kann mich dem Verkehr nicht angleichen. Das war mir irgendwie zu blöd”

Quotation 12.1:

“Wenn ich die Gefahr bedenke, vor allen Dingen bei Kindern, das wäre also...na ich meine, einen Erwachsenen um zu fahren ist ja auch nicht gerade das Gelbe vom Ei, aber bei Kindern...wir haben hier auch Kinder, das ist mir zu gefährlich“

Quotation 13.1:

“Ja, also ich habe gedacht: ‚Ist nicht so schlimm‘, dann habe ich gedacht: ‚Fährst du eben Schiff‘.”

Quotation 14.1:

“Ich glaube nicht, da bin ich auch nicht mehr...da hatte ich ja auch nicht mehr so das Problem, dass ich noch irgendwo hinmusste. Wenn ich irgendwo hinwollte, dann bin ich mit Anthony gefahren”

Quotation 15.1:

„Nee, und also das war ja immer noch Anthony dabei, darum hat mich das nicht so beeindruckt. Wenn der Anthony nicht da gewesen wäre und ich hätte...also mich hätte sehr beeinflusst, wenn ich hätte Bus fahren müssen, denn das ist auch ein Zeitfaktor“

Quotations Anthony

Quotation 1.2:

“So habe ich das Auto eigentlich immer gesehen, nämlich den guten Zweck, die gute Eigenschaft des Autos, einen irgendwohin zu transportieren”

Quotation 2.2:

“Ich meine, das muss natürlich entsprechend kräftig sein, wenn du dich daran erinnern willst oder kannst. Also da war mit dem Auto war nichts, also ich habe das auch...auch immer als Mittel zum Zweck gesehen“

Quotation 3.2:

“Den ersten Kontakt hatte ich im Grunde genommen als die Amerikaner, die U besetzt hatten zu dem Zeitpunkt, mit ihren Jeeps natürlich durch die Gegend fahren. Dann haben sie mich als kleinen Blondschoopf, mochten sie mich wohl gut leiden, und haben mich mitgenommen mit dem Jeep und dann durch die Gegend gefahren und dann auch die Hühner gejagt und was die alles so gemacht haben. Das war für mich natürlich so ganz interessant zu sehen“

Quotation 4.2:

“Ja, also wie gesagt, die persönliche Einstellung dazu hatte ich dir ja gesagt, die war also immer so ausgerichtet: für uns schön und bequem, preiswert, ich will nicht billig sagen aber preiswert sollte es sein, auch aber immer angemessen. Also die Bequemlichkeit die ging schon ein bisschen vor, vor der Preiswertigkeit, denn ich habe immer gesagt: ‚Wenn du nur den Preis beachtest, dann hast du nur Ärger‘. Also der Preis gehört dazu, in jedem Falle, aber er war tiefer eingestellt und vor allen Dingen, was ganz wichtig war für uns, der Natur gegenüber musste das stimmen“

Quotation 5.2:

„Vor allen Dingen, was ganz wichtig war für uns, der Natur gegenüber musste das stimmen. Also ich würde mir nie...darum kann ich das heute auch nicht verstehen, wie viele Leute sich so einen SUV kaufen. Die SUV's sind unbequem, absolut unbequem, extrem schwer, verbrauchen eine riesen Menge an Sprit und was dazu kommt, das finde ich ganz schlimm, eine echte Gefahr den Kleinen gegenüber. Wenn so ein SUV gegen so ein kleineres Auto fährt, dann weißt Du genau was passiert, der überlebt unter Umständen gar nicht und vor allen Dingen, die Umwelt wird total versaut“

Quotation 6.2:

„Das ist ja mein Lebensprinzip. Man kommt ja auf die Welt, weil du das so willst. Du führst Regie, du bist der Hauptdarsteller, du kannst dir dein Leben einrichten wie du willst. Also du kannst dir schöne Stellen aussuchen, wo du wohnst und was weiß ich, schönes Auto oder nette

Enkelkinder. Das wirst du auch haben, ja das gehört alles dazu, aber, und dieses aber ist für mich ganz wichtig, nie auf Kosten anderer“

Quotation 7.2:

“Das war aber wirklich tragisch einmal und zwar kam mir ein LKW entgegen, ich fuhr wieder ein Dienstfahrzeug, einen Bus von meiner Firma wo ich gearbeitet habe. Ich habe dann instinktiv, ich weiß gar nicht ob ich da viel drüber nachgedacht habe, musste ich rüber springen, weil in der Mitte war die Abdeckung für den Motor in dem Bus. Kannst du dir das vorstellen? Es gibt ja so Busse, da konntest du das in der Mitte so hochklappen und da hattest du früher den Motor. Aber in dem Moment bin ich also hoch, im Auto rüber gesprungen auf die Beifahrerseite und dann kam er schon und hat mir die ganze Fahrerseite kaputtgefahren. Der LKW ist mir in mein Fahrzeug reingefahren. Er hat nicht aufgepasst, abgebogen und dann bin ich nur instinktiv auf die Beifahrerseite rüber gesprungen und die ganze Seite war eingedrückt. Also das hätte ich wahrscheinlich schlecht überlebt...aber es hat mir auch gezeigt, dass man im Grunde genommen auf der Straße aufpassen muss”

Quotation 8.2:

“Ich habe Licht angelassen, ich habe Abstand gehalten, ich habe trainiert wie der Wagen reagiert bei Glätte und so weiter und so fort, keine Dinge die da rumbammeln oder rumhampeln, viele waren es nicht, das ist also eine Handvoll im Grunde genommen. Ich meine, es kommen noch ein paar mehr dazu, die man dann unbewusst auch macht“

Quotation 9.2:

“Also ich denke mal, wenn es tatsächlich dazu kommt, musst du ja bestimmte Gründe haben. Denn jetzt ist es ja immer noch so, wenn du deinen Führerschein hast, dann hast du ihn und wenn du den aus irgendwelchen Gründen abgeben musst, dann weißt du dann, ob du noch hier wohnst oder ob du irgendwann im Altersheim bist oder sonst etwas. Ich denke mal nur was wichtig ist und was man genau weiß ist, es kommt der Punkt, dass du ihn abgibst, den Führerschein. Alles andere ergibt sich”

Quotations Bob

Quotation 1.3:

“Ja, junge Familie und das waren schon schöne Momente mit F und das war schon ganz toll, wenn wir auf der Autobahn fahren, wir haben viel gesungen”

Quotation 2.3:

“Ich hätte auch in H, in der Firma hätte ich auch jeden Tag fahren können, aber ich wollte da nicht rumkriechen. Mir ging es um Freiheit, hier nach Italien und dann, der wusste wo ich hinfahren will und das war für mich am besten“

Quotation 3.3:

“Ja, irgendwie Freiheit und du konntest ja, da war noch keine Geschwindigkeitsbeschränkung. Das war so, nein das war...nee, das war einfach...klar stand da 50, in der Ortschaft 50. Sowas gab es ja schon immer. Aber Landstraße, da konntest du noch richtig langdonnern. Autobahn das war die große Freiheit”

Quotation 4.3:

“Ja, Autofahren genießen...man sagt ja immer, oder Motorradfahrer sagen immer: ‚Ich cruise schön dahin‘. Das kannst du nicht mehr, das war früher viel lockerer, weil nicht so viel Verkehr war, aber viel weniger Lkw-Verkehr als heute“

Quotation 5.3:

“Ja, wenn ich dir das so offen erzähle alles, das heißt ja für mich, oder für dich wird es jetzt heißen, ich habe meine Sachen gut verarbeitet. So denke ich jetzt da drüber und da brauche ich jetzt keinen Psychologen“

Quotation 6.3:

“Nee, was wir schon besprochen haben jetzt so...für mich wäre es wichtig, dass ich Autofahren kann, solange wie möglich und dann gebe ich ihn...ich gebe ihn nicht ab, ich behalte ihn. Ich höre dann auf mit Autofahren, ich verkaufe das Auto oder ich verschenke es und dann wird halt nicht mehr gefahren, aber den Führerschein gebe ich nicht ab! Als Symbol, er wird eingerahmt ja“

Quotation 7.3:

“Ja, die reden davon. Das kommt so, das wird irgendwann mal so kommen. Wenn ich jetzt jung bin, werde ich mich daran gewöhnen. Aber ich kann mich nicht mehr dran gewöhnen, ich bin in Freiheit aufgewachsen“

Quotations Betty

Quotation 1.4:

“Naja, ich, also ich habe mich dann immer ins Auto gesetzt und bin gefahren und war dann...also, wenn ich im Auto sitze, habe ich keine Angst, da fahre ich überall hin, da mache ich mir auch keine Gedanken. Wenn ich im Auto sitze, dann ist das vorbei. Na ja, vorher denkt man immer: ‚Ob du das schaffst?‘. Aber wenn ich im Auto sitze, dann ist das alles vorbei und dann fahre ich auch sicher. Ich fahre auch überall hin, ich bin auch in Italien gefahren und überall”

Quotation 2.4:

“Na ja, es war schon ein Erlebnis, wo ich jetzt hier das erste Mal mit R noch und er noch klein war, das erste Mal nach H bin. Das ist dann doch schon eine andere Nummer, wie wenn du hier ums Karree fährst also...aber, wenn ich fahren muss, dann fahre ich“

Quotation 3.4:

*„Da war ich glücklich. Dann denkst du: ‚Und du hast es doch geschafft‘ [...]. Ja, dass ich mir gesagt habe: ‚Du schaffst es trotzdem, du schaffst es auch und du kannst das‘, so ungefähr [habe ich gedacht]. Da ist man schon ein bisschen stolz. **Wenn du dann so denkst, was das Autofahren, auch im Bezug auf solche Momente, für dich als Person bedeutet, sagt das über dich etwas aus vielleicht oder bedeutet das etwas für Dich Autozufahren?** Na ja, was heißt bedeuten? Ich war froh, dass ich das gemacht habe und geschafft habe. Ich war einfach glücklich, ich habe mich gefreut, dass ich das so gepackt habe, da hat man Selbstbewusstsein erreicht”*

Quotation 4.4:

“Na ja meine bestimmte Fahrt war, wo mir dann der Junge reingefahren ist. Das war gravierend, ich sehe den Jungen noch immer auf mich zu fliegen“

Quotation 5.4:

“Ja, mit R musste ich ja nun lange zur Gymnastik fahren, das war schon von Anfang an. Von 1988 bis wo er ausgezogen ist. Na ja, da war er schon 20, bis dahin bin ich mit ihm immer zur Schule und zur Krankengymnastik und alles [gefahren]. Da war ich wirklich heilfroh, dass ich den Führerschein hatte. Das war schon gut, dass ich ihn gemacht habe”

Quotation 6.4:

„Ich habe mich gefreut, dass ich denen das ermöglichen konnte, dass ich sie überall hinfahren konnte. Man ist da ja auch ein bisschen stolz. Manchmal habe ich mich schon gefühlt, wie so eine Taxifahrerin, ja aber im Endeffekt denkt man, naja machst du ja für deine Kinder und dann machst du das“

Quotation 7.4:

“Also ich sage ja, ich habe als Kind ja schon immer geschlafen. Also ich schlafe sehr viel. Wenn wir dann nach Italien fahren, ich könnte noch weiterfahren, ich genieße das Autofahren, als Beifahrer. Ich meine, ich fahre jetzt auch bis H alleine und so, das macht mir nichts, ich würde auch weiterfahren, aber das macht mir alles nichts aus“.

Quotation 8.4:

„Für mich war es nur, ich war selbstständig, ich konnte Autofahren, ich brauchte nicht immer fragen: ‚Kannst du mich mal fahren‘. [...] Also ich brauchte das Auto, sonst bist du ja hier, bist du ja aufgeschmissen. Wenn ich mal schlechte Laune habe und die Decke, die Decke fällt mir auf den Kopf, dann setze ich mich ins Auto, fahre nach B, und wenn ich nur mal durch Schild gehe das reicht mir dann, aber ich war mal weg. Das Auto ist auch so ein Seelentröster, naja also weißt du, du hast ein Auto und du kannst weg“

Quotation 9.4:

“Na ja, dass ich noch ein paar Jahre Autofahre. Das ist mir wichtig, das muss klappen!”

Quotation 10.4:

“Ja ja, das [driving cessation] wäre schon dramatisch. So gehst du aus dem Haus, setzt dich ins Auto und fährst. Es wäre vielleicht anders, wenn du in einer Großstadt wärst, wenn du sowieso kein Auto groß brauchst, aber hier im Dorf. Ich meine in der Großstadt, in K oder B, die fahren alle mit der Straßenbahn oder mit der U-Bahn oder so. Aber ich meine die Leute sind es gewohnt, die lassen das Auto stehen und sagen: ‚Mensch da bin ich schneller mit der U-Bahn‘, aber so...aber wir wohnen auf dem Dorf und das wäre schon hart“

Quotations Chris

Quotation 1.5:

*“Also ich habe auch wie gesagt Autofahren, bis auf dass es irgendwo so ein bisschen Entspannung sein konnte bei dem Stress, aber nie so richtig genießen können. Vielleicht ganz am Anfang als ich den Führerschein hatte, da fand ich das ganz toll, aber so im Laufe des Lebens war das einfach hauptsächlich Mittel zum Zweck, immer. **Weißt du denn warum du es nie so genießen konntest? Hast du da irgendeine Idee, woran das gelegen haben könnte?** An den Lebensumständen hauptsächlich, weil es ging auch immer um die Kinder und so und nicht um irgendwelches Vergnügen“*

Quotation 2.5:

“Ja, das war eine Art von Freiheit, weil wenn man jetzt...ich hatte auch zwei Geschwister, wenn man mit fünf Leuten irgendwohin wollte, auch vorher sind wir mal zu meiner Oma oder so gefahren, mit dem Zug. Das war eine ganz andere Kategorie, man war mit dem Auto viel freier es wurde alles da reingepackt und man konnte dann überlegen wo man hinfuhr im Grunde genommen und das ging vorher nur schwierig auf jeden Fall“

Quotation 3.5:

“Ich habe eigentlich auch noch einmal mit 16 Führerschein gemacht. Für so ein Moped, so einen Kleinradführerschein nannte sich das. Das war für mich als Jugendlicher schon der Hit, weil da konnte man dann selber entscheiden, wo man hinfuhr und so. Man musste nicht von seinen Eltern gebracht werden oder so, sondern es war schon gut, man war dann ziemlich flexibel und ziemlich mobil so“

Quotation 4.5:

*“Also das erste war Moped fahren, Motorrad fahren, das hatte immer einen ziemlich hohen Stellenwert fand ich. Aber das hatte es auch nur eben, dass wir das so fanden, also wenigstens nachher, am Anfang war es auch Fortbewegung, aber nachher wo wir schonmal ein Auto hatten und ich dann zusätzlich noch ein Motorrad, dann war das nur zum Vergnügen. **Also fahren aus Genuss?** Ja genau, und auch um abzuspannen. Manchmal, also manchmal ist es auch so, wenn man dann irgendwie über 100 km gefahren ist, dann war man auch relaxter danach”*

Quotation 5.5:

“Das hat sich gewandelt, das waren einfach andere Sachen wie die Kindererziehung und so waren wichtiger. Also da war auch das Auto auch nur Mittel zum Zweck, nämlich zum Transport von den Kindern oder zur Schule. [...] Ich meine die Ziele sind einfach andere, also es ist einfach so...ja genau, die Kinder haben einfach einen größeren, einen größeren Stellenwert als so ein Motorrad oder was”

Quotation 6.5:

“Wichtig war auf jeden Fall das mit den LKW fahren. Wir haben eben Umzüge gemacht und sind also dadurch auch durch ganz Europa gekommen, mehr oder weniger. Aber da hatte das Fahren eben eine andere Qualität, das hatte weder viel mit Freiheit zu tun, sondern das diente ja einem bestimmten Zweck, dem Beruf. Es war einfach so dass auch, man merkte also, da lernte man auch seine Grenzen kennen, weil z.B., wenn man...wir haben hier also einen LKW beladen, meinetwegen und sind dann nach Italien oder nach Spanien gefahren. Dann in einem durch und dann war es also schon kritisch, wenn man so was weiß ich, 24 Stunden oder was unterwegs war, sich noch konzentrieren zu können“

Quotation 7.5:

“Wie gesagt, da kann ich mich gut dran erinnern, dass es zwei Wochen ziemlich schwierig war. Es war ja gut vielleicht auch, dass ich Autofahren musste, weil vielleicht hätte ich sonst auch gesagt das mache ich nicht mehr. Aber dadurch bin ich dann irgendwie darüber hinweggekommen, weil man hat durch diese Überschlüge und so auch..., dass man merkt, dass man gar keine Kontrolle mehr über das Auto hat, das da irgendwie durch die Gegend fliegt. Dadurch verliert man wohl dieses Grundvertrauen erstmal dazu und nachher wurde das wieder besser. Heute also danach, wie gesagt, also nach zwei Wochen war es eigentlich dann wieder okay. [...] Wenn man so ein Grundvertrauen hat, dann bin ich wenigstens der Meinung, dass ich auch die Kontrolle habe über das Auto und es in jeder Situation auch lenken und so kann. Wenn man dann merkt, dass es nicht so ist, dass irgendwelche Sachen da eintreten können, wie Unfälle und so wo man gar keinen Einfluss drauf hat, [...] das hängt einem dann nach, also ich war auch nach dem Unfall eben total mit Hämatomen und so übersäht, aber das war alles nicht so schlimm wie dieses Urvertrauen, dieses Fehlen“

Quotation 8.5:

“Was hast du so gedacht und gefühlt, oder wie ist es vielleicht immer noch mit dieser Reduzierung des Autofahrens? Also ich finde es schon schön, [...] aber das ist natürlich eine Einschränkung, das ist auch für mich eine Einschränkung und ich muss auch jetzt warten bis Catherine wieder da ist, damit ich irgendwie zur Krankengymnastik oder was fahren kann”

Quotation 9.5:

*“Das wäre so, also jetzt auch hier wenn man das mit diesem Nahverkehr nimmt, ist das natürlich eine Einschränkung, wenn man dann eigentlich nur noch ans Haus gebunden ist oder ans Dorf zumindest, dann muss man sich auch, wenn man dann noch was machen will, ganz anders organisieren. Ich könnte mir auch vorstellen hier eben mehr zu machen, also im Dorf, auch vielleicht noch ein paar ältere Leute oder was kennenlernen und dann mehr hier Initiative zu ergreifen. Aber das wäre dann eine Folge davon, das heißt, jetzt wo ich Rentner bin ist es ja auch schon so, dass man sich schon anders orientiert. **So wie du es beschreibst, scheint das relativ okay für dich zu sein.** Ja, es gehört dazu. Nee, also es ist es ist nicht immer schön aber es ist einfach so, das sind auch so Lebensumstände die einen dann zu manchen Sachen eben zwingen die man nicht gut findet“*

Quotations Catherine

Quotation 1.6:

“Also für mich ging vom Auto überhaupt keine Gefahr oder sonst was aus, sondern einfach nur die Faszination des Geruches und der Geschwindigkeit”

Quotation 2.6:

*“Als ich dann den Führerschein hatte, da habe ich meine neue Freiheit auch genossen. **War das auch so eine Bedeutung vom Autofahren, diese Freiheit?** Ja unbedingt. Dann ist man auch unabhängig, wenn man irgendwie...wir fuhren dann auch mal nach Holland und guckten uns was an und das habe ich natürlich mit dem Fahrrad nicht getan, also so fanatisch fuhr ich dann doch mit dem Fahrrad nicht, aber innerhalb von M sehr viel halt. Das war für mich schon...andere Verkehrsmittel waren damals auch noch nicht so ausgebaut wie heute...doch schon so, dass man Dinge tun konnte die einen vorher sozusagen verborgen waren. Auch neue Möglichkeiten Dinge von A nach B zu bringen oder auch mit Leuten was zusammen zu machen, weil es passten ja immerhin vier Menschen in mein Käfer rein und da ich ja gerade Studentin war, es gab damals auch noch nicht so viele Studenten die ein Auto hatten, also das hat sich ja*

heute auch deutlich verändert. Damit waren wir in unserer Clique schon zwei mit einem Auto, meine Freundin hatte auch eins, also sehr unabhängig. Wir konnten also mit acht bis zehn Leuten überall hinfahren, auch mal abends in eine andere Disco, auch mal ins R. Das war spannend, also das war schon schön“

Quotation 3.6:

„Also der Wendepunkt, was die Bedeutung von Auto angeht, war sicherlich die Geburt des ersten Kindes“

Quotation 4.6:

*“Ja, es hat auch etwas mit mir zu tun, also seitdem ich Kinder habe, bin ich auch was das Autofahren angeht bewusst entschleunigt und das finde ich gut. **Warum findest du das gut?** Ja, also ich nutze auch das Autofahren als Ort des Denkens, Zeit für mich, natürlich immer noch versuchend den Straßenverkehr im Auge zu behalten. [...] und dabei kann ich ganz wunderbar nachdenken. Dann ist Autofahren auch...es nimmt mir dann die Spannung“*

Quotation 5.6:

“Das war irgendwie Ende April da war er [Sohn] ja gute acht Wochen alt, bin ich gefahren nach A und bin in ein wahnsinniges Schneegestöber geraten, das war der Hammer. Ich habe drei Stunden für den Rückweg gebraucht und dieses Auto war irgendwie nicht richtig warm. Ich fuhr mit diesem Säugling neben mir im Maxi Cosi, der schrie drei Stunden lang, es war einfach nur furchtbar und ich war einfach nur froh als wir wieder zu Hause waren. Ich hatte auch ehrlich gesagt große Angst um mein Kind, weil es war so kalt und ich wusste überhaupt nicht was ich machen sollte. Ich konnte ja nirgends anhalten, das ist ja Landstraße und ich musste da auch über diesen Berg fahren der vollkommen verschneit war, mit Schnee und Eis voll war, und das war ganz schrecklich mit dieser Autofahrt. Da habe ich immer nur gedacht: ‚Hoffentlich komme ich heile an‘, und irgendwie war es auch...richtig dunkel nicht aber es war auch nicht mehr hell, es war schrecklich. [...] Das habe ich einfach als ganz schreckliche Autofahrt mit großer Sorge um mein Kind verbunden. [...] Ich habe da in erster Linie gefühlt, dass ich eine Rabenmutter bin, dass ich schon wieder arbeiten muss oder wieder arbeiten wollte nach acht Wochen und was ich diesem Kind sowieso auch zumute, ihn aus dem Schlaf zu reißen dann wenn es nachmittags...also ich habe nachmittags gearbeitet, wenn es mittags los ging und ihn in dieses Auto in zu verfrachten. Er fand Autofahren sowieso nicht toll und ja, ich habe mich sehr schlecht gefühlt. Ja, das war für mich nicht schön, dass ich ihn da immer mitnehmen

musste und, dass ich wusste, dass er sich nicht wohlfühlte und damit habe ich mich, obwohl ich ja eigentlich gerne Auto fahre, auch natürlich nicht wohlgeföhlt. [...] Ja, da habe ich mich auch sehr abhängig geföhlt davon, von diesen Wetterbedingungen und, dass ich da fahren musste und, dass ich das nicht irgendwie verändern konnte. Das hat mich schon sehr gestresst und das hat mich auch in den nächsten Wochen sehr gestresst, immer wenn ich ihn mitnahm, dass ich so dachte: ‚Mensch, hoffentlich passiert jetzt nichts‘, es kann dir ja auch mal ein Reh vors Auto laufen und da hatte ich vorher überhaupt nicht drüber nachgedacht“

Quotation 6.6:

„Also ich war dann froh, dass ich einen kurzen Arbeitsweg hatte hier in W, von zweieinhalb km, und es hat sich insofern verändert, als dass ich das Auto kaum noch für was anderes benutzt habe, weil ich wirklich nicht mehr Autofahren wollte. Ich fand das so schrecklich“

Quotation 7.6:

“Ja, ich habe auch immer über Mobilität nachgedacht, dass es auch schön ist, speziell jetzt in diesem Auto, dass wir alle zusammen fahren konnten und, dass man ganz bewusst das Auto einsetzt, um was zu erleben“

Quotation 8.6:

“Ja, also als wir dann dieses große, als wir dann mit vier Kindern unterwegs waren in diesem gemeinsamen Auto, haben wir viele schöne Ausflüge gemacht. Da stand ganz oben auf der Agenda standen irgendwelche Vergnügungsparks und große Spielplätze und Freunde besuchen und da haben die Kinder während der Autofahrt auch angefangen Spiele zu spielen die auch ums Auto gingen, nämlich gelbes Auto, dann klatschte man sich immer ab und das habe ich sehr genossen. Oder wir haben mit den Kindern im Auto gemeinsam gesungen, ziemlich schräg aber für uns hat es gereicht und die Kinder haben das auch genossen, dass jetzt alle zusammen waren, weil das Auto war auch so, dass man nicht hintereinander saß, sondern dass die vier Kinder, zwei fahren rückwärts und in der Mitte gab es irgendwie so kleine Tischchen und dann haben die Kinder auch Gesellschaftsspiele während der Autofahrt gespielt und solche Sachen. Das war dann sehr entspannt“

Quotation 9.6:

“Ich glaube auch nicht, dass das dann noch die Bedeutung hat. Das sehe ich an meinen Eltern bzw. jetzt an meine Mutter die dann auch noch bis 82 gefahren ist. Die hat dann tatsächlich das Auto auch nur noch zur Versorgung genutzt und nicht mehr dazu andere Leute zu besuchen

oder Ausflüge zu machen oder sowas. Ich glaube im Grunde genommen wird sich die Bedeutung dann aufs autarke Leben beschränken und nicht mehr darauf von A nach B großartige Ausflüge, Reisen oder sonstiges zu machen“