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1	"You can't be deterred by stuff you don't know about": Identifying Factors that influence
2	Graduated Driver Licensing Rule Compliance
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26 Abstract

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This study aimed to identify and explore the major mechanisms that influence young drivers' compliance with the Queensland, Australia Graduated Driver Licensing (GDL) (also known as graduated licensing or graduated driver licensing systems) restrictions. Due to the limited research focus on compliance with GDL restrictions, a qualitative approach was utilised. The study consisted of 11 focus groups (N = 60) of young Queensland drivers aged between 17 and 25 years (Mage = 20.50 years, SD = 2.69). Results were analysed using an inductive thematic analysis. Participants had low perceptions of enforcement certainty for the GDL restrictions, due to the difficulty in identifying these behaviours. Enforcement of these restrictions is linked to displaying the provisional licence (P) (also known as intermediate licence) plates, however this was reported to be violated quite often. Surprisingly, a number of the restrictions were unknown to participants, despite the restrictions being in place for over 10 years. The GDL phone restriction, particularly using the phone for Global Positioning Service (GPS) applications and the use of Bluetooth to listen to music, as well as the passenger loudspeaker restriction were the least complied with restrictions. Meanwhile, the zero-alcohol limit was the most complied with restriction. Compliance with these restrictions was linked with perceptions of enforcement certainty and severity, social acceptance, as well as perceptions of legitimacy of the restriction and perceived danger associated with violating the restriction. The punishments for violating these restrictions were widely unknown and several participants stated they were more likely to comply with the restrictions when they found out the severity of the punishments. This study identified differences in compliance with each GDL restriction, as well as detecting a number of factors that influence compliance. These results can aid in the development of countermeasures that may improve GDL rule compliance, and the young driver road trauma rate.

Key words: Deterrence; enforcement; young drivers; novice drivers; graduated driver licensing

52 1. Introduction

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53 Young drivers aged under 25 years are consistently overrepresented in road crash statistics within Australia (Bureau of Infrastructure, Transport and Regional Economics, 54 55 2017) and worldwide (Elvik, 2010; World Health Organisation [WHO], 2015). To reduce the high road trauma rate among this age group, Graduated Driver Licensing (GDL) (also known 56 57 as graduated licensing or graduated driver licensing systems) restrictions have been implemented in a number of countries. These restrictions commonly involve specific 58 59 requirements for learning to drive and obtaining a provisional licence (also known as 60 intermediate licence), as well as ensuring novice drivers gain experience in low risk driving situations before they graduate to driving in higher risk situations (Bates et al., 2014). It has 61 62 been reported that many new drivers violate GDL restrictions at some point, yet despite this 63 there has still been a significant decrease in young driver road crashes after these restrictions 64 have been implemented (Bates et al., 2014; Scott-Parker, Watson, King & Hyde, 2012). While there has been extensive research from the U.S. surrounding the effectiveness of GDL 65 passenger restrictions (e.g. Fell, Todd, & Voas, 2011; Vanlaar et al., 2009; Williams, 2007; 66 67 William & Shults, 2010) and GDL night-time restrictions (e.g. Carpenter & Pressley, 2013; Williams, 2007; Williams & Shults, 2010), research surrounding *compliance* with GDL 68 69 restrictions has primarily focused on the night time specific GDL restriction (Mayhew, 70 Simpson, Ferguson, & Williams, 1998; Williams, Nelson & Leaf, 2002). As such, there has 71 been a lack of research examining the extent to which young drivers' comply with the GDL 72 restrictions beyond the night time ban. Therefore, this research will undertake the first steps 73 in exploring the mechanisms that influence young drivers' compliance with GDL restrictions 74 in the state of Queensland, Australia.

1.1 GDL in Queensland

Table 1

The GDL restrictions are different in each Australian state and territory as well as in other countries where they have been implemented. In Queensland, these initiatives involve a learner phase, consisting of a minimum of 100 supervised hours for learners under the age of 25 years before passing a 1 hour driving test. They also include a provisional 1 (P1) and provisional 2 (P2) licence phase for drivers aged under 25 years. The P2 phase is obtained by holding the P1 licence for at least 1 year and passing a hazard perception test. Each licence phase involves different restrictions that need to be followed while driving, which are presented in Table 1.

84 Driving Restrictions on Queensland's Graduated Driver Licensing System

GDL Restrictions on Learner and P1	GDL Restrictions on P2 Licence Phase
Licence Phases	
Zero blood alcohol concentration.	Zero blood alcohol concentration.
Must visibly display the correct plates while driving.	Must visibly display the correct plates while driving.
Complete mobile phone restriction of the driver, including hand-held, hands-free, Bluetooth and loudspeaker functions.	
Passenger phone restriction: restriction of the loudspeaker function of a mobile phone for passengers of drivers on these licence stages.	
Night time passenger restriction: drivers are not allowed to have more than one passenger under the age of 21 years who is not an immediate family member, between the hours of 11pm and 5am.	

It should be noted that while P2 drivers are no longer required to comply with the complete mobile phone restriction, they are allowed to use a hands-free phone but are banned from using any hand-held phone functions while driving; this phone restrictions carries through to the open licence. As this study is focusing on compliance with GDL initiatives, it will only focus on the GDL restrictions reported in Table 1, not on the requirements needed

to progress through each licence stage, as it is almost impossible for drivers to avoid these requirements (apart from the 100 hours of supervised driving experience) and obtain a licence. However, parents in Queensland and New South Wales have reported the recording of supervised hours to be relatively accurate, and were infrequently asked by their learner to record false driving hours (Bates, Watson, & King, 2014). Interested readers are encouraged to refer to previous research that has already addressed compliance with the 100 hours of supervised practice rule for further information (e.g. Bates et al., 2014; Scott-Parker, 2015; Scott-Parker, Bates, Watson, King, & Hyde, 2011).

1.2 GDL Phone Use While Driving

The Queensland GDL phone restriction (banning all phone functions for learner and P1 drivers) and passenger phone restriction has not been widely implemented in jurisdictions outside of Queensland. As such, there is limited research surrounding young drivers' compliance with these rules. One jurisdiction that has implemented a similar restriction is North Carolina, U.S. This restriction differs to the Queensland phone restriction, as a complete phone ban while driving only applies to drivers aged under 18 years. It was found that there were no significant differences in observed phone rates between young drivers in this state and young drivers in another U.S. state which did not have this restriction, neither 5 months after its implementation (Foss, Goodwin, McCartt, & Hellinga, 2009), nor 2 years later (Goodwin, O'Brien, & Foss, 2012). These results are concerning, as it suggests that the enforcement of these laws are ineffective. However, as these studies occurred in the U.S., and an observational approach was used, the results may differ in other countries and with different research methodologies. Further, although some research has assessed the GDL driver phone restriction, to the best of the authors' knowledge, there has been no published research which has assessed *passenger* phone restrictions.

1.3 GDL Passenger Restriction

In Queensland, it is illegal for learner and P1 drivers aged under 25 to carry more than one passenger under the age of 21 between 11pm and 5am. This restriction is unique, as it combines a passenger restriction with a night restriction; most GDL restrictions of a similar nature ban either the number of passengers a young driver can carry, regardless of the time of day, or they ban young drivers from driving altogether during certain hours of the night.

Research that has assessed compliance with these restrictions has found that young drivers were more likely to comply with the passenger restriction than the night restriction (Begg, Langley, Readers & Chambers 1995). The current research will extend upon previous research by exploring the factors which influence compliance with the passenger specific night restriction in Queensland, Australia.

1.4 P Plates

The mandatory displaying of licence stage via plates on the vehicle as a GDL rule has primarily been utilised in Australia, with New Jersey being the only state in the U.S. which practices this rule (however, small red reflective decal stickers that can peel on and off a licence plate are used instead of the provisional (P) plates) (Bates, Scott-Parker, Darvell, & Watson, 2017). However, it has been explained that this rule may increase compliance with, and enforcement of, not only the GDL restrictions but also other road rules due to the identifying nature of the plates (Bates et al., 2014). In a recent quantitative study among Queensland young drivers, it has been identified that displaying P plates while driving plays a role in influencing young adults to drive more carefully, however this influence is larger among P1 drivers compared to P2 drivers (Bates et al., 2017).

When compliance with this rule is examined, it has been found that many young drivers believe the plate rule is not well enforced (Bates, Allen, & Watson, 2016).

Interestingly, despite this, further research has shown a majority of young drivers display

their correct plates when driving (Bates et al., 2017; VicRoads, 2017). Encouragingly, drivers who reported not regularly displaying their P plates were more likely to report the police would use cues other than the plates to identify provisional drivers (Bates et al., 2017). As the plate rule plays a large role in enforcement of the GDL requirements, it is important to identify the factors that influence compliance with this restriction.

1.5 GDL Alcohol Restriction

Drivers on their learner or provisional (P1 or P2) licence who are aged under 25 years must have a zero blood-alcohol limit while driving, whereas drivers on their open licence can have a blood alcohol concentration (BAC) limit of below 0.05. The GDL zero alcohol limit has been associated with clear reductions in young driver road crashes (Senserrick & Williams, 2015) and alcohol offences (VicRoads, 2017) in Australia. These results are associated with a strong combination of a) high perceptions of enforcement certainty, and b) strong perceptions of social unacceptability. Bates et al. (2016) suggests that the high perceptions of enforcement for drink driving are associated with the campaigns that have been targeted at reducing this behaviour, making it seem like enforcement is frequent. Identifying further factors which influence compliance with this restriction will help in 1) applying some of these factors to other GDL restrictions to increase compliance and 2) identifying factors which may aid in further increasing compliance with this restriction.

1.6 GDL and Deterrence

Enforcement through traffic laws is the primary method used to promote rule compliance with the GDL restrictions. The decision to enforce specific road rules has been based on the extent to which these behaviours contribute to crash risk (Bates, Soole, & Watson, 2012). Therefore, it is necessary to explore perceptions of enforcement for these restrictions in order to establish the effectiveness of the current countermeasures. Legal enforcement is based around classical deterrence theory, which stipulates that an individual is

deterred from a crime via a combination of three factors; certainty of apprehension, severity of punishment and swiftness of punishment (Beccaria, 1764/2007; Bentham 1780/1970). A reconceptualization of this theory has also been created, which identifies that individuals are deterred from committing a crime via a combination of experiences with direct punishment, direct punishment avoidance, indirect (i.e. experienced through others) punishment and indirect punishment avoidance (Stafford & Warr, 1993).

Despite the large role deterrence theory plays in enforcement of GDL restrictions, there has been very limited research that has considered the effectiveness of deterrents on GDL rule compliance. Research surrounding deterrence theory and road safety has primarily focused on the behaviours of speeding (e.g. Fleiter, 2010; Truelove, Freeman, Szogi, Kaye, Davey & Armstrong, 2017) and drink driving (e.g. Freeman, Kaye, Truelove, & Davey, 2017; Szogi, Darvell, Freeman, Truelove, Palk, & Armstrong 2017). When studies have considered perceptions of enforcement in relation to GDL restrictions, the different types of GDL restrictions have rarely been separated. This can be considered a large oversight due the differences in nature, cognitions and motives associated with compliance with each restriction. A recent study did break up the Queensland GDL restrictions, along with other major road rules, into fixed rule violations (e.g. a rule that can be broken before the driver gets into the car) and transient rule violations (e.g. a rule that can be broken while driving, or can be broken multiple times within the one trip) (Bates et al., 2016). Differences between fixed and transient rule violations were found, with participants more likely to comply with fixed rules. These results highlight the importance in separating the different GDL restrictions when studying GDL rule compliance. However, it is noteworthy that compliance with these restrictions may differ within the fixed and transient categories. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the specific GDL violations separately in order to delineate young

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drivers' compliance with each restriction, the major factors which influence such compliance, and the effectiveness of the current enforcement initiatives.

1.7 GDL and Non-Legal Sanctions

A major problem associated with GDL rule compliance is the difficulty in enforcing such laws (Bates et al., 2014), as there is an inherent difficulty present in the enforcement of laws that only apply to a specific population, and whose primary source of identification is via displaying P plates (Bates et al., 2016). This highlights the necessity to include a focus on non-legal factors as well as legal factors when exploring GDL rule compliance.

When non-legal factors have been explored, parental influence has been shown to have a large impact on GDL restriction rule compliance (e.g., Allen, Murphy, & Bates, 2017; -Bates et al., 2016; Beck, Shattuck, Raleigh, & Hartos, 2003; Scott-Parker et al., 2012), although this appears to have a larger impact on P1 drivers compared to P2 drivers (Bates et al., 2017). A recent study found that, among young Queensland drivers on the GDL system, parental punishment was a stronger deterrent for road rule violations than legal deterrence measures (Allen et al., 2017). In addition, it has been suggested that young drivers need to consider the GDL rules reasonable in order to comply with these restrictions (Foss & Goodwin, 2003). It has also been suggested that young drivers' ability to deal with peer pressure in relation to road rule violations can be limited (Poirier, Blais, & Faubert, 2018). This past research supports the idea that non-legal factors also play a role in GDL rule compliance. Consequently, the current study included a focus on non-legal sanctions as well as legal sanctions.

1.8 The Current Study

Most of the research surrounding compliance with GDL restrictions has examined the rates of compliance, without looking into the factors that influence such compliance. In order to explore the mechanisms by which young drivers are influenced to comply (and not

comply) with the Queensland GDL restrictions, an exploratory qualitative analysis via focus groups was conducted. As each restriction is unique, an effort was made to focus on each of the separate restrictions, as opposed to the GDL restrictions as a whole. This research may aid in the evaluation of countermeasures used to promote GDL rule compliance, with the intention of increasing young drivers' compliance with these restrictions to further reduce the high road trauma rates among this high-risk age group. The following research question will be addressed in the current study: what are young drivers' knowledge and perceptions of deterrence associated with the GDL restriction violations?

1. Method

2.1 Participants

Participants (N = 60, 40 females)¹ were aged between 17 and 25 years (Mage = 20.50 years, SD = 2.69) and held either a provisional (P1 or P2) or an open Queensland licence. There was little difference in the number of participants in the P1 licence class (n = 23), P2 licence class (n = 18) and open licence class (n = 19). It is beneficial to include participants who have some differences, so that other participants can be challenged, and it can allow them to think more deeply and reflect about the topic being presented (Forrester, 2010; Ritchie, 2003). Therefore, participants were not divided into groups based on gender and licence class (P1 licence, P2 licence and open licence), in order to allow a more in depth and challenging conversation among participants (refer to the online supplement for a summary of participant groups and further demographic information). Perceptions expressed in focus groups varied more among individuals than between P1, P2 and open licence holders.

Participants were recruited via a mixture of online recruitment (n = 34), snowball

sampling (n = 6) or were self-selected first year psychology students who received course credit for completing the study (n = 20). Participants who were not offered course credit were

¹ One participant did not report their gender.

instead offered a \$50AUD shopping gift card. All participants were from South-East Queensland, which consists of metropolitan areas. The researcher organised groups of between 4-8 participants², as this was considered the ideal number for focus groups (Finch & Lewis, 2003; Forrester, 2010).

2.2 Procedure and Materials

Ethical approval for this study was obtained via the University Research Ethics

Committee. There were 11 focus groups in total, with participant discussions ranging from 40 minutes to 90 minutes. Before each focus group commenced, participants were given an information sheet to read, a consent form to sign and a short demographic survey to complete. Semi-structured interview questions were used to guide the discussion. The questions are a part of a larger study. The questions specific to GDL are included in Appendix A. These questions focused on identifying participants' perceptions around each GDL restriction, with a focus on the factors – both legal and non-legal - that influence compliance with these restrictions.

2.3 Data Analysis

A critical realist/contextualist thematic analysis approach was used to analyse this data. This approach means that reality is constructed through individual's perceptions, and an individual's version of reality is discoverable through their words (Clarke, Braun, & Hayfield, 2015). Due to this study's reliance on perceptions, and the exploratory nature of the study, an inductive approach was used. The purpose of the study was to explore perceptions relating to compliance with GDL restrictions, so that ideas and themes can come through by themselves, instead of applying the theory to the data, which may omit important ideas. The focus groups were recorded and transcribed verbatim by the first author. The analysis

² Due to participants not showing up, there was one group of 2 participants and one group of 3 participants.

followed the six phases of thematic analysis: familiarisation, coding, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and writing up the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke et al., 2015). This method allowed analysis to occur sequentially, which enabled the author to determine when the data no longer modified or created new codes, resulting in data saturation which meant that the data collection should then be terminated (Hancock et al., 2009; Mason, 2010). To address the validity and reliability of the approach, another researcher outside of this project also analysed the data and adjusted the codes (thus ensuring inter-rater reliability). The researchers had a 96.35% coding agreement rate. The first author and researcher then worked together to finalise the themes.

2. Results and Discussion

The results are presented via the main themes that emerged. This section begins with the themes addressing the GDL restrictions overall then narrows down into the themes that address the GDL restrictions separately. The themes consisted of: (i) The GDL laws are not well enforced, (ii) Some GDL laws are widely unknown, (iii) The GDL phone restriction rule was not complied with as it was not perceived as well enforced or legitimate, (iv) The GDL phone restriction was consistently violated for GPS phone applications and listening to music via Bluetooth, (v) GDL phone laws have not been updated to keep up with the emerging technology, (vi) It is easy to unintentionally violate the GDL plate rule, (vii) The GDL plate rule is intentionally violated to avoid police, (viii) The zero alcohol limit GDL restriction is the most complied with GDL restriction, and (ix) The punishments for GDL violations are widely unknown and larger than expected. Themes are highlighted by direct participant quotes. To ensure participants' anonymity, a quote from a female will begin with 'F' and a quote from a male will begin with 'M'.

3.1 Theme: The GDL Laws are not well Enforced

There was a common perception amongst most participants that the GDL restrictions
are difficult to enforce. This was reported among almost all of these laws, apart from the zero
alcohol limit rule, which was described as being efficiently enforced through Random Breath
Testing (RBT) and the police.

The GDL restrictions that were most commonly reported to be perceived as having low enforcement rates included the passenger phone restriction, mentioned by 18 participants, and the driver phone restriction, mentioned by 30 participants. This was because neither of these violations are clearly visible to police.

It was mentioned several times that if the plate rule (e.g., displaying the correct licence type via plates on the car) was violated, it would make detection of any other GDL offence very difficult. The following quote demonstrates this perception:

F: How do they know, when they look at you, unless they think you're a P plater, they wouldn't pull you over

Experience with punishment avoidance was also very common among participants when violating the GDL laws. This finding is consistent with the direct punishment avoidance component of Stafford and Warr's (1993) reconceptualised theory of deterrence which can aid in explaining participants' perceptions associated with the lack of enforcement of GDL restrictions. An example of this is demonstrated below:

M: I got pulled over before when I first got my red Ps and I forgot them and they didn't say anything to me

This theme is consistent with previous literature in which drivers perceive GDL laws to have very low enforcement rates (Bates et al., 2016; Goodwin, O'Brien, & Foss, 2012). Consistent with the principles of deterrence, increasing perceptions of enforcement is key to increasing rule compliance with these restrictions (Beccaria 1764/2007; Bentham 1780/1970; Piquero, Paternoster, Pogarsky, & Loughran, 2011). Possible suggestions for improving

enforcement of GDL restriction include encouraging parents to enforce these restrictions (Scott-Parker et al., 2012) and having a larger focus on ensuring drivers display their corresponding P plate when driving (Bates et al., 2016).

3.2 Theme: Some GDL Laws are widely Unknown

Not only did participants believe GDL laws were not well enforced, some participants were not aware of some of the laws that were associated with the system despite either recently progressing through the GDL system or currently being on GDL restrictions. There were two GDL rules that were most commonly unknown among participants. One of those rules was the phone restriction rule, 19 participants stated they did not know the extent of this rule – in particular, a number of participants stated that they were unaware of the Bluetooth restriction. The following quotes demonstrate this:

F: I actually didn't know it was a rule for a P plater to not have a Bluetooth system. Is that right?

F: That blows my mind because I didn't know that

F: I think it's not a common knowledge rule that P platers are not meant to have it

The other GDL rule that was frequently reported to be unknown among participants

was the passenger phone restriction rule in which passengers of learner and P1 licence

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holders cannot use a phone that is on loudspeaker. This was reportedly more unknown than

the GDL personal phone restriction rule, 37 participants stated they were unaware of this rule.

This is demonstrated through the following quotes:

F: I don't think they made that clear when they're learning, because I don't remember anyone saying that to me

M: Never even heard of that rule!

When participants were aware of all the GDL rules it was commonly acknowledged that they only knew about it via a talk that was given when they were in high school. Some participants said their school did not give any talk on the GDL rules, and they were not made

aware of the rules via any other form, therefore they were not aware of some of the rules associated with different stages of licensing.

These findings are consistent with previous research on a young driver complete phone ban in which many young drivers were unaware of the phone restriction (Foss, Goodwin, McCartt, & Hellinga, 2009; Goodwin, O'Brien, & Foss, 2012). However these studies took place five months and two years after this law was employed; the Queensland GDL phone restriction has been in place for over 10 years, yet this rule is still widely unknown among those who are currently under the GDL system. The aforementioned studies did find that knowledge of these rules increased after targeted intervention, so it may be suggested that implementing a similar intervention strategy could improve the knowledge of the GDL restrictions in Queensland, Australia.

In contrast to the GDL phone restrictions, the plate rule and zero alcohol limit were almost universally known among participants. Meanwhile the passenger restriction was also well-known, yet the details of this restriction were commonly misperceived, particularly the component of the restriction which stipulates that more than no more than one passenger aged over 21 years (that is not a family member) is allowed in the vehicle, as well as the specific time this restriction begins. This is demonstrated in the comments below:

F: 11 o clock you can't drive with any, you can't drive with other people. Is that right?

M: Sorry was that more than 1?

F: You can't have more than one passenger after midnight. Is that right?

2.3 Theme: The GDL Phone Restriction Rule was not complied with as it was not perceived as well Enforced or Legitimate

It was consistently mentioned that the GDL rule least likely to be complied with was the phone restriction rule: all phone functions, including Bluetooth, hands-free and

loudspeaker functions are banned while driving on the learner and P1 licence phases for drivers under 25 years, whereas only the hand-held phone functions are banned on other licence stages.

There were primarily two reasons why the GDL phone restriction rule was least complied with. Firstly, this rule was considered unnecessary; most participants believed they would be safely able to use the phone functions which were only restricted for learner and P1 drivers. Due to the rule not being perceived as legitimate, many participants disregarded it. This is consistent with previous research which found that perceived legitimacy influences rule compliance (Ramcilovic-Suominen & Epstein, 2015) and more specifically, compliance with traffic laws (Hertogh, 2015; Van Damme & Pauwels, 2016). These statements demonstrate this point:

F: I feel like it's seen as a lesser offense, so more people do it.

F: Not for, um, like the reasons that would cause accidents, like they're not on their phones talking, but things like Google maps and stuff, like for the most part

The second reason is that most participants also believed that this rule could not be enforced. In particular, it was explained that using the hands free or Bluetooth functions on a phone while driving are very difficult for police to identify due to the lack of physical evidence. This is consistent with previous literature in which perceived certainty of apprehension contributes to road rule compliance (Freeman & Watson, 2009; Homel, 1988;

Piquero et al., 2011). The following comments demonstrates this:

F: It's hard to prove that you're using it though. Like if they pull you over and you've got your phone.

M: Kind of hard to tell when someone's on Bluetooth or something. Driving by, like they could have just been singing

2.4 Theme: The GDL Phone Restriction was Consistently Violated for GPS Phone Applications and Listening to Music via Bluetooth

The types of GDL phone restriction violations that were most commonly reported included using the phone as a Global Positional System (GPS) and the use of music via Bluetooth. These results are consistent with recent research that has identified music and navigation to be prevalent phone use while driving behaviours (George, Brown, Scholz, Scott-Parker, & Rickwood, 2018). While both of these phone function GDL bans were not well known among participants, as mentioned above, most participants stated they would not comply with these rules even if they were aware of them. Most participants who were aware of the rule still used those two phone functions while driving, with 41 participants stating they would use their phone's GPS while driving and 47 stating they would use music through their phone while driving. Similar to above, this was primarily associated with lack of enforcement (both legal and non-legal) and lack of perceived legitimacy of the rule – young drivers are allowed to use a physical GPS and listen to music via CDs/radio but are not allowed to use the music and GPS functions on a phone.

As learner drivers had the supervisor provide them with directions, the GPS phone ban was not presented as an issue for this licence phase, however almost all participants viewed this negatively for the P1 licence phase. The primary reasons which emerged for this GDL violation was these drivers are not yet familiar with the roads and need directions, and the use of a phone GPS had many advantages over buying a GPS or using a physical map. These advantages included a) cost; buying a physical GPS is much more expensive than downloading a GPS application on a phone which, in most cases, is free, b) the GPS application usually provides updates in a faster and more convenient manner than the physical GPS, c) the GPS application was perceived as safer than reading a physical map – it gives the driver enough notice to get into the correct lane and ensures they do not have to

make last minutes decisions, and d) the use of a GPS was more well known to participants than the use of a physical map. The comments below demonstrate some of these perceptions:

F: I use it every day anyway

- *M: Like P1 is pretty stupid, but learner it's understandable.*
- *M: Google maps is just so integrated into what we do*
- 427 F: And that's not going to deter me from using google maps, I'm still going to use it
 428 [laughs]
- 429 F: Navigation. Because GPS' are really expensive and to download google maps on 430 your phone is free.
 - F: I think no matter what the penalty was for that, people aren't really going to stop, especially for like maps and music and things

Similarly to the use of a phone for a GPS while driving, almost all participants reported they would use their phone to listen to music while driving, specifically through the Bluetooth function. As was stated by many participants for the GPS restrictions, most participants were more opposed to the Bluetooth restriction during the P1 licence phase compared to the learner licence phase. The primary reason for this was because participants were focusing on learning to drive during that phase and listening to music while driving via Bluetooth was not as much of a concern. The key reasons participants gave for listening to music via Bluetooth while driving on the P1 stage included: a) there was a clear preference for listening to music which was on their phone – particularly the use of the music application Spotify or through music they have downloaded – as opposed to listening to music on the radio or through CDs, b) they believed it did not interfere with their safety while driving and c) they believed the radio acted as a larger distraction when driving than their own music – sirens during advertisements and songs acted as a distraction or confused participants, for

example, making them incorrectly believe an ambulance was coming. The following comments demonstrate these perceptions:

M: You're going to get more distracted from the radio than anything, because they always play sirens and crashes and noises

F: But I still use that, I still use my music but can, I know it can be distracting but come on [laughs] at least I'm not talking to someone on the other side

F: But I feel like for P1 if it's Bluetooth and you're just using it for music, it should be fine.

These findings present an area of phone use while driving which has received very little attention in the literature. As the GDL phone restriction is not a common restriction in other jurisdictions, there has been very limited research that has identified these behaviours as common road rule violations. Most research has focused on the behaviours of hand-held phone use while driving (e.g. Backer-Grondahl & Sagberg, 2011; Neyens & Boyle, 2008; Oviedo-Trespalacios, Hague, King, & Washington, 2016) or hands-free talking (e.g. Backer-Grøndahl & Sagberg, 2011; Treffner & Barrett, 2004), with recent extension to social media use while driving (Basacik, Reed, & Robbins, 2011; McNabb & Grey, 2016). A recent study into social interactive technology while driving further separated the phone behaviours into initiating, reading/monitoring and responding, with different predictors reaching significance for each behaviour (Gauld, Lewis, White, Fleiter, & Watson, 2017). While using the phone for both GPS and music are not socially interactive phone behaviours, they can be classified as initiating phone behaviours. Future research could examine whether these initiating behaviours have similar predictors to social interactive technology initiating behaviours.

2.5 Theme: GDL Phone Laws have not been updated to keep up with Emerging Technology

Many participants believed the GDL law banning all types of phone use while driving, specifically the use of a GPS phone application and the use of music via Bluetooth, are not consistent with the current state of technology and need to be updated. This is a further reason participants provided for their involvement with both behaviours and is linked with the low perceptions of legitimacy of this law. The use of the GPS application was more convenient and widespread than the use of a physical GPS or map, as was mentioned in more detail above. In addition, many participants stated they are not interested in the radio, especially when it is talk radio. Furthermore, the use of CDs are becoming outdated among young drivers – they primarily obtain music via their phone and want to listen to this music when they are driving. This is demonstrated in the following comments:

F: I feel like legislation has such a hard time catching up with technology, so they're just going we're just going to fix it by saying you can't do anything on Bluetooth, just so they can work it out, I guess

F: Buying a GPS is, it's outdated now, there's no point in buying a GPS, people don't do that anymore

F: And I think the more arbitrary the rules seem, the more frustrated they get with the rules in general, like that Bluetooth playing music thing, that's just going to annoy people and yeah, I feel like that affects rule compliance because then they go well none of these rules kind of mean anything

2.6 Theme: It is easy to unintentionally violate the GDL Plate Rule

In total, 17 participants reported they have violated the GDL plate rule unintentionally, while 30 participants believed it was easy to unintentionally violate this rule. There were a number of reasons associated with this: a) if they shared a car with someone

else who did not have to display plates, it was reportedly very common to forget to put the plates back on the car when they drove next, b) plates that are stuck to the outside of the car (either magnetic plates, plastic plates with a suction cup or clear vision static plates) would fall off as a result of wind and movement from the car, c) in summer, magnetic plates or clear vision static plates stuck to the outside of the car can melt due to the high temperatures on the car body, resulting in them falling off, d) if the plates are the type with suction cups that are stuck to the inside of the car, it was commonly stated they would easily fall down while driving, e) plates have been stolen (a number of participants reported this occurring at petrol stations). Some examples of these perceptions are demonstrated in the following quotes:

F: We literally had our plates blow off.

F: I had a P plate inside and one outside, the person stole the, like why would you steal one P plate? [Laughs]

F: To forget and like in the summertime, I had the P plates that were stick on

F: I mean it's purely out of I forgot, or lazy or couldn't find it or whatever, never like intention to break the rule

The ease with which young drivers can unintentionally violate the plate rule is concerning, considering this is the primary method used to identify whether a driver is currently in the GDL system and needs to comply with those restrictions, making enforcement of such restrictions even more difficult. While there has been a focus on perceptions of the plate restriction (Bates et al., 2017), that research focused on quantifying perceptions of approval. In contrast, previous research has not explored the ease of unintentionally violating the plate restriction. However, research has examined the differences between intentional and unintentional road rule violations more generally and it has been identified that they involve different psychological processes, with intentional violations being associated with motivational and social factors, and unintentional violations

connected to information processing (Reason, Manstead, Stradling, Baxter, & Campbell, 1990). Additionally, previous scientific efforts in rail crossing literature have identified differences in rule compliance intention between deliberate violations and unintentional violations (Darvell, Freeman, & Rakotonirainy, 2015; Freeman, Rakotonirainy, Stefanova, & McMaster, 2013) which further highlights the necessity of separating these behaviours in future studies. This presents a major area in need of further development.

3.7 Theme: The GDL Plate Rule is intentionally violated to Avoid Police

Whilst many participants reported the violation of the GDL plate rule is largely unintentional, 11 participants stated they would still intentionally violate this rule. One reported reason for this is laziness – either the plates have been taken down by someone else driving the car or the plates have fallen off and the young driver intentionally does not put them back on. Another reason was the fear of getting pulled over by police, even if they have not violated any road rules. Participants stated that police frequently pull over drivers who display a P plate – drivers with red P plates (P1) more frequently than green (P2) – much more than they would drivers without any plates (based on both personal and vicarious experiences). This is consistent with the results from Bates et al. (2017), who found that young drivers believed those displaying P plates were more targeted by the police and other drivers. While this perception is encouraging as it means these drivers have high perceptions of apprehension certainty for GDL and general road rule violations, it is more concerning that many young drivers decide not to display their plates at all because of this fear of police. The following comments demonstrate these perceptions:

F: Sometimes I'm too lazy and the one at the back it just sits there so I'm like if I get pulled over, I'll just say it fell down because most likely I'll put it up and it will just fall down anyways so yeah

M: Yeah, I know people who would take their red Ps off because they don't want attention from police. Even if it's still illegal in itself

F: How bad is it that when I was all through my like red and especially green I would never put mine on

Another reason participants explained influenced their decision to forgo displaying P plates was the treatment they received from other drivers on the road, where risky driving behaviours were exerted from open licence holders towards the P plate driver. The following comment demonstrated this:

F: Uh, sometimes people drive erratically past me or like drive up your ass kind of thing to stress me out. And I notice when I got onto my open licence that happened a lot less. So maybe there's some stigma around P plate drivers.

While some participants stated they would not display their P plates solely to decrease their chances of getting pulled over despite not violating any road restrictions, other participants stated P plates would not be displayed to avoid detection from violating the GDL passenger restriction. This was because the passenger restriction can be clearly visible to police when the P plates are displayed, whereas the violation of other GDL restrictions are not as visible, even when the young driver is displaying their plate. This is demonstrated in the following comments:

F: I think the only time I can imagine people intentionally taking their plates off is like when they're driving after 11 and they've got more people in their car.

This noncompliance with the plate restriction presents a large issue in terms of enforcement of the GDL restrictions. While this qualitative study was not able to determine the number of drivers who would violate this restriction, a recent study by Bates et al. (2017), which also took in place in Queensland (consisting of 226 participants), suggests that the majority of young drivers would comply with the plate restriction, with 86% of P1 drivers

and 76% of P2 drivers reporting they comply with this rule most of the time. Compliance with this restriction appears much larger in Queensland compared to New Jersey, the only U.S. state that has a similar restriction; previous studies showed 51% (McCartt et al., 2013) and 67% of drivers reported using decals all the time (Williams, & McCartt, 2014). After the decal law was implemented in New Jersey, crash rates among drivers with intermediate licences decreased by 7.9% per year (Curry, Elliott, Pfeiffer, Kim, & Durbin, 2015) while the crash rates among learner drivers did not change (Curry, Pfeiffer, Elliot, & Durbin, 2015). It was found that introduction of the decals did not result in a significant change in compliance rates of the New Jersey GDL restrictions, suggesting the decline in crash rates was not associated with larger compliance with the restrictions (Palumbo, Pfeiffer, Elliot, & Curry, 2018). However, New Jersey does not have the night time passenger restriction, which this study identified to be linked with P plate compliance.

It is also interesting to note that a fear of predators was not mentioned as a reason to intentionally violate the plate rule. Previous research that has examined compliance with the displaying of decals for young drivers on the GDL system in New Jersey found that a lack of compliance with this rule was strongly linked to fear of predators identifying that a young person is in the vehicle (McCartt, Oesch, Williams, & Powell, 2012). Reportedly, this fear received a large amount of media coverage in New Jersey (Mccart et al., 2012), yet receives little attention within Australia, where the displaying of provisional plates is more widely accepted. This may help explain why the fear of predators as a result of displaying plates was not mentioned among participants.

3.8 Theme: The Zero Alcohol Limit GDL Restriction is the Most Complied with GDL

Restriction

Out of all the GDL restrictions, it was almost unanimous among participants that the zero alcohol limit is the most complied with restriction, 56 participants stated they would

comply with this restriction. The reasons for this included: a) the punishment for violating the rule is the most severe, b) there were high perceptions of certainty of apprehension, c) it was perceived as the most dangerous driving behaviour, and d) it was considered socially unacceptable, significantly more so than violating any other GDL restriction - or more broadly, more than any other road rule. The social unacceptance appeared to be attached to a number of factors; several participants stated watching RBT television shows influenced their perceptions towards drink driving, meanwhile most participants stated they grew up with the message that it is unacceptable to drink and drive via a combination of advertisements, parents and other influential people. These results are consistent with drink driving research, where high perceptions of enforcement certainty influenced less drink driving (Freeman & Watson, 2009; Freeman, Szogi, Truelove & Vingilis, 2016), drink driving was perceived as a high risk behaviour (Watling, Armstrong, Smith, & Obst, 2016) and perceived disapproval by peers and parents has been found to influence drink driving behaviour (González-Iglesias, Gómez-Fraguela & Sobral, 2015). Participants' perceptions towards this restriction are demonstrated in the following comments:

M: So much is carried behind it by breaking it, I suppose

F: They've got RBTs everywhere

F: I notice it from my brothers group of friends, they will not let anyone drink at all or they will have someone to be the designated driver and it's the same in my group.

M: And being caught for drink driving sounds a lot worse than having two passengers with you or speeding

M: But in saying that, we abide by the alcohol one because we're scared of it. So the motivating thing for us is fear

F: I watch a lot of RBT [participants laugh] so I was never game to drink

Interestingly, compliance with the GDL alcohol limit carried through to the open licence stage. A number of participants on their open licence explained that despite no longer being required to maintain a BAC of 0.00 (they are now allowed to drive with a BAC under 0.05), they will not consume any alcohol at all if they know they are going to be driving. This was connected to either the fear of being unintentionally over the limit or the fear of not having enough control over the vehicle if they consumed alcohol before driving, even if they were under the 0.05 BAC limit. These perceptions are demonstrated in the following comments:

F: I don't drink that much anyway but like, I think that, like when I do, like even if I

F: I don't drink that much anyway but like, I think that, like when I do, like even if I just have one, like obviously I don't feel that great, but I still wouldn't really be comfortable driving

F: So personally I just don't, like I'm on my opens but I don't even have a drink with it, like if I'm having dinner

F: I think it forces you to be cautious as well, like you kind of, if you can get someone in that mindset it kind of carries. I'm really careful about it now because like, you know, because of that.

F: I think um having like 0 as a limit for all P platers is kind of a good thing because it kind of dissociates drinking and driving. Because it's kind of like well if I have a drink I probably won't drive and so you know, in the future, the default isn't I'm drinking and then I'm driving, it's more will I have a drink or will I not have a drink

Interestingly, while this perception was prevalent among a number of female participants, no male participants within the focus groups put forward this opinion.

3.9 Theme: The Punishments for GDL Violations are Widely Unknown and Larger than Expected

The majority of participants were unaware of the punishments associated with each GDL violation. The only participants that knew the exact punishment were those who have previously been punished for violating a restriction. The specific punishments are outlined in Table 2. The punishment for violating the zero alcohol restrictions is the same as the punishment for violating the general alcohol limit of 0.05 BAC level on an open licence, i.e. a maximum fine of \$1400 AUD and/or 3 months imprisonment and a minimum licence disqualification of 3 months and maximum of 9 months (Clarity Law, 2015).

Punishments for Graduated Driver Licensing Offences (Queensland Government, 2018)

Graduated Driver Licensing Offence	Legislation	Demerit	Fine
		Points	(AUD)
P1/P2 licence holder failing to display	Driver Licensing Reg –	2	\$195
correct P plates clearly legible from front	Section 61(2)(b) and		
and rear of car	Section 62(2)(b)		
P1 licence holder aged under 25 years	Driver licensing Reg –	3	\$365
driving between 11pm and 5am carrying	Section 74(2)		
more than 1 passenger under 21 years			
who is not an immediate family member			
Learner or P1 licence holder under 25	Driver licensing Reg –	3	\$365
years using a mobile phone when driving	Section 68(2)		

Note. Learner and Provisional Licence holders in Queensland can only accumulate 4 or more demerit points within a 1 year period before being required to choose between licence suspension or a period of good driving behaviour.

While participants were aware that the punishment would consist of a fine and demerit points, when they were told of the specific punishments, participants perceived them to be much higher than expected. This is demonstrated in the following comments:

F: It's excessive but I think if more people knew that they wouldn't be like oh we can just risk it

F: Yeah, how would anyone be influenced by the penalties because no one actually knows what they are, like you can't be deterred by stuff you don't know about [laughs]

F: It's excessive but I think it's a deterrent

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These results suggest that the punishments for the GDL violations need to be made more widely known to enhance their deterrent effect. This is consistent with classical deterrence theory, in which knowledge and severity of punishment contributes to an individual's perception of deterrence (Bentham, 1780/1970; Andenaes, 1974).

4. Conclusions and Practical Implications

This study explored young drivers' perceptions of compliance with the GDL specific restrictions, as well as the factors that influence these perceptions. Overall, perceptions of enforcement were low; participants believed it was very difficult for police to enforce the GDL laws, especially if the plate rule was violated. Compliance with each GDL restriction was mixed; the passenger phone restriction was the least complied with restriction, followed by the driver phone restriction, while the zero alcohol limit was the most complied with GDL restriction. There were clear associations between compliance with these restrictions and the classical deterrence constructs. The zero alcohol limit restriction was associated with high perceptions of apprehension certainty and high severity of punishment, while the restrictions which were frequently violated had very low perceptions of enforcement certainty, consistent with previous research on deterrence and road rule violations (Freeman et al., 2017; Szogi et al., 2017; Truelove et al., 2017). Additional factors that influenced compliance with these rules included perceived legitimacy of the rules, perceived danger associated with violating the rules and social acceptability associated with either violating or complying with the restrictions. The low perceptions of perceived legitimacy is consistent with previous research that has identified younger drivers hold more negative views towards enforcement of road rules (Watling, 2017; Watling & Watling, 2015).

There has been limited, if any, research which has explored the effect of using a GPS via a phone application and listening to music via Bluetooth on driver behaviour. Therefore,

it is not yet known whether these restrictions have any effect on young driver safety. As these behaviours are allowed when isolated from a phone - physical GPS devices and music used via the radio or a CD may be used when driving while on any GDL stage - it may be suggested that the banning of these applications is primarily for the purpose of ensuring these functions are not interrupted by alerts from text messages etc. and young drivers are not tempted to also use other phone functions while driving. However, the focus group results suggest that young drivers do intend to use the GPS and music phone applications while driving irrespective of whether it is legal or not. While this finding is concerning, it also presents an opportunity to prevent the use of other phone functions while driving which have consistently been proven to increase crash risk, for example, reading messages, sending messages, and talking on the phone (Oviedo-Trespalacios, Hague, King, & Washington, 2016; Senserick & Williams, 2015). Technology is advancing exponentially and the solution to preventing dangerous phone behaviours while driving may be found in utilising the technology with evidence-based policy instead of completely banning it. Specifically, a possible solution may involve changing the GDL phone restriction at the P1 stage to allow the use of music and GPS phone applications while driving, provided young drivers also use a mobile phone application that blocks all other phone functions.

A plethora of phone applications currently exist which recognise both the demand for using the GPS and music phone applications and the dangers associated with using other phone functions while driving (Tchankue, Wesson, & Vogts, 2012). Most of these applications allow these two functions while blocking the use of other phone applications while driving, however the specific functions which are blocked varies between applications and does not necessarily reduce riskier behaviour (Oviedo-Trespalacios, Haque, King & Washington, 2018; Oviedo-Trespalacios, King, Truelove, & Kelly, 2018). Allowing these types of applications at the P1 stage would ensure young drivers are not tempted to use other

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phone functions or read notifications while driving, yet still allow them to use the most desired phone functions while driving. This may also aid in increasing drivers' perceptions of legitimacy of the phone rule, which has been linked to road rule compliance (Tyler, Goff, MacCoun, 2015; Van Damme & Pauwels, 2016) and may follow through to later driving stages. It is important to note a number of factors that would need to be considered, including an investigation into which phone functions should be allowed and the extent to which drivers can access the music and GPS phone applications while driving. As explained by Oviedo-Trespalacios et al., (2016), there are many phone functions drivers can use, yet they do not all represent the same amount of risk. The current applications that block specific phone functions are voluntary in nature, which presents further issues in relation to the number of young drivers who would use the application, and whether those with 'problem' phone behaviours would be less likely to use such an application (Oviedo-Trespalacios, King, Vaezipour, & Truelove, 2018). Evidence-based policy surrounding phone use while driving, especially while on the GDL system, needs to be established and application developers would need to be involved in the process. This is an important area for further investigation.

A major issue with the GDL restrictions identified from this study was that a large proportion of participants were unaware of a number of these restrictions. The primary GDL rules that were most commonly unknown included the passenger phone restriction rule and the driver phone restriction rule. A fundamental assumption of deterrence theory is that an individuals must be aware that something is illegal in order for any deterrent to have an influence on that individual (Beccaria, 1764/2007; Bentham 1780/1970). Therefore it is crucial that initiatives are taken which increase awareness of these rules. Possibilities of increasing awareness around these restrictions include the use of media campaigns and giving out the information to drivers when they receive their P1 licence.

Another issue identified with the GDL restrictions was the noncompliance with the plate restriction, either intentionally or unintentionally. This occurred much more frequently with P plates than L plates. Displaying the corresponding plates to the licence stage is the main method of detecting GDL violations, as the GDL rules only apply to drivers on their learner, P1 and P2 licence, with different rules attached to each phase. Many participants noted this occurs unintentionally for a number of reasons while others stated they would intentionally not comply with the rule either out of laziness or to avoid increased attention from the police and other drivers. Possible solutions for the unintentional violation include the development of plates that do not melt off in the summer, the use of plates inside the car so they are not easily stolen and the development of a device that reminds the driver to put their plates on before they start driving (if a phone app were to be developed for the GDL stages, this reminder could be incorporated). As many participants stated they believed compliance with the GDL restrictions would be higher if the punishments were more widely known, increasing awareness of the punishment for violating the plate restriction may also aid in increasing compliance with this restriction. This is supported by Bates et al. (2017), where it is suggested a severe punishment for not displaying P plates – the Queensland punishment is 2 demerit points and a \$195 fine (Queensland Government, 2018) – is likely to influence compliance.

4.1 Limitations

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The participants in this study resided in the Australian state of Queensland, and the GDL restrictions which were focused on were the Queensland specific restrictions which limits the generalisability of this study - this should be considered when interpreting these results. However, a number of similarities do exist within the Queensland GDL laws and the GDL laws in other states and countries, as stated in the introduction. The small number of participants in some focus groups should also be acknowledged as a limitation (Morse &

Field, 1995). However, this was unavoidable due to either no-shows or last minute cancellations. The possibility of group bias effects should also be recognised, in which there was the chance that participants were conforming to the opinions of other focus group members (Morgan, 1996). To control for this, at the beginning of each focus group, all participants were asked to give their opinion, even if it was different from what others have said. In addition, as this study used self-report data and was exploring illegal behaviours, there is the possibility of social-desirability bias, in which participants answered questions based on what they believe was most favourable (Krumpal, 2013). An effort was made to control for this by asking participants to give their true opinion, and they were told there were no wrong or right answers. Meanwhile, the facilitator made a conscious effort to remain neutral during each focus group session. It should also be acknowledged that a number of participants were self-selected or recruited via snowball sampling. Additionally, all participants were recruited from South-East Queensland, which is a metropolitan area and does not include regional or remote areas, and the majority of participants were university students. This needs to be considered in the generalisability of the results.

4.2 Conclusion

The results from this study offer an important addition to the extant literature on GDL restriction compliance. There has been very limited research on rule compliance for the Queensland GDL specific restrictions; this study has identified a number of specific factors which contribute to rule compliance – and lack of rule compliance – for each of these restrictions. As road trauma rates among young drivers remain the highest among all age groups (WHO, 2015) and GDL initiatives have been shown to effectively decrease road crash rates among this age group (Bates et al., 2014; Senserrick & Williams, 2015), yet many young drivers still violate these restrictions (Bates et al., 2014). Therefore, it is necessary for future quantitative studies to further examine the major factors identified in this study which

/84	influence GDL rule compliance. The results from this study may contribute to the
785	implementation of countermeasures which further decrease road trauma rates among the high
786	risk group of young drivers.
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1047		Appendix	
1048	8 Focus groups: Script and semi-structured questions		
1049	First participants read and sign the consent form.		
1050	Participants then complete the short demographic questionnaire items.		
1051	Script:		
1052	Thanks for taking the time to participate in this discussion.		
1053 1054 1055	The purpose of this focus group/ interview is for you to discuss your impressions, thoughts, and feelings towards the graduate licensing system (GDL) and general rule compliance, focusing on speeding behaviour and mobile phone use.		
1056 1057 1058 1059 1060	There are no wrong or right answers and I expect that you may have different points of view. Please feel free to share your point of view even if it differs from what others have said. Also, feel free to have a conversion with one another about these questions, but you are not required to share anything you feel uncomfortable discussing. I'm interested in hearing from each of you and I want to make sure that all of you have a chance to share your opinions.		
1061 1062 1063	The session will be recorded as I don't want to miss any of your comments. No names or ant information that can identify you will be included in any of the recordings. So your comments are confidential.		
1064	The Graduated Licensing System (GDL):		
1065 1066 1067	Introduction: Queensland has a graduate licensing system which aims to encourage safer, more proficient drivers, allowing novice drivers to gain more experience and improve their driving skills before they are allowed to progress to a higher class of licence.		
1068	1.	Are you aware of the rules under the Queensland Graduate Licensing system? Yes/No	
1069	1a.	[If yes] Can you think of specific examples of the GDL rules?	
1070	1b.	[If no] Interview to provide interviewees with a print out of the GDL rules	
1071	2.	What do you think about the rule of [list rules in order on print out]	
1072 1073	3.	Which rules do you think that other young drivers are more likely to comply with? Why?	
1074 1075	4.	Which rules do you think that other young drivers are more likely to ignore/ not comply with? Why?	
1076	5.	Do you think that the GDL rules are enforced on our roads? Explain.	
1077 1078	6.	Are you aware of the penalties associated with breaking the law? Do these penalties influence the way you and other young drivers drive?	
1079			