

Document Version

Final published version

Licence

CC BY-NC

Citation (APA)

Truelove, V., Anderson, L., Bates, L., & Oviedo-Trespalacios, O. (2026). Camera or cop: Understanding the procedurally just nature of AI-based camera and police officer detected Mobile phone offending. *Transportation Research Part F: Traffic Psychology and Behaviour*, 119, Article 103607. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.trf.2026.103607>

Important note

To cite this publication, please use the final published version (if applicable). Please check the document version above.

Copyright

In case the licence states "Dutch Copyright Act (Article 25fa)", this publication was made available Green Open Access via the TU Delft Institutional Repository pursuant to Dutch Copyright Act (Article 25fa, the Taverne amendment). This provision does not affect copyright ownership. Unless copyright is transferred by contract or statute, it remains with the copyright holder.

Sharing and reuse

Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download, forward or distribute the text or part of it, without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license such as Creative Commons.

Takedown policy

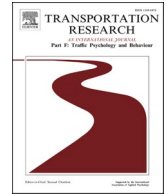
Please contact us and provide details if you believe this document breaches copyrights. We will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



ELSEVIER

Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](https://www.sciencedirect.com)

Transportation Research Part F: Psychology and Behaviour

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/trf

Camera or cop: Understanding the procedurally just nature of AI-based camera and police officer detected Mobile phone offending

Verity Truelove^{a,*}, Levi Anderson^a, Lyndel Bates^b, Oscar Oviedo-Trespalacios^c

^a MAIC/University of the Sunshine Coast Road Safety Research Collaboration, School of Law and Society, 90 Sippy Downs Dr, Sippy Downs, Queensland 4556, Australia

^b School of Criminology and Criminal Justice and Griffith Criminology Institute, Griffith University, Messines Ridge Road, Mt Gravatt, QLD, 4122, Australia

^c Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Technology, Policy and Management, Section of Safety and Security Science, Jaffalaan 5, 2628, BX, Delft, the Netherlands

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Road policing
Procedural justice
Mobile phone camera
Distracted driving
Traffic police
Traffic camera

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the application of procedural justice principles to police and AI-based camera enforcement of mobile phone use while driving. Utilizing a mixed-methods approach, two studies were conducted: qualitative interviews with 26 police officers and a quantitative survey of 292 drivers. The interviews explored officers' perceptions of fairness, respect, trust-worthy motives, and voice during enforcement interactions, and compared this with their understanding of AI-Based enforcement. The survey compared drivers' perceptions of these procedural justice dimensions across police and camera enforcement. The interview results provided a unique perspective on how the procedural justice principles could be applied to experiences of police enforcement of phone use while driving, and also qualitatively compared police and camera enforcement for this offence. The survey results indicate that among drivers, police enforcement is perceived as significantly more procedurally just, particularly regarding listening, respect, and politeness, with effect sizes ranging from small to moderate. These findings suggest that the human element in police interactions plays a critical role in fostering public trust and perceived legitimacy, which may not be replicated by automated camera systems. The study highlights the need for careful consideration of procedural justice principles in the implementation of technological enforcement methods to ensure they complement, rather than undermine, established justice practices.

1. Introduction

In recent years, the adoption of mobile phone detection cameras has surged across various countries, such as Australia, the UK, and The Netherlands, marking a significant evolution in the enforcement of this risky behaviour. These technological advancements have led to a notable increase in the number of infringements issued to drivers for mobile phone use while driving. In 2022, 312,945 infringements for illegal phone use while driving were issued by cameras in Australia, yet in this same period, 49,397 infringements for

* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: vtruelove@usc.edu.au (V. Truelove).

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.trf.2026.103607>

Received 16 June 2025; Received in revised form 27 March 2026; Accepted 27 March 2026

Available online 5 April 2026

1369-8478/© 2026 The Authors. Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>).

this offence were issued by police officers (BITRE, 2023); meaning that over six times as many infringements were detected by cameras rather than police officers. A key aspect that differentiates camera-based enforcement from traditional traffic stops with police is the absence of a direct interaction between the officer and the driver. When the cameras detect a violation; infringements are issued without any contact between the police and drivers; contrasting sharply with the conventional approach where police officers engage in a conversation with the driver before taking any enforcement action. Such differences have the potential to impact perceptions of procedural justice for phone use while driving. Higher perceived levels of procedural justice have been suggested to influence the willingness to accept receiving an infringement and result in higher evaluations of the law (Goodman-Delahunty, 2010; Tyler, 2006), which can lead to lower engagement in subsequent offending behaviour (Anderson et al., 2023; Bates et al., 2023; Paternoster et al., 1997). As such, this study aimed to understand the differences in procedural justice between camera and police enforcement for phone use while driving.

1.1. Procedural justice

Procedural Justice is a theoretical framework that has been applied extensively throughout policing and criminological research in an effort to understand the interactions that occur between authority and members of the public (Bates, Allen, & Watson, 2016; Madon et al., 2017; Sargeant et al., 2017; Schaap & Saarikkomäki, 2022; Tyler, 2017). There are four key principles of this theory that are examined within the literature; Voice; Neutrality; Respect; and Trustworthy motives (Antrobus et al., 2019; Bates, 2014; Bates et al., 2020; Madon et al., 2017; Mazerolle, Bennett, et al., 2013). Voice refers to the sincere consideration of arguments made by the offender to ensure they feel as though they are valued by the authority. Neutrality is the equal treatment of offenders, with transparency and a lack of bias in the decision-making process. Respect involves treating all people with dignity, taking them seriously and showing them that they are valued members of society. Trustworthy motives are working for the best interests of the public, demonstrating concern for their well-being and not acting out of any personal prejudices. If these four principles of procedural justice are met while a member of the public is dealing with authority, they are more likely to view the interaction as fair and just, and also view the authority as more legitimate (Goodman-Delahunty, 2010; Madon et al., 2017; Mazerolle, Antrobus, et al., 2013; Sahin et al., 2017).

1.2. Procedural justice, road policing and police officers

Research into the training of police officers has found that when police are trained in procedural justice, they have improved attitudes towards the elements of procedural justice (Dai et al., 2020) and an increase in procedural justice self-assessments (Fildes et al., 2019). These effects were retained over time; in the first case; for 18 months; and in the second for 12 months. However; there is limited research regarding the effect of using procedural justice in a road policing interaction on police officers. Bates et al. (2015) compared the views of police officers and drivers on a routine in-person traffic encounter, the Random Breath Test (RBT). They considered views of both the standard RBT and one that incorporated the principles of procedural justice. The results of the police survey ($n = 202$) indicated that while officers in both conditions believed that reducing alcohol-related deaths and injuries was the main reason for conducting RBTs, more officers in the procedural justice condition indicated that deterring drink driving behaviour and showing a police presence were reasons for these types of policing operations.

Within the road policing context, there are a number of studies that support the application of procedural justice to police interactions with drivers. For example, in a randomised experimental field trial of procedural justice policing at routine traffic stops, drivers who were exposed to a procedural justice script had higher trust and confidence in police when compared to a control condition (Mazerolle, Antrobus, et al., 2013). Further; it has been found that experiencing procedurally just encounters with police officers significantly predict perceptions of police legitimacy; as well as enhance identification with the police (Bradford, 2014; Mazerolle, Bennett, et al., 2013). In terms of whether and how procedural justice is enacted in day-to-day road policing interactions, a qualitative study of young drivers in Australia by Bates et al. (2020) found that the principles of voice; respect and trustworthy motives were perceived to be present in police interactions; yet the young drivers did not believe they received neutral treatment. Specifically; it was perceived that displaying a provisional license plate; being male and the type of vehicle being driven would influence the way police officers would treat the road policing task. Perceived legitimacy of enforcement has been found to vary depending on the type of road rule offence (Watling & Leal, 2012); therefore it has been suggested that research is required to determine if procedural justice has different effects for different road rule violations (Bates, Scott-Parker, et al., 2016). Notably, research has yet to explore procedural justice and enforcement of phone use while driving.

1.3. Procedural justice and enforcement cameras

In contrast, the elements of procedural justice are not as evident in camera enforcement. In a qualitative study by Wells (2008) that focussed on UK drivers; it was found that despite speed cameras involving a guaranteed consistency and neutrality in detecting drivers; there was still the common perception that the cameras were unfair. This highlights that an absence of discrimination does not result in perceived procedural justice. Instead; the procedural justice principle of respect was perceived to take place through discriminatory processes; specifically taking into account the specific circumstances and driving abilities. Further; it was perceived that the lack of voice involved in speed camera enforcement (i.e.; not having an opportunity to have a human interaction in the process) is unfair; as they do not consider different contexts and situations. The findings also suggested that speed enforcement by a police officer was a preferred method of enforcement in comparison to speed cameras; particularly due to favourable attitudes towards police discretion. Meanwhile; a quantitative study by Bates, Allen, and Watson (2016) that included Australian drivers found that neutrality was a

predictor of less frequent speeding for both mobile speed cameras and point-to-point speed cameras. However; the other three principles of procedural justice were not significant predictors for either type of speed camera enforcement. This suggests that the consistent treatment of all drivers was perceived as fair; which also supports the findings of Wells (2008) that the lack of human interaction means the other elements of procedural justice are not perceived to be included in camera enforcement. More recently; a large experimental study from Queensland; Australia; found that using the principles of procedural justice in a letter informing drivers of a camera-detected speeding offence led to reductions in recidivist offending (Bates et al., 2023). In the novel study, drivers aged over 25 years who received the letter were 11% less likely to commit another speeding offence in the following 12 months compared to the control group. Overall, this research suggests that despite speed camera enforcement having the potential to be the fairest type of enforcement, it can instead be perceived as the most unfair type of enforcement due to the absence of the other procedural justice principles with the lack of human interaction. However, there is potential for perceived procedural justice of the cameras to be increased when the four elements are included in a letter that is provided to recipients of speed tickets issued via speed cameras.

1.4. The current study

The above studies demonstrate the ability of procedural justice to be incorporated into road safety enforcement to impact both the perceptions and behaviour of drivers. However, to date, research has not analysed the application of procedural justice to either police or camera enforcement for illegal mobile phone use while driving. This offending behaviour includes nuances that can make enforcement more difficult (e.g., drivers attempting to conceal this behaviour and the varying phone functionalities that may be used when driving; (Truelove et al., 2021). Such factors may also impact the application of procedural justice for this behaviour. Given the lack of research on this topic, two studies were conducted to provide an in-depth understanding of this research area. First, interviews with police officers were conducted (study 1). Obtaining perceptions of police officers provides a unique perspective of those on the frontline of enforcement. There has been very limited research that has explored the principles of procedural justice from a police perspective, especially in the context of road policing. Police officers detect the offence and issue infringements, therefore interviews with police officers that capture their experiences enforcing the phone use while driving law can provide a valuable understanding of if, and how, they apply the procedural justice framework. Given the limited research on this topic among this cohort, the qualitative interview approach was chosen as it allowed a more in-depth understanding of the topic. As such, the first aim of study 1 is outlined below: Aim 1(a). To identify how police enforcement of phone use while driving relates to the concepts of the procedural justice framework.

Police officers' experience with enforcing the phone use while driving would also allow them to be in a unique position to compare their experiences issuing infringements for this behaviour with their perceptions of the processes associated with mobile phone detection camera enforcement and infringements. As such, study 1 also addressed the following research question:

Aim 1(b). To compare police perceptions of the procedural justice impact of phone detection cameras with in-person officer enforcement of mobile phone use while driving.

While a police officer perspective provides insights into the application of procedural justice for phone use while driving from those who are directly involved with issuing infringements, it is acknowledged that a police perspective alone is not sufficient. It is possible that drivers and police officers may have some incongruous perceptions on this topic, and it is important to also understand how drivers perceive the procedural justice principles when it comes to phone use while driving enforcement. As such, study 2 involved a survey with a sample of drivers. A survey approach was chosen for this study as there are pre-established procedural justice survey items used for general public samples that can be adapted to this topic to provide a quantitative comparison of procedural justice between police and camera enforcement. The aim of study 2 was to determine if there are significant differences in perceptions of procedural justice between camera and police enforcement among drivers for illegal phone use while driving.

2. Study 1: method

2.1. Participants

This study was a component of an overarching project examining the attitudes of police officers towards the enforcement of laws regarding mobile phone use while driving (MPUD). A total of 26 officers from the Queensland Police Service participated in this research, with their consent obtained both verbally at the start of the interview and through a digitally secure online form. To protect the identity of the participants, demographic details were collected separately via a short online survey. Eligibility for the study required police officers to be: 1) at least 18 years of age, 2) actively serving in the Queensland Police Service, and 3) possessing firsthand experience in enforcing phone use while driving legislation. A total of 24 participants were males and 2 were female, and on average participants reported working in law enforcement for 16.6 years ($SD = 10.93$). The ethics approval for this study was granted by the University of the Sunshine Coast Human Research Ethics Committee (with the ethics approval number A211520), and the project also received approval from the Assistant Commissioner of Road Policing and Regional Support Command in 2021. Assistance was obtained from the Queensland Police Service during recruitment by providing the researchers with a list of contact details of eligible police officers for participation. Data was collected between 2021 and 2022.

2.2. Procedures

The current study employed telephone-based semi-structured interviews, which varied in duration from 30 min to an hour based on

the extent of the participants' contributions. Prior to the interviews, participants were provided with an information sheet that provided contact details of the research team, a brief description of the project, an overview of what is involved, consent (i.e., stating that consent is for their data and information to be collected in an identifiable format and used in analysis and publications in a non-identifiable format, with all identifiable information being destroyed once survey responses and interviews are matched), risks and benefits, privacy, confidentiality and results, as well as who to contact for any concerns or complaints. During these interviews, a member of the research team was responsible for transcribing the participants' responses in real-time. In order to understand the procedural justice principles that are used by police officers when it comes to illegal phone use while driving enforcement, participants were asked to describe their experience when doing these operations. This included asking about their overall experience doing these operations, their experiences giving a penalty to a driver, experiences with different groups of people and experiences with people where English is not their first language. The set of relevant questions asked for this study are included in the supplementary material. To obtain an understanding of the application of procedural justice to mobile phone enforcement cameras compared to police enforcement, participants were also asked their opinions on these cameras, what effect they think the cameras have on drivers and if they think it will impact police enforcement of the offence.

2.3. Analysis

Data analysis in this study was carried out using a deductive thematic approach. Deductive thematic analysis is an approach to data coding and analysis that is theory driven (Braun & Clarke, 2012) and codes and themes are derived from the theoretical framework. This was the most appropriate type of analysis to address the aims of this study “To identify how police enforcement of phone use while driving relates to the concepts of the procedural justice framework” and “To compare police perceptions of the procedural justice impact of phone detection cameras with in-person officer enforcement of mobile phone use while driving”, as it enabled the themes to be guided by theory, while still allowing content of the themes to be guided by the data, based on what was brought up by participants. The process began with a thorough familiarisation phase, during which the data was read and re-read multiple times. Following this, codes were developed based on the principles of procedural justice and the two aims. The codes were created based on both the semantic and latent meaning of the data. The initial themes were developed by clustering related codes. The themes were then reviewed and refined, ensuring they were consistent with the data and codes. To ensure the analysis's robustness and consistency, two researchers collaboratively created the codes and themes. The integrity and reliability of the findings were further enhanced by having a third researcher, familiar with both the context and theoretical framework, review the themes. Any discrepancies identified during this review process were collaboratively resolved through discussion among the researchers, ensuring a comprehensive and unified interpretation of the data. As this analysis took a deductive approach based on procedural justice theory, theme names were consistent with the principles of procedural justice: Voice, Neutrality, Respect, and Trustworthy motives. The results are presented based on the research aim and the relevant principle of procedural justice. For aim 1b, the principle of respect was not a theme, as there was no data to support the notion of respect applied to mobile phone detection cameras. All other elements of procedural justice are reported for both Aim 1a and 1b. Examples of relevant quotes are provided to support the theme content. Due to confidentiality, the demographics of police officers are not reported in the quotes, however quotes are reported next to their participant number. The results are related back to the literature in the discussion section.

3. Results

Aim 1a: Voice.

In terms of voice, police officers consistently mentioned that they provided opportunities for drivers to tell their side of the story when they were being pulled over for a mobile phone while driving offence. In particular, police officers mentioned they would check if there were any emergency reasons for the use of the phone. They would then seek proof of the emergency to ensure the driver was not lying about any emergency reason. The police officers also recognised the impact their interaction could have on a driver, noting that the interaction could have a larger impact than the infringement. The below quotes provide examples of these perceptions:

P15: I say I seen you using a phone, any emerging reasons for it? Could be an emergency, wife going to hospital etc. In lieu of anything like that, they are fine.

P4: I asked why he was on it, and he said “my wife's mother had just died in Toowoomba” and I knew it was bullshit and I asked “what was her name and hospital?” and he said “nah just give me the ticket”.

Police also commented on the methods used to ensure that drivers who do not speak English fluently are provided with resources to ensure they understand the police officer and are able to provide their side of the story. This can include simply communicating with a passenger who speaks English, calling a language line that is available to police officers that enable the discourse to be translated as well as iPad applications that can be used for translation. This is expressed in the following quotes:

P1: Even so, most people understand that mobile phone use is bad. I know there are certain basic translations we have on us that you can try to explain to them. But otherwise hopefully they have someone in the car with them.

P2: They would be on their own, generally using their phone so on their own. We have a language line and pop through and give them to someone so they can understand what is happening. Most of the time people driving in Australia have reasonably competent English and have understanding of what is going on. We have a hotline if they don't understand.

P5: Do your best to try and explain it, we do have a couple apps on our iPad to access for translation.

Aim 1b: Voice.

Police officers expressed the idea that mobile phone detection cameras would not allow drivers to provide their side of the story, especially if there was an emergency situation. As discussed above, drivers who are caught by police officers have the opportunity to disclose their reasoning behind their use of a phone while driving before the officer may provide an infringement notice to the driver. In contrast, drivers who are caught by a mobile phone detection camera have no opportunity to give a reason for committing the offence prior to receiving the infringement notice. Once an infringement is received by the offender, they do have the option to contest it in court. This can be suggested to provide a small extent of voice to the driver, yet not to the same extent that is provided by police officers. These perceptions are represented in the below quotes:

P2: Great, it's a snapshot of life. "What was the reason?" You can't have that question. So, a person has every right to say "my mum was sick I thought she was having an episode she rang me and I was concerned that would be the last phone call I would have from her". So, all sorts of reasons.

P17: You cannot question the person. Is there an emergency?

Aim 1a: Neutrality.

When a police officer detects an individual using their phone while driving, they do have the opportunity to have some discretion over their decision to provide the driver with an infringement or not. Despite this, it was commonly mentioned among police officers that they would issue an infringement notice in any situation because using a phone while driving is classified as a life-or-death offence. Further, as discussed in the theme above, police officers use resources to ensure drivers who do not speak English fluently are treated the same as drivers who do speak English fluently. The below quotes demonstrate some of these perceptions.

P6: At QPS, we have a number of offences that are life or death. Under the manual, it actually states we shouldn't give warnings to [life or death] offences, we are required to give action. Seat belt, mobile phone use, speeding offence, no chance they get a warning, they always get an infringement.

P8: Technically, can't give a warning for life or death offences, only person who can do it is Superintendent in traffic. We can't caution at it.

P5: I don't give a warning for mobile phone use. For me it's a life endangering offence. It's like speeding, it's not like an incorrect U-turn or something, you put others at risk. I won't give a warning for it.

Nevertheless, phone functions are multifaceted, and the nature of this offence does leave some ambiguity for police officers to apply the penalty. As such, factors such as the situation and the type of phone behaviour being displayed can also play into the application of the phone penalty.

P23: We have got discretion and a bit of common sense as well. For me personally, if the phone is not in use, I would look at it case by case, wouldn't look at it as black and white.

P2: If someone is in congestion on their phone mapping, I would make an assessment.

Aim 1b: Neutrality.

There was the perception that mobile phone detection cameras may lack neutrality as there is the possibility that the cameras can incorrectly detect drivers using their phone. In contrast, police officers believe they are better able to detect the illegal use of a mobile phone without as much error, such as if the driver had something else in their hand that was not a mobile phone. Notably, it was mentioned that better technology for police officers would enhance the effectiveness of enforcement of this law, as this would allow officers to review the footage themselves so they can accurately issue infringements for this offence. The quotes below demonstrate some of these perceptions.

P16: I don't think it's going to improve behaviour. Because it doesn't prove that the phone is actually being used, it's not fair.

P10: I have seen instances where they have been challenged, don't offer the best view or can be the person doesn't have the phone in the hand or it may be something else. Don't think it's a perfect solution but a better way of detecting.

P25: It's not the be all and end all, but cameras should be used in locations where you can't do it any other way. But that's my problem with those cameras, its enforcing. We need better technology in police cars so we can view and review.

Nevertheless, while the mobile phone detection cameras use AI to detect a driver illegally using a mobile phone, the images that are picked up by the AI are then reviewed by a human for accuracy. While there is still room for error, it can be suggested that the cameras would be more neutral, as there is no human element in the initial identification of the offence.

Aim 1a: Respect.

When police officers were asked how they interact with drivers when issuing a phone use while driving infringement, it was mentioned that the way they are treated can influence the way in which the ticket is perceived by the offender. Specifically, when the police officer is polite and the driver is treated with respect, they are more likely to acknowledge that what they were doing was wrong. It was raised that this was applicable to all offences, not just the mobile phone offence. It was also pointed out that drivers are more likely to reciprocate and treat the police officer with respect when they are treated politely by police, which is reflective of mutual respect for both parties. If an offender does treat the police disrespectfully, it was noted that this would be captured via the police body camera footage and would be viewed unfavourably if they were to argue the infringement in court. The below comments demonstrate some of these perceptions.

P11: It all depends on how you treat them. 9 times out of 10 they go away and apologise. Comes down to customer service sort of thing. It's just one of those things. Very occasionally you get the angry one.

P6: I am generally exceptionally polite when I deal with motorists roadside. Not often that I get attitude from anyone. So, in relation to mobile phones it's no different. If I get attitude, it would be very, very rare and specific to the person rather than to the offence.

P16: Most of the time it's pretty friendly. Everyone behaves themselves. Most of the time people say thank you. They know they've done the wrong thing and cop it on the chin. It's very rare that someone abuses you or carries on.

P7: We have body cams, dash cams. If they are rude to us, if it goes to court it shows their behaviour, when we were calm. It shows they are obliterating us to try get out of the ticket.

Given that all drivers are treated the same way when they receive an infringement after being detected by a mobile phone detection camera (i.e., all offenders receive the same letter in the mail with the ticket), respect was not brought up in relation to the mobile phone cameras as it did not have as much relevance. However, when comparing the variability of respect between police and camera enforcement for phone use while driving, it should be noted that there is more room for differences in the level of respect an individual receives when they are caught by police, compared to when they are caught by a camera.

Aim 1a: Trustworthy Motives.

Police officers expressed that they would provide infringements for mobile phone violations when they were confident the driver was breaking this rule. Further, it was explained that the reasoning behind issuing a ticket for illegal phone use while driving was for the purpose of ensuring drivers are safe on the road. This is consistent with the variable of trustworthy motives, as this demonstrates that the police are acting in the best interests of the public. The below quotes demonstrate these perceptions.

P2: If I can stop someone doing something stupid like that, that is the motivation. I don't like giving tickets I just want to stop people from doing the wrong thing with devastating consequences.

P10: Each time I issue one here, the risk has been self-explanatory from their driving leading up to the ticket. I have used their actions to explain why.

P19: Personally, myself I don't tend to give a ticket, if I'm not sure.

P15: I hate when people think we are doing it for revenue raising, we don't get bonuses. We do it to keep everyone safe. My wife and kid, I want them to be driving on a safe roadway, that's why I do what I do.

While the police stated they would only provide a ticket if they were certain that a driver was breaking the phone law, it should be acknowledged that better access to additional tools, such as police cameras, may assist officers to have more confidence in determining whether a driver was breaking this law. While erring on the side of caution is appropriate in terms of procedural justice theory for increasing the public's acceptance of enforcement and the law, it is also necessary for drivers to believe they have a high chance of being caught when they would commit the offence to be deterred from doing so.

Aim 1b: Trustworthy Motives.

In terms of trustworthy motives and mobile phone detection cameras, the process involves the cameras which capture images of all drivers passing through the area, then AI technology is used to filter through the images to detect if a driver is illegally using a mobile phone. Images that are not detected as phone use are deleted, while images that are detected as phone use are then sent off for human verification before an infringement notice is sent to the driver (Queensland Government, 2024). In comparison, police officers are required to detect the offence themselves, be certain they have detected the offence, have evidence (e.g., body camera footage) of the offence and have the ability to safely pull the driver over to deliver an infringement to a driver. Both police and camera enforcement involves human discretion, yet the cameras may be suggested to involve less discretion, considering the cameras can capture all drivers and there is the initial AI filter component. However, police officers revealed that the cameras may be viewed as untrustworthy by some drivers if they believed the cameras were in place for 'revenue raising.' Revenue raising is the perception that is held by numerous drivers that traffic tickets are for the purpose of increasing revenue for the government. It was suggested that the campaigns that promote the road safety benefits of the cameras would be needed to increase drivers' trust in this system. The below comments

demonstrate some of these perceptions.

P12: I think it's good, catch more than what police can. It's probably no different to speed cameras. I hope the public doesn't see it as revenue raising. Hope there is education and not just another way to catch you.

P14: Good idea, especially out on highway and things like that with overhead bridges. Especially near Brisbane where there are a lot of rear-end crashes because people are on their phones.

P21: Interesting concept, lot of people won't like it, they will feel it surprising them. I agree to a certain extent, not as much notification to the public that they are popping up. I feel that needs to be pushed through to the public a bit more, can get done any time.

4. Study 2 method

4.1. Participants

This study was part of a broader investigation aimed at understanding drivers' perceptions of risk and behaviour, particularly concerning mobile phone use while driving. The survey included 292 participants who consented to participate by completing an online consent form. The eligibility criteria required participants to be: 1) at least 18 years old, 2) currently holding a valid driver's license, and 3) having driven at least once in the past 12 months. Demographic data and driving behaviour information were collected through a structured online survey. The sample had a mean age of 35.56 years ($SD = 19.56$), ranging from 18 to 77 years. The gender distribution among participants was 63.7% female ($n = 186$), 34.9% male ($n = 102$), and 1.4% identified as other ($n = 4$). Participants had held a driver's license for an average of 17.46 years ($SD = 19.14$), with most holding a regular open car license (59.6%). Participants drove an average of 10.43 h per week ($SD = 18.26$) in the past year, mainly for commuting or work-related purposes (62%). A total of 6 participants had received an infringement for phone use while driving via police, all had only received 1 phone infringement from police, and 1 participant had received a warning, without receiving an infringement from police for phone use while driving. Meanwhile, 3 participants had received an infringement for phone use while driving via a camera, and all had only received 1 phone infringement from the camera, while 1 participant reported they received a warning without being given a ticket via a camera for phone use while driving. Ethics approval for this study was granted by the Queensland University of Technology Human Research Ethics Committee (approval number 2000000821). The data collection took place between 2021 and 2022, ensuring confidentiality and anonymity for all participants.

4.2. Procedures

The current study utilised an online survey administered through a longitudinal design to assess the impact of perceptions on driving behaviour. The survey was distributed via various social media platforms, including Facebook and Twitter, university distributions and via the first-year psychology student participant sign up system, allowing for broad participant recruitment. Before completing the survey, participants were provided with an information sheet that details the study, risk, benefits and confidentiality. Participants were required to consent to participating before proceeding to the survey. Participants were initially required to complete the first part of the survey, which included demographic information, followed by a second part two weeks later. This design was intended to capture any changes in perceptions and behaviour over time. Participants were able to enter a prize draw after completing both surveys to receive 1 of 20 \$50 AUD gift vouchers, while first year psychology students could receive 0.5 credit points after completing both surveys. On average, participants took up to 25 min to complete the survey. The survey itself focused on several key areas, including unusual driving behaviours, perceptions of justice, and other related factors such as intentions, attitudes, and legal considerations. The survey employed a Likert scale format to measure these constructs. However, in this study, we specifically report findings related to procedural justice, exploring participants' perceptions and attitudes within this domain. The relevant survey items for this study were collected at Time 2.

To assess perceptions of procedural justice, the survey incorporated 14 items based on previous research (Hasan et al., 2024) designed to evaluate respondents' views in two distinct enforcement scenarios: police officer enforcement and camera-based adjudication. Participants were asked to envision receiving a fine for using a handheld phone while driving and then rate their agreement with a series of statements on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (very unlikely) to 5 (very likely). The items were crafted to measure key dimensions of procedural justice, including fairness, the opportunity to express one's views (voice), respect, and trustworthy motives. For the police officer scenario, the items assessed perceptions of the officer's fairness in issuing the fine, the opportunity provided for participants to express their views, the officer's attentiveness, and whether the officer would treat them with dignity, respect, and politeness. Participants also rated their trust in the officer and confidence that the officer would make the correct decision. In the camera-based adjudication scenario, parallel items measured perceptions of fairness, voice, respect, and trust in the adjudication process, as well as confidence in the system's decision-making. This dual approach enabled a comprehensive and comparative analysis of procedural justice perceptions across traditional and automated enforcement methods. The full set of procedural justice questions is included in the supplementary material. Participants were also asked demographic questions, as well as their experience with receiving infringements or warnings from police and cameras for phone use while driving.

4.3. Analysis

Data analysis in this study was conducted using paired samples *t*-tests to compare the dimensions of procedural justice between mobile phone detection cameras and police enforcement. The procedural justice questions were adapted from a previously validated survey, with each dimension—such as Voice, Neutrality, Respect, and Trustworthy motives—being evaluated for both enforcement methods by the same participants. Although the survey items were ordinal in nature, existing research supports the use of parametric tests like the *t*-test in large samples, as these data typically approximate normality, thereby fulfilling the assumptions required for parametric testing. The paired samples *t*-tests allowed for a robust comparison of participants' perceptions of procedural justice across the two enforcement modalities and were most appropriate to address the aim of this study “To compare police perceptions of the procedural justice impact of phone detection cameras with in-person officer enforcement of mobile phone use while driving”. The results, highlighting any statistically significant differences between the perceptions of police versus camera enforcement, are presented with a focus on the key dimensions of procedural justice. As there were 7 sets of *t*-tests, Bonferroni adjustments were made where the 0.05 significance level was divided by 7, resulting in a significance level of 0.007.

5. Study 2 results

Paired samples *t*-tests were conducted to compare perceptions of procedural justice between police enforcement and camera adjudication across several dimensions, with results shown in Fig. 1. The results indicated that participants perceived greater fairness ($M = 4.12, SD = 1.00$) in police enforcement compared to camera adjudication ($M = 3.87, SD = 0.95$), $t(291) = 3.67, p < .001$, with a small effect size (Cohen's $d = 0.22$). Similarly, participants rated police enforcement higher in terms of listening ($t(291) = 5.20, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.30$), respect ($t(291) = 5.82, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.34$), and politeness ($t(291) = 5.5, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.32$). There were no significant differences in perceptions of voice ($t(291) = -0.24, p = .811$ or trustworthy motives ($t(291) = 0.26, p = .795$) between police and camera enforcement. Additionally, participants had greater confidence in police enforcement ($M = 3.92, SD = 0.89$) compared to camera adjudication ($M = 3.63, SD = 0.95$), $t(291) = 5.11, p < .001$, with a moderate effect size (Cohen's $d = 0.30$).

6. Discussion

This study provided an in-depth understanding of procedural justice perceptions related to camera and police detected mobile phone offending. The police officer perspective (study 1) provided an understanding of their experiences with phone use while driving enforcement, and the procedural justice principles could be applied these experiences. Police officers also provided their unique perspective on the comparison between camera and police enforcement of the phone law. However, as the results from study 1 are from a police perspective, it is possible that the results may contain some self-report bias which should be considered when interpreting the qualitative findings. Meanwhile, a survey study with drivers (study 2) provided insights into how police and camera enforcement of the phone use while driving law are perceived and compared among the general public from a procedural justice perspective. The findings from study 2 revealed drivers favoured police enforcement across several key dimensions of procedural justice. Specifically, the driver participants perceived police enforcement as fairer than camera adjudication despite both methods achieving the same regulatory outcome. This suggests that the human element in police enforcement plays a crucial role in how fairness is perceived, with individuals likely feeling more respected and justly treated when interacting with a human officer. Even small differences in these perceptions, as indicated by the modest but significant effect sizes in the current study, can have substantial implications for the perceived legitimacy of enforcement practices. Given that research has suggested that higher levels of procedural justice may result in

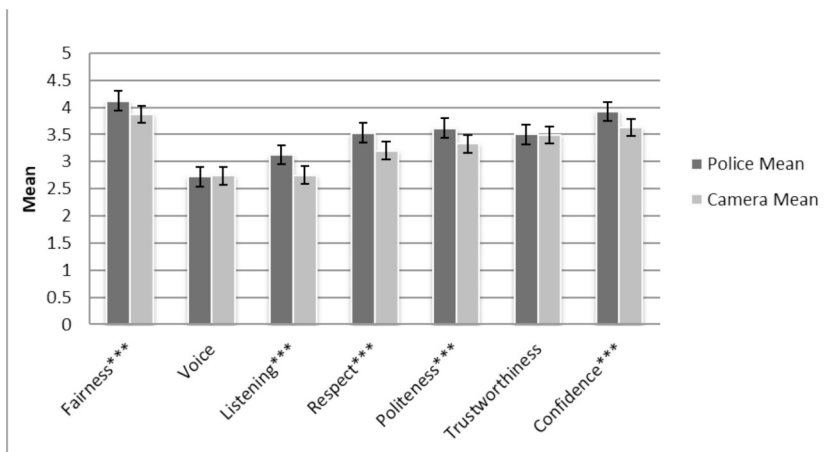


Fig. 1. Comparison of procedural justice perceptions between police and camera enforcement. Note. *** = $p < .001$.

a willingness to accept an infringement (Tyler, 2007) and lower subsequent engagement in the behaviour (Anderson et al., 2023; Bates et al., 2023; Paternoster et al., 1997), these findings have important implications.

The qualitative findings from police officers offer unique insights into why police enforcement is perceived as more procedurally just compared to camera adjudication. Officers reported that they consistently allow drivers to explain their actions when pulled over for mobile phone use, particularly in emergency situations. This practice aligns with the procedural justice principle of “voice,” where individuals feel heard and respected during an enforcement encounter. Based on the responses from police officers, they not only listen to drivers' explanations but also request proof in cases where a legitimate emergency is claimed, further emphasising fairness and respect in the enforcement process. This level of interaction gives drivers a sense of participation in the process and highlights the significant impact that human interaction can have on perceptions of justice, sometimes even more than the infringement itself. In contrast, mobile phone detection cameras do not provide drivers with an opportunity to present their side of the story, particularly in cases involving emergencies. However, these qualitative responses are from police officers, and future qualitative research is required to determine drivers' perceptions towards their interaction with police vs cameras when it comes to being caught for using a phone while driving. These findings are consistent with Wells' (2008) work in the UK; where focus groups were used to examine speed cameras; identifying that drivers perceived the lack of voice in camera-based enforcement as unfair; as different situations would not be taken into account in the context of speeding behaviour. Despite these findings; study 2 did not find a significant difference in drivers' perceptions of voice between police officer and camera enforcement for phone use while driving. A possible explanation for this is that the proportion of drivers who receive a phone use while driving infringement from a police officer is quite low (BITRE, 2023), which could mean numerous participants may be unaware of the possibility for them to provide an explanation in the event of being caught by a police officer. Nevertheless, there was a significant difference in drivers' perceptions of listening between police and camera enforcement for study 2, suggesting drivers believed they would be listened to more if caught by police.

When discussing enforcing phone use while driving infringements, police officers in study 1 also demonstrated experiences consistent with the ‘trustworthy motives’ and ‘neutrality’ components of procedural justice theory. Specifically, police stated that they would only issue infringement notices if they were certain that the offence has been committed (trustworthy motives). In study 2, there was no significant difference in drivers' perceptions of trustworthy motives between police officer and camera enforcement. Theoretically, as the enforcement cameras use AI to initially detect mobile phone offences, it can be suggested that these cameras would rate higher in trustworthy motives as initially, there is no human element that has any potential to influence the decision to detect the offence. However, humans are still involved in reviewing the images that the AI system detects as phone use while driving and making the final decision on whether to apply the offence. The police officers noted that some drivers may believe that the cameras are in place for “revenue raising”, which is the belief that enforcement and resulting infringements have the goal of obtaining money for the government, not improving road safety. This may help explain why trustworthy motives was not perceived higher for camera enforcement than police enforcement. Previous research by Stefanidis et al. (2023) that examined community narratives on Facebook towards phone use while driving support this perception. Specifically, revenue raising was a strong theme within Facebook comment sections when it came to topics surrounding the mobile phone detection cameras. Notably, this was also mentioned in relation to police officer enforcement. Meanwhile, even though police officers reported they would only issue mobile phone infringements when they were certain the offence was committed, they also stated that as the phone use while driving offence is classed as a life-or-death offence, they would likely always issue an infringement for this offence if a driver was caught (neutrality). Nevertheless, the multi-faceted nature of phone use did leave some room for ambiguity in applying the penalty to this offence. In comparison to camera enforcement, police officers believed they were better able to detect these offences. To the best of the authors' knowledge, there is no research that compares the accuracy of police officer and camera detection of the mobile phone offence. However, it is possible there can be some ambiguity in still image footage from a camera, as well as from the humans who are making the final decision on the camera images, while police officers can have body camera footage as well as visually witnessing the event themselves. Yet it must still be acknowledged that the human element in police detection can also have room for error, and responses are from the police perspective so there is also the possibility of some bias. Nevertheless, more equipment such as additional cameras to help police officers capture phone use while driving would assist with improving detection and enforcement of this offence.

In terms of the procedural justice factor of respect, it was found that police officers generally acknowledged that the way they treat the offender can influence the way in which the infringement is perceived. Further, it was stated that when the police officer was respectful to the driver, it was more likely the driver would also be respectful in turn. As such, police officers in this study stated they would always try and treat offenders with respect. In study 2, it was also found that drivers believed they would be treated with respect significantly more via police officers than enforcement cameras. While there is more room for variation in the level of respect an individual receives from a police officer compared to an enforcement camera infringement, the lack of human interaction associated with camera enforcement can help explain this significant difference. This result is also consistent with the findings from Wells (2008) that found drivers believed police enforcement was more respectful than camera enforcement for speeding.

Overall, the findings suggest that the interpersonal aspects of law enforcement, which are integral to procedural justice, are present in police officer enforcement of the phone use while driving law yet are not always adequately replicated by automated systems. Drivers from study 2 felt that police officers were more likely to listen to their concerns, treat them with dignity, and engage with them politely—factors that are essential in building trust and legitimacy in the eyes of those being fined. The lack of significant differences in perceptions of voice and trustworthy motives between the two methods suggests that while technology may be seen as equally reliable, it falls short in fulfilling the broader aspects of justice that extend beyond efficiency and accuracy. However, as indicated by Bates et al.'s (2023) work with speed cameras, it may be possible to augment road policing camera enforcement programs with procedural justice principles to increase the likelihood of behaviour change.

The way in which procedural justice principles are applied in enforcement needs to be considered to optimise the effectiveness of

this approach. Previous research suggests that procedurally just approaches in a road policing context are not always successful. MacQueen and Bradford (2017) reported on a Scottish study where drivers were stopped by police officers as part of a 'Festive Road Safety Campaign'. They found that the procedurally just intervention had no effect on general trust in police or police legitimacy (MacQueen & Bradford, 2015) and that this may relate to the way the intervention was implemented (MacQueen & Bradford, 2017). In contrast; a randomised field trial found that drivers who were exposed to a procedural justice script at a traffic stop had significantly higher perceptions of police legitimacy than the control condition (Mazerolle, Antrobus, et al., 2013). This suggests that even though drivers may prefer in-person road enforcement encounters with police, the way that officers include the principles of procedural justice is critical to ensure a positive outcome of the interaction.

A key strength of this study is examining the perspectives of both police officers and drivers. When looking at the findings of both studies, it becomes clear that the human element in police enforcement is a key driver of higher procedural justice perceptions. While the quantitative results show no significant differences in perceptions of "voice" between police and camera enforcement, the qualitative data suggests that the immediacy and personalisation of police encounters offer a more meaningful form of participation. Police officers' ability to listen, consider contextual factors, and engage in respectful dialogue enhances the perceived fairness and legitimacy of their actions, a nuance that is lost in automated camera systems. This underscores the importance of considering both the effectiveness and public acceptance of different enforcement methods. The findings suggest that while technology can enhance safety, it should not be implemented at the expense of the justice system's core principles, which include fairness, respect, and the ability to be heard. Importantly, the introduction of mobile phone detection cameras should not result in reductions in police enforcement operations for this offence. Therefore, as indicated by Tudor-Owen (2021), enforcement agencies need to consider the optimal allocation of enforcement across automated and non-automated methods within a road policing context.

6.1. Limitations and future directions

While this study provides important insights into the application of procedural justice principles for both police and camera phone use while driving enforcement, there are a number of limitations that need to be considered. First, both study 1 and 2 included self-report data. Further, both studies were conducted in Australia which may limit generalisability of the findings and should be considered when interpreting the results. Future research should be conducted in other jurisdictions worldwide for comparability of the findings. In addition, these studies were designed to capture the current nature and perceptions of procedural justice for mobile phone enforcement, yet future experimental studies should be considered that examine the effectiveness of more intentional procedural justice interactions compared with control conditions. While the qualitative police interviews and quantitative driver survey provided a unique mix of perspective to enable a comprehensive understanding of the topic, future research should also consider quantitative studies with police officers and qualitative studies with drivers for a more in depth understanding of the topic. Another limitation that should be noted is the survey did not include measures of attention and accuracy, which should be considered in future research. However, considering the survey was short, this should not have had a major impact on results. Further, in study 2, females were overrepresented (63.7%) compared to the population of Australia (50.7% females; Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2021), while the mean age of 35.56 is similar to the mean age of Australian of 38.4 (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2021), which should be considered when interpreting the findings. It should also be acknowledged that study 2 asked participants to think about scenarios for receiving phone use while driving infringements via police and cameras when answering the procedural justice questions. It was found that very few participants had actually received infringements notices for this offence from police or cameras, demonstrating a lack of experience with the scenarios. This needs to be acknowledged as a limitation, as it is possible that perceptions could differ in real life situations.

6.2. Concluding remarks

The findings of this study underscore the importance of the human element in law enforcement for phone use while driving, highlighting the significant role it plays in enhancing perceptions of procedural justice in interactions with drivers. While automated systems like camera adjudication may offer efficiency and coverage, they fall short in replicating the interpersonal interactions that foster a sense of justice among drivers. By integrating both quantitative surveys of drivers and qualitative interviews with police officers, this research was able to 1) add to our understanding of how police officers perceive their application of procedural justice within the field and 2) provide a comparison of the elements of procedural justice for camera and in-person enforcement methods. Given that much of the procedural justice research has focused on citizens, the inclusion of police officers within this study adds depth to the findings. This study, therefore, contributes to the growing body of literature by filling a critical gap in understanding the application of procedural justice in road safety enforcement, particularly in the increasingly relevant context of mobile phone use while driving.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Verity Truelove: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization. **Levi Anderson:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Formal analysis, Conceptualization. **Lyndel Bates:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft. **Oscar Oviedo-Trespalcacios:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization.

Funding

The Motor Accident Insurance Commission provided funding to the University of the Sunshine Coast to support the MAIC/UniSC Road Safety Research Collaboration to conduct research activities that aim to reduce the incidence of motor vehicle crashes.

Acknowledgement

We would like to acknowledge the Queensland Police Service for their assistance with participant recruitment.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.trf.2026.103607>.

Data availability

The authors do not have permission to share data.

References

- Anderson, L., Bates, L., & Schaefer, L. (2023). The impact of police uniforms in changing views of police legitimacy and driving intentions among young people: An experimental trial. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-023-09586-6>
- Antrobus, E., Thompson, I., & Ariel, B. (2019). Procedural justice training for police recruits: Results of a randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 15, 29–53.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). (2021). Snapshot of Australia. <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/people-and-communities/snapshot-australia/latest-release>.
- Bates, L. (2014). Procedural justice and road policing: Is it important? 2014 Australasian road safety research. In *Policing & Education Conference, Melbourne, Australia*.
- Bates, L., Allen, S., & Watson, B. (2016). The influence of the elements of procedural justice and speed camera enforcement on young novice driver self-reported speeding. *Accident; Analysis and Prevention*, 92, 34–42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aap.2016.03.023>
- Bates, L., Anderson, L., & McLean, R. (2020). Exploring young drivers' perceptions of procedurally just policing. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 15(3), 1933–1947.
- Bates, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S., & Martin, P. (2015). Comparing police and public perceptions of a routine traffic encounter. *Police Quarterly*, 18(4), 442–468. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611115589290>
- Bates, L., Bennett, S., Irvine, C., Antrobus, E., & Gilmour, J. (2023). A procedurally just flyer reduces subsequent speeding offences: Evidence from the Queensland speeding engagement trial (QSET). *Journal of Experimental Criminology*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-023-09582-w>
- Bates, L., Scott-Parker, B., Allen, S., & Watson, B. (2016). Young driver perceptions of police traffic enforcement and self-reported driving offences. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 39(4), 723–739.
- BITRE. (2023). Road Safety Enforcement Data. <https://www.bitre.gov.au/publications/2023/road-safety-enforcement-data>.
- Bradford, B. (2014). Policing and social identity: Procedural justice, inclusion and cooperation between police and public. *Policing and Society*, 24(1), 22–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2012.724068>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). *Thematic analysis*. American Psychological Association.
- Dai, M., Hu, X., Thomas, L., & Kenter, R. (2020). The short-term and long-term impacts of the procedural justice training. *Policing: An International Journal*, 43(5), 689–705.
- Fildes, A., Murphy, K., & Porter, L. (2019). Police officer procedural justice self-assessments: Do they change across recruit training and operational experience? *Policing and Society*, 29(2), 188–203.
- Goodman-Delahunty, J. (2010). Four ingredients: New recipes for procedural justice in Australian policing. *Policing*, 4(4), 403–410.
- Hasan, R., Watson, B., Haworth, N., Oviedo-Trespalacios, O., & Bates, L. (2024). How do perceptions of procedural justice, police legitimacy, and legitimacy of laws influence intentions to drug drive? *Journal of Safety Research*, 90, 86–99.
- MacQueen, S., & Bradford, B. (2015). Enhancing public trust and police legitimacy during road traffic encounters: Results from a randomised controlled trial in Scotland. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 11(3), 419–443.
- MacQueen, S., & Bradford, B. (2017). Where did it all go wrong? Implementation failure—And more—In a field experiment of procedural justice policing. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 13(3), 321–345. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-016-9278-7>
- Madon, N. S., Murphy, K., & Sargeant, E. (2017). Promoting police legitimacy among disengaged minority groups: Does procedural justice matter more? *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 17(5), 624–642.
- Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S., & Tyler, T. (2013). Shaping citizen perceptions of police legitimacy: A randomized field trial of procedural justice. *Criminology*, 51(1).
- Mazerolle, L., Bennett, S., Davis, J., Sergeant, E., & Manning, M. (2013). Procedural justice and police legitimacy: A systematic review of the research evidence. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 9(3), 245–274.
- Paternoster, R., Brame, R., Bachman, R., & Sherman, L. W. (1997). Do fair procedures matter? The effect of procedural justice on spouse assault? *Law & Society Review*, 31(1).
- Queensland Government. (2024). Mobile Phone and Seatbelt Cameras. <https://www.qld.gov.au/transport/safety/finer/cameras>.
- Sahin, N., Braga, A. A., Apel, R., & Brunson, R. K. (2017). The impact of procedurally-just policing on citizen perceptions of police during traffic stops: The Adana randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 33(4), 701–726. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-016-9308-7>
- Sargeant, E., Antrobus, E., & Platz, D. (2017). Promoting a culture of fairness: Police training, procedural justice, and compliance. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 13(3), 347–365.
- Schaap, D., & Saarikkomäki, E. (2022). Rethinking police procedural justice. *Theoretical Criminology*, 26(3), 13624806211056680.
- Stefanidis, K. B., Schiemer, C., Freeman, J., Mulgrew, K., Oviedo-Trespalacios, O., & Truelove, V. (2023). Community narratives on facebook regarding mobile phone use while driving and road policing technologies. *Traffic Injury Prevention*, 24(7), 592–598. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15389588.2023.2224475>
- Truelove, V., Oviedo-Trespalacios, O., Freeman, J., & Davey, J. (2021). Sanctions or crashes? A mixed-method study of factors influencing general and concealed mobile phone use while driving. *Safety science*, 135, 105119.
- Tudor-Owen, J. (2021). The importance of 'blue shirts' in traffic policing. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 15(1), 480–491. <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paz012>

Tyler, T. (2006). *Why people obey the law*. Princeton University Press.

Tyler, T. (2017). Procedural justice and policing: A rush to judgment? *Annual Review Law and Social Science*, 13, 29–53.

Watling, C., & Leal, N. (2012). *Exploring perceived legitimacy of traffic law enforcement*. *Proceedings of the 2012 australasian college of road safety national conference*.

Wells, H. (2008). The techno-fix versus the fair cop: Procedural (in)justice and automated speed limit enforcement. *British Journal of Criminology*, 48, 798–817.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azn058>