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Cycles of Violence: Analysing media discourse in the newspaper reporting of bicycle users and road fatalities

By

David William Fevyer

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Abstract

This dissertation analyses the representation of cyclists in news reporting of road fatalities in the London *Evening Standard* using a Critical Discourse Analysis method. Recent research – largely using Content Analysis methods – has highlighted a tendency for the news reporting of road casualties of cyclists and pedestrians to present such events as isolated incidents, and for reporting of cyclist casualties to be given increased prominence relative to the rates of such casualties observed statistically. Research has also indicated the role of counterfactuals in skewing public perceptions of the sources of danger experienced by cyclists. Some of the authors of previous research suggest that journalists frame their reporting of road casualties within a wider road safety theme, and avoid the use of counterfactuals.

The analysis found that reporting on cyclist fatalities were in fact framed in relation to other similar events in order to establish a road safety theme, but that this contrasted with a control sample of articles reporting on pedestrian fatalities that were not so framed. This was despite statistical evidence from STATS19 road safety data that pedestrian fatalities are more common than cyclist fatalities. The analysis also found that the linking of cyclist fatalities was narrowly focused upon the cyclists themselves rather than institutional or infrastructural factors that might account for such incidents. This indicated a road *safety* discourse that occluded a potential road *danger* discourse through which issues of infrastructure and the relative differences of physical power and protection afforded by different road vehicles might be articulated. Meanwhile reporting on pedestrian fatalities did not even present a road safety discourse, depicting these as isolated incidents. Whilst some instance of counterfactuals were identified, these did not align with those found in previous research nor did they constitute a discernible theme in themselves.

These insights are important, because the reporting of bicycle rider and pedestrian fatalities shapes public and political understandings of what problems exist, what the causes are, and therefore what policies and interventions might address them. The findings suggest that current news reporting of cyclist fatalities engenders a discourse that misdirects attention from both the objectively measured prevalence of casualties and the wider institutional causes of them. Without representing the road safety problem involving bicycle riders as a road danger problem involving unequal power relations between different transport modes, the public and political agenda to address it remains limited.

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Contents

Introduction

Public perceptions of Active Travel are heavily influenced by concerns around the perceived danger of walking and cycling (DfT, 2018). Yet research shows that cyclist and pedestrian casualties are statistically linked to the presence of high volumes of motor traffic (Aldred et al., 2018; Stoker et. al, 2015). Addressing these risks requires political and financial investment in policies to enable safer walking and cycling. This in turn requires political – and ultimately public – understanding of the causes of risk, and the desire to address these causes.

The public and political understanding of Active Travel is – in common with any issue touching on public policy – shaped by mass media representations. Whilst researchers can objectively quantify the relative benefits and disbenefits of Active Travel in terms of impacts on safety, health, wellbeing, equality, environment, economies, etc., the extent to which the general public understands and responds to these insights is shaped in-part by media representations. Where researchers have examined public attitudes and beliefs in relation to different Active Travel modes, these have sometimes been found to contradict the objective data, for example through disproportionate belief in the dangers of cycling (Macmillan et al., 2016). Other research has identified inaccurate assumptions regarding those who use such modes, for example the attitude that cyclists are unpredictable or incompetent (Basford et al., 2002, p.13) with no legitimate claim to the road (Ibid., p.8). These attitudes and beliefs have profound implications for how Active Travel modes are perceived both in terms of peoples' likelihood or willingness to consider using them, and their potential support for interventions aimed at enabling the wider use of these modes.

Analytical tools for identifying and analysing the processes by which media representations shape peoples' understanding and assumptions about a topic have recently been taken up within transport safety research to identify the effects of news reporting on perceptions of walking and cycling safety – modes often classified as Vulnerable Road Users (VRUs) in safety research (for example Prati et al., 2017; Constant and Legarde, 2010). These effects include phenomena such as 'victim blaming', in which reporting focuses on an aspect of the casualty – such as their clothing – and in so doing diverts the reader's attention from consideration of

the greater danger inherently posed to a VRU by a motor vehicle (Magusin, 2017). A related phenomenon is the 'dangerisation' of the VRU modes – in particular of cycling – in which safety concerns fixate upon the vulnerable mode itself rather than either the health benefits of that mode, or the contexts of road design and motor vehicle driver behaviour through which the danger is realised (Koorey, 2007). Both of these phenomena illustrate how representations of cycling collisions have implications for public and political perceptions of road safety, even if the intention is well-meaning: dangerisation may for example also be an unintended side-effect of campaigning for improved road conditions by highlighting collision statistics (though note that much of the debate around dangerisation in cycling advocacy is contentious and also includes the promotion of individual-level interventions such as helmets – see for example Gamble et al., 2015; Aldred 2013a). Irrespective of motive however, both victim-blaming and dangerisation potentially misdirect public and political attention from the positive affordances of walking and cycling, and from the practical and policy interventions needed to enable more people to benefit from these modes.

This dissertation adds to the recent but growing body of research seeking to unpick and understand how the media reporting of road casualties involving cyclists contributes to this misdirection. Through Critical Discourse Analysis of articles reporting on fatalities under different modal scenarios, it identifies how specific discourses are produced and reproduced through media functions such as agenda setting and framing, and what the implications of these processes are for transport safety.

1 - Literature Review

Before discussing what discourses in road safety have been identified by existing research, two key concepts within media and communication studies must first be understood; agenda-setting and framing.

1.1 - Media Reporting and Agenda-Setting

Agenda setting describes how media reporting shapes the publics perceptions of reality by constructing an agenda through which some events and concepts are given higher prominence than others. First described by Lippmann (1922) in terms of a distinction between the external reality in which events occur, and the selective accounts of these events that form the 'pictures in our heads' (p.1), the concept was developed further by McCombs and Shaw (1972) in their analysis of the relationship between reporting patterns and public perceptions during the 1968 US presidential elections. By identifying the relative prominence given to issues in press reporting and comparing this to the importance given to those same issues by undecided voters, McCombs and Shaw demonstrated that public perceptions of which issues were most significant? could be strongly influenced by the patterns of media focus. They called this selection and ranking of issues 'agendas'.

These 'agendas' are a product of the media's necessary role in curating the multitude of events that are occurring in the external world. This curation shapes public understanding of those events by selecting what constitutes an important event and by framing events in relation to each other (Figure 1). Agenda-setting does not mean that the media dictates public opinion, nor that the abridged version of events that they present constitute what might more recently be called 'fake news'. Rather, the media in this conceptualisation tells people 'what to think *about*' (Cohen, 1963, p.13).

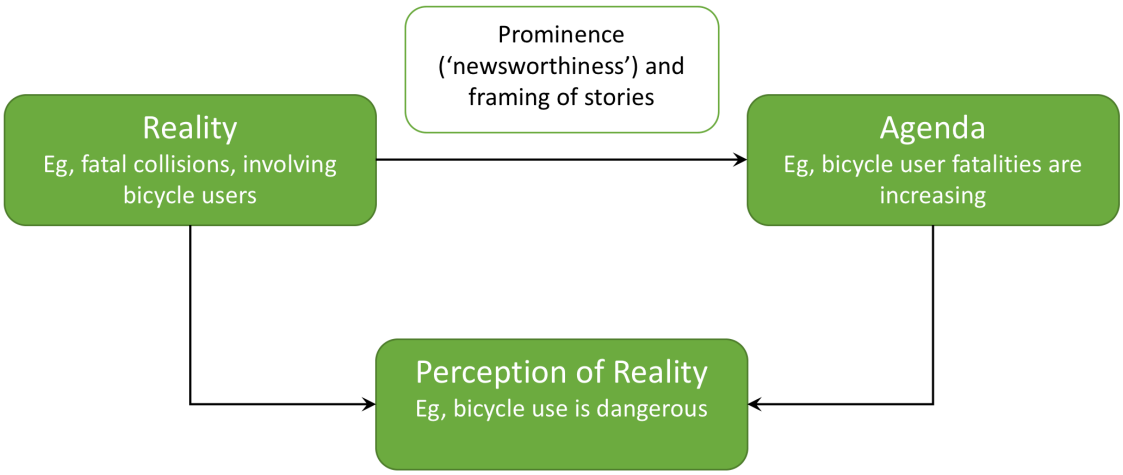

Figure 1 – Summary of Agenda Setting (adapted from Lamb, 2012)

Subsequent research has shown that the process of agenda setting is mediated by factors such as differing sensitivities amongst the audience to particular issues (see for example Erbring et al., 1980), and differing levels of prior uncertainty about (Matthes, 2005), perceived relevance of (Weaver, 1977; McCombs and Reynolds 2009), or personal contact with the issues and events concerned (Lee, 2004; Shafi, 2017). This latter factor – described as 'obtrusiveness' in the media literature – is of particular relevance to coverage of road casualties, in which perceptions through personal experience varies considerably between transport modes. More recent research has also explored the reciprocal effect of public perceptions upon what stories the media chooses to focus on, suggesting a feedback cycle in which issues that gain public and political interest are maintained by a press agenda responding in part to that established interest (Wolfe et al., 2013).

Like many of the issues examined in agenda-setting studies – which commonly include reporting on violent crime (Lowry et al., 2003), public health (Yanovitzky, and Bennett, 1999), migration (Dunaway et al., 2010), armed conflict (Hawkins, 2002), and more recently anthropogenic climate change (Wagner and Payne, 2017) – road safety sits at the intersection between mainstream representation, public opinion, and political policy-making. Indeed, the importance of understanding the role of agenda-setting in ultimately shaping policy around road safety interventions is implied in Lippmann's founding insight that the 'pictures in our heads' shaped by the media's abridged and selective account of reality have real world

consequences (Guber & Bosso, 2012, p.438). The extent to which different types of road collisions are reported and what prominence is given to different issues – for example cycle helmets – are therefore critical components in understanding how public opinion and political policy towards road safety is shaped. Indeed, if 'the definition of the alternatives is the supreme instrument of power' (Schattschneider, 1960, p.68), then patterns of reporting that influence the public perception of what issues are at stake in respect of road safety may also shape what policy interventions – what alternatives – are imagined as being available to intervene to improve such safety.

Agenda-Setting Analysis in Transport Safety Research

Transport safety research is concerned with identifying and communicating generalizable knowledge about risk and safety in order to aid policy decisions and interventions. For example, studies have found that the risk of increased mortality from road collisions for cyclists is outweighed by the health benefits of using a bicycle as opposed to driving (see for example de Hartog et al, 2010). Yet media reporting that gives greater prominence to the first of these risk factors might seem to cast bicycle use as riskier and less safe than car driving. Factors such as the distinction between specific individual-level contexts – such as the local transport environment – versus wider population trends and short- versus long-term mortality risks may also be reported with differing levels of prominence. Agenda-setting theory therefore raises the possibility that there may be important differences between the public perception of road casualties, risks, and safety, and that identified in the academic analysis of accident statistics and mortality.

Existing research supports this. Macmillan et al. (2016) observed that when cycling rates doubled in London between 1992 and 2012, the number of actual fatalities remained stable, indicting a decrease in per-cyclist fatalities. Yet the study found that the proportion of those cyclist fatalities reported in the press increased 13-fold over the same period. No such increase in reporting was observed for motorcycle fatalities. This suggests an increase in the prominence of reporting on cyclist fatalities that over-emphasises that mode to readers, even though the actual observed number of fatalities themselves remained stable. Whilst this

increase in prominence might potentially serve to raise the profile of cycle safety – and in so doing might help legitimise and give political cover to interventions that increase such safety – it might also contribute to a public perception that cycling is inherently more dangerous than it actually is. Such a perception would not only limit the appeal of cycle use as a transport mode, but also skews the public understanding of what interventions are needed to prevent fatalities by shaping perceptions about the nature and origin of the risk.

Rissel et al. (2010) similarly identified an increase in the wider newspaper reporting of cycling-related stories in Melbourne and Sydney between 1998 and 2008. However, the relationship with increased cycling levels differed between the two cities. In the case of Sydney, the increase in the prominence of cycling in the reporting notably exceeded what was only a very modest increase in cycling levels. Moreover, most of this additional reporting focused on cycling fatalities. Since other research indicates that – like London – the actual level of cyclist fatalities in Sydney remained stable over the time period (Garrard et al., 2010), this increase in both the prominence and proportion of cyclist fatality reporting suggest that Sydney media gave disproportionate prominence to these types of story. By contrast, the increased prominence given to cycling stories in Melbourne reflected more accurately the increase in cycling levels, and was found by the researchers to consist of a lower proportion of fatality reporting; this arguably reflects a level of actual cyclist fatalities that again remained stable over the time period.

Rissel et al.'s study also found that articles focusing on negative stories – such as fatalities – were associated with a focus upon *cyclists*, whilst more positive stories were associated with a focus on *cycling*. This distinction is important. 'Cyclist' centres upon the individual using a bicycle – a figure who as we shall see below is subject to ideological production. By contrast 'cycling' centres upon the activity or mode, which may be performed by someone who does not themselves self-identify as a 'cyclist'. Rissel et al.'s findings suggest that the disproportionate prominence of cyclist fatalities found in the Sydney reporting was also framed in terms of a figure of the cyclist rather than with the mode. In this way, the agenda setting function not only gave undue prominence to the incidence of cycle fatalities, but also framed these incidents specifically in terms of an ideological constructed subject.

1.2 - Media Reporting and Framing

Whilst sometimes viewed as a 'second level' aspect of agenda-setting (see for example McCombs and Ghanem, 2001), framing is distinct in that it describes the *way* in which the characterization of an issue or event – how it is presented within a framework of interpretation – shapes how it is understood (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). As with agenda-setting, this process is not necessarily the result of a deliberate decision to spin reporting in a specific way, but can arise from a pragmatic need to abridge and simplify reporting by making use of cognitive shortcuts that link the story to the audience's pre-existing understanding of the world (Gans, 1979; Kitzinger,07).

Frame analysis has been used in research across multiple disciplines to identify media effects relevant to road casualty reporting. Within risk research, Boholm (2009) analysed the framing of the causal explanations of risk – including of traffic accidents – in newspaper reporting on a variety of different types of incidents in the Göta älv valley in Sweden. Whilst noting a high degree of variability in individual articles, the overall effect identified was of a distinction between complex and broadly accurate framing of causality and risk for incidents occurring commonly and more simplistic framing of uncommon incidents. Connor and Wesolowski (2004) identified that the framing of fatal motor vehicle crashes in the Midwestern US misrepresented risk: whilst generally attributing blame to surviving drivers, the articles subordinated risk factors in favour of a simplifying victim-villain frame, and placed emphasis on those incidents that deviated from the perceived norm. Meanwhile, Smith et al. (2012) identified a distinctive framing of injury events in US press reporting as 'freak accidents', which was associated with a lack of information on prevention. Within public health research, Boufous et al. (2016) similarly identified a focus on fatalities amongst Australian news coverage of crashes involving cyclists, which the authors identified as emphasising the dramatic and exceptional nature of such events such that the need for interventions to prevent further occurrences were subordinated. These four examples all identify an apparent relationship between the framing of the incident as typical/atypical, and the complexity/simplicity of the coverage of risk and/or its possible prevention. In all four studies, the framing of atypicality was found to be associated with simplistic coverage that misrepresented causation and displaced information on prevention.

Such effects are also apparent in the specific media and communications literature. Iyengar (1991) analysed television news reporting to identify a typology of 'episodic' stories – which frame an event without association to other similar events – and 'thematic' stories which locate the event within a wider context of an ongoing issue. Episodically framed stories imply rather than represent any sense of the probability of the incident, since an episodic story provides no frame of reference for how typical the event is. As Iyengar's research showed, this in turn places responsibility for the event on the individuals immediately involved, to the exclusion of wider institutional or systemic causes. As in the risk literature, atypicality – the episodic story framed without reference to others – is here associated with a lack of detail on causation, or the possibilities for future prevention.

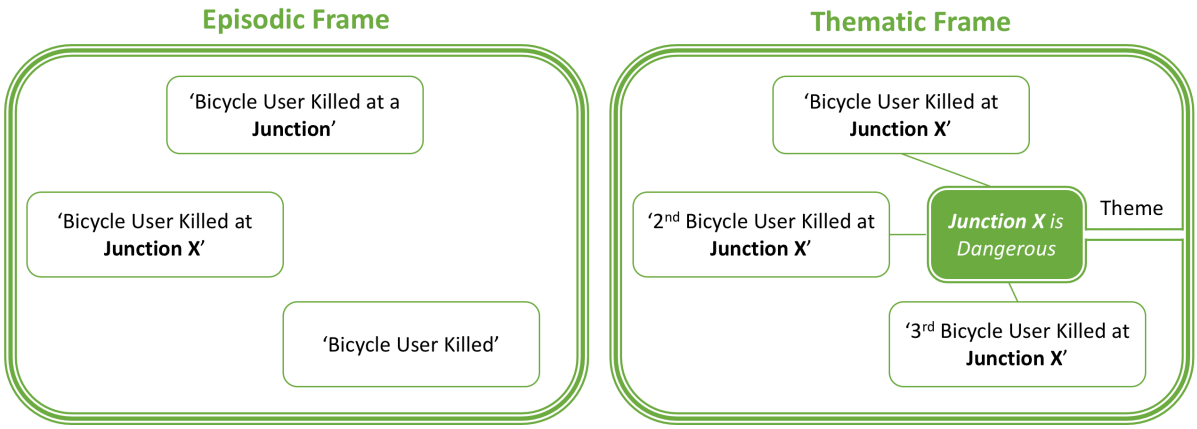

Figure 2 – Visualisation of Episodic and Thematic Frames

Iyengar's concepts of episodic and thematic framing – summarised in Figure 2 with a notional road safety example – are significant because they describe how media effects can shape not just the public's understanding of the importance of an issue, but also what the nature of the problem is. Episodic frames would seem to weaken the agenda-setting power of reporting: whatever the prominence of a type of event in reporting, it will not seem so important if each instance is presented in isolation. Subsequent research by Iyengar and others seems to support this interpretation. In an analysis of television reporting of political issues, Iyengar (1996) found that episodic framing trivialised political discourse by obscuring the connections between problems and the actions of politicians. Singer and Endreny (1993) identified an 'event-only' type of news reporting – which they compared to Iyengar's episodic frame – in

which details of the harm caused by an incident such as a car crash are included, but where the probability of harm is only implied. This framing simplifies and abridges the story through appeals to the reader's existing framework of interpretation, but in doing so leaves undisturbed the reader's own understanding of the typicality of the event, which may not accurately reflect the observed incidence in the external world. More recently Hart (2010) found that episodic reporting of climate change stories were associated with lower importance being attributed to policy interventions to address climate change. In such cases, the perceived placement of issues on the public agenda appears to be mediated by the framing effect.

Framing Analysis in Transport Safety Research

Although relatively new to the discipline (Bond et al., 2018, p.20), this framing effect has recently been examined within transport safety research. Ralph et al. (2019) identified episodic framing as the dominant frame in the reporting of vehicle crashes involving walking and cycling in the United States, and was associated with a lack of detail on causes that might help readers to understand the incidents as part of what the researchers described as a wider 'public health' issue of 'broader, institutional factors' (p. 664). They also identified a tendency for episodically framed reporting to assign implied blame upon the cycling or walking casualty. In a study of pedestrian fatalities Magusin (2017) similarly identified episodic frames as dominant in Canadian news reporting, and again this was associated with victim blaming. Bond et al. (2018) also found that episodic framing dominated the reporting of cyclist fatalities in Florida, and that the victim-blaming that this engendered could be linked to earlier research that identified how self-reported aggressiveness amongst drivers towards people on bicycles was associated with the belief that the latter deserved to be punished. This latter point suggests that not only does victim-blaming leave the systemic sources of road casualties unexamined, it also establishes a false narrative in which the attribution of blame to the victim legitimises their endangerment.

Alongside the preponderance of episodic framing, Ralph et al. (2019) also identified a substantial difference between the framing of agency, which was more often ascribed to

cyclists or pedestrians (78%) than to drivers (11%) (p.667). Furthermore, where agency was nominally ascribed to the driver, this was usually done through object-based language; the word 'car' was used instead of 'driver' 81% of the time, despite the victim being described using person-based language such as 'cyclist'. The authors conclude that this framing shifts blame away from the operators of motorised vehicles, and towards the vulnerable road users (VRUs). Similar effects were identified by Magusin (2017), Bond et al. (2018), and te Brömmelstroet (2020), although the latter noted a higher tendency to use the word 'driver' rather than 'car' amongst Dutch reporting compared to that seen in the American and Canadian studies. This may reflect the different media cultures that can exist between countries – elsewhere identified for example between British and German newspaper economic reporting (Werder, 2002) – or possibly some different aspects of transport culture. Moreover, it suggests some caution is needed when applying evidence found in one national or linguistic context to that in another.

1.3 - Discourses: Media Reporting as if Cycle Safety Mattered

The literature reviewed above establishes links between the media effects theories of agenda-setting and framing, and how road safety issues are understood by the public. There is also some recent experimental evidence of the specific effects of these phenomena upon audience perceptions. Goddard et al. (2019) presented participants with different versions of the same news report about a traffic crash involving a pedestrian. The findings showed that differences in framing and other 'editorial patterns' shaped participants' perceptions of who was to blame for the crash, what punishments were appropriate, and what interventions should be pursued to prevent similar crashes in future. As predicted by frame effects theories, the use of thematic framing significantly increased the appetite for systemic safety improvements such as improved pedestrian infrastructure, whilst also influencing the apportioning of blame away from the pedestrian.

However, whilst this study identifies some specific audience effects, it is the only one of its kind to currently do so in the context of traffic collisions involving vulnerable road users

(VRUs). The extent to which these effects might extend to shaping wider road safety perceptions and influence transport or driving behaviour, voting choices, or be part of a wider set of beliefs and assumptions is beyond the scope of that study. Furthermore, although the wider body of literature reviewed above establishes two aspects of the theoretical and analytical basis for examining how media reporting may influence the public understanding of road safety, the studies themselves are largely examples of Content Analysis. As such, they focus upon what van Djik (1985) described as an objective description of texts – albeit to quantify social phenomena – rather than a 'explicit and systematic account of media discourse' (p.3) that could unlock the power-relations and extant ideologies that media reporting might produce and maintain.

Identifying and analysing such discourses is however important for making wider sense of the particular media effects discussed so far. For example, the previous research discussed above largely identified episodic framing through forms of Content Analysis that looked for explicit references to other road collisions and wider preventative contexts. Where these were absent, the framing was deemed to be episodic rather than thematic. This approach carries the implicit assumption that there are no other thematic elements to the reporting. However, Ralph et al. (2019) and Goddard et al. (2019) respectively identify and test for what they describe as 'counterfactuals' in reporting, wherein the reporting implies that 'the victim could have avoided injury/death if they had acted differently' (Ralph et al., 2019, p.665). This in turn encourages the audience to place blame on the victim (Ibid.). Examples of counterfactuals identified included victims 'darting into the street', 'in the roadway', 'wearing dark clothing', and 'a lack of helmet' (Ibid., p. 668). Such counterfactuals – being found in multiple news articles – may themselves hint at the emergence and maintaining of a thematic element that was not looked for as a thematic frame in the analysis.

This possibility is hinted at in the media and communications literature on framing. Gilliam and Iyengar (2010) describe episodic framing as requiring 'a regular "cast" of characters the most prominent of which is the suspect' (p.560). Although their study analysed TV news representations of violent crime, the primacy of this cast of characters and the presence of specific attributes that define them are apposite; the counterfactuals described by Ralph et al. (2019) arguably establish the character of the 'darting pedestrian' or the 'helmet-less

cyclist in dark clothing', and it is notable that these characteristics are associated with the victim being blamed – becoming in essence the villain or suspect. Through this process, the presence of certain counterfactuals in reporting pedestrian or cyclist road crashes could also be viewed as an example of a thematic frame; the theme being that there is an ongoing problem with 'villainous' pedestrians and cyclists not acting in the ways that could have 'avoided injury/death'.

Identifying such thematic frames in reporting is necessary for understanding the way that reporting shapes public perceptions, since the 'cast of characters' in a story is precisely the kind of narrative element through which framing makes use of cognitive shortcuts to link a story to the audience's pre-existing understanding of the world. Whilst it is possible to identify these thematic frames through the Content Analysis-based methods used in the previous transport research – Gilliam and Iyengar (2010) themselves utilised such a method in identifying the 'cast of characters' and 'suspect' themes in the 'narratives' of TV news reporting – it would first be necessary for the presence of these themes to be identified and categorised in order to be integrated into an analytical framework.

Identifying these themes and categorising their implications can however pose its own challenges. For example, some previous research analysing the reporting of car crashes (Connor and Wesolowski, 2004) has interpreted a lack of references to individual-level interventions such as seatbelt-wearing as indicative of an obfuscation of safety messaging – the kind of obfuscation associated elsewhere with episodic framing (see for example Wallack et al., 1993, p.97). Whether seatbelt wearing is a counterfactual or not would seem to depend upon both the particulars of the crash itself – whether seatbelt wearing would have made a difference – but also upon the relative importance given to mitigating the severity of outcome for victims in contrast to preventing the crash occurring at all. In other words, the *analytical* significance given to seat-belt wearing in that study is contingent upon the relative prominence given to personal-level mitigation versus system-level prevention on the agenda of road safety as that agenda is understood by the researchers themselves.

Similarly, an analysis of cyclist crashes in Australian newspapers by Boufous et al. (2016) categorised articles that failed to refer to 'helmet use' alongside those lacking references to

the provision of cycling infrastructure and motor traffic speeds as indicating episodic framing. Bond et al. (2018) also include helmet wearing amongst the references that they categorise as communicating 'key factors which may have contributed to the crash' (p.19). Given that Ralph et al. (2019) categorised helmet wearing references as a counterfactual, their inclusion in these other studies as an indicator of legitimate wider systemic issues that require intervention speaks to two different perceptions about causation and risk. In the analytical framework of Ralph et al. (2019), references to helmet wearing in the reporting constitute a counterfactual that encourages victim-blaming, but is not indicative of a thematic frame. In the analytical framework of Boufous et al. (2016), such references do constitute a thematic frame, but this is presented as a positive contribution to improving safety. Alongside these different approaches to categorising episodic and thematic framing, each study implies different agenda-setting functions in the reporting; the prominence of individual versus systemic interventions in reporting is also treated differently. Neither study appears to account for the possibility that cycle-helmet references in crash reporting might be both counterfactual *and* a thematic framing device; what might be termed a counterfactual thematic frame.

Cycle helmet wearing is perhaps one of the most acute examples of this special case of frame effect, given in-part that it is an infamously contentious issue even amongst advocates of improved cycle safety: see for example the research debate between Walker at al. and Olivier et al. (Walker 2007; Olivier and Walter 2013; Olivier et al. 2014; Walker and Robinson, 2019); the analysis of competing traffic safety conceptions present in the 'helmet debate' in Blank-Gomel (2019); and the evidence for 'helmet fixation' as a means of maintaining unfettered automobility in Culver (2018) and potentially promoting car use amongst adolescents (Piatkowski and Marshall, 2020). Yet this contested status itself gestures towards the extent to which the effects of agenda-setting and framing upon public perceptions of road safety are also contingent upon those perceptions themselves – including potentially amongst researchers. These perceptions exist in a feedback cycle with the media effects mechanisms discussed above that suggests an ongoing discourse around road safety, vulnerable road users, individual versus systemic responsibility, and even the transport and risk cultures of post-war societies

Discourses in Theory

Before discussing current research on discourse within transport studies, it is useful to summarise what is meant by discourse in the context of this dissertation. Discourse suggests some form of discussion or back-and-forth communication between two or more entities, and indeed is described by Fairclough and Wodak in terms of language use in which there is a 'dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). This definition implies a feedback cycle between the 'discursive event' and various extant phenomena in which each shapes the other. In the examples discussed above we might hypothesise that the discursive events of newspaper reporting on cycle crashes do not simply produce a *media effect* in shaping the perceptions of the audience, but also influence and are influenced by existing 'situations' (auto-centric environments), 'institutions' (traffic laws and their enforcement by police, legal burdens of guilt in courts, allocation of funds to different modes by government) and 'social structures' (societal norms regarding mode choice, hierarchies of road culture, differential access to transport alternatives).

Crucially, discourse in this context is viewed as a form of 'social practice' that performs an ideological function (Ibid.). Ideology in this sense means what Becker (1984) called the 'frames of reference through which each of us sees the world and to which all of us adjust our actions' (p. 69). Such frames of references are precisely the means through which the framing effects of news reporting discussed earlier function to produce meaning for their audience, and to shape that audience's understanding. For example, Rissel et al. (2010)'s identification of several dominant images of cyclists apparent in reporting can be reinterpreted as part of a discourse that repeats and maintains a figure of the cyclist as 'irresponsible lawbreakers'' (p.7) in the way that the audience sees the world. In addition, the findings of a recent study by Piatkowski et al. (2017) that ascribed deliberately hostile actions towards cyclists to drivers 'punishing bicyclists for behaving in ways with which the drivers disagreed' (p.22) – so-called 'altruistic punishment' – can be reinterpreted as examples of *actions* adjusted by ideological frames of reference that paint the cyclist as lawbreakers. Indeed, even the use of the term 'cyclist' itself – which previous research has shown to be highly contested (see for example Aldred, 2013b) and associated with more negative associations than the word 'cycling'

(Koorey, 2007) – can be understood in ideological terms. The act of naming or 'hailing' someone as a cyclist is reminiscent of what the philosopher Judith Butler calls the 'discursive production of the social subject' in Louis Athusser's account of ideology (Butler, 1997, p.5). It is the act through which the person who is using a bicycle is produced as a 'cyclist', a social subject about whom a range of assumptions and images exist both for the cyclist herself and for others. Whilst Althusser's original example of this discursive production – a citizen being hailed by a policeman on the street – assumes a verbal rather than written use of language and that the action of ideological production is governed by a centralised authority figure (the policeman), Butler points to Foucault's idea of discourse to address these limitations (Ibid.). As we shall see in the methodology below, Foucault's account of discourse provides a theoretical basis for analysing media discourses around cycling through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The value of CDA here lies in its ability to reveal the specific ideological work being done by a particular discourse. Practitioners of CDA describe the ideological function of discourse as being to produce and reproduce the status quo of unequal power relations between different social actors (SAs) through the 'ways in which [discursive practices] represent things and position people' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). This means that the representation of a cyclist (an SA) in a news story that deploys counterfactuals concerning the colour of their clothing is doing ideological work. It is representing 'things' (dark or Hi-Viz clothing) and positioning people (the cyclist as irresponsible 'villain' or responsible 'victim') in particular ways that maintain a power relation. Uncovering and understanding what this power relation is and what extant ideology it serves means fulfilling van Dijk's previously cited call for an 'explicit and systematic account of media discourse' (1985, p.3) in addition to the objective quantification of social phenomena in texts. It is through CDA that this further analytical insight can be gained.

Both agenda-setting and framing are relevant to examining discourse. The 'positioning of people' for example echoes the framing of cyclists as 'irresponsible lawbreakers' or 'dangerous to others', versus 'harmless' or 'safety conscious' that was identified by Rissel et al. (2010, p.6). The representation of 'things' can also be understood as having an agenda-setting function, for example by giving prominence to counterfactuals such as bicycle helmets

as a means of placing the conflict of the 'helmet debate' high on the public agenda for road safety (see for example Bednarek and Caple's (2017) analysis of cyclist newsworthiness). If, as Elmer Schattschneider famously noted, 'the choice of conflicts allocates power' (Shattschneider, 1960, p.68), then the prominence of the counterfactuals regarding helmet wearing on the public agenda – and by extension policy agenda – is suggestive of a form of power relation that is maintained by a media discourse on the 'helmet debate'. In this way, a combination of the *media effects models* discussed earlier and operationalised in the research of Ralph et al. (2019), Bond et al. (2018) and others can suggest the creation and maintenance of *discourses* in the media reporting of bicycle users, cycling, and cycle safety.

Discourses of Cycling, Cyclists, and Cycle Safety

Existing research within the transport studies literature has identified elements of such discourses. Aldred (2019) conducted a survey of residents in outer-London boroughs and identified modally-distinct discourses around congestion, pollution and safety. In the first two discourses, cycle infrastructure was found to be associated by participants with causing increased congestion and pollution by restricting car use. This effect was most notable in the boroughs that had recently experienced strong cycle infrastructure interventions, and suggests a negative cycling discourse that serves to avert attention from the externalities of mass car use by reframing the problem as caused by cycling. The discourse around cycle safety was found to be negatively framed in terms of the 'cyclist' in a manner consistent with the previous research discussed earlier, whilst that around car safety was framed negatively in terms of the 'car'. This distinction – between personalising unsafe cycle use around the figure of the 'villainous cyclist' and depersonalising unsafe car use around the non-human vehicle itself – was associated in the study with a distinct discourse of the cyclist as part of an 'out-group'. Previous research has discussed the idea of the figure of the cyclist as part of an 'out-group' (Basford et al., 2002) or as a 'minority' (Prati et al., 2017), and this discourse of 'othering' may provide an insight into phenomena observed in the studies discussed earlier, such as the tendency for news articles in Rissel et al. (2010) to describe negative stories in terms of the 'cyclist' and positive stories in terms of 'cycling'.

Piatkowski et al. (2017) identified an association between increased aggressive responses from drivers towards perceived cycling infractions and lower levels of personal cycling experience that was independent of whether the perceived infraction itself was actually illegal. This may suggest that the road behaviour discourse of the 'villainous cyclist' relayed through media reporting is in part contingent upon 'obtrusiveness' effect mentioned earlier, in which personal experience – in this case of being a cyclist – mediates the agenda-setting power of the media. Delbosc et al. (2019) found that self-reported aggressive responses towards cyclists amongst Australian drivers was correlated with the dehumanisation of cyclists. Furthermore, the power of this dehumanisation of cyclists to predict self-reported aggression was independent of the driver's negative attitudes towards cyclists. However, Fruhen et al. (2019) found that positive attitudes towards automobility were associated with a negative attitude towards cyclists amongst Australian drivers, and that this negative attitude was linked to aggressive behaviour towards cyclists irrespective of whether they were wearing lycra or casual clothes. Together, these studies paint a complex and somewhat contradictory picture of effects – though part of this apparent contradiction may relate to difference in sampling and methods. Yet in each study the figure of the cyclist appears bound up in discourses of (de)humanisation, 'villainous' behaviour, and as a threat to the normative assumptions of automobility.

The extent to which these discourses may be identified in media reporting of road collisions involving cyclists is a pressing question, given the established role of the media in shaping public interpretation and understanding of these events and the potential public policy implications of these understandings through political discourses and agendas. Whilst recent studies have identified a number of common themes and reporting patterns, there remains a lack of research around how media reporting shapes and is shaped by the discourses around cyclists, cycling, and road safety. One very recent study that has examined this issue is Scheffels et al (2019), which develops earlier work already introduced (Bond et al., 2018). Consistent with the Content Analysis research discussed earlier, the study identified a dominant use of episodic framing alongside a focus upon the cyclist's actions and attendant diversion of focus from blaming the driver. In addition, the analysis revealed a prevalent 'taken-for-granted' discourse surrounding road safety in which responsibility for safety is assumed – and thereby reasserted – as resting equally with the person riding a bicycle and

the person driving a car. The authors note that this discourse has the effect of effacing the 'imbalance in power' (p. 633) that would otherwise be apparent from a consideration of the differing physical properties between the mass, velocity, and relative protection (see also Prati et al., 2017) afforded by the two modes. In light of the earlier discussion of ideology, the discourse of 'equal responsibility' can be understood as doing ideological work: it repeats and reproduces an assumption about the relative power afforded by each mode – presenting as natural a falsely-balanced power relation that is in reality skewed – and this assumption further diverts blame towards the cyclist, whose actions are already subject to greater scrutiny in the reporting by the same linguistic patterns identified in other studies.

By analysing discourse in this way, Scheffels et al (2019), reveal the ideological work underpinning some of the patterns identified in previous Content Analysis research. Yet their study also leaves some questions of discourse unexamined. For example, whilst the authors identify instances of thematic framing in a minority of the articles they examine – and suggest that these might contribute to discourses around safety – they do not subject these safety messages themselves to discourse analysis. As with Boufous et al. (2016), the safety value of such messaging is presented in precisely the 'taken-for-granted' way that they elsewhere identify and critique, without considering for example how they may act as counterfactuals in the manner suggested by Ralph et al. (2019). Additionally, there is relatively little examination of the particular ways in which thematic frames are constructed in these articles – beyond their mere presence in the reporting – and how this construction interacts with discourse of blame and out-grouping to produce particular types of 'road safety' theme that may in fact misdirect public and political agendas. These omissions suggest a gap in research concerning the ways in which a number of specific discourses around cycling are presented in and reproduced by news reporting.

2 - Research Aims and Questions

This project uses Critical Discourse Analysis to identify and critically describe distinctive patterns in the reporting of bicycle riders' involvement in fatal road traffic incidents within

London. It seeks to identify specific discourses attending bicycle riders – as distinct from car drivers and pedestrians – and critically appraises the role of these discourses in maintaining extant power-relations and shaping public and political opinion. To this end, two specific Research Questions are addressed.

RQ 1 - How does media reporting of Road-Traffic Collisions reproduce and maintain power-relations between a perceived in-group (car drivers) and a perceived out-group (bicycle riders)?

a) What power-relations are involved?
b) What differences exist in reporting between cases of bicycle riders killed in collisions with car drivers, pedestrians killed in collision with bicycle riders, and pedestrians killed in collision with car drivers?
c) To what extent do these differences reproduce and maintain the power-relations involved?

RQ 2 – To what extent are 'road safety' thematic frames established differently between reporting on cases of bicycle riders killed in collisions with car drivers, pedestrians killed in collision with bicycle riders, and pedestrians killed in collision with car drivers?

a) What road safety thematic frames are evident for each mode?
b) To what extent do these frames rely upon the (re)production of counterfactual thinking?
c) What discourse is at work here, and what power-relation does it serve to maintain?

For precision, the term 'road safety' is used to describe the thematic frame in the context of RQ2. This refers to what Ralph et al. (2019) described more broadly as a 'public health' frame. Whilst this latter terminology recognises the WHO definition of traffic fatalities as an epidemic (Ibid.), the specific focus here is on the representation of a road safety problem rather than the broader public health implications – air quality, activity levels, access to services etc. – that are nevertheless a product of the same auto-centric transport system.

3 - Methodology

The research uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how media reporting shapes discourses surrounding fatalities involving bicycle users, and the power-relations embedded in these discourses. This is a qualitative approach that seeks to reveal how the meaning-making of a social practice – in this case, the practice of news reporting on road deaths – figures in the 'establishment, reproduction and change of unequal power relations' (Fairclough, 2013, p.231) that exists between different groups of road users. The preceding literature review identified and discussed existing research that showed how media representations of these groups and of the modes themselves varies, but does so in largely consistent ways across media reporting. For example, the trend towards describing negative actions by people on bikes in terms of 'cyclists' and that of people in cars in terms of 'cars' was observed in several studies, and is particularly apposite to answering the first research question (RQ1). The use of CDA will enable such differential representation to be identified and interrogated in terms of the specific discourses that they create, shape, and maintain, and through which they perpetuate the marginalization and domination of some road users by others.

In focusing on discourse, CDA is particularly appropriate for investigating these representations. CDA is heavily influenced by the work of the philosopher and cultural theorist Michel Foucault, whose account of discourse was noted earlier in respect of the ideological production of cultural subjects such as 'the cyclist'. Foucault's account of the multiplicity of means through which discourses produce the subject (see Butler, 1997) are apposite for an analysis of newspaper reporting of road fatalities, since mass media is part of such multiplicity, being neither 'singular nor sovereign' (Ibid., p.5). Rather, it is constituted by a variety of forms and interests, and is itself one part of a wider web of power production.

As a methodological approach, CDA encompasses these insights and operationalises them through a number of structured methods. These methods allow for the systematic analysis of discourse in repeatable and comparable ways (Hansen and Machin, 2019), whilst also enabling researchers to identify how a discursive act – such as a newspaper article –

(re)produces meaning and shapes understanding whilst 'concealing' these intentions (Ibid., p. 116). In this way, CDA brings together elements of the structured approach of more quantitative methodologies such as Content Analysis – which was utilised in a number of the key pieces of recent research discussed in the literature review – and the qualitative approaches of Critical Theory that seek to trace the otherwise opaque functioning of ideology (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 7). Qualitative CDA – unlike Content Analysis – does not normally produce the kind of data that can be analysed statistically, although the complimentary use of corpus linguistic analysis can be used in this way (see for example Baker et al., 2008). However, CDA's operationalization of critical theory provides methods for eliciting comparatively greater detail of the less quantifiable assumptions and audience effects at work in the reporting of road casualties.

3.1 - Method

Research Question 1

In answering RQ1, the research utilised van Leeuwen's Social Actor model from within the range of CDA methods, and specifically his Socio-semantic Inventory. This method is particularly useful for the current study because it emphasises the representation of social actors. It is such representation – specifically the differential representation of social actors according to their travel mode – that is suggested as an area for study by the existing literature.

Van Leeuwen's inventory makes use of 'socio-semantic categories' as opposed to grammatical categories, and in doing so makes it possible to identify how social actors are represented and constructed in the text in ways that are particularly subtle (Bernard, 2018). This is especially apposite in the current study, since it allows further examination of differing forms of representation suggested in the existing literature. For example, in a purely grammatical analysis of the following sentence, the cyclist is the subject and the car the object.

‘The cyclist collided with the car’

From this we can suggest that the cyclist is being ascribed blame, since it is the cyclist who is doing the colliding, whilst the car appears passive. However, socio-semantic analysis also indicates ‘partial exclusion’ is taking place; unless the car was parked, there was a driver who has been ‘backgrounded’ from the collision by the use of the word car. Van Leeuwen notes that such backgrounding may mean that the exclusion was ‘innocent’ – the writer assumes that the reader understands that the car had a driver, and wishes to draw attention to the severity of the collision by emphasizing the involvement of a large vehicle – but also cautions that ‘systematic exclusions are always of interest’ (van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 282), even if they are ‘innocent’. Given that existing literature identifies a systemic use of the motorized vehicle in place of the driver (Ralph et al. 2019; Aldred 2019), socio-semantic category analysis provides an effective means of interrogating and interpreting this use within the discourse of blame attribution.

Van Leeuwen’s inventory consist of ten categories, several of which overlap or are contingent upon each other. Previous research in other fields has selected a subset of these ten inventories (see for example Amer, 2017) as the needs of the research dictate. For the present study, all ten categories were considered in terms of their suitability, and the following six were chosen for use.

- Exclusion
- Role allocation
- Generic and specific reference
- Assimilation
- Functionalization and identification
- Personalization and impersonalization

Descriptions of all ten categories and the rationale for the six chosen is provided in Figure 3.

Selected Categories		
Category	**Description from Van Leeuwen**	**Rationale for selection**
Exclusion	Exclusion of 'social actors who are in reality part of an action or event or practice.' Can be 'innocent' – because author assumes reader knows about the actor, or because author believes the actor is irrelevant – or 'problematic'. 'Systematic Exclusions are always of interest.'	Relates to the exclusion of social actors who are driving cars/trucks/lorries – where vehicle present but driver-as-actor not.
Role allocation	Activation of social actors as 'active' ('Agent role') or 'passive' ('Patient role'). Significance in why this activation may differ between representations.	Aligns with 'Victim' and 'Perpertrator'/'Villain' roles. Also identifies issues of agency: 'Cyclist in collision with car' (faster/more powerful as passive, more vulnerable as active), v 'Cyclist in collision with pedestrian' (reverses relative power/speed/vulnerability activation dynamic).
Generic and specific reference	Social actors 'generalised' into classes of people rather than specific individuals. Often establishes 'them and us' (cf Wodak, 1997). Grammatical element: 'usually realized by the plural without article'	Identifies whether some social actors are referred to as 'cyclists', whilst others are more individualised. Depicts mode as 'them and us'.
Assimilation	Representing social actors as groups who are 'all the same' Two forms: "aggregation" – 'realized by definite or indefinite quantifiers' ('most critics think…'; '70,000' (immigrants)) "collectivization" – referred to by words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff') 'Aggregation is a powerful tool of social control… used to regulate social practices and manufacture consensus opinions, even though they are presented as factual documentation.'	Establishes, mode-based identity, but here more about traits of groups rather than identification with them. Eg 'Every cyclist does what that one cyclist did'. Changes with context though, suggesting that one category ('Generic reference') reinforces/works with the other (Assimilation). For example, people who complain about other people's driving when they encounter it also assert that drivers 'follow rules' when encountering cyclists, who are assimilated into a group that 'doesn't follow the rules'.
Functionalization and identification	Functionalisation – Social Actors referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – Social actors referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	Functionalisation aligns closely with observed use of mode to refer to social actor (cyclist, pedestrian, driver). Care with distinction from 'Generic reference' and 'Assimilation'. Identification may help to identify how articles are enframing social actors in ways that promote or resist sympathy and or counterfactuals, eg is a 13 year old victim referred to as 'cyclist', 'teenager', 'child' 'Polish' etc.

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Personalization and impersonalization	Van Leeuwen describes the previous categories as forms of 'personalisation'. Impersonalisation has a counter-effect – it effaces the social actor's individual existence. It does this in one of two ways: objectification and abstraction. • Objectification – where the social actor is represented by 'means of reference to something closely associated either with their person or with the activity they are represented as being engaged in.' Eg 'Australia' in place of Australians, or a '120mm mortar' in place of the army or soldiers or state who fired it. • Abstraction – where social actors are 'referred to by means of qualities they supposedly have', eg describing them as a 'problem' without otherwise representing ('personalising') them.	'Objectification' is apposite to the same examples listed above under 'Exclusion', eg the reference to 'cars' rather than drivers. Van Leeuwen notes that instrumentalisation – a particular form of objectification – is 'widely used to avoid assigning responsibility to human agents', and uses the example of a mortar shell, which seems grimly apposite. 'Accident blackspot' does this, effacing drivers, road designers, local politicians. 'Abstraction' might be relevant to articles that associate the casualty with, for example, 'the cycling debate', which abstracts the human social actors and replaces them with an assumed status of being something under debate, eg cyclists are no longer personalised social actors but rather an argumentative point, alongside speed limits, road infrastructure, VED etc.
Rejected Categories		
Category	**Description from Van Leeuwen**	**Rationale for rejection**
Association and dissociation	Impermanent groups formed from nominal existing groups where an activity, interest etc is deemed to be shared.	Seems less applicable to project. Pedestrians and cyclist might be variously associated and dissociated, but would this feature in casualty news reports?
Indetermination and differentiation	Indetermination - Anonymization of social actors via indefinite pronouns ('they', 'somebody', 'some people') whose '*identity does not matter*'. Differentiation – Explicit distinction between groups to establish 'us' and 'them' – some groups are 'like us' (the implied shared group of reader and author), some groups are othered. Eg, the 'good immigrant' v the 'bad immigrant'.	Indetermination seems applicable to situations where an article lays claim to unspecified 'them' (eg, 'They're using the pandemic to force through changes on Park Lane'), but seems less applicable to casualty reporting unless additional contexts/claims/editorialising is present. Differentiation would be more useful in casualty reports only if it identifies the 'good cyclists/pedestrian'.

Nomination and categorization	Nomination – Representation of social actors in terms of a unique identity. Realised through proper pronouns (Surname, full name, or given name). Van Leeuwen seems to imply that naming the actors in this way encourages the reader to identify with them. Categorisation – Representation of social actors in terms of identities and functions shared with others (controversial researcher Joe Bloggs) (note lack of definitive article – category used as a form of title).	Nomination: Use of names for some mode users and not for others. However, not suitable here, since initial reporting may be genuinely information poor. May still produce an effect, especially if witness quoted: in the absence of other named social actors, the (named) witness testimony may be read as more definitive. Categorization: 'Former Olympian Chris Boardman tweeted…' (frames cycling as sport, implies his opinion on transport is less authoritative and/or that it stems from motive of using roads for something frivolous ('cycling as frivolous') rather than essential ('driving as essential'). May also operate to direct reader compassion, eg 'new father Joe Bloggs…'
Overdetermination	'Particularly common in fictional representations'	Due to focus on fictional representation this is not applicable to this project.

Figure 3 – Analysis of Suitability of van Leeuwen's Socio-semantic Inventory to current study. Based upon van Leeuwen (2009, pp.282-6)

To operationalise the inventory, the six chosen categories were organised into a series of 'passes', each of which answered a broader question regarding the representation of social-actors (Figure 4). This allowed the process of analysis to take account of the overlaps and interactions between some categories, so that for example the identification of 'Exclusion' in one pass could be further interrogated for evidence of 'Generic reference' in a subsequent pass. Working within the overlapping of categories in this way was deemed important as discourses unfold through multiple and interrelated elements; the passes approach allowed discrete analytical tasks to be conducted that nevertheless could allow the identification of interconnections between different categories. The analysis itself was carried out using the RQ1 proforma in Appendix A, which includes details of how each category was assessed.

Pass	**Inventory Categories Identified and Analysed**
1 – Who is present and who is absent?	• Exclusion • Personalization and impersonalization
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy?	• Role allocation • Functionalization and identification
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them')	• Generic and specific reference • Assimilation

Figure 4 – Structuring of Analysis into Passes and Discrete Tasks

One unusual aspect of this study is that the social actors within the analysis are formed of particularly transient groups. Previous research using van Leeuwen's inventory has often focused on groups that are either very stable in terms of group membership – for example a person's national affiliation in a conflict (Amer, 2017) – or where membership may change slowly or in small numbers – for example socio-economic status (Bernard, 2018). By contrast, because social actors in this study are grouped by transport mode, a given individual might pass through multiple 'groups' in the course of a single journey. This transience did not affect the present analysis, because the representation of SAs in the reporting was treated within the context of the groups assigned to them by the news articles themselves. Indeed, the articles' use of the terms 'cyclist', 'pedestrian', and 'driver' in reference to SAs were treated in the analysis as denoting membership of modal group identities.[1] However, the transience of these identities underscores the extent to which the modal group alignment of a social actor produced in an article – for example as a 'cyclist' – may not align with that individual's own sense of identity, transport-related or otherwise.

Research Question 2

In answering RQ2, the research drew upon select categories from the inventory and combined these with aspects of the framing and agenda-setting models of media effects theory. This approach was chosen in order to assess the presence of the episodic framing previously identified through Content Analysis methods by Ralph et al. (2019), and to identify whether the event being reported on was presented as typical or atypical. Typicality was deemed of interest because it provides insights into the relationship between the agenda set by the articles and the real-world events. Where Macmillan et al. (2016)'s quantitative corpus analysis showed differences in the prominence of bicycle rider fatalities compared to observed statistical data, the present study sort to identify how the specific framing of different social actor fatalities as typical or atypical compared to such statistical data.

[1] This approach reflects the previously discussed research surrounding the perception of the figure of the 'cyclist' (Rissel et al., 2010; Piatkowski et al., 2017), and the ideological production of the social subject described by Butler (1997) in her account of Althusser.

Additionally, analysis was conducted to identify the presence of counterfactuals in the reporting and to identify any thematic framing role that these might be performing. To address some of the difficulties with identifying counterfactual thinking – noted in the earlier comparisons of previous research (in particular Boufous et al. (2016); Bond et al. (2018); Ralph et al. (2019)) – the definition of counterfactuals was expanded to include a typology developed within social psychology and described by Epstude and Rose (2008). This typology distinguishes between 'additive' counterfactuals in which the imagined alternative events involve adding something that was not in fact present – for example a bicycle rider's helmet – and 'subtractive' counterfactuals in which the imagined alternative involves removing something that was present – for example a bicycle rider's earphones. Each of these types is sub-divided into 'upward' versions – in which the outcome would have been better, and downward versions – in which the outcome would have been worse. Figure 5 summarises this typology, along with notional examples of the counterfactual logic concerned. By using this typology, it was possible to interrogate any element of reporting that was additional to the basic specifics of the collision in order to to tease out any contradictions or backgrounded assumptions that might indicate counterfactual thinking. This analysis was still fundamentally interpretive however, and therefore subject to the same questions of what constitutes a counterfactual that were discussed in the literature review. For example, the 'subtractive downward' logic given in Figure 5 could arguably be reversed to suggest that being in a Quietway actually *increases* the expectation of a collision; which logic is adopted is contingent on one's view of the utility of Quietways. As the present study approaches such questions from the perspective of extant mainstream discourses, the analysis was guided by the researcher's understanding of such discourses, in which for example bicycle riders are portrayed putting themselves at risk by not using the cycling infrastructure provided for them (Basford, 2002). For transparency, the counterfactual logic determined in each case is provided in Appendix E.

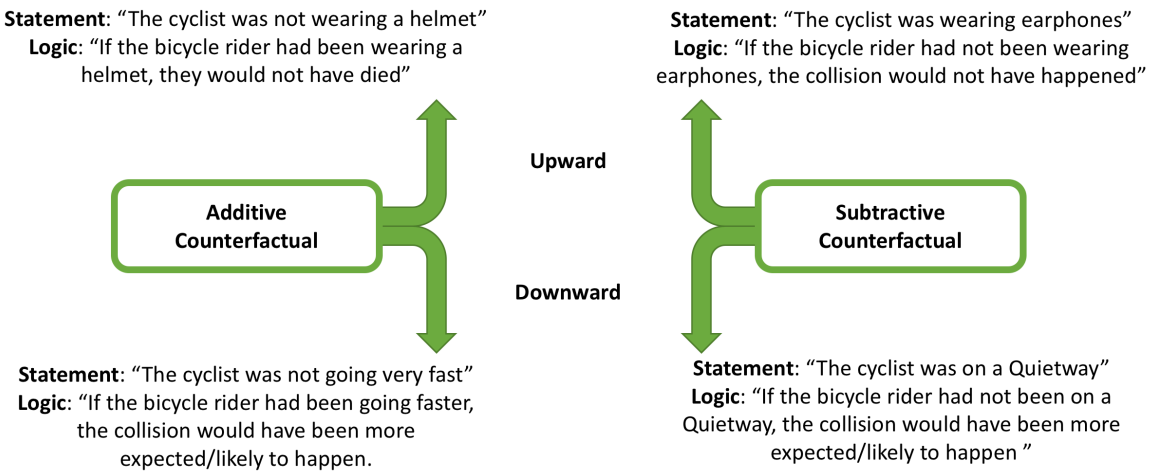

Figure 5 – Summary of counterfactual typography, developed from Epstude and Rose (2008)

These RQ2 analyses (Figure 6) took place following the completion of the inventory category identification for RQ1. The analysis itself was carried out using the RQ2 proforma in Appendix B. The measures of observed typicality are based upon analysis of Stats19 casualty data for the UK across the study period and which are presented in the Findings section. Two measures of observed typicality were derived from this data: (i) modal typicality, which compared incidences of fatalities under different modal scenarios, and (ii) social actor typicality which compared incidences of different ages and genders amongst the fatalities under each scenario.

Episodic and Thematic Frames
- ↳ Counterfactual thematic frame
  - ↳ Collectivisation element of the Assimilation category:
    - What counterfactuals are presented through this element for social actors using each mode mentioned?
  - ↳ Abstraction element within Impersonalisation:
    - Are social actors referred to 'by means of qualities they supposedly have' and/or as a 'problem'?
    - If so, which modes are these social actors associated with?
- ↳ What commonalities and differences in these elements exist across the articles?

Typicality/Atypicality
- ↳ Modal Framing
  - ↳ For each mode mentioned, is their involvement framed as typical or atypical?
  - ↳ Does this typicality align with or contradict the measure of observed typicality for that mode?
- ↳ Social-Actor Framing
  - ↳ For each social-actor mentioned, is their involvement framed as typical or atypical?
  - ↳ Does this typicality align with or contradict the measure of observed typicality for that social-actor?

Figure 6 – RQ2 Analysis

Strengths and Limitations of Chosen Method

A key strength of the method described above is the systematic approach, which seeks to structure the analysis into a series of discrete tasks that could be repeated by other researchers looking to compare the findings of this study with reporting in different newspapers, national or regional contexts, and time periods. With appropriate adjustment to search terms, the method could also be applied to reporting in different languages. This repeatability would make it possible to extend the analysis to a greater selection of sources, and also to make meaningful comparisons between the reporting in London and – for example – that in a city such as Copenhagen or Utrecht, where cycle use for transport is more common.

The systematic approach also seeks to enable the fundamentally qualitative phenomena of discourse to be analysed in relation to the more quantitative and objective traditions of transport safety research. However, a consequent limitation of the method is that the framework of analysis necessarily involves reducing discursive acts into discrete elements, and this process cannot be considered fully objective since the framework through which this is done is unavoidably interpretative. Furthermore, van Leeuwen's Social Actors Approach is considered to be a more inductive than deductive form of CDA (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.20), despite the more broadly abductive nature of CDA methods in general. Consequently, more emphasis is placed on close analysis of specific news articles than would be the case with more deductive CDA approach typified by Fairclough (the approach used by Scheffels et al (2019)), with the consequence that a narrower range of very specific discourse elements – those indicated above – must be selected for inclusion. At the same time, the number of articles that can be analysed within the scope of this project remains relatively limited when compared to computer-assisted inductive approaches such as Corpus-Linguistics. As noted in the Conclusion however, both of these limitations highlight opportunities for future research.

3.2 - Selection of Articles

Three different categories of story were analyzed through CDA and compared, each related to one of three different transport mode scenarios. The first two categories allowed comparison between the bicycle rider as primary 'cause' of and as primary 'victim':

1. Stories about pedestrians killed as a result of collisions with people riding bicycles. (Bike_Ped)
2. Stories about cyclists killed as a result of collisions with people driving cars. (Car_Cyc)

In order to better understand the differing discourses and normative assumptions at work around the 'cause' and the 'victim' in reporting, a third category was also analysed:

3. Stories about pedestrians killed as a result of collisions with people driving cars. (Car_Ped)

Before conducting the main search for articles, a pilot exercise took place using the Nexis UK newspaper database to identify a typology of articles with which to determine the final selection of articles. This pilot search was carried out for articles from the London-based *Evening Standard* containing the keywords (['cyclist' OR 'bike' OR 'cycle'] AND ['killed']) within the headline only, and from within the date range 01/01/2012 to 31/12/2019. This pilot search yielded 187 articles, including those where the fatal casualty was not themselves riding a bicycle. The article typology in Figure 7 was identified from this pilot exercise. This typology excludes articles that were not news reports, for example letters.

Article Type	Characteristics
1a - Single Event Initial News Report – 'Pure News'	• Short accounts of single events. • Usually published within 24-48 hours of the event. Fact-orientated – rarely include much overt editorialising – but facts may be incomplete. • Usually less than 500 words. • Follow a standard pattern.
1b - Single Event Short-term Follow-up News Report – 'Pure News'	• Later stories that follow up on the event, typically within 24-72 hours though sometimes longer. • Contain more factual details of event. • Usually less than 500 words.
2 - Multi-event News Report	• Combine one or more event occurring within 24-48 hours of each other. • Usually published within 24-48 hours of the event. • Fact-orientated – rarely include much overt editorialising – but facts may be incomplete. • Association of the different events implies commonality between them. • Usually less than 750 words. • Events may differ from each other in terms of casualty severity and modes involved.
3 – Later Follow-up coverage	• Later stories that follow up on the event. • Published weeks, or months after the event. • Contain more factual details of those involved. • Often contain details of subsequent police/court/coroner/family actions or statements. • Variable length and formats, usually more than 750 words.
4 - Hybrid Stories	• Mix elements of the other three types. • Often combine one or more specific and very recent incident with some broader context; for example a death and a serious injury on the same day as an anticipated Mayoral announcement on HGV safety. • Combine the 'pure news' reporting of the event with more overt editorialising. • Usually more than 750 words.

Figure 7 – Typology of articles developed from pilot search

From the above typology, Article Type 1a and Type 1b were selected for study in this project. Types 1a and 1b were selected because they represent the day-to-day reporting of crash events that are presented as factual, and are sufficiently similar to each other for comparisons to be made between them. Discourses present in day-to-day reporting are in effect being regularly repeated, and it is through the repetition of patterns of language and thought that ideology is reproduced (see for example Fevyer, 2016). Identifying and critically analysing discourses in this setting is therefore of particular value.

The *Evening Standard* was chosen for the final article selection because its London-focus would allow comparisons within a specific and controlled transport context (London). The choice of one publication also allowed potential differences in editorial policy to be

controlled. To identify the specific articles, new searches were carried out using keywords based upon those previously used by Macmillan et al. (2016, p.139): ([‘cyclist’ OR ‘bicycle’] AND [‘died’ OR ‘death’ OR ‘killed’]). This root search criteria was modified to address the three mode scenario categories of article being investigated (Figure 8). Two further criterion were applied: to include only articles published in either the print or online versions of the *Evening Standard*, and to filter out articles of more than 500 words (the maximum expected length of Types 1a and 1b articles). In order to enable the use of this criterion, these searches were carried out in Factiva.

Mode Scenario Category	Search Terms
1 - Pedestrian fatalities involving collision with person riding a bicycle (Bike_Ped)	([‘cyclist’ OR ‘bicycle’] AND [‘died’ OR ‘death’ OR ‘killed’] AND [‘pedestrian’ OR ‘walking’ OR ‘crossing’] AND [rst=NS OR rst=NSONL] AND [wc<500])
2 – Cyclist fatalities involving collision with person driving a car (Car_Cyc)	([‘cyclist’ OR ‘bicycle’] AND [‘died’ OR ‘death’ OR ‘killed’] AND [‘car’ OR ‘driver’ OR ‘motorist’] AND [rst=NS OR rst=NSONL] AND [wc<500])
3 – Pedestrian fatalities involving collision with person driving a car (Car_Ped)	([‘pedestrian’ OR ‘walking’ OR ‘crossing’] AND [‘died’ OR ‘death’ OR ‘killed’] AND [‘car’ OR ‘driver’ OR ‘motorist’] AND [rst=NS OR rst=NSONL] AND [wc<500])

Figure 8 – Search terms

The date range used was 01/01/2012 to 31/12/2019. This was chosen as it covers a period during which the trend in increased cycle use in London accelerated: having doubled over the twelve-year period 2000-2011, it increased by a further 60% over the 2000 baseline figures in the eight years between 2012 and 2019 (TfL, 2019, p.39). There is also evidence that news coverage of fatalities involving people on bicycles may have increased during this period: a search using Macmillan et al. (2016)’s search terms for the preceding eight years (2005-2011) yielded 1086 results, compared to 1452 results for the eight-year period 2012-2019, an increase of 33.7%.

Final Selections

The search terms for the Bike_Ped scenario yielded a large number of results (185), however almost all of these related to bicycle rider or pedestrians deaths in collision with motor vehicles. After manually removing these – and those where the pedestrian was not killed or other typologies – only two articles remained, reflecting the low number of fatal Bike_Ped

events. The method of selecting articles for this scenario was therefore changed: the STATS19 road safety data collected for use in answering Research Question 2 was interrogated to identify specific instances of fatalities under the Bike_Ped scenario, and the dates of these fatalities were used to directly identify the related Type 1a and Type1b articles. This approach yielded five articles, two of which were the Type 1a and Type 1b articles reporting on the same collision.

The search terms for the Car_Cyc and Car_Ped scenarios meanwhile produced more articles than could be analysed within the scope of the current study. In order to select a sample of five articles each for final analysis, the total number of articles for each search was divided by five and the resulting figure was used to select each article from an even spread of the articles when arranged in date order. Where the article found in this way was deemed to be irrelevant despite the design of the search terms (wrong typology, not a fatality etc.) the next one in order was chosen instead. Once five articles were selected, an additional Type 1a or Type 1b article reporting on the same collision was deliberately chosen for one of the articles under each scenario, in order to better reflect the selection of articles under the Bike_Ped scenario. This led to six articles each being selected under the Car_Cyc and Car_Ped scenarios, and a total of 17 articles across all three scenarios. Details of the date and headlines of these articles are summarised in Figure 9, along with the reference code used to refer to them in the findings.

Bike_Ped_001 (12/11/2018, 307 words) 'Dalston crash: Woman, 56, 'first pedestrian to die in UK after being hit by electric bicycle' in east London'	**Car_Cyc_001** (29/09/2018, 190 words) 'Deptford crash: Cyclist dies after crash with car in south east London'	**Car_Ped_001** (22/08/2019, 327 words) 'Hyde Park Corner crash: Pedestrian, 66, dies after being hit by £250,000 Rolls-Royce yards from Buckingham Palace'
Bike_Ped_002 (14/09/2017, 355 words) 'Woman dies after being hit by cyclist on Oxford Street'	**Car_Cyc_002** (04/06/2018, 382 words) 'Driver hunted as cyclist dies after being dragged 200m along road'	**Car_Ped_002** (26/04/2017, 198 words) 'Man killed in 'BMW' hit-and-run in Aldgate'
Bike_Ped_003 (11/02/2017, 266 words) 'Police appeal over pedestrian killed in collision with cyclist in Shepherd's Bush'	**Car_Cyc_003a** (21/06/2015, 192 words) 'Cyclist, 60, dies after midnight crash in Harrow, north west London'	**Car_Ped_003** (19/12/2016, 324 words) 'High-speed 'horror' crash at crossing'
Bike_Ped_004 (12/02/2016, 130 words) 'Old Street crash: Air ambulance rushed to scene after accident between cyclist and pedestrian'	**Car_Cyc_003b** (21/06/2015, 250 words) 'Family tributes to 'hero and idol' after grandfather is knocked over and killed by car'	**Car_Ped_004** (14/10/2013, 463 words) 'Mother killed by car as she rushed home to see her daughter, 7, coming back from sleepover'
Bike_Ped_005 (09/03/2016, 466 words) ''Wonderful' woman killed after crash with a cyclist at Old Street'	**Car_Cyc_004** (29/08/2017, 445 words) 'Holloway crash: Cyclist killed in crash with van in Camden Road'	**Car_Ped_005a** (18/05/2015, 96 words) 'Brentford crash: Man in 30s dead after being hit by car'
	Car_Cyc_005 (25/11/2014, 288 words) 'Racing joyrider' kills teacher as he cycles home'	**Car_Ped_005b** (18/05/2015, 364 words) 'Pedestrian is killed crossing west London road 'plagued by boy racers''

Figure 9 – Details of selected articles

4 - Findings

4.1 - Research Question 1

A Note on Terminology

In presenting these findings, the language used to describe the scenarios and social actors (SAs) involved potentially overlaps with the language analyzed in the articles themselves. To mitigate this, the SAs are described using the terms 'pedestrian', 'bicycle rider' and 'car driver', and the incidents are described as 'collisions'. These terms are chosen so as to be as neutral as possible, in order to avoid the description and discussion of the findings unduly influencing the interpretation of them. Distinctions are made between whether the SA constituted the fatality in a given scenario, or did not. Where they did not, they are described in terms of not being the fatality rather than by any other terminology. This is to avoid describing any non-fatality SA in ways that might be confused with the way that the article itself was or was not ascribing agency. Pedestrians are fatalities in two scenarios (Bike_Ped, Car_Ped), bicycle riders are fatalities in one scenario (Car_Cyc) and not fatalities in another (Bike_Ped), and car drivers are not fatalities in two scenarios (Car_Cyc, Car_Ped). To assist the reader, references to van Leeuwen's Socio-semantic Categories (and elements within those categories) are italicized, and the American-English spelling used by van Leeuwen is preserved.

Overview of Socio-Semantic Categories

An overview of the analysis of the articles utilizing the six categories from van Leeuwen's model can be found in Figure 10. This overview shows the most prevalent category finding for each social actor within each scenario. It was produced by compiling the individual findings for each article, and then identifying which result was most frequently found for each social actor under each scenario; it remains qualitative however since the underlying data is qualitative. Whilst individual exceptions are erased by this way of presenting the data, it does

enable an overall picture to be considered. Some of the relevant individual exceptions are presented in more detail in the next subsection ('Discourses Identified'). For full breakdown of the underlying data and the completed article proformas see Appendix D.

Social Actor by Scenario	*Exclusion*	*Impersonalisation*	*Role Allocation*	*Functionalization & identification*	*Generic and Specific Reference*	*Assimilation*
Pedestrian as Fatality	Not Excluded	Not impersonalised	Passive Role	Not functionalised, high identification	Even mix of generic and specific	Low assimilation
Bicycle Rider	Not Excluded	Not impersonalised	Active Role	Highly functionalised, low identification	Highly generic	Low assimilation
Bicycle Rider as Fatality	Not Excluded	Not impersonalised	Passive Role	Highly functionalised, mixed identification	Most highly generic, two highly specific	Moderate assimilation
Car Driver	Partially Excluded	Highly impersonalised	Mostly passive role	Moderate functionalisation, low identification	Highly generic	Moderate assimilation
Pedestrian as Fatality	Not Excluded	Not impersonalised	Passive role	Not functionalised, mixed identification	Highly generic	Low assimilation
Car Driver	Partially Excluded	Highly impersonalised	Active role	Mixed functionalisation, low identification	Inconclusive	Moderate assimilation

Figure 10 – Overview of Socio-semantic Inventory findings

Figure 11 provides examples of specific sentences related to these socio-semantic categories that were identified during the analysis – the colour coding used is that employed in the analysis of each article and detailed in Appendix C. These are exemplars only; a fuller account of the interpretation of these sentence-level findings is given below.

Category and Description	Examples
Exclusion Whether SA is referred to in relation to the collision.	'A cyclist has died after being involved in a crash with a car' (Car_Cyc_001) Cyclist is present (*not excluded*), car driver is backgrounded (*partially excluded*)
Impersonalisation SA is represented by reference to associated object (*Objectification*) or a quality they are supposed to have (*Abstraction*).	'...hit by a £250,000 Rolls-Royce Wraith' (Car_Ped_001) Car driver is *impersonalised* through *Objectification* as an expensive car. '...killed by a suspected joyrider' (Car_Cyc_005) Car driver is *impersonalised* through *abstraction* as someone who 'joyrides'.
Role Allocation Whether SA performs action in sentence (*Active role*) or receives action in sentence (*Passive role*)	'...as a Mazda MX-5 collided with a pedestrian...' (Car_Cyc_005b) Car driver (though also *objectified* as a car) performs the action of colliding (*Active role*). 'a man in his 30s, died in the crash with the Ford Transit van' (Car_Cyc_004) Van driver (though also *objectified* as a van) receives the action of the crash along with he bicycle rider (*Passive roles*).
Functionalization & identification Whether SA is described in terms of their *function* (activity/role), and/or by what society intrinsically *identifies* them as.	a cyclist was killed on World Bicycle Day. The victim, (Car_Cyc_002) Bicycle rider *functionalised* modally through suffixed noun as 'cyclist', and discursively through role as 'victim'. 'The mother-of-two had started in January as head of human resources...' (Bike_Ped_005) Pedestrian *identified* through relational (being a mother) and socio-economic (working in a profession) markers
Generic and Specific Reference SA may be generalised *generically* into one or more classes of people, or *specifically* by rendering them as an identifiable individual.	'...the cyclist, thought to be a man in his 30s...' (Car_Cyc_004) Bicycle rider generalised into *generic* class of people (males) by use of singular without definite article. 'The 72-year-old man was struck by the cyclist...' (Bike_Ped_003) The pedestrian is rendered as an identifiable individual by *specific reference* (definite article). Note that rendering as 'identifiable' for this purpose often involves multiple such sentences, and need not include name.
Assimilation SA may be assimilated into groups through the use of quantifiers (*Aggregation*) or words that express group identities (*Collectivization*). For the purpose of this study, these include modal group identities.	'...they just speed between the traffic lights at the junctions and then just slow down again...' (Car_Ped_004b) The car driver has already been associated with this 'they' (local joyriders) earlier in the article – this use of an indefinite quantifier further aggregates them into a group. '...a cyclist was killed on World Bicycle Day' (Car_Cyc_002) The bicycle rider is repeatedly referred to as 'cyclist', and further associated with this modal group identity through juxtaposition with World Bicycle Day.

Figure 11 – Examples of sentences found for different socio-semantic categories

Although the small number of articles examined precludes statistical analysis, it is possible to identify a number of broadly consistent distinctions between the representation of the different SAs across the first three categories. Pedestrians are never *excluded*, and neither are bicycle riders – irrespective of whether or not they are the casualty. By contrast, car drivers are always *partially excluded (backgrounded)*, and this is consistent with the findings of previous Content Analysis research such as Ralph et al. (2019), in which a majority of articles examined omitted direct references to the driver in sentences describing collision actions. Similarly, neither pedestrians nor bicycle riders are *impersonalized* – irrespective of whether the latter is the casualty or not. By contrast, car drivers are highly *impersonalized* in articles reporting on pedestrian and bicycle rider fatalities, which again aligns with the findings of Ralph et al. (2019).

Clear distinctions are also apparent between the *role* allocated to different SAs under different scenarios. Pedestrians are largely assigned a *passive role*. Bicycle riders are assigned an *active role* under the scenario where they are in collision with pedestrians (Bike_Ped), but a *passive role* when they are in collision with car drivers (Car_Cyc). This latter role assignment complicates the findings of recent Content Analysis research (Ralph et al., 2019) and CDA research (Scheffels et al., 2019), both of which found that bicycle riders were usually assigned the active role in agentive sentences describing collisions with cars drivers.

The different role allocations applied bicycle riders under the Bike_Ped and Car_Cyc scenarios in the articles analyzed here might represent an attempt by journalists to reflect the relatively different physical power afforded by each mode – bicycle riders are in charge of more physical 'power' than pedestrians, but far less than car drivers – or it may indicate a difference in the framing of responsibility and blame between when bicycle riders constitute the fatality and when they do not. However, car drivers are assigned a largely *passive role* in collision with bicycle riders – a passivity shared in those articles with the bicycle riders themselves – but an *active role* in collisions with pedestrians. Whilst this again suggests a shifting power relation between each scenario, it is not one that could be ascribed to either a hierarchy of physical power nor whether the car driver constituted the non-fatality, since in both scenarios (Car_Ped and Car_Cyc) these aspects are the same. Instead, the *role* attributed to the car driver appears to be contingent upon which mode was being used by the fatality in which

they were in collision – suggesting the representation of a different power relation between car driver and pedestrian and car driver and bicycle rider. More detail of this phenomenon and the discourse that it reproduces is discussed in the next section.

The *functionalization and identification* category indicated that pedestrians were represented through the lowest level of *functionalization* – this is unsurprising since the grammatical patterns that attend most of the observed *functionalization* of the other two SAs were related to those SAs' vehicles. Bicycle riders were more heavily *functionalized* than car drivers across their respective scenarios, though this may be a consequence of the high degree of *backgrounding* and *objectification* amongst representations of car drivers that separated the SA from the vehicle itself. Pedestrians are represented with the most *identification* whilst car drivers with the least, and bicycle riders have slightly higher *identification* when they constitute the fatality. In this particular sample of articles, pedestrians were also more *identified* in the scenarios where they were in collision with a bicycle rider compared to when they were in collision with a car driver.

The final two categories produced more variable results between articles, although most SA and scenario combinations showed similarly *generic* rather than *specific references* to the SAs and low-to-moderate *assimilation*. This may be partly due to the type of articles chosen for analysis – early reporting of the collisions will tend to feature less of the detail associated with higher *specificity* and *assimilation*. Nevertheless, it is notable the pedestrians were represented with more of a mix of *generic* and *specific* reference when they were in collision with bicycle riders than with car drivers. Bicycle riders meanwhile were the only SA routinely represented through the *aggregation* element of *assimilation* – but only when they were the fatality. As we shall see in the next section, these differences are suggestive of specific discourses.

Discourses Identified in each Scenario from Socio-Semantic Analysis

Reporting of Pedestrians Killed in collisions with Bicycle Riders (Bike_Ped)

This scenario had by far the fewest articles, due mainly to the extremely low number of such fatalities occurring; only 8 are recorded in STATS19 road safety data in London during the study period (01/01/2012-31/12/2018). There were also no articles found at all before 2016, despite half of the 8 recorded cases in London occurring during that period, including 3 occurring within 5 weeks of each other in the summer of 2013. This unusual clustering of collisions might have been expected to itself constitute a newsworthy subject, yet no reporting of any of them could be found in the *Evening Standard*. These articles also had the lowest level of commonality between the discourses identified.

The earliest article was from February 2016 (Bike_Ped_004), and was the initial news report on the collision that became known as the 'Alliston Case', which was later widely reported on in terms of a high-profile court case and calls for changes in the law (Caimotto, 2020). This initial article is very limited in details but much of the representation is consistent with the overview presented above; except that the bicycle rider has a *passive role* assigned and shared with the pedestrian in one sentence; elsewhere the bicycle rider is *active*. There is therefore evidence of some blame attribution to the cyclist, though this is quite weak. Neither SA is associated with either an in- or out-grouping beyond their labelling as 'pedestrian' and 'cyclist'.

The follow-up article (Bike_Ped_005) provides more details on the pedestrian, establishing a sense of familiarity and potential commonality through increased *identification* of the SA (their name, job, family background) and *specific reference* (place of residence, profession, lunch break etc.). These encourage in-group identification amongst the readers. By contrast, the bicycle rider is rendered as a non-person through moderate *functionalisation* and no *identification*: even the cyclist's gender is absent, with key sentences avoiding the use of gendered personal pronouns. The contrast between the pedestrian's depiction as part of a rules-based profession and the absence of any such *collectivisation* for the bicycle rider beyond their being a 'cyclist' potentially draws on the extant discourse of the cyclist as

'lawbreaker' operating outside of the normative rules. This is compounded by more prevalent *active role* assignment, and consequently blame attribution.

Following this article there was substantial press coverage of the Alliston case – further such articles are not analysed here – and it is notable that the subsequent 3 pedestrian fatalities involving a collision with a bicycle rider were reported in the *Evening Standard*. However, there are substantial differences between the discourses relayed and reproduced in each. The first (Bike_Ped_003) exhibits no blame attribution and very minimal in- or out-grouping, with only the pedestrian slightly associated with an in-group through marginal low *generic* grammatical effects (the use of definite articles) associating them with being elderly and vulnerable. By contrast, the next article (Bike_Ped_002) strongly associates the bicycle rider with the figure of the 'lawbreaking cyclist' by linking them to an unrelated arrest, assigning them an *active role*, and *aggregating* them with another cyclist whose relevance to the collision is not given. As no *identifiable* information is provided beyond gender, the bicycle rider is brought into existence only in terms of blame and criminality. The article refers to the pedestrian largely in terms of *physical identification* ('elderly woman', 'pensioner') and a *passive role*, which underscores their vulnerability and position as victim. In addition to establishing a 'victim-villain' discourse in this way, the article references eyewitnesses as 'horrified shoppers', presenting the collision as a visceral 'horror' scene.

Finally, the most recent article (Bike_Ped_001) focuses upon the bicycle itself (an e-bike) more than the bicycle rider; this is the only article examined that does so. The bicycle is given an *active role*, and the bicycle rider is referred to as a 'rider' rather than as a 'cyclist'; again, this is the only article selected that does this. Consequently, the bicycle rider is represented here through object-based language that previous research associates with car drivers and cars (Ralph et al., 2019). Even the use of 'rider' is linguistically closer to 'driver' – both are nouns formed from verbs distinct from the vehicle object – than the more commonly used 'cyclist', which is formed from a verb specifically derived from the object 'bicycle'. The pedestrian is represented with high *identification* (name, place of residence) also common to Car_Ped collisions.

Overall the Bike_Ped articles show little in the way of consistent discourses. Whilst Bike_Ped_005 – the second article relating the Alliston case – mobilises the out-grouping of the bicycle rider associated with the 'law-breaking cyclist' and this is taken up in the later Bike_Ped_002, the latter article specifically realises this through references to apparently unrelated criminal activity. Bike_Ped_001 and Bike_Ped_003 are very different to each other, with the former sharing similarities to the Car_Ped articles.

Reporting of Bicycle Riders Killed in collisions with Car, Taxi, or Van Drivers (Car_Cyc)

Analysis of these articles identified distinct types of causation and blame discourse and associated othering and out-group discourses, depending upon whether the car driver stopped at the scene, and to a lesser extent whether they were arrested. In all but two of the articles, causation was ostensibly attributed equally through the use of *passive role* for both SAs. In the one article where the car driver stopped at the scene but was not arrested (Car_Cyc_001), the car driver is *partially excluded (backgrounded)* and highly *objectified* in terms of the car, which with low *functionalization* figures them as passive bystanders to the collision. Meanwhile, the bicycle rider is *not excluded*, and is highly *functionalized*, which serve to subtly imply a higher degree of agency despite the *passive role* assignment. The bicycle rider is also represented with low *identification* and is *collectivized* into an out-group (other recent bicycle rider fatalities), so that this higher degree of agency is suggestive of a collective problem with a generic figure of 'cyclists', without the article specifically suggesting lawbreaking. The car driver meanwhile is not explicitly *collectivized* or *aggregated* with either an in- or out-group.

Three further articles feature the car driver stopping at the scene, but being arrested (Car_Cyc_003a; Car_Cyc_003b; Car_Cyc_004). The first two – which relate to the same collision – are the only two articles in this scenario where the car driver is ascribed an entirely *active role*, though the effect of this on blame attribution is moderated by their being *partially excluded (backgrounded)* and highly *objectified* through references to the car itself, and by the car driver being associated with the lawful act of stopping at the scene. In the initial report (Car_Cyc_003a) the cyclist is highly *functionalized* with low *identification*, yet this changes

markedly in the follow up report (Car_Cyc_003b) where they are highly *identified* through references to name, occupation and family, and the word 'cyclist' is not used at all. These factors disconnect the SA from the out-group 'cyclist' and suggest that the SA is part of an in-group with which the readers can feel sympathy, whilst at the same time de-emphasising that the article is about a bicycle rider being killed in collision with a car driver. Whilst blame is implied towards the car driver by virtue of their being arrested, the collision itself is *backgrounded* by this focus upon the bicycle rider.

The third article where the driver stopped but was initially arrested (Car_Cyc_004) similarly implies blame towards the van driver via reference to the arrest, but this is again mediated by *partial exclusion (backgrounding)*, *objectification*, and *passive role* assignment. As with the previous two articles, the vehicle is associated with the collision itself – the 'crime' – whilst the van driver is associated with the (lawful) act of stopping. Consequently, the van driver is distanced from an out-group of unlawful drivers – being only minimally associated with drivers as a group overall – whilst the bicycle rider is again *collectivised* into a group of recent fatalities.

In the remaining two articles (Car_Cyc_002; Car_Cyc_005), the car driver did not stop at the scene, and there is a marked difference in the discourses of blame and in- or out-grouping. In the first of these articles, the bicycle rider is assigned a *passive role*, yet in all instances they are the only SA associated with the collision action. Whilst also described explicitly as a 'victim', blame is therefore not ascribed to any other SA. The car driver meanwhile is *generalized* into 'hit-and-run driver' group, a modification of the common 'driver' group classification that places the SA into a distinct sub-group that is also associated with a criminal act. The in-group of the normative 'driver' is thereby inverted into an 'out-group'. Yet whilst this out-grouping denotes lawbreaking, the car driver SA themselves is also *backgrounded* in relation to the collision itself; it is the 'driver' who fails to stop, but the *objectifying* 'car' that is in collision with the bicycle rider.

The final article similarly out-groups the car driver who did not stop, this time into 'joyrider' – again distinguishing them from a normative group of drivers. Indeed, the article is the only instance in the present study where the car driver is not *objectified* in the headline, being

described as a 'racing joyrider [who] kills [a] teacher'. The absence of *identification* and *specific* references to the car driver, and the prevalence and precedence of *generic*, *aggregation* and *collectivization* references realized through the word 'joyrider', all serve to construct this SA as an archetype rooted in criminality and distinct from normative car drivers. As with the previous article, the bicycle rider is given a *passive* role, but is also represented with both high *identification* (name, occupation, family) and more dominant *collectivization* into a non-cyclist group ('teachers') than as a 'cyclist'. This emphasises their humanity and separates them from the discourses of other bicycle rider fatalities, to which no references are made; this is the only Car_Cyc article that does not refer to other recent bicycle rider fatalities.

Overall, the articles analyzed under this scenario are suggestive of three broad narratives consisting of different aspects of the causation and blame and othering and out-groups discourses. The first involves bicycle rider fatalities where the car driver stopped at the scene but was not arrested; here blame is not ascribed to the car driver but may be implied towards the bicycle rider by virtue of the latter being *collectivised* and *aggregated* with a problem out-group of 'bicycle rider fatalities' for which no other causation is offered. The second narrative involves car or van drivers who stop at the scene but are arrested. Here, some degree of blame is associated with the car or van driver through references to their arrest, but this is indirect since they are also *objectified* in references to the collision and are *partially excluded (backgrounded)*. The final narrative involves car drivers who do not stop and are being actively sought by police. Here blame remains only indirectly ascribed to the car driver, but the car driver is also *collectivised* with specifically delimited sub-groups of drivers – what we might summarise as a trope of the 'rogue driver'. This out-grouping is associated with the highest levels of bicycle rider *personalisation* and in-grouping, as if the out-grouping of the particular car driver as 'rogue' allows the in-grouping of the bicycle rider. This will be discussed in more detail in the discussion section.

Notably, the distinguishing feature between all three narratives identified in these articles is the non-collision actions of the car driver (stopping/not stopping, being arrested/not being arrested), rather than the actions of the bicycle rider or their outcome (which in all cases was fatal). This suggests a particular power relation in which the decisions of the car driver

determine not only the representation of that SA, but also that of the bicycle rider and their death. It is also notable that in five of the six articles in this scenario, the car driver was not only ascribed a *passive role* most or all of the time, but that this *passive role* was realised in sentences where the *passivity* was shared equally with the bicycle rider – for example 'Cyclist dies after crash with car' – making these non-agentive sentences. This is relevant to the findings of the next scenario.

Reporting of Pedestrians Killed in collisions with Car, Taxi, or Van Drivers (Car_Ped)

The articles under this scenario displayed both similarities and differences compared to the articles reporting on bicycle rider fatalities. There was a similar pattern of contingency between whether the car driver stopped or was arrested, and the way in which causation and blame and othering and out-group discourses were manifested. There was however a key difference in the way that *passive* and *active* roles were assigned, which further mediated the expression of the causation and blame discourse.

The one article in which the car driver stopped and was not arrested (Car_Ped_001) shares some commonality to the equivalent articles under Car_Cyc; the pedestrian fatality is neither *excluded* or *impersonalized*, and is given a *passive role*. However, whilst this *passive role* was shared equally between bicycle rider fatalities and car drivers in the equivalent Car_Cyc articles, here the *passive role* assigned to the pedestrian is mostly in contrast to an *active role* assigned to the car driver – potentially ascribing blame to them. The effect of this role assignment is again mediated by *partial exclusion (backgrounding)* and *objectifying* of the car driver, but this process is focused upon the car in a particularly acute way. The *objectification* fixates upon the car's exotic luxury and value – it is a Qatar-registered Rolls Royce Wraith – and this has the effect of both *backgrounding* the car driver more fully, whilst also establishing the car as part of an out-grouping (rich/high status, non-UK-owned). This out-grouping is allied to an aspirational discourse – underscored by reference to the car having been regularly photographed by 'motoring enthusiasts' – that establishes the car as a spectacle that should be treated differently to other cars. The effect of this fetishisation of the car is that questions of causation and blame are subordinated in the article, and it is the car itself that is subject to

collectivization and *aggregation*, rather than the car-driver. The pedestrian fatality meanwhile is barely present, with low *specific* or *generic references*, no *aggregation*, and *collectivisation* that only marginally associates them with the modal group 'pedestrians'.

Four articles in this scenario involve the car driver stopping and being arrested (Car_Ped_003 and Car_Ped_004; Car_Ped_005a; Car_Ped_005b), the latter two being initial and then follow-up articles on the same incident. In Car_Ped_003, the pedestrian is represented with a high degree of *passivity* that is never shared with the car driver, and is referred to with low *functionalisation* and moderate *identification* – including use of the word 'man' in place of 'pedestrian' – and references to them being on a crossing. These elements engender empathy and in-grouping whilst also distancing them from any potential blame discourses. Blame is not however ascribed strongly to the car driver in any collision-related *functionalisation* or actions, but only implicitly through references to their arrest. Instead, the car driver is represented in collision-related actions either through *objectification* as the car, or not at all. The car itself is *abstracted* as 'high speed', producing a second level of *depersonalisation* of the car driver and distancing them further from the causation of the collision. There is also little to associate the car driver with an in- or out-group, except that the use of the definite article to relate the car driver to their arrest and bail distinguishes them from the *generic* usage of 'driver', suggesting an out-grouping – albeit relatively weak – specifically derived from their arrest.

Similarly, the car driver in Car_Ped_004 is *assimilated* with a weak out-grouping of arrested drivers. They again have low *functionalised* involvement with the collision itself – this being mainly associated through *objectification* with the car – and this moderates the blame attribution that might otherwise attend their *active role*. In the one sentence relating the collision that includes the car driver without *objectification*, this reference is notably contained in a subordinate clause where they are described as hitting a wall. This maintains a distance between the car driver and the action of colliding with the pedestrian, again limiting blame attribution even as it is implied. The pedestrian has a highly *passive role* associated with emotive verbs such as 'trapping' that denotes a powerful 'victim' status that contrasts with the limited extent of the car driver's 'villain' status. This effect is amplified by a combination of high *identification*, high *specific reference*, and *assimilation* into a wider

community of local residents to both render sympathy and depict the pedestrian as part of an extensive in-group.

Analysis of the two articles reporting on the same incident in which the driver was also arrested display a shift in the representation of the car driver as potential 'villain'. The initial report (Car_Ped_005a) contains minimal information, yet still exhibits *functionalisation* and *generic references* focused on gender rather than mode to render the pedestrian as a vulnerable victim, whilst rendering the car driver as having a criminal *function* that simultaneously out-groups them from 'drivers' more generally by aggregating them with the car passenger (who was also arrested) rather than with other car drivers. This formulation foreshadows the more significant out-grouping of the car driver into a group of 'boy racers' who 'plague' the location of the collision in the follow up article (Car_Ped_005b). Whilst never specifically linked *generically* to this group, the car driver is *collectivised* with them indirectly through juxtaposition – this is the only example of car driver collectivisation in this scenario and serves an out-grouping function that profoundly separates the car driver from other car drivers in a manner comparable to the 'rogue driver' trope identified in the Car_Cyc scenario. This out-grouping of the car driver coincides with an increased in-grouping of the pedestrian through *functionalisation* and *identification* references that render him as a victim worthy of sympathy despite an initially *impersonalised* depiction. Blame is not attributed to the pedestrian – who in common with other articles in the Car_Ped scenario has a *passive role* that is not shared with the car driver. However, the car driver's association with blame is more complex. Whilst the car driver is often distanced from causation of the collision in a similar way to that in articles such as Car_Ped_004 – for example through the use of *objectification* when an *active role* is assigned – they are also associated with actions in the context of the car's characteristics (for example 'the two-seater convertible'), underscoring the implied link to the 'boy racers' that are introduced in the headline. In this way, blame is explicitly attributed to 'boy racing', and implicitly through this to the car driver.

A similar out-grouping blame function was identified in the one article in this scenario where the car driver did not stop (Car_Ped_002). This article was found to share socio-semantic patterns with the other articles under both Car_Ped and Car_Cyc: the fatality is not *excluded* but the car driver is *partially excluded (backgrounded)*; the car driver is *objectified* and the

fatality is given a *passive role*. In common with the other Car_Ped articles (but in contrast to the Car_Cyc ones), the car driver's role is *active* but mediated by *objectification* as the car in sentences describing the actual collision. However, blame attribution is further influenced by the use of 'hit-and-run' in three of the four sentences describing the collision. This hyphenated noun nominalises two distinct verbs in a way that embodies the article's division between the active role of the car in colliding with the pedestrian, and the active role of the car driver in leaving the scene. In this way, blame for the collision is distanced from the car driver, whose criminality is associated more with the act of failing to stop.

The article's headline – 'Man killed in 'BMW' hit-and-run in Aldgate' – sets up a specific out-grouping for the car driver even as it objectifies them in terms of the car itself; their direct *collectivisation* into the group 'drivers' elsewhere in the article is modified here by the repeated references to the BMW to indirectly distinguish them as 'BMW drivers'. Whilst the police reference to the vehicle type serves a basic function in appealing for information, the prominence and repetition of the BMW reference – in particular its association in the headline with 'hit-and-run' and its presentation in scare quotes – performs an out-grouping function that again can be understood in terms of the 'rogue driver' trope previously noted. Meanwhile the pedestrian is weakly in-grouped: they are given no *generic* modal identity and are described only in terms of age and gender.

4.2 - Research Question 2

Thematic Frames

The analysis of thematic frames (Appendix E – summarised in Figure 12) found that articles under the Bike_Ped and Car_Ped scenarios were largely episodically framed in terms of the collision type, location, and the social actors (SAs) involved, with only one article (Car_Ped_005b) framing the location of the collision thematically (through a quoted witness). The only other examples of thematic frames under these scenarios related to counterfactuals,

and since these are by definition concerned with alternative sequences of events they are presented separately under 'Counterfactuals' (below).

Scenario	Articles framing casualty mode thematically	Articles framing other mode thematically	Articles framing location thematically
Bike_Ped	0 of 5	0 of 5	0 of 5
Car_Cyc	5 of 6	1 of 6	5 of 6
Car_Ped	0 of 6	0 of 6	1 of 6

Figure 12 – Summary of non-counterfactual thematic framing

By contrast, all but one of the Car_Cyc articles exhibited thematic framing of the bicycle rider casualty, and this took the form of references to how many other bicycle riders had recently died in collisions. Four of these articles also framed the location thematically – though in three cases this was only in terms of 'London' or other parts of London. None of the thematic frames drew attention to issues with particular junctions or other infrastructure contexts at the collision site itself, although one article (Car_Cyc_002) notes a cluster of previous bicycle rider fatalities in a neighbouring borough. The same article quotes an eyewitness statement that the collision took place 'at' the junction with a new segregated cycle lane, however it is not stated whether the bicycle rider was entering, exiting, or simply passing this junction. Since the relevance of the cycle lane is not made explicit and is also not referenced in relation to any other collision, this witness statement was deemed to be a counterfactual.

Counterfactuals

The analysis of counterfactuals found differences between the articles examined under each scenario (Figure 13). The Car_Ped scenario had the most counterfactuals across the articles examined, followed by Bike_Ped – although it should be noted that one less article was analysed under the latter scenario. The Car_Cyc scenario had notably fewer counterfactuals. Where more than one social actor was associated differently with a counterfactual in the same sentence, these were counted as separate instances.

Scenario	Subtractive, downward	Subtractive, upward	Additive, downward	Additive, upward	Total
Bike_Ped	1	10	2	0	**13**
Car_Cyc	0	4	1	2	**7**
Car_Ped	2	8	3	4	**17**

Figure 13 – Summary of counterfactuals by type and scenario

Most notably, the 'subtractive, upward' counterfactual type dominated the counterfactuals under all three scenarios. This is unexpected, since evidence from social psychology research suggests that additive and upward counterfactual thinking is more common (Epstude and Rose, 2008., p.179), and the counterfactuals highlighted in previous research as occurring most prominently in relation to bicycle riders – helmet wearing and clothing colour (Ralph et al., 2019) – are of the 'additive, upward' type. Indeed, none of the counterfactuals found in the Car_Cyc articles were related to helmet wearing or the colour of the bicycle rider's clothing. Of the two 'additive, upward' counterfactuals under this scenario, one related to the business of the road, the other to the colour of the bicycle. Similarly, none of the articles examined in which the pedestrian was a fatality made counterfactual references to the pedestrian's clothing colour or whether they ignored a crossing – in the only article to mention a crossing, the pedestrian who died was using it (subtractive, downward).

Across the counterfactuals identified, the only recurring theme was whether or not the car driver stopped at the scene. This was deemed to be an 'additive' counterfactual following the socio-semantic analysis, since stopping/not stopping was a statement of what happened that invited the consideration of alternatives – it 'added' to what happened – which implied causation and blame independently of the collision itself. The full data on counterfactuals can be found in Appendix E.

Typicality

From the analysis of thematic framing, it was possible to identify the extent to which each fatality was framed as a 'typical' or 'atypical' occurrence. In terms of the mode scenarios examined, the high degree of thematic framing under Car_Cyc compared to the other

scenarios implied bicycle use as a typical mode for being a road fatality. This typicality is particularly acute given the contrastingly low thematic framing of pedestrian fatalities under the Car_Ped control scenario; in fatal collisions with car drivers, those using the mode bicycle are framed as typical casualties in a way not applied to those on foot. Neither were pedestrians framed as typical casualties in collisions with bicycle riders in the articles examined – though it should be remembered that the number of Type 1a and Type 1b Bike_Ped articles available for analysis was very low.

Comparing these depictions of typicality to the typicality of different mode users observed in STATS19 road safety data[2] (Figure 14) reveals a clear discrepancy.

Fatality Scenario Depicted in Article	Depicted Typicality	Observed Typicality (STATS19)*
Pedestrian in collision with bicycle** (Bike_Ped)	Atypical	22 (0.2%)***
Bicycle Rider in collision with car, taxi, or van** (Car_Cyc)	Typical	426 (3.5%)***
Pedestrian in collision with car, taxi, or van** (Car_Ped)	Atypical	2187 (17.7%)***

* Observed typicality is based on STATS19 data for the whole of the UK for the period 2012-2018.
** Vehicles referred to rather than their drivers in line with STATS19 terminology. For the Bike_Ped scenario, observed typicality represents collisions where one or more bicycle was the only other vehicle involved. For Car_Cyc and Car_Ped, observed typicality represents collisions where one or more bicycle, car, taxi or van were the only other vehicles involved.
***Percentages in brackets are the percentage of the total road fatalities for that period (all casualty types in collisions involving all vehicle types).

Figure 14 – Typicality depicted in articles examined versus that observed in STATS19 data

Despite being depicted as 'typical' in the articles – largely through thematic framing that related the collision being reported to other fatal collisions – bicycle riders are only fatal casualties in collision with cars, taxis, or vans in 3.5% of all road fatalities. By contrast, pedestrians in this scenario constitute 17.7% of fatalities, yet none of the Car_Ped articles depicted these collisions as typical. Pedestrians killed in collision with bicycles were not depicted as typical in the articles examined, and the STATS19 data shows these scenarios to be extremely rare at only 0.2% of total road fatalities during the period.

[2] See Appendix F

In terms of the SAs themselves, none of the articles explicitly depicted typicality in respect of identifiable information about the individuals involved. Casualties were almost always referred to by gender (16 of the 17 articles), and by age or age group in three-quarters of the articles (13 of the 17 articles). Other references – for example suggesting socio-economic or physical attributes – were rare and only inconclusively implied, and so were not examined for typicality. The only social actors who were consistently framed thematically as fatalities – bicycle riders – were not attributed with typicality in terms of age or gender: in the three articles where the age and gender of the other recent fatalities was given (Car_Cyc_001; Car_Cyc_002; Car_Cyc_003a), these details did not align with the age and gender of the bicycle rider whose death was the focus of the article. See Appendix E for the full data from this analysis.

Because none of the articles thematically framed fatalities demographically, it was not possible to precisely evaluate them for typicality along these dimensions. However by comparing the available gender and age information for each fatality against the STATS19 data to see which casualties were 'typical' within their respective scenarios (Figures 15-17), it was possible to evaluate this observed demographic typicality against the broader modal typicality represented in the articles. Gender, and combinations of age and gender, were deemed 'typical' in the STATS19 data where they constituted the top 25% of all recorded cases in that scenario; these are marked in red in the below figures. For the Bike_Ped scenario however, percentages are omitted as the total number of such fatalities recorded in STATS19 is extremely low, making percentage comparisons overly sensitive to single data points. STATS19 data was not corrected for exposure, since the objective was to compare the typicality depicted with real-word occurrences, rather than with a measure of risk; the higher proportion of male Car_Cyc fatalities for example is likely related in part to the gender demographic of UK cyclists, which is known to be skewed towards males (Aldred and Dales, 2017). Similarly, errors in the article reporting and the different reporting of the same individual in different articles were not corrected for, since again the focus was on depictions within each article.

Key: Top 25% of cases

	Age Group							
	Under 21	21 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 45	46 - 55	56 - 65	66 - 75	Over 75
Male (13)	0	0	1	0	1	2	3	6
							Bike_Ped_003 (M, 72)	
Female (9)	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	4
Bike_Ped_004 (F)				Bike_Ped_005 (F, 44)		Bike_Ped_001 (F, 56)	Bike_Ped_002 (F, 73)	

Figure 15 – Bike_Ped articles and STATS19

The low number of cases of Bike_Ped make determining typicality difficult, however there is a clear tendency towards older age groups of both genders. None of the SAs reported on in the articles examined fell under the two oldest and most typical gender and age combinations – although two were only 2-3 years younger than this age grouping so this finding may be unduly influenced by the particular STATS19 age group categories. Two articles presented SAs in gender and age combinations that were not typical in the STATS19 data, and one article only gave the gender (female); this too was atypical. The majority of individual SAs under this scenario were therefore not typical, which aligns with both the atypicality assigned through the episodic framing of the Bike_Ped articles and the extreme atypicality of the mode scenario itself.

Key: Top 25% of cases Top 50% of cases

	Age Group										
	0 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16 - 20	21 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 45	46 - 55	56 - 65	66 - 75	Over 75
Male (88%)	1 (0.2%)	4 (0.9%)	24 (5.6%)	24 (5.6%)	35 (8.2%)	48 (11.3%)	54 (12.7%)	78 (18.3%)	46 (10.8%)	38 (8.9%)	23 (5.4%)
Car_Cyc_001 (M)						Car_Cyc_004 (M, 30s)		Car_Cyc_002 (M, 50s)			
						Car_Cyc_005 (M, 32)			Car_Cyc_003b (M, 60)		
Female (22%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (0.5%)	1 (0.2%)	1 (0.2%)	5 (1.2%)	11 (2.6%)	6 (1.4%)	7 (1.6%)	9 (2.1%)	5 (1.2%)	4 (0.9%)

Figure 16 – Car_Cyc articles and STATS19

The age and gender of social actor fatalities in the Car_Cyc articles largely reflected the most typical ages and genders of fatal casualties observed in STATS19; two of the SAs overlapped with the top 25%, whilst the other two fell within the top 50%. One article only gave the gender (male) and this fell within the most typical gender group in STATS19 (88%). One article

gave no age or gender details of the SA (Car_Cyc_003a) and so was excluded. The majority of the individual SAs therefore aligned with the typicality observed in STATS19, and therefore also aligned with the broader mode scenario typicality assigned to them through thematic framing.

Key: Top 25% of cases Top 50% of cases

	Age Group										
	0 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16 - 20	21 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 45	46 - 55	56 - 65	66 - 75	Over 75
Male (67%)	19 (0.9%)	30 (1.4%)	36 (1.6%)	85 (3.9%)	119 (5.4%)	211 (9.7%)	174 (8.0%)	184 (8.4%)	135 (6.2%)	161 (7.4%)	320 (14.6%)
Car_Ped_005b (M)						Car_Ped_005a (M, 30)			Car_Ped_002 (M, 59)	Car_Ped_001 (M, 66)	
						Car_Ped_003 (M, 30s)					
Female (33%)	17 (0.8%)	15 (0.7%)	25 (1.1%)	50 (2.3%)	29 (1.3%)	72 (3.3%)	61 (2.8%)	71 (3.2%)	62 (2.8%)	81 (3.7%)	229 (10.5%)
						Car_Ped_004 (F, 30)					

Figure 17 – Car_Ped articles and STATS19

The STATS19 data for Car_Ped displayed more discontinuity in the age and gender combinations that were most typical; whilst the Over 75s of both genders represented the most typical (top 25%), there was an age gap to the next most typical combinations and these were all male combinations. None of the pedestrian fatality SAs in the articles fell under the most typical combination, though 2 fell under the top 50%. Three fell under very atypical combinations. Only one article gave gender only, but this was male which was the most typical gender (67%). The majority of individual SAs under this scenario were therefore not typical – which aligns with the atypicality assigned through the episodic framing of the Car_Ped articles – even though the mode scenario itself was the most typical of those examined.

5 - Discussion

In conducting this study, there was an expectation that representations of bicycle riders would be consistent with the discourses outlined in the literature review, and that these might differ to those through which pedestrians were represented. It was therefore surprising that analysis of the articles using van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory revealed a lack of consistency within the scenario of pedestrians killed in collision with bicycle riders (Bike_Ped)

that contrasted with a generally high degree of consistency amongst the articles reporting on bicycle riders killed in collision with car drivers (Car_Cyc). The control scenario – pedestrians killed in collision with car, van, or Taxi drivers (Car_Ped) – displayed a similar level of consistency to Car_Cyc, but did differ from this scenario in some important ways that are discussed below. The overall picture is of a repeatedly reproduced set of discourses related to bicycle riders when they are fatal casualties in road traffic collisions, but a more fragmentary manifestation of discourses when they are the surviving party in collisions with a pedestrian who dies. This difference may be due to a number of factors, such as the relatively small number of such incidents leading to less consistent reporting, the apparently relatively recent newsworthiness of such collisions evident in the absence of articles dated during the first half of the study period, or the particular type of article – initial and immediate follow up reporting – analyzed here.

5.1 - Research Question 1

The Critical Discourse Analysis identified two main discourses relevant to RQ1: 'causation and blame' and 'othering and out-groups'. A number of representations of social actors that performed particular discursive functions – referred to here as tropes – were also identified. Each discourse constitutes a distinct power relation between bicycle riders and the other two SAs examined, and which moreover differs between articles in which the bicycle rider was the casualty – in which an apparently stable power relation is repeated consistently – and those where they were the 'driver/rider' of the 'vehicle/bicycle' – in which the power relation is inconsistent and in-flux.

Causation and Blame – Victims and Villains

The analysis of the articles identified distinctions between blame attribution under the different scenarios. Consistent with previous research, the car driver was usually partially excluded (backgrounded) and objectified in both Car_Cyc and Car_Ped scenarios, whereas

the bicycle rider and pedestrian were not – though it should be noted that there is no clear means by which a pedestrian could be objectified given the absence of a vehicle. However, the Car_Cyc articles displayed a distinct pattern of almost exclusively ascribing passive roles to both the car driver and the bicycle rider – indeed often shared within the same sentence – such that these sentences were essentially non-agentive. This was surprising and partially contradicts the findings of the recent research by Ralph et al. (2019), which found that a modest majority of sentences describing collisions did ascribe agency, and did so most often to the bicycle rider or pedestrian – although that research did not discriminate role assignment between bicycle rider and pedestrian casualties. The present findings do make this distinction, and in finding that bicycle riders are assigned a shared passivity with car drivers in Car_Cyc collisions – typified by sentences such as 'Cyclist dies after crash with car' (Car_Cyc_001) – these findings suggest a discourse specific to bicycle rider fatalities in which the possibility of blame attribution is neutralised by rendering the collision as something that has happened equally to both parties. Such equity denotes an important power relation between bicycle rider and car driver; both are depicted as contributing equally limited causation towards the collision and in this sense both are provisionally associated with the role of victim. This effect is magnified by the frequent nominalisation of the verbs such as 'to crash' into nouns such as 'crash'. Van Leeuwen associates nominalisation with the exclusion of SAs, but recent transport safety research has identified how it also effaces power imbalances in collisions between bicycle riders and car drivers (Scheffels et al., 2019). Whilst ascribing shared passivity in non-agentive sentences may indicate an editorial policy to report the collisions in a neutral way – especially given that initial reporting is often lacking in key facts – the *effect* of this is also to create a false equivalence in the relative power and potential to do harm afforded by the two modes.

By contrast, the articles reporting on Car_Ped collisions were found to have a different pattern. Here, pedestrians were largely given the passive role in contrast to an active role ascribed to car drivers. Moreover, there were no cases of shared passivity – that is, both SAs receiving the passive role in the same sentence – in contrast to the Car_Cyc articles. Whilst this consistency may again indicate a specific editorial policy, there is no obvious reason why it should differ so markedly from that applied to the Car_Cyc articles, since both sets of articles are initial reports that lack key facts. Yet by ascribing an active role to the car driver,

the Car_Ped articles imply greater causality on the part of the car driver than is the case in the Car_Cyc articles. Where the power imbalance between car drivers and bicycle riders is effaced, that between car drivers and pedestrians is maintained.

Despite this difference, the socio-semantic analysis identified a general similarity between both of these scenarios in terms of how the car drivers were subtly distanced from association with a blame discourse through partial exclusion (backgrounding) and objectification. In sentences describing the collision – usually early in the article – the car driver was almost always referenced indirectly in terms of the vehicle in both scenarios. Van Leeuwen notes that exclusion of this kind can be 'innocent' because the author assumes that the audience knows about the SA (van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 282), and indeed a potential criticism of the argument against describing vehicle drivers in terms of their vehicles is that it is self-evident to the audience that the vehicle had a driver. However, van Leeuwen also notes that 'systematic exclusions are always of interest' (Ibid.), so it is significant that this pattern is so consistently followed. Moreover, the analysis also identified systematic *inclusion* of the car driver SA in those sentences describing whether they did or did not stop at the scene: these always referenced the car driver and never the vehicle. The effect of this is that both the Car_Cyc and Car_Ped articles examined here associate the (non-agentive) object of the vehicle with the *collisions*, whilst the (agentive) SA – the driver – is associated with *stopping* or *not stopping*. This presents the act of stopping (or not) as a choice on the part of the car driver, whilst the collision itself is distanced from the choices of the car driver through objectification and partial exclusion. The separating out of these actions – the collision action, and the stopping action – produces situations in which the car driver can be associated with a 'villain' trope for not stopping despite not being explicitly cast as a villain in relation to the collision. Conversely, car drivers who do stop are potentially rehabilitated in the eyes of the audience for having acted within the law.

As noted above, analysis of the Bike_Ped articles indicated a more mixed picture across the articles. The observed tendency to assign active roles to the bicycle rider in contrast to passive roles to the pedestrian in these articles did mimic more closely the depiction of car drivers under Car_Ped, suggesting that bicycle riders in collision with pedestrians are being placed within a similar discourse of causation as car drivers in collision with pedestrians (but distinct

from car drivers in collision with bicycle riders). However, the lack of impersonalisation or any exclusion of bicycle riders in collision with pedestrians contrasts with the high levels of impersonalisation and partial exclusion (backgrounding) of car drivers in collision with pedestrians. The effect is that in pedestrian fatalities, the non-fatality SA is more closely associated with causation when they are riding a bicycle compared to when they are driving a car. Taken together across the different articles – a relevant perspective given that articles are not read in isolation – the bicycle rider thus appears to be associated with more causation than car drivers in fatal collisions with pedestrians, whilst as fatal casualties themselves are associated with equal causation to the car drivers that collide with them. This effect serves to produce and maintain a power relation between bicycle riders and the other two SAs examined in which *material* differences in power and protection are disavowed; bicycle riders are equated with car drivers in terms of causation and blame in both collisions with car drivers and in collisions with pedestrians, despite being more similar to pedestrians in terms of power and protection. This disavowal of a material power relation between car drivers and bicycle riders reinforces a social power relation in which the latter can be more readily subject to scrutiny for particular responsibilities towards pedestrians, whilst the former are simultaneously excluded from such scrutiny towards bicycle riders. However, analysis of othering and out-groups revealed that the false equivalence of causation and blame that underpins this power relation was not evenly applied across all of the articles.

Othering and Out-groups – The figure of the Cyclist and the Rogue Driver

Analysis using van Leeuwen's categories of 'Generic and Specific Reference' and 'Assimilation' revealed a subtly realised discourse of 'othering' and the ascribing of in- or out-groups to the different SAs. The most striking examples of this pertained to the car drivers, who were expected to be associated with in-group representations due to the dominant modal share of car use and evidence from previous research that identifies a tendency to view bicycle riders as an out-group (Prati et al., 2017), and most especially so when embodied in the figure of the 'cyclist' (Rissel et al., 2010). Yet the present findings suggest more variability between individual articles, and especially so within the Car_Ped articles.

The socio-semantic categories operationalised here as markers of group membership were the use of generic or specific references – which may personalise or depersonalise the individual – and assimilation into identifiable groups – which in the context of this study included modal group identities such as 'driver' and 'cyclist'. A number of articles assimilated the car driver with a specific driving behaviour group, sometimes through the car itself and at other times through the car driver. This group was described in the findings section as the trope of the 'rogue car driver', as distinct from the wider collective of car drivers that we might term the 'normative car driver.' This trope appears in articles where the car driver either did not stop, or did stop but was arrested – in other words where some degree of criminal action is presented irrespective of blame attribution for the collision itself. Significantly, whether the car driver stopped or was arrested did not affect the amount of specific references provided about them: police policy dictates that details such as a driver's name are withheld unless and until they are charged with an offence (see Figure 18). Instead, the distinction between the two groups is realised principally through the use of generic terms related to the car driver themselves. The most profound examples were the use of terms such as 'hit-and-run driver' (Car_Cyc_002) and 'boy racers' (Car_Ped_005b). In the first example, the word 'driver' is modified with 'hit-and-run' to establish membership of a group distinct from normative drivers, whilst in the latter the word driver itself is effaced with two words that emphasise the distinction from the implied norms of driving: child-like irresponsibility in place of adult responsibility ('boy'); illegitimate racing instead of legitimate transport ('racers').

These terms establish the individual SAs to which they are applied as exceptions to the normal modal group of car drivers. As such, these terms can also be understood as relevant to the discourse of causation and blame, because the out-grouping they perform is also associated with being 'villains' who have either not stopped at the scene or who have been arrested. In this way, the 'rogue driver' trope fulfils an important role in the power relations between social actors utilising the different modes, since it preserves the law-abiding figure of the normative car driver in the very act of calling into existence the figure of the (exceptional) lawbreaking rogue driver. Indeed the manifestation of this trope can be roughly mapped onto the sequence of possible events and consequences contained in current police guidance (Figure 18).

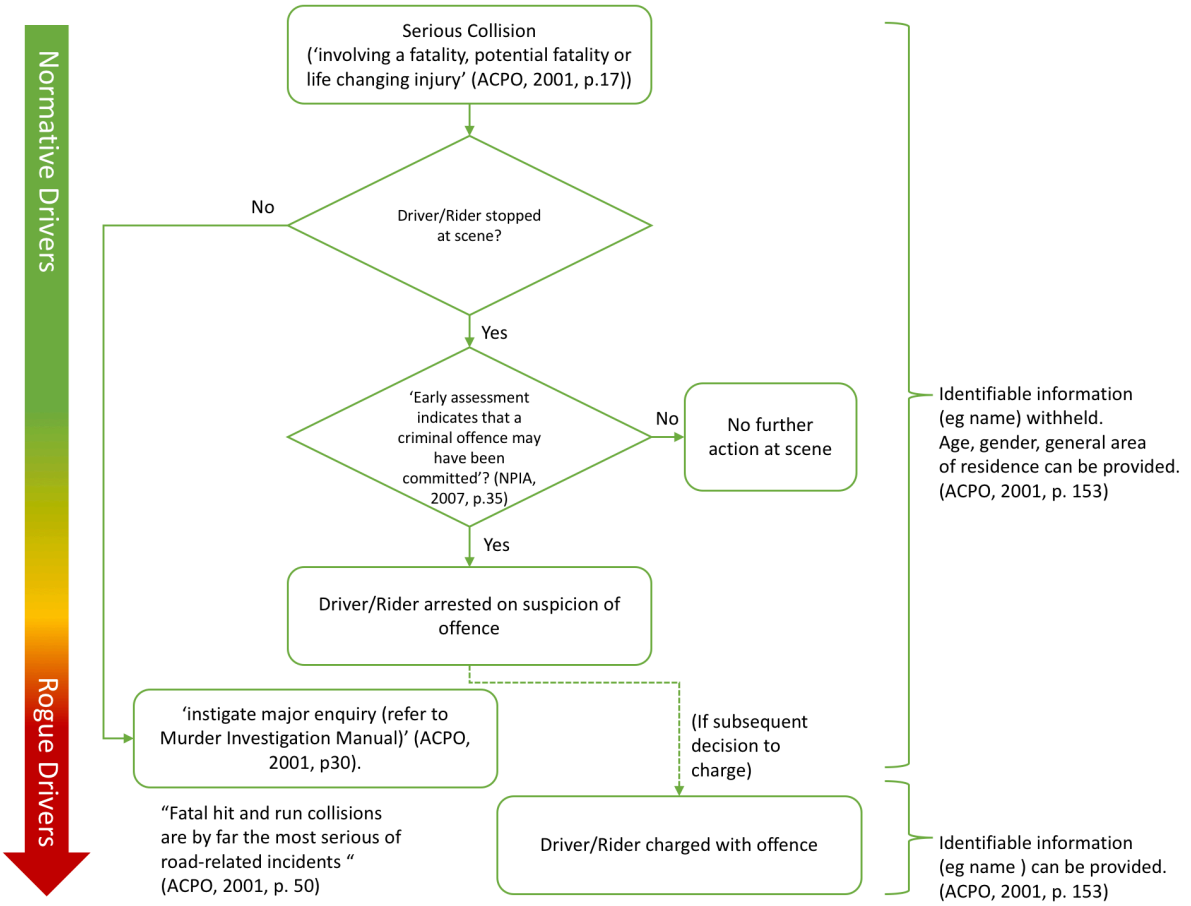

Figure 18 – Broad sequence of possible events following a serious collision, mapped against 'rogue driver' trope. Note that none of the articles examined included references to charges being laid.

In contrast to this distinction between law-abiding and lawless car driver, the figure of the cyclist in the articles examined is represented more homogenously. The modal group of bicycle riders is expressed through the word 'cyclist' in all but one article ('rider' in Bike_Ped_001), and that same article is the only time the bicycle itself is rendered as unusual (an e-bike). The use of 'rider' may therefore be borne out of uncertainty as to how to refer to e-bike collisions. None of the articles modify the word 'cyclist' with adjectives to establish a distinct sub-group, and so all of the other bicycle riders – irrespective of blame attribution, and whether or not they were a casualty – are named as 'cyclists' equally. There was also no evidence of the use of pejorative terms as modifiers – such as 'Lycra-clad' or 'MAMIL' – indicated in other research (Rissel et al., 2010; Balkmar, 2018). The assimilation of bicycle riders is higher when they are the casualty, but this assimilation is always with references to

other bicycle rider casualties – the effects of which are discussed in the next section – rather than references to the road behaviour or other potential attributes of bicycle riders.

This general absence of distinctions between different 'cyclists' groups appears superficially to denote a neutral use of the term. However, given that previous research has identified the figure of the cyclist as being constructed as an out-group associated with irresponsible road behaviour and lawbreaking (Rissel et al. (2010); Piatkowski et al. (2017)), the use of 'cyclist' in these articles may in fact be a reproduction of this figure, one who is always already embedded with a 'rogue' out-group status. Indeed, this may account for the subordination of the term 'cyclist' in those specific articles where the bicycle rider is the casualty and the car driver did not stop – e.g. was 'rogue' (Car_Cyc_003b; Car_Cyc_005). Here, higher levels of specific reference identify the bicycle rider with terms such as 'grandfather' and 'teacher'. In this way – at least within the articles examined – bicycle riders are associated less with the figure of the cyclist precisely when they are more associated with being victims of rogue drivers. It may be that the figure of the cyclist is so embedded in a discourse of othering bicycle riders as irresponsible lawbreakers, that in order to reconcile these specific bicycle riding victims of rogue drivers with the 'in-group' of the audience, it was necessary to limit association with the modal group 'cyclist'. This linguistic in-grouping strategy then repeats and so reproduces the distinction between the out-grouped 'cyclist' and the victims of rogue-drivers, implicitly preserving and maintaining ideological associations of the former as irresponsible lawbreakers. These findings align with previous DfT research which found that whilst people attribute examples of bad driving to individuals rather than to car drivers in general, bad cycling behaviour is perceived as endemic to cyclists. The discourse described above may serve to reproduce and maintain these assumptions (DfT, 2010).

Articles where the pedestrian is a fatality displayed a similar pattern of reduced references to the modal group – 'pedestrian' – when the car driver was also out-grouped as 'rogue'. This may be consistent with other research that has identified the trope of the 'inattentive pedestrian' as a form of victim-blaming (see for example Gallo, 2004) so that it becomes necessary to distance the pedestrian from the modal group 'pedestrian' in order to reconcile them with the audience's in-group, in a similar way to that seen with bicycle riders killed in collision with rogue drivers. Interestingly, the pedestrian was also represented with less

identification and more generic references – in particular as 'pedestrians' – when the collision was with a car driver than with a bicycle rider. This suggest that when pedestrians are killed in collisions with car-drivers they are also represented generically as 'pedestrians' – unless that car driver is themselves 'rogue' – but when killed in collision with bicycle riders they are represented through other references. This would also be consistent with the figure of the cyclist being understood as an out-group by default – unlike the car drivers they do not need further identification as 'rogue' in order for the pedestrians to be represented through non-modal references – and also suggests that pedestrians are represented less consistently as an out-group than bicycle riders are, at least in the articles examined.

The unmodified use of 'cyclist' to denote an out-group – in contrast to the use of modifiers of 'driver' to do the same – reflects and maintains a hierarchy of power relations concerning the different social actors analysed. In this hierarchy, car drivers are part of a normative in-group of 'drivers' unless otherwise depicted as 'rogue'. Pedestrians are depicted as part of an out-group when this serves to preserve the in-grouping of normative car drivers – but are depicted as an in-group when car drivers are 'rogue' or when in collision with a 'cyclist'. Bicycle riders meanwhile are always already out-grouped by virtue of being represented as 'cyclists'. The effect of this hierarchy is not only that legitimacy is more readily granted to car drivers – who by default inhabit the normative in-group – but also that the danger posed by cars is effaced, since the people driving them are only represented as potentially dangerous social actors when they pass a threshold of otherness from the assumed – and continuously reproduced – norm. In short, to present a danger to themselves or others, a car driver must be depicted as 'rogue', whilst a bicycle rider must simply be a 'cyclist'. Set against the previously discussed causation and blame discourse – in which a provisionally shared 'victim' status of car driver and bicycle rider is established by a false representation of equivalent power and agency – this default out-grouping encourages audiences to assume that causation does in fact ultimately rest with the actions and choices of the bicycle rider. In so doing, both causation and blame and out-grouping and othering repeat and maintain a discourse of the bicycle rider as the assumed focus of a road safety problem.

5.2 - Research Question 2

Findings from the analysis of thematic framing, counterfactuals, and typicality revealed a marked difference between the articles reporting on the Car_Cyc scenario and the other two scenarios. The absence of a road safety theme within the Bike_Ped articles was surprising, given that the 'Alliston Case' in particular has been associated with an increase in media coverage of what are in fact very rare collisions, that frames bicycle riders – specifically the figure of the 'cyclist' – as a danger to pedestrians (Caimotto, 2020). The absence of this frame in the articles examined may partially be explained by the article type chosen for this study – initial and immediate follow-up reporting – since the article searches did find a number of articles of other types that expanded on the theme of bicycle riders endangering pedestrians. These included longer-term follow-up articles reporting on court cases and opinion pieces. It may also be the case that the low occurrence of these types of fatality and the relatively recent media interest in them mean that the discourse of the bicycle rider as dangerous to pedestrians may not yet be fully established in initial news reporting.

The absence of a road safety thematic frame in the Car_Ped articles was less surprising in the sense that this aligns with previous larger-scale Content Analysis research that identifies an episodic frame for such articles (Ralph et al., 2019). However, the contrast between the episodic framing of the Car_Ped articles and the thematic framing of the Car_Cyc articles was surprising, and raises a number of questions. All but one of the Car_Cyc articles framed the bicycle rider fatality in terms of other recent bicycle rider fatalities in London, and this established a thematic frame linking these deaths to a larger issue of road safety. It is apparent from the STATS19 data that these deaths represent a much smaller proportion of road deaths than the pedestrians killed in collision with car, van, and taxi drivers – yet the Car_Ped articles were framed episodically.

Thematic Frames and Typicality – The Story Arc and The Monster of The Week

In unpicking this difference, it is significant to note that in neither the Car_Cyc nor Car_Ped scenario was the car driver framed thematically. Indeed, as we saw in the socio-semantic analysis, the car driver was routinely distanced from the action of the collisions under both scenarios even when causation and blame was implied. Crucially, none of the thematic framing references in the Car_Cyc articles indicated what other vehicles were involved in the other bicycle rider fatalities, with only one article touching on the theme of a specific location. Consequently, the Car_Cyc thematic frame was almost entirely focused upon bicycle riders dying, rather than any other common elements of these fatalities. Whilst these frames therefore drew connections between cyclist fatalities, they lacked connections between the 'broader, institutional factors' identified as important by Ralph et al. (2019., p. 664).

This fixation on the bicycle riders themselves narrows the road safety thematic framing found in the articles so that the bicycle rider dying becomes the only comment element. A discourse then emerges in which the only 'safety problem' communicated by the articles is that some people are riding bicycles, not that they are hit by car drivers or suffer from the effects of inadequate road infrastructure. This narrow framing of road safety is further supported in some of the articles by counterfactuals. In Car_Cyc_002 for example, repeated references to the collision happening on World Bicycle Day suggests that if there was no World Bicycle Day, the bicycle rider might not have been riding a bicycle and so the collision might not have happened. The implication here is that encouraging cycling is counter to road safety – because the source of danger is the act of cycling itself.

Such framing in turn reproduces a road safety discourse in which bicycle riding is dangerous in and of itself; what in storytelling is called the 'story arc' is here that people riding bicycles keep being killed. By contrast, whilst the involvement of car drivers in these collisions is not thematically framed, the socio-semantic analysis did identify a trope that recurred in two of the Car_Cyc articles (Car_Cyc_002; Car_Cyc_005) and two of the Car_Ped articles (Car_Ped_002; Car_Ped_005b); that of the 'rogue driver'. This trope was framed episodically: whilst all four articles featured eyewitness statements that referenced similar incidents of rogue driving behaviour in the areas involved, none of the articles linked such behaviour to other specific collisions. These rogue driver articles were thereby framed as what in

storytelling would be described as ‘monster of the week’ stories: linked by a common trope of being exceptional, and not by a road safety theme.

This road safety discourse – bicycle rider fatalities as a ‘story arc’, interrupted at times by the rogue driver ‘monster of the week’ episodes – displaces the potential discourse of road danger that would attend thematic framings of the source of danger – namely the presence of many motorised vehicles moving at speed on roads designed to enable this. The absence of such thematic framing in the Car_Cyc articles examined is profound – indeed in one article (Car_Cyc_002) a counterfactual frame even implied that the proximity of a new protected cycle lane had contributed to the collision. This narrow road safety discourse serves the wider power relation of falsely equating the relative danger posed by and experienced by bicycle riders and car drivers, leaving unexamined the causal problems of road design and driver behaviour, except where a specific out-grouping of these as ‘rogue’ is performed. In a similar way to the shared passivity discussed in RQ1, this discourse disavows the existence of a problem to be addressed beyond bicycle rider behaviour, thus maintaining a false equivalence that obscures the power relation in action, and thereby maintains it. This discourse is also not so apparent in relation to pedestrians. Whilst there is evidence from other research of a figure of the ‘inattentive pedestrian’ upon whom responsibility for road safety is placed disproportionally to their capacity to cause harm, the analysis of thematic framing and typicality found that pedestrian fatalities were not depicted as typical, despite appearing objectively more typical in the STATS19 data.

6 - Conclusion

Recent research in this area – which was largely conducted using Content Analysis methods – highlighted a tendency for reporting on road casualties amongst cyclists and pedestrians to be episodic in nature (Magusin, 2017; Ralph et al., 2019; Scheffels et al., 2019). Other research also identified an agenda setting function in which the reporting of cyclist casualties specifically increases in prominence even when the rates of such incidents remain largely unchanged (Macmillan et al., 2016; Rissel et al., 2010). Whilst the research concerned took

place in several different countries – including the UK – and incorporated different media outlets, collectively it suggested a pattern of reporting in which the figure of the cyclist was highly visible as a casualty – indicating a road safety problem – but whose episodic framing meant that there was no connecting narrative to explain to audiences why these casualties might be occurring. The resulting discourse is that the figure of the cyclist themselves is the site of the road safety problem. To counter this, some of the authors of previous research suggest that journalists look to frame road casualties thematically in terms of their road safety elements – sometimes referred to in that research as a 'public health' frame (Ralph et al., 2019).

The findings of this study complicate some of these previous findings. Pedestrian fatalities were indeed found to be reported episodically, irrespective of whether the collision involved a car driver or a bicycle rider – although the latter scenario is complicated by other types of article noted but not examined here that may foreshadow a future thematic framing centred upon the bicycle rider. However, the presence of clear and consistent thematic framing of the bicycle rider fatalities – as well as the absence of the specific counterfactuals identified in earlier research regarding bicycle helmets and clothing colour (Ralph et al., 2019) – contradicted previous findings, and suggested that there may be an editorial policy at work that seeks to frame these articles within a road safety theme. Whilst this may initially appear as progress – at least in terms of the *Evening Standard* – it only appears to be applied when the fatality is a bicycle rider as opposed to a pedestrian. This is especially noteworthy given that the STATS19 analysis revealed pedestrian fatalities to be substantially more typical. Moreover, the specific CDA method applied here revealed that the way this thematic frame operates is at least as important as its presence. By focusing only on linking the articles to other bicycle rider fatalities in London – without any references to common involvement of other vehicles, or particular types of road infrastructure, and only oblique references to locations – the thematic frame is narrowed and becomes one of safety focused upon the bicycle riders themselves.

This road *safety* thematic frame serves a discourse that occludes the potential road *danger* themes of infrastructural context or a hierarchy of road vehicle power relations. Indeed, as the socio-semantic analysis illustrated, the repetition of blame and out-grouping discourses

was similarly centred upon the bicycle rider, and was associated with a partial excluding or backgrounding of the car driver. That this was more pronounced in the Car_Cyc articles than in the Car_Ped articles, is noteworthy, since it again suggests a distinct editorial approach to the two scenarios within the reporting. In particular, whilst the analysis identified the allocation of largely passive roles to both pedestrians and bicycle riders in these two scenarios, the 'sharing' of this passivity with car drivers in non-agentive sentences was specifically observed in the Car_Cyc articles. Whilst this sharing – alongside the use of nominalised verbs – may appear to engender objective reporting, the above Critical Discourse Analysis shows how it also perpetuates a (false) equivalence between the physical power of the two modes. This physical power relation – which in objective terms is highly skewed in favour of the car driver (Scheffels et al., 2019; Prati et al., 2017) – is misrepresented as neutral, and is thereby maintained. Finally, the specific and selective out-grouping of some car drivers through the trope of the rogue driver served to inoculate the narrow road safety discourse from potential disruption from a subset of collisions that revealed the unequal danger posed by cars, by casting these as exceptional events involving unusually 'villainous' car drivers. The specific in-grouping of the bicycle riders (and pedestrians) in these articles and the subordination of their modal group memberships further displaced the episodic road danger 'monster of the week' from the extant story arc of road safety.

These insights are important, because the reporting of bicycle rider and pedestrian fatalities shapes public and political understandings of what problems exist, what the causes are, and therefore what policies and interventions might address them. The collective effect of the discourses critically analysed and described above – and especially the narrow thematic framing of bicycle rider fatalities in terms only of the bicycle rider – is that bicycle use itself is dangerised and bicycle users are figured in the articles – or 'hailed' in the terminology of Althusserian ideology – as 'cyclists' who are always and already both the primary causation and victims of a road safety problem. Without representing the road safety problem involving bicycle riders as a road danger problem involving unequal power relations, the public and political agenda to address it remains limited.

Limitations and Future Research

The research sampled articles from the *Evening Standard* only, and only included collisions taking place within London. Some of the differences identified between the current findings and previous research may be due to specific editorial policies within this newspaper, in particular the largely consistent – though distinctive – patterns of thematic framing and role allocation that was observed within two of the scenarios. The specific context of London may also affect the findings, since the city has been undergoing a process – unevenly distributed and sometimes politically contentious – of expanding bicycle infrastructure since the launch of the Mayoral 'Vision for Cycling' in 2013 (GLA, 2013). Future research should look to apply a similar CDA method to different newspapers and other media outlets, and in different locations. In particular, regional UK reporting of collisions in less urbanised settings where cycling levels remain low may identify different extant discourses, or may alternatively reflect the London discourses despite these contextual differences. Comparisons with reporting in locations with higher and more equally distributed levels of normalised bicycle use – for example the Netherlands – would also help to identify how reporting differs once a larger part of the potential audience can be assumed to be regular users of bicycles.

The research also focused on two specific types of article: Type 1 (initial reporting) and Type 1b (short-term follow-up articles). These were chosen as they represent the day-to-day reporting of collisions and so the repetition of potential discourses. However, there was evidence from articles noted in the searches – but excluded from the present analysis on typological grounds – that the reporting of the Bike_Ped scenario was potentially different in longer-term follow up articles and editorials to the articles examined here. Given that no consistent patterns were found in the few Type 1 and Type 1b Bike_Ped articles available in the *Evening Standard*, expanding the analysis to these other article types might yield a better understanding of how such collisions are represented, and what contribution they make to discourses around bicycle riders and road safety and danger.

In using a CDA method, this research was unusual since most previous comparable studies have utilised Content Analysis. The particular CDA approach taken here focused on the representation and construction of specific social actors, and in so doing was less sensitive to

factors such as verb choice (beyond the typology of verb/nominalised verb/noun) or the importance of information specifically conveyed in the articles through other social actors such as quotes from witnesses and the police. There was also no examination of the possible thematic framing effects afforded by online newspaper consumption, such as links to other similar stories and the embedding of relevant tweets in the article body. These aspects of the news articles' production and consumption would all be apposite foci for further study.

Finally, the close-analysis of articles through this method necessitated a relatively small sample, limiting the extent to which the findings and conclusions of this research can be applied more generally. However, in identifying how interactions between different textual elements combine to produce and maintain specific discourses this research highlights important editorial patterns that could now be evaluated computationally across a larger corpus of articles. For example, thematic framing could not only be analysed through the presence of references to other collisions, but also the presence or absence of detail regarding third parties. Similarly, the allocation of passivity to one party or both parties in the same sentences – and the nominalisation of verbs – could be combined to ascertain where objectivity was producing false equivalence. Such corpus analysis would provide a clearer sense of the scale of the effects described in this study.

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Appendix A

Research Question 1 (RQ1) Proforma

Text notation mode key

Social Actor	Vehicle/Object
Person using a bike	*Bicycle*
Person using a car	*Car*
Person walking	*On foot*
Person or entity not present	*Junction, lights, carriageway, classification etc*

Article Reference:

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes and Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion*	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded ,referral separate from action		
Impersonalization	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have		
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation*	Active role – SA is subject in clause Passive role – SA is object in clause		

Functionalization and identification	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers (• possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five).		
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference*	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the').		

Assimilation	Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.		
	Aggregation – Use of definite (‘ x number of’) or indefinite (‘most’) quantifiers to aggregate individual SA’s into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities (‘crew’, ‘staff’, ‘)		

Appendix B

Research Question 2 (RQ2) Proforma

Text notation mode key

Social Actor	**Vehicle/Object**
Person using a bike	***Bicycle***
Person using a car	***Car***
Person walking	***On foot***
Person or entity not present	***Junction, lights, carriageway, classification etc***

Article Reference:

Counterfactual thematic frame

Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element

Typicality

Social Actor / Mode	Typicality Framing	Observed Typicality for Social Actor / Mode	Align/Contradict?

Appendix C

Text of Selected Articles with Colour Coding and
STATS19 Reference Index

Key to Colour Codings

Collision Elements Key

Social Actor, *object*, grouping
Bicycle Rider, *Bicycle,* cyclists etc. **Car/van driver, *car/van,* drivers etc.** **Pedestrian, *on foot*, pedestrians etc.** **Other entity present, *other object present*** **Other entity not present, *other object not present*** **Counterfactual**

Collision Actions Key

Verb (active)	**Noun nominalised from verb (less active)**	**Noun not derived from verb (passive)**
Hit, crashed, struck, collided, dragged, killed	**Crash (a crash, the crash, in crash)** **Collision (a collision, the collision, in collision)**	***Incident, accident***

Full Article Text

Article ref: Bike_Ped_001
Article Date: 12 September 2018
Accident Date: 28 August 2018
Accident_Index: 2018010129389

Headline: ***Dalston*** **crash: Woman, 56, 'first pedestrian to die in UK after being hit by *electric bicycle*' in east London**

Body:

A 56-year-old woman is believed to be the first **pedestrian** to die in the UK after **colliding** with ***an electric bicycle***.

The woman, named as Sakine Cihan, was fighting for **her** life following the **crash** in ***Kingsland High Street*** on Tuesday, August 28.

She lived in Dalston, where the *accident* took place, shortly after 5pm.

A spokesperson for the Met Police said: "The woman was taken to hospital where she sadly died."

The crash happened during rush hour. Cycling UK said it was not aware of any previous UK pedestrian fatalities involving a collision with *a so-called e-bike*.

The charity insisted *the bikes* did not pose "any greater risk" than conventional versions. Under UK law, the electric assistance *on e-bikes* must cut out at 15.5mph.

When asked by the Standard Scotland Yard was unable to state exactly when she died but believed it to be "more than a week ago".

They said that details will be confirmed at an inquest.

The woman's next-of-kin have been informed of her death.

CCTV footage captured the moment the victim was hit on *a crossing*.

She stepped into *the road* before *the bike*, which was an *electric-assisted Specialized* model, and rider collided with her.

A 30-year-old was previously taken into custody at around 11pm on Wednesday, August 29, in connection with the *incident*.

This was after contacting police himself.

He was detained by the Met Police on suspicion of causing grievous bodily harm as well as failing to stop and report a collision.

He was subsequently released under investigation.

Officers have been appealing for any witnesses or anyone with information to contact the SCIU, Serious Collisions Investigations Unit, at Chadwell Heath on 020 8597 4874 or call 101 quoting CAD 5837/28 August.

Article ref: Bike_Ped_002
Article Date: 14 September 2017
Accident Date: 12 September 2017
Accident_Index: 2017010058579

Headline: **Woman dies after being hit by cyclist on *Oxford Street***

Body:

An elderly woman has died after a **crash** with **a cyclist** in Oxford Street.

The 73-year-old pedestrian suffered a serious head injury in the **crash** near ***Bond Street station*** in front of **horrified shoppers** at 4.30pm on Tuesday.

The **cyclist** stopped at the scene and was arrested after **police** checks showed **he** was wanted in connection with an unrelated alleged offence involving criminal damage, **Scotland Yard** said.

The woman was taken to a central London hospital following the **crash**, but died in the early hours of Wednesday morning.

Cyclist arrested after hitting **pensioner** on ***Oxford Street***

A video has since emerged of the **cyclist** arguing with **officers** as **he** is arrested for the alleged unrelated offence.

He can be seen shouting to the **officers** trying to restrain **him**: "You're breaking my arm, what are you holding me for? You are trying to make a show of me. That's what police do."

Witnesses told the Standard they saw **two cyclists** turning onto ***Oxford Street*** before **one struck the elderly woman**.

Roads in the area were closed for several hours following the ***incident***, reopening at 8.30pm.

Antonio Mendoca, 61, was handing out newspapers in Bond Street station at the time of the ***incident***.

He said: "Everyone ran towards **her** to see if they could help. **One guy** tried to pick **her** up and get **her** out of ***the middle of the road*** but others stopped him.

"There were **so many people around** and they helped stop **the traffic**. The **police** came and took over."

A **Met Police** spokesman said: "**Police** were called at 4:29pmon Tuesday, September 12 to reports of a road traffic **collision** on ***Oxford Street***.

"At the scene, officers discovered a cyclist in collision with a pedestrian.

“The pedestrian, a 73-year-old woman, was taken to a central London hospital with a head injury. She died in the early hours of Wednesday, 13 September.

“Next of kin have been informed.”

No arrests have been made in relation to the collision.

Anyone with information is asked to contact the Serious Collision Investigation Unit on 020 8543 5157. Document NSONL00020170914ed9e0005m

Article ref: Bike_Ped_003
Article Date: 11 February 2017
Accident Date: 30 December 2016
Accident_Index: 2016010055232

Headline: **Police appeal over pedestrian killed in collision with cyclist in *Shepherd's Bush***

Body:

Police are appealing for information over the death of a pedestrian who **collided** with a cyclist in ***Shepherd's Bush***.

The 72-year-old man was **struck** by the cyclist on Frithville Gardens – a ***quiet residential road*** in ***west London*** – at 11am on December 30.

The cyclist stopped at the scene and paramedics rushed **the man** to hospital, but **he** died on January 15. Following **the man**'s death, police were informed of the **collision**. Officers are now investigating and have appealed for **the cyclist** to come forward.

A Metropolitan Police spokesman said: "Police were informed on the death on 27 January 2017 and detectives from the Met's Serious Collision investigation Unit have launched an investigation.

"Detectives are appealing to trace **the cyclist** - who is described as **a black man**.

"**He** stopped at the scene of the **collision**, but as police were never called to the ***incident*** they have no record of who **he** is.

"It is of paramount importance that **the cyclist** comes forward and assists detectives with their investigation. "They would like to reassure **the individual** that at this stage, all they wish to do is speak with **them** and establish the circumstances that led to the **collision**.

"Given the time of day there would have been **a number of people** in the vicinity and detectives are also appealing to **anyone** who witnessed the **collision** to come forward."

Anyone who witnessed the collision or has information is asked to contact0208 543 5157 or via Twitter @MetCC.Alternatively Crimestoppers can be contacted anonymously on 0800 555 111.

Document NSONL00020170211ed2b000b6

Article ref: Bike_Ped_004
Article Date: 12 February 2016
Accident Date: 12 February 2016
Accident_Index: 201601TD00018

Headline: ***Old Street*** **crash: Air ambulance rushed to scene after** ***accident*** **between cyclist and pedestrian**

Body:

An air ambulance has been scrambled to ***Old Street*** this afternoon after **a woman** was **hit** by a **cyclist**.

Police were called to ***Old Street*** at 12.20pm following reports of a **collision**.

Scotland Yard said the severity of **the woman's** injuries was not immediately clear.

Emergency crews remain at the scene. The road between Charlotte Road and Kingsland Road has been closed.

A London Air Ambulance spokeswoman said **an advanced trauma team** was dispatached just after 12.30pm.

She said: "Following treatment, **the patient** was then taken by road, with the London Ambulance Service, to The Royal London Hospital in Whitechapel escorted by the London's Air Ambulance doctor."

Hackney Council has urged drivers to avoid the area.

Document NSONL00020160212ec2c0038q

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_005
Article Date: 9 March 2016
Accident Date: 12 February 2016
Accident_Index: 201601TD00018

Headline: **'Wonderful' woman killed after crash with a cyclist at *Old Street***

Body:

The **husband** of **a human resources executive** who died after being **hit** by **a cyclist** today paid tribute to a "wonderful and much-loved" woman.

Kim Briggs, 44, who lived in Lewisham, died after **the bike hit her** in ***Old Street*** while **she** was on **her** lunch break.

An air ambulance team was called to the scene and paramedics battled to try and save **her** life before taking **her** to the Royal London Hospital in Whitechapel.

The mother-of-two had started in January as head of human resources at ancestry website Find my Past. **She** had worked as an HR consultant for more than 14 years.

She was **hit** ***close to the office building*** where **she** worked after being told that morning **she** was in line for an improved contract.

The cyclist stopped at the scene and is helping police with their enquiries. No one has been arrested in connection with the tragedy on February 19.

Mrs Briggs' heartbroken **husband Matthew, 45**, today told the Standard: "**Kim** was a wonderful and much loved **woman** who lived **her** life to the full and brought warmth to everyone **she** met.

"**She** bought a sense of fun to every occasion and **we** are devastated by this loss.

"**We** were very lucky to have had such a wonderful **woman** in our lives and her loss is greatly felt.

"**She** will be so dearly missed by all her many **friends** and **family**."

Darren Makarem, chief operating officer at Find My Past, said: "**She** was so full of ideas and enthusiasm and was wonderful to be around.

"Just that morning **we** had been talking about giving **her** a better contract, it's so tragic. **She** went out for lunch and never came back.

"**We** could see the accident scene form the office but had no idea **Kim** was involved. **She** will be greatly missed. **She** was so proud of **her family** and **her children** and was such a positive person."

Shocked **neighbours** also paid tribute to **Mrs Briggs** who had lived in Lewisham for at least a decade.

One said: "**They** are the loveliest people we are just devastated for **them**."

A London Air Ambulance **spokeswoman** said an **advanced trauma team** had been dispatached to the ***incident*** at just after 12.30pm on the day of the **collision**.

She said: "Following treatment, **the patient** was then taken by road, with the London Ambulance Service, to The Royal London Hospital in Whitechapel escorted by the London's Air Ambulance **doctor**."

A fundraising page set up in memory of **Mrs Briggs** has been launched using JustGiving.com. The money raised will go to the charity Winston's Wish, which supports children and young people after the death of a relative.

Police are appealing for witnesses on 020 8597 4874.

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_001
Article Date: 29 September 2018
Accident Date: 29 September 2018
Accident_Index: 2018010135769

Headline: **Deptford crash: Cyclist dies after crash with *car* in *south east London***

Body:

A cyclist has died after being involved in **a crash** with **a car** in ***south east London***, **police** said.

Officers and the **London Ambulance** Service raced to the scene, on ***Bestwood Street***, in ***Deptford***, at about 10.15 am on Saturday.

Once there, **the male cyclist** was pronounced dead.

Police are working to establish **the cyclist**'s identity and inform his **next of kin**.

The driver, **police** added, stopped at the scene of **the crash**.

Several buses were diverted following **the crash**, with police putting road closures in place.

In a statement, a spokesman for the **Metropolitan Police** said: "There have been no arrests; enquiries into the circumstances remain ongoing.

“Anyone with information or who witnessed **the collision** is asked to contact **police** via 101 and quote CAD 2432/29Sep.”

The cyclist's death comes just over a week after **another cyclist, Maria Bitner-Glindzic**, was killed in a collision in ***Clerkenwell***.

Professor Maria Bitner-Glindzicz, 55, who died on September 20, was a professor of human and molecular genetics at the Great Ormond Street Institute of Child Health, linked to University College London.

Document NSONL00020180929ee9t0015p

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_002
Article Date: 4 June 2018
Accident Date: 3 June 2018
Accident_Index: 2018010111949

Headline: **Driver hunted as cyclist dies after being dragged 200m along road**

Body:

POLICE were today hunting a suspected **hit-and-run driver** after **a cyclist** was **killed** on World Bicycle Day. **The victim**, believed to be **in his 50s**, suffered fatal injuries in **the crash** at ***the junction*** between ***Childers Street and Rolt Street in Deptford*** just before 4.15pm yesterday. **He** was pronounced dead at the scene. **Horrified witnesses** described seeing **his *bike* caught** on ***the car*** and dragged 200 metres up the road, leaving a trail of tyre marks.

They claimed **the driver** then abandoned **his *silver B Class Mercedes*** at the junction of Abinger Grove and Childers Street. ***A black bicycle*** was seen lying mangled beside it.

It is **the third cyclist death** in London this year. Edgaras Cepuras, 37, and Oliver Speke, 46, were killed in the same week on the same road in nearby Greenwich last month.

Childers Street was sealed off as **police forensic officers** examined the area for evidence.

Abigail O'Neill Bruce, 34, said **residents** in the road rushed outside to **the cyclist's** aid after **the crash**.

She told the Standard: "I took a blanket to put over **him**. It was quite horrible to see." **Two men and a woman, one of whom was said to be an off-duty paramedic** living nearby, attempted CPR on **the victim** before an **air ambulance and other paramedics** arrived. **Ms Bruce** added: "It was unbelievable. **Everyone** was quite amazing. **People** were stopping the traffic from coming, a lot of people were trying to help."

The fatal crash took place on what the United Nations' first ever World Bicycle Day, to encourage member states to "improve road safety and integrate it into sustainable mobility and transport infrastructure".

An eyewitness said **the collision** happened at the ***junction*** of ***a one-way street*** and ***a new cycle lane with segregated cycle-path*** on ***Childers Street***, built two months ago.

Another neighbour added: "I've seen people driving at 50 mph down Childers Street. It's terrible."

The victim's next of kin have not yet been informed.

A Met spokesman said: "**Officers from the Serious Collision Investigation Unit** have launched an investigation and are appealing for **witnesses** or those who have information to get in touch."

They should call **police** on 020 8285 1574 or **Crimestoppers** anonymously on 0800 555 111.

Document NS00000020180604ee6400003

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_003a
Article Date: 21 June 2015
Accident Date: 21 June 2015
Accident_Index: 201501TD00081

Headline: **Cyclist, 60, dies after midnight crash in Harrow, north west London**

Body:

A cyclist has died after being **hit** by ***a car*** in north west London.

The 60-year-old man, who is yet to be identified, died in the early hours of the morning following **the collision** in Harrow around midnight, police said.

A Metropolitan Police spokeswoman said officers were called with paramedics to Forward Drive, where **the cyclist** was found suffering serious head injuries and died shortly after 1am.

The driver of ***the car*** stopped at the scene.

A 31-year-old man has been arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving, police said, and has been bailed until September.

Scotland Yard has now launched an appeal for **witnesses** to help the investigation.

The cyclist's death takes to seven the total number of cyclists killed on London's roads this year. Physiotherapist Esther Hartsilver, 30, died after being critically injured in a crash in Camberwell on May 29. Her death sparked a "die-in" vigil held by cycling campaigners calling for improved safety for riders on London's roads.

Contact detectives on 020 8991 9555 with any information or call Crimestoppers anonymously on 0800 555 111.

Document NSONL00020150621eb6l00001

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_003b
Article Date: 21 June 2015
Accident Date: 21 June 2015
Accident_Index: 201501TD00081

Headline: **Family tributes to 'hero and idol' after grandfather is knocked over and killed by *car***

Body:

THE family of **a businessman** **knocked off** **his** ***bicycle*** and **killed** just yards from his home today described **him** as their "hero and idol".

Clifton James, 60, a mechanic, was cycling home through a business park from **his** garage in Harrow shortly after midnight yesterday when **he** was **hit** by ***a car*** and suffered serious head injuries.

Devastated **family members** visited the scene of **the accident** in Forward Drive yesterday as friends laid flowers and remembered **a "brilliant" man**.

A statement released on behalf of **his wife**, **son** and **two daughters** said: "**Cliff** was **the best, most amazing man** we have ever known. **He** was our hero and idol. **He** was loved by many leaving behind his **wife**, **three children** and **granddaughter**. **He** will live forever in our hearts. We will always love **him**."

A **family friend** said: "**He** was **a dad** to everyone. **Him** passing away is a tragedy for everybody. **He** was known by everybody and loved by everybody."

Another friend, who has known **Mr James** for 15 years, said: "**He** was **a brilliant man**. **He** would help anybody. **He** would drop anything to run and help you. **He** will be sadly missed by many. " **The driver** of ***the car***, **a 31-year-old man**, stopped at the scene and was arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving.

'**He** was **a dad** to everyone. It is **a tragedy** for everybody' **Family friend**

Document NS00000020150622eb6m0008l

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_004
Article Date: 29 August 2017
Accident Date: 29 August 2017
Accident_Index: 2017010056304

Headline: **Holloway crash: Cyclist killed in crash with *van* in Camden Road**

Body:

A cyclist has been **killed** after **a crash** with ***a van*** in north London.

Police were called to the junction of Camden Road and Brecknock Road, in Camden just after 6am on Tuesday morning.

A Met Police spokeswoman confirmed **the cyclist**, thought to be **a man in his 30s**, died in ***the crash*** with ***the Ford Transit van***.

A female driver was arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving. **She** was subsequently de-arrested at the scene and was later interviewed under caution at a north London police station.

The Ford Transit, which had a logo from a van hire company on the side, was being examined by **crash investigators** this morning.

The man's *bike* could be seen on the ground with a mangled back wheel.

Police officers at the scene on Tuesday morning (TfL) **Rhian Frost, 23, a student** who lives nearby, said: "I heard **a massive bang**. We have metal bins in our block and thought it was someone throwing them around.

"There were **men** and **women** shouting and I heard sirens coming towards the area."

Another witness said **she** was woken by the loud smash and rushed outside to see **the cyclist** lying in the road while **a man** tried to give him first aid.

She said: "**He** was still on the ***bike*** he **wasn't knocked off**. I was crying, I couldn't cope.

"It looked like **a head on collision**. **Someone** from ***the van*** was on the floor in front of **the man** crying."

A Met Police spokeswoman said: "**Police** in Camden were called to the ***junction*** with Camden Road and Brecknock Road at 6.01am following **a collision** of **a cyclist** and ***Ford Transit van***.

"**Officers** and **the London Ambulance Service** attended and found **a male cyclist** believed to be **in his 30s** suffering from critical injuries.

“He was announced dead at the scene shortly after. A female driver stopped at the scene and has been arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving.

Police have cordoned off part of Camden Road while they investigate the crash (Old Sid (Twitter))

"She was taken to a north London police station for questioning. Road closures are in place."

The cyclist is the sixth to be killed in London so far this year.

Leon Daniels, Managing Director of Surface Transport at TfL, said: "Our deepest sympathies go out to the friends and family of the man killed this morning while *cycling* along Camden Road.

"Every death on London's road is one too many and we are committed to making all roads safer. We will assist the police as they investigate this incident."

Document NSONL00020170829ed8t000p2

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_005
Article Date: 25 November 2014
Accident Date: 24 November 2014
Accident_Index: 201401TD00116

Headline: Racing joyrider' kills teacher as he *cycles* home

Body:

A CYCLIST was knocked down and killed by a suspected joyrider racing *another car* through east London.

The primary school teacher — named locally as Asaad Ahmed — was struck on Commercial Road at the junction with Cavell Street as he made his way home at just after 10pm yesterday.

Witnesses said the driver of *the car* then sped off, leaving the 32-year-old father-of-two in the road. He was taken to hospital, but later died. He is the 11th cyclist to be killed on the capital's roads this year.

Nasher Ahmed, 52, a taxi driver, who lives nearby, said: "He was trying to cross the road on his *bike* when he was hit by *the car* racing *the other*.

"As soon as the driver hit the cyclist he just did a U-turn and drove away."

Another resident, who asked not to be named, said: "You get people racing each other all the time along here."

Today police were hunting the driver of what is believed to be a *white VW Golf*, seen racing *the other vehicle* on Commercial Road. Officers said they believed they had located *the car*, but no one has been arrested.

This morning, family members were gathering at the home Mr Ahmed shared with his wife. His brother Akthar said: "It's so raw still."

Neighbour Nahim Ahmed, 22, added: "He was a good person, a great father. He had a newborn son and a young daughter, who he really doted on."

A police spokeswoman said: "Officers were called at 10.08pm to reports of *a car* being in collision with a cyclist."

Anyone with information is asked to call police on 0208 597 4874 or Crimestoppers on 0800 555 111.

Document NS00000020141126eabp0000x

Article Reference: Car_Ped_001
Article Date: 22 August 2019
Accident Date: 22 August 2019
Accident_Index:

Headline: **Hyde Park Corner crash: Pedestrian, 66, dies after being hit by *£250,000 Rolls-Royce* yards from Buckingham Palace**

Body:

A pedestrian died this morning after **being hit** by a ***£250,000 Rolls-Royce Wraith*** yards from Buckingham Palace.

The man, 66, was crossing ***the road*** when **he collided** with ***the supercar in Hyde Park Corner*** near the Australian War Memorial, just before 3.15am. **He** was pronounced dead at the scene.

Police sealed off a large swathe of ***the roundabout*** as they investigated the **crash**, causing rush-hour tailbacks around Piccadilly and Park Lane.

The Qatar-registered Wraith was left with a large crack on the windscreen.

The driver stopped at the scene and there have been no arrests, police said.

The Wraith has previously been pictured online by motoring enthusiasts driving around exclusive neighbourhoods including Belgravia. There is no suggestion ***the car*** was speeding at the time of the crash this morning.

Over the summer, **residents in Knightsbridge** have complained about super cars speeding in the area.

Many are registered to Middle Eastern countries including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Emirates, with their wealthy drivers transporting them to the capital to use in the summer months.

A police spokesman said no details of **the pedestrian's** identity were given and **his family** have not been informed.

The force said "extensive enquiries" are being made to seek **his** relatives.

Detective Constable Chris May of the Serious Collision Investigation Unit, said: “This is ***very busy section of road*** and I am sure there would be **a number of people who witnessed** the

collision or the events leading up to it. I would ask those people to contact **police** and in particular **anyone who was in the area** and may have dash cam footage.

“Your information could be vital in helping us understand the cause of this tragic ***incident***.”

Witnesses or **anyone with information** which might assist **officers** is asked to call the SCIU on 0208543 5157 or contact the Met on Twitter @MetCC quoting CAD 860/22AUG.

Document NSONL00020190822ef8m000p1

Article Reference: Car_Ped_002
Article Date: 26 April 2017
Accident Date: 26 April 2017
Accident_Index: 201701X033924

Headline: **Man killed in *'BMW'* hit-and-run in Aldgate**

Body:

A man has died after **being knocked down** by ***a car*** in **a hit-and-run** in east London.

The 59-year-old was **struck** by ***a vehicle*** while ***walking*** along ***Mansell Street*** in Aldgate on Tuesday night. **Emergency services** were scrambled to the scene just before 11.30pm and **paramedics** rushed **him** to hospital, police said.

Despite the efforts of the **medics**, **he** died in the early hours of Wednesday morning.

Emergency services rushed to the scene just before 11.30pm on Tuesday night. **The driver** of ***the car***, thought to be ***a silver or grey BMW 1-series***, did not stop at the scene.

In statement, the **Metropolitan Police** said: “Officers are appealing for **anyone** who has seen, or has information about, ***a car like this*** with extensive damage to its bonnet and windscreen, to contact them.

“They are also keen to hear from **anyone who witnesses** **the collision**, or who has any information about it.”

Anyone that can assist police is asked to call the Serious Collision Investigation Unit on 020 8597 4874, or contact police via 101 or by tweeting @MetCC.

To give information anonymously call Crimestoppers on 0800 555 111 or visit crimestoppers-uk.org.
Document NSONL00020170426ed4q0005m

Article Reference: Car_Ped_003
Article Date: 19 December 2016
Accident Date: 17 December 2016
Accident_Index: 2016010054160

Headline: **High-speed 'horror' crash at *crossing***

Body:

Man killed and **woman** fighting for life after being **hit** by ***Mercedes***

WITNESSES told today of their horror after ***a car*** **ploughed** into **pedestrians** at high speed, killing **a man** and leaving a woman fighting for her life.

The pair were **hit** on a crossing by ***a Mercedes C Class*** at about 11.30pm on Saturday in Willesden Green.

A man in his thirties was thrown into the air and died from **his** injuries at the scene. **A woman in her late twenties** was in hospital today in a critical condition.

The 33-year-old driver was taken to hospital before being arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving and drink-drinking. **A passenger** in the car fled the scene and has not been traced.

One resident gave **the woman victim** first aid at ***the junction of Walm Lane and Willesden*** Lane. **She** called the **crash** the "most horrific thing" **she** had ever seen and added: "I did my best. Absolutely tragic. **The girl** I helped was no older than me."

Riesse Hamilton, 21, a graphic designer whose flat overlooks the scene, said: "It was like a grenade went off outside — it was that loud. This could have killed more people. What I saw last night was horrid."

Another witness, delivery driver David Majur, 29, claimed: "***The car*** came along the High Road, beeping its horn and ran ***a red light*** at more than 100kmph."

Samanta Tejera, 21, and **her colleagues** were at a party opposite the ***accident*** scene. She said: "We heard a massive bang and looked out to a scene of carnage."

Residents pulled the keys out of the ignition as ***the car***, which had flipped onto its roof, was leaking fuel.

The driver was bailed to a date in early March. Police are appealing for anyone with information to call the serious collision investigation unit at Alperton on 020 8991 9555 or the police non-emergency line on 101.

Document NS00000020161220eccj0000n

Article Reference: Car_Ped_004
Article Date: 14 October 2013
Accident Date: 12 October 2013
Accident_Index: 201301TD00125

Headline: **Mother killed by *car* as she rushed home to see her daughter, 7, coming back from sleepover**

Body:

The **family** of **a woman** who was **hit** and **killed** by ***a car*** in front of **her** home as **she** rushed back to meet **her young daughter** today told of their devastation.

Tamika Malo, 30, had been eager to get home in time for **her seven-year-old daughter**, **Taleyah**, who was returning from a sleepover at a friend's house.

But after jumping out of ***a taxi*** **she** was **struck** by ***a Honda Civic*** in front of the **family** ***home in Lordship Road, Hackney,*** on Saturday at 2.26pm.

Witnesses described seeing **the driver** of ***the Civic*** **crash** into a brick wall, **trapping Miss Malo** underneath ***the car***.

Dwight Denis, **her partner** for 11 years, said: "Why, why take **her** away from me now? I was the luckiest man in the world. I had the best **mother to my child**. **She** was **my queen** and **our daughter** is our princess. We are shocked and devastated."

Miss Malo, a volunteer teaching assistant at a nursery in London Fields, had caught ***a taxi*** from East Ham, where **she** had spent the morning with **Mr Denis**, in order to return in time to her Hackney home where **her daughter** was being dropped off.

But **she** was **struck** at ***the zebra crossing between Fairholt Road and St Kilda's Road*** where **hundreds gathered** to pay their respects and lay flowers.

Katrina Davis, **Mr Denis's sister**, said the **family** were drawing comfort from the fact **she** did not suffer before dying.

She said: "It's comforting to know that **she** wasn't on **her** own. **A woman** came to **her** aid and prayed with **her** as **she** lay on ***the road*** unconscious and she told us that **Tamika** didn't suffer and that brings us comfort."

The 39-year-old added: "**Tamika** was **like a sister** to me. Family meant everything to **her**. **She** always wanted to be there for **her** family no matter what.

"**She** was coming to meet her **daughter** who had stayed over at a **friend's**. **She** took being **a mother** so seriously. That was the most important thing to **her**, so this happened while **she** was trying to be there for **her daughter** to meet her and be there for her."

Carl Davis, 38, Mr Denis's brother, said: "**She** was the most loving, caring, beautiful **woman**. **She** had this amazing infectious laugh and smile.

"**She** was much-loved by **everyone**. There have literally been **hundreds from the community** paying their respects."

Police are still seeking more information in order to build a clearer picture of what **happened**.

A male driver has been arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving while officers are calling for anyone with information to call Crimestoppers anonymously on 0800 555 111.

Document NSONL00020131014e9ae000s3

Article Reference: Car_Ped_005a
Article Date: 18 May 2015
Accident Date: 17 May 2015
Accident_Index: 201501TD00071

Headline: **Brentford crash: Man in 30s dead after being hit by *car***

Body: **A man** in his 30s died last night after being **hit** by ***a car*** in west London.

Two men, one of them the driver, have been arrested over the **crash**, which happened in Great West Road, Brentford, just before 10pm.

Medics from London Ambulance Service pronounced **the victim** dead 25 minutes later. Police said **he** had been ***on foot*** when the **collision** happened.

Great West Road was shut westbound between Gillette Corner and Wood Lane while **police** investigated the **smash**, but reopened at about 6.30am.

Document NSONL00020150518eb5i0002u

Article Reference: Car_Ped_005b
Article Date: 18 May 2015
Accident Date: 17 May 2015
Accident_Index: 201501TD00071

Headline: **Pedestrian is killed crossing west London road 'plagued by boy racers'**

Body:

A pedestrian trying to cross ***a road*** in west London has died after being **hit** by ***a sports car***.

Residents along **the Great Western Road, Brentford**, today described hearing a "loud thud" as ***a Mazda MX-5*** **collided** with **a pedestrian** trying to cross ***the six-lane road*** yesterday just before 10pm.

Paramedics worked on **the stricken man** for up to half an hour, but **he** was pronounced dead at the scene between ***Gillette Corner and Wood Lane***.

Witnesses said **the driver** of ***the two-seater convertible***, which was badly damaged in the **collision**, appeared to be shaken and too upset to speak at the roadside.

Haroon Sultan, 59, a chauffeur, said: "**My son** was inside the house at the time and heard a loud thud. He rushed outside and saw ***the car*** with its ***windscreen and bonnet*** totally smashed and **the poor guy** lying on the side of the road with **his head** down, just not moving.

"**Paramedics** tried to revive **him**, but there wasn't anything they could do.

"**The driver** was standing on the side of the road with **police**, looking very shaken.

"**People** speed up and down this road all the time and you can hear them revving up through the gears as they go. There's **a motorcyclist** who comes here regularly doing wheelies at up to 70mph at night, turns around and does it again."

A neighbour, in his 20s, said: "It was a massive thump and **the guy** must have pretty much died on **impact** and it didn't look like there was much the paramedics could do for **him**."

Another resident, in his 50s, who asked not to be named, said: "***This road*** has been bad for years. **They** installed ***cameras*** at ***the traffic lights*** to try and stop it, but **they** just speed between the ***traffic lights*** at ***the junctions*** and then just slow down again.

"This is the second bad accident we've had along this stretch in the last few weeks."

Two men, one of them **the driver**, have been arrested over **the crash** and are being held in custody.

Police are still tracing **the victim's next of kin**.

Document NSONL00020150518eb5i001pa

STATS19 Reference Index

Article ref: Bike_Ped_001
Headline: *Dalston* crash: Woman, 56, 'first pedestrian to die in UK after being hit by *electric bicycle*' in east London
Article Date: 12 September 2018
Accident Date: 28 August 2018
STATS19 Accident_Index: 2018010129389

Article ref: Bike_Ped_002
Headline: Woman dies after being hit by cyclist on *Oxford Street*
Article Date: 14 September 2017
Accident Date: 12 September 2017
STATS19 Accident_Index: 2017010058579

Article ref: Bike_Ped_003
Headline: Police appeal over pedestrian killed in collision with cyclist in *Shepherd's Bush*
Article Date: 11 February 2017
Accident Date: 30 December 2016
STATS19 Accident_Index: 2016010055232

Article ref: Bike_Ped_004
Headline: *Old Street* crash: Air ambulance rushed to scene after *accident* between cyclist and pedestrian
Article Date: 12 February 2016
Accident Date: 12 February 2016
STATS19 Accident_Index: 201601TD00018

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_005
Headline: 'Wonderful' woman killed after crash with a cyclist at *Old Street*
Article Date: 9 March 2016
Accident Date: 12 February 2016
STATS19 Accident_Index: 201601TD00018

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_001
Headline: Deptford crash: Cyclist dies after crash with *car* in *south east London*
Article Date: 29 September 2018
Accident Date: 29 September 2018
STATS19 Accident_Index: 2018010135769

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_002
Headline: Driver hunted as cyclist dies after being dragged 200m along road
Article Date: 4 June 2018
Accident Date: 3 June 2018
STATS19 Accident_Index: 2018010111949

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_003a
Headline: Cyclist, 60, dies after midnight crash in Harrow, north west London
Article Date: 21 June 2015
Accident Date: 21 June 2015
STATS19 Accident_Index: 201501TD00081

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_003b
Headline: Family tributes to 'hero and idol' after grandfather is knocked over and killed by *car*
Article Date: 21 June 2015
Accident Date: 21 June 2015
STATS19 Accident_Index: 201501TD00081

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_004
Headline: Holloway crash: Cyclist killed in crash with *van* in Camden Road
Article Date: 29 August 2017
Accident Date: 29 August 2017
STATS19 Accident_Index: 2017010056304

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_005
Headline: Racing joyrider' kills teacher as he *cycles* home
Article Date: 25 November 2014
Accident Date: 24 November 2014
STATS19 Accident_Index: 201401TD00116

Article Reference: Car_Ped_001
Headline: Hyde Park Corner crash: Pedestrian, 66, dies after being hit by *£250,000 Rolls-Royce* yards from Buckingham Palace
Article Date: 22 August 2019
Accident Date: 22 August 2019
STATS19 Accident_Index: Unknown

Article Reference: Car_Ped_002
Headline: Man killed in *'BMW'* hit-and-run in Aldgate
Article Date: 26 April 2017
Accident Date: 26 April 2017
STATS19 Accident_Index: 201701X033924

Article Reference: Car_Ped_003
Headline: High-speed 'horror' crash at *crossing*
Article Date: 19 December 2016
Accident Date: 17 December 2016
STATS19 Accident_Index: 2016010054160

Article Reference: Car_Ped_004

Headline: Mother killed by *car* as she rushed home to see her daughter, 7, coming back from sleepover
Article Date: 14 October 2013
Accident Date: 12 October 2013
STATS19 Accident_Index: 201301TD00125

Article Reference: Car_Ped_005a
Headline: Brentford crash: Man in 30s dead after being hit by *car*
Article Date: 18 May 2015
Accident Date: 17 May 2015
STATS19 Accident_Index: 201501TD00071

Article Reference: Car_Ped_005b
Headline: Pedestrian is killed crossing west London road 'plagued by boy racers'
Article Date: 18 May 2015
Accident Date: 17 May 2015
STATS19 Accident_Index: 201501TD00071

Appendix D

Research Question 1 (RQ1) Summary and Completed Proformas

Bike_Ped - Pedestrian Fatalities where Vehicle was a Bicycle – 5 Articles

SA/Mode	Exclusion	Impersonalisation: Objectification	Impersonalisation: Abstraction	Role Allocation	Functionalization & identification: Functionalization	Functionalization & identification: Identification	Generic and Specific Reference	Assimilation: Aggregation	Assimilation: Collectivization
Pedestrian (casualty)	5x Not excluded	5 x No objectification	1x Partial abstraction 4x No abstraction	3x entirely passive 2x mostly passive	4x low functionalisation 1x moderate functionalisation	1x low identification 1x moderate identification 3x high identification	2x entirely generic 1x mostly generic 2x mostly specific	4x no aggregation. 1x moderate aggregation.	3x low collectivization 2x moderate collectivization
Bicycle Rider	5x Not excluded	2x Partial 3x No objectification	1x Partial abstraction 4x No abstraction	3x mostly active 1x mostly passive 1x equally active and passive	2x moderate functionalisation 3x high functionalisation	2x no identification 2x low identification 1x moderate identification	5x entirely generic	4x no aggregation. 1x moderate aggregation.	4x low collectivization 1x moderate collectivization

Car_Cyc - Cyclist Fatalities where Vehicle was a Car, Van, or Taxi – 6 Articles

SA/Mode	Exclusion	Impersonalisation: Objectification	Impersonalisation: Abstraction	Role Allocation	Functionalization & identification: Functionalization	Functionalization & identification: Identification	Generic and Specific Reference	Assimilation: Aggregation	Assimilation: Collectivization
Bicycle Rider (casualty)	6x Not Excluded	6x No objectification	1x Partial abstraction 5x No abstraction	6x Entirely passive	5x High functionalisation 1x Low functionalisation	3x low identification 1x moderate identification 2x high identification	5x mostly generic 1x entirely generic	1x no aggregation. 4x low aggregation. 1x moderate aggregation.	1x low collectivization 5x moderate collectivization

Car Driver	5x Partially excluded 1x not excluded	6x Partial objectification	2x Partial abstraction 4x No abstraction	2x Entirely passive 2x Mostly passive 2x Entirely active	2x Low functionalisation 4x moderate functionalisation	3x no identification 3x low identification	4x mostly generic 1x entirely generic 1x neither	5x no aggregation 1x moderate aggregation.	3x low collectivization 3x moderate collectivization

Car_Ped - Pedestrian Fatalities where Vehicle was a Car, Van, or Taxi – 6 Articles

SA/Mode	**Exclusion**	**Impersonalisation: Objectification**	**Impersonalisation: Abstraction**	**Role Allocation**	**Functionalization & identification: Functionalization**	**Functionalization & identification: Identification**	**Generic and Specific Reference**	**Assimilation: Aggregation**	**Assimilation: Collectivization**
Pedestrian (casualty)	6x Not Excluded	1x Partial objectification 5x No objectification	1x Partial abstraction 5x No abstraction	1x mostly passive 5x entirely passive	4x low functionalisation 2x moderate functionalisation	3x low identification 2x moderate identification 1x high identification	5x mostly generic 1x mostly specific	5x no aggregation 1x low aggregation	2x no collectivization 3x low collectivization
Car Driver	6x Partially excluded	6x Partial objectification	1x Partial abstraction 5x No abstraction	2x mostly active 4x entirely active	3x low functionalisation 3x moderate functionalisation	3x no identification 3x low identification	1x mostly generic 5x neither (inconcl.)	4x no aggregation 2x low aggregation	6x low collectivization

Text notation mode key

Social Actor	Vehicle/Object	Grouping (inc personal pronoun references)
Person using a bike	*Bicycle*	Cyclists, bicyclists, riders, bike riders, them, etc
Person using a car	*Car*	Drivers, motorists, them, etc.
Person walking	*On foot*	Pedestrians, walkers, them, etc
Other Person or entity present	*Junction, lights, carriageway, classification etc*	
Other Person or entity not present	*Junction, lights, carriageway, classification etc*	
Counterfactual	*Counterfactual*	Counterfactual

Text notation event key

Verb (active)	Noun derived from verb (less active)	Noun not derived from verb (passive)
Hit, crashed, struck, collided	Crash (a crash, the crash, in crash), collision (a collision, the collision, in collision)	*Incident, accident*

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_001

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 6 sentences.	
		Bicycle rider – Not Excluded Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 1 sentence (though not initial).	

Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – None** Introduced in terms of gender and age, then by name. No reference to associated object. **Abstraction – Partial** Quality of 'victim' assigned.	
		Bicycle rider **Objectification – Partial, initial.** Introduced in terms of 'bike' 3 times before reference to person riding. **Abstraction – None.** No quality assigned. However **e-Bike** itself associated in article with speed.	**Objectification by Mode** SA present, but initially and mainly mode object.
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA is subject in sentence Passive role – SA is object in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x3 (including initial (headline)); Active x1 – mostly Passive** 1 sentence in headline sets a passive role; SA is 'hit by' electric bicycle. 1 sentence in opening para inverts this; pedestrian now active subject who collides with bicycle. 2 further sentences return to SA as passive – 'hit' by implied object, and 'bike […] and rider collided with her'.	**Causation and Blame** Casualty largely presented as passive victim to whom collision is done.
		Bicycle Rider/*Bike* – Active x3 (including initial(headline)); Passive x1 – mostly Active In 2 of the Active instances and the 1 Passive instance, SA referred to by object (bike). 1 Active instance refers to SA as 'rider'.	**Causation and Blame** Vehicle (Bicycle) rider largely presented as active role.

			(Electric) Bike also presented as active.
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	**Pedestrian – Low functionalisation** 2 sentences refer to SA as 'pedestrian' (activity), but both sentences initial refer to age and gender. 1 sentence refers to SA as 'victim' (role) 6 sentences refer to the SA without functionalisation **Pedestrian – High identification** 8 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender, of which 2 also through age). 1 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (next-of-kin). 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 1 sentences refer to SA without identification	
		Bicycle Rider – Moderate functionalisation 1 sentence refers to the SA as 'rider' (activity), but this is the first time they are referred to. 4 sentences refer to the SA without functionalisation **Bicycle Rider – Moderate identification** 4 sentences refer to SA through classification (3 x gender, 1 x age). 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 1 sentence refer to SA through physical identification.	**Blame and Figure of Cyclist** Use of 'rider' functionalises SA through suffixing of noun where root verb of noun is the activity itself. Common for 'pedestrian' and 'driver', but distinct form from reported on in literature ('cyclist'), where noun is an object associated with the

			activity. Closer to use of 'driver'.
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.).	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Pedestrian – Moderate generic reference, High specific reference – mostly specific** Generic – 1 sentence where SA generalised into 1 class of people ('A 56-year-old woman'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual across 3 sentences (name, age, place of residence)	**Them and Us** Pedestrian humanised by specific name and place of residence; place of residence identifies as a local (potentially local to audience).
		Bicycle rider – Moderate generic reference, no specific reference – entirely generic Generic - 1 sentence where SA generalised into class of people ('A 30-year-old'). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Bike rider not associated with an 'us' theme, except potentially to other people of similar age.

Which used most/most powerful. *Assimilation* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)			
	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Pedestrian – moderate aggregation** 2 sentences use definite quantifier ('first pedestrian') to aggregate SA into group (though group currently also defined as 'new') **Pedestrian – moderate collectivization** 2 sentences use word 'pedestrian' to express group identity.	
		Bicycle rider – No aggregation, No use of definite quantifier to aggregate SA into group. **Bicycle rider – low collectivisation** 1 sentence uses of word 'rider', but 0 sentences use word 'cyclist' to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of Cyclist** Cycle identity less mobilised due to use of 'rider' rather than cyclist.

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_002

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not excluded.** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 6 sentences.	
		Bicycle rider – Not excluded Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 5 sentences.	
		Witnesses/Onlookers – Partially Excluded (Backgrounded) 2 sentences refer to witnesses and onlookers separate from the crash (post-crash actions). 2 sentences refer to witnesses and onlookers that also refer to the crash, but SA's not participants in the crash itself.	**Victims and Villains Discourse** 'Horrified shoppers' frames incident with audience as a visceral 'horror' scene. Reader invited to share in this horror.
Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – None** Introduced in terms of gender and age, then by name. No reference to associated object. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Bicycle rider **Objectification – None** Introduced in terms of gender. No reference to associated object. **Abstraction – Partial (indirect)**	**Cyclist as Villain** Associating SA with criminality – even (in some ways especially) if unrelated to crash – reproduces figure of

		3 sentences refer to possible quality of criminality, though unrelated to actual crash.	lawbreaker cyclist as 'villain'. See also counterfactuals.
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x6 (of which 2 equally with Bicycle Rider) Active x0 – All passive (including initial (headline)).** 1 sentence in headline sets a passive role; SA is 'hit by' other SA ('cyclist'). 2 sentences use 'after a crash' and 'in collision with' to allocate passivity to both SAs 3 further sentences set passive role to SA alone ('hitting' SA, 'struck' SA, SA 'in the crash')	**Causation and Blame** Casualty entirely presented as passive victim to whom collision is done.
		Bicycle Rider/*Bike* – Active 3; Passive 2 – mostly active (including initial (headline)). 1 sentence in headline sets an active role; SA is object 'hit by' SA ('cyclist'). 2 sentences use 'after a crash' and 'in collision with' to allocate passivity to both SAs 2 further sentences set active role to SA alone (SA 'hitting' SA, SA 'struck')	**Causation and Blame** Vehicle (Bicycle) rider largely presented as active cause.
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through:	**Pedestrian – Low functionalisation** 2 sentences refer to SA as 'pedestrian' (activity), but both sentences also refer to age and gender. 1 sentence refer to SA as 'pedestrian' only. 6 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation.	**Sympathy** Physical identification of SA as elderly invites sympathy, underscores vulnerability.

<table>
<tr>
<td rowspan="3">Measure:
Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)</td>
<td rowspan="3">

Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); ‘-er’, ‘-ant’, ‘-ent’, ‘-ian’, and ‘-ee’.
Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with ‘–ist’, ‘-eer’ etc.
Nouns suffixed with ‘man’ ‘woman’ or ‘person’

Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun:

Classification – ‘gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…’
Relational identification – ‘friend, aunt, colleague’, with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child’s mother) or postmodifier with ‘of’ (a mother of five).
Physical identification – ‘Blonde, tall, etc’. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types (‘a short man’). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.

</td>
<td>Pedestrian – High identification
9 sentences refer to SA through classification (8 x gender (of which 1 also age), 1 x age).
1 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (next-of-kin).
2 sentences refer to SA through physical identification (‘elderly’).
1 sentence refer to SA without identification.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bicycle Rider – High functionalisation
7 sentences refer to SA as ‘cyclist’ (object associated with activity) only.
1 sentence refers to SA without functionalisation.

Bicycle Rider – Low identification
2 sentences refer to SA through classification (8 gender)
0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification.
0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification.
4 sentences refer to SA without identification.</td>
<td>Blame and Figure of Cyclist
SA barely present as an individual, expect through description of altercation with police (see counterfactuals)</td>
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3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Pedestrian – High generic reference, no specific reference, mostly generic** Generic – 4 sentences, where SA generalised into 4 different classes of people ('an elderly woman', 'pensioner', 'a pedestrian', 'a 73-year-old woman') Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable.	**Them and Us** All three classes into which SA generalised through indefinite singular are associated with vulnerability, especially 'elderly' and 'pensioner'. Alongside passive role, this underscores SA as victim. **Sympathy** Builds sympathetic humanised image of SA, despite lack of identifiable information.
		Bicycle rider – Moderate generic reference, no specific reference, entirely generic. Generic - 3 sentences where SA generalised into 1 class of people ('a cyclist', 'cyclist'). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Only generic reference to SA is through one generic class (indefinite 'cyclist'), and with no specific identity beyond this. Suggestive of 'other'. **Figure of Cyclist as lawbreaker/'Villain'** SA called into existence by 'cyclist', only other information is male gender (backgrounded) and implications of

Assimilation Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)			counterfactual altercation with police. Associates SA with figure of 'villain'.
	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Pedestrian – No aggregation, moderate collectivization** Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 3 sentences use word 'pedestrian' to express group identity. 1 sentence uses word 'pensioner' to express group identity.	
		Bicycle rider – Low aggregation, moderate collectivisation Aggregation – 1 sentence uses definite quantifier ('two cyclists') to aggregate SA into group ('cyclists') Collectivization – 6 sentences use word 'cyclist' to express group identity. 1 sentence further associates with another cyclist.	**Them and Us – Figure of Cyclist** SA aggregated with another cyclist – though not clear there is any connection between the two – reproducing aggregation of all cyclists.

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_003

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not excluded.** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 4 sentences.	
		Bicycle rider – Not excluded. Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 5 sentences.	
Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – None** Introduced in terms of gender and age. No reference to associated object. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Bicycle rider **Objectification – None** Introduced in terms of gender. No reference to associated object. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	

2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x2 (of which 1 equally with bicycle rider (headline)) Active x1 – mostly passive (including initial (headline)).** 1 sentence in headline sets a passive role; SA is 'killed in collision with' other SA (cyclist) - allocates passivity to both SAs. 1 sentence uses 'collided with' to set active role to SA. 1 further sentences uses 'was struck by' to set passive role to SA alone.	**Causation and Blame** <Equal?>
		Bicycle Rider/*Bike* – Active x 1; Passive x2 (of which 1 equally with pedestrian (headline)) – mostly passive (including initial (headline)). 1 sentence in headline sets a passive role; other SA (pedestrian) is 'killed in collision with' SA - allocates passivity to both SAs. 1 sentence uses '[other SA] collided with' to set passive role to SA. 1 further sentences uses '[other SA] was struck by' to set active role to SA alone.	**Causation and Blame** <Equal?>
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person'	**Pedestrian – Low functionalisation** 2 sentences refer to SA as 'pedestrian' (activity). 2 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Pedestrian – Low identification** 3 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender) of which 1 also age. 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 2 sentences refer to SA without identification.	

	Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.		
		Bicycle Rider – High functionalisation 7 sentences refer to SA as 'cyclist' (object associated with activity), though 1 additionally mentions ethnicity. 2 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Bicycle Rider – Low-moderate identification*** 2 sentence refers to SA in terms of classification (gender), of which 1 sentence also refers to SA in terms of a combined classification and physical identification (ethnicity). 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 7 sentences refer to SA without identification.	**Blame and Figure of Cyclist** *Ethnicity identification may be more significant in terms of SA construction than gender or age.
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group		**Pedestrian –Low generic reference, no specific reference – entirely generic**	**Them and Us** Whilst not identified, the age and gender are given

(assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful. *Assimilation* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	Generic – 2 sentences, where SA generalised into 2 different classes of people ('pedestrian', 'a pedestrian'). (Age and gender given using definite article – 'The 72-year-old man'). Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable.	through non-generic grammar (use of definite article); slightly higher identification constructed through this compared to articles that omit definite article.
		Bicycle rider –Moderate* generic reference, No specific reference – entirely generic Generic - 3 sentence where SA generalised into class of people ('cyclist', 'a cyclist', 'a black man'). *Generic reference to ethnicity more significant than other classifications more typically found across articles. Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Use of generic reference to refer to ethnicity is in contrast to the use of definite article to refer to pedestrian age and gender. Each sentence is the only specific information given for each SA, so this contrast is telling and suggests an us and them discourse associated with mode (since the classification of each SA are not otherwise linked)
		Pedestrian – No aggregation, Low collectivization	

<u>Measure:</u> No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances) **<Note explaining *Modal* Identities>**	Aggregation – Use of definite (‘ x number of’) or indefinite (‘most’) quantifiers to aggregate individual SA’s into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities (‘crew’, ‘staff’,)	Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 2 sentences use word ‘pedestrian’ to express group identity.	
		Bicycle rider – No aggregation, Low collectivisation Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 7 sentences uses word ‘cyclist’ to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of Cyclist**

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_004

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 2 sentences.	
		Bicycle rider – Not Excluded Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 2 sentences.	
Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – None** Introduced in terms of gender. No reference to associated object. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Bicycle rider **Objectification – None** Introduced in terms of gender. No reference to associated object. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	**Objectification by Mode**

2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x2 (of which 1 equally with bicycle rider (headline)) Active x0 – Entirely passive (including initial (headline)).** 1 sentence in headline sets a passive role; SA is **'accident between'** self and other SA (cyclist) - allocates passivity to both SAs. 1 sentence where SA was 'hit by' other SA.	**Causation and Blame**
		Bicycle Rider/*Bike* – Active x1; Passive x1 (of which 1 equally with pedestrian (headline)) – Equal passive and active, though initial (headline) is passive, suggesting more passive overall. Yet also more active than other SA. 1 sentence in headline sets a passive role; SA is 'accident between' self and other SA (pedestrian) - allocates passivity to both SAs. 1 sentence where other SA was 'hit by' SA.	**Causation and Blame**
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person'	**Pedestrian – Moderate functionalisation** 1 sentence refer to SA as 'pedestrian' (activity). 1 sentence refer to SA as 'patient' (role). 2 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Pedestrian – Moderate identification** 2 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender). 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification.	

counter-instances within element)	Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 1 sentences refer to SA without identification.	
		Bicycle Rider – High functionalisation 2 sentences refer to SA as 'cyclist' (object associated with activity) 0 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Bicycle Rider – No identification** 0 sentence refers to SA in terms of classification. 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 2 sentences refer to SA without identification.	**Blame and Figure of Cyclist**
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group		**Pedestrian – Low generic reference, No specific reference – entirely generic**	**Them and Us**

(assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	Generic – 2 sentences, where SA generalised into 2 different classes of people ('pedestrian', 'a woman'). (Status as 'patient' given using definite article – 'The patient'). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	
		Bicycle rider – Low generic reference, No specific reference – entirely generic Generic - 2 sentence where SA generalised into class of people ('cyclist', 'a cyclist'). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us**
Assimilation Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Pedestrian – No aggregation, Low collectivization** Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 1 sentences use word 'pedestrian' to express group identity.	
		Bicycle rider – No aggregation, Low collectivisation	**Them and Us – Figure of Cyclist**

		Aggregation – No use of definite quantifier Collectivization – 2 sentence uses word ‘cyclist’ to express group identity.	

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_005

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 5 sentences.	
		Bicycle rider – Not Excluded Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 2 sentences.* Backgrounded in in relation to collision related action in 1 sentence (stopping at scene)	*A form of backgrounding may be identified in the contrast between the number of references to each SA. Article is focused on casualty and is a follow-up (Type x)
Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – None** Introduced in terms of gender, then by name and age. No reference to associated object. **Abstraction – None** No such quality assigned.	
		Bicycle rider **Objectification – Partial** 1 sentence represents by reference to 'bike' (associated object) **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned	**Objectification by Mode**

2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA. *Functionalization and identification* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x3 (of which 1 equally with bicycle rider (headline)) Active x0 – Entirely passive (including initial (headline)).** 1 sentence in headline sets a passive role; SA is in **'crash with'** self and other SA (cyclist) - allocates passivity to both SAs. 2 sentence where SA was 'hit' by other SA.	**Causation and Blame**
		Bicycle Rider/*Bike* – Active x2; Passive x1 (of which 1 equally with pedestrian (headline)) – Mostly active, though initial (headline) is passive. 1 sentence in headline sets a passive role; SA is 'accident between' self and other SA (pedestrian) - allocates passivity to both SAs. 2 sentences where other SA was 'hit' by SA/associated object.	**Causation and Blame**
	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through:	**Pedestrian – Low functionalisation** 1 sentence refers to SA as 'patient' (role) 1 sentence refers to SA as 'mother' (role) 18 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation.	**Sympathy** High level of identification over several different sub-types.

counter-instances within element)	• Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	**Pedestrian – High identification** 15 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender) of which 1 also age and 3 also socio-economic class (HR consultant, HR manager). 6 sentences refers to SA through relational identification ('mother-of-three, (wife of) husband, 'friends and family (her family and her children', 'neighbours)'. 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 1 sentences refer to SA without identification	
		Bicycle Rider – Moderate functionalisation 3 sentences refer to SA as 'cyclist' (object associated with activity). 1 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Bicycle Rider – No identification** 0 sentences refers to SA in terms of classification 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 4 sentences refer to SA without identification.	**Blame and Figure of Cyclist** Cyclist rendered as non-person through moderate functionalisation and no identification. Article is focused on casualty, however notable that even cyclist gender is absent; sentence structures even avoid using personal pronouns.

3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful. *Assimilation* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Pedestrian – Low generic reference, High specific reference – mostly specific** Generic – 3 sentences, where SA generalised into 2 different classes of people ('a (wonderful) woman' (gender) x2, 'a human resources executive' (profession)). (Status as 'patient' given using definite article – 'The patient'). Specific - SA rendered as identifiable individual in multiple ways: 1 sentence gives full name, age, and area of residence (name repeated in 4 further sentences) 1 sentence gives workplace. 1 sentence names husband.	**Them and Us** High level of specific references frames SA as a person with whom the audience can establish a sense of familiarity and potentially commonality (other people form area, other people of similar age, other people with similar jobs). Encourages sense of SA as one of 'us'.
		Bicycle rider – Low generic reference, No specific reference – entirely generic Generic - 2 sentence where SA generalised into class of people ('a cyclist'). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Absence of specific references withholds any potentials for sense of 'us' expect for potentially those in audience who self-identify with the generic class 'cyclist'. Without such generic connection, SA is other than many of the people

Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)			reading the story (yet still present as an SA rather than object – link to other categories).
	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Pedestrian – No aggregation, Low collectivization** Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 3 sentences refer to SA's role as HR executive, to express group identity (professional, managerial).	**Them and Us – Law abiding SA** Collectivization is low, however also notable for being unrelated to the circumstances of the crash itself. Part of establishing human story of victim SA, at the same time it also assimilates SA into a group identity of rules-based professionalism.
		Bicycle rider – No aggregation, Low collectivisation Aggregation – No use of definite quantifier Collectivization – Collectivization – 2 sentence uses word 'cyclist' to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of lawbreaking Cyclist** Whilst rated 'low' and not in itself reproducing figure of the law-breaking cyclist, juxtaposition of cyclist group identity with the rules-based professional group

			identity of the other SA (pedestrian) draws on the extant discourse of the cyclist as operating outside of the normative rules. A faceless figure violently intruding upon the other SA. Potentially illegitimate presence (no work or other context; cycling as frivolous and unnecessary 'choice')

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_001

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Bicycle rider – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 3 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial (Backgrounded) Referral in one sentence, separate from collision action (stopping at the scene)	**Evasion of Blame from Driver** Depersonalisation as SA excluded
Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Bicycle rider** **Objectification – None** Represented as 'Cyclist' throughout **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial (including heradline)** Introduced in terms of 'car' 2 times before single reference to 'driver'. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	**Objectification by Mode** Driver depersonalised by use of Car in place of person driving. Use of 'driver' only occurs in context of having stopped at scene. Implies crash (bad) is action of car, whilst stopping action (good) is action of driver. Eg stopping proceeds from the SA's decision in ways that the crash itself does not, though neither

			supposition is clear from information given.
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Bicycle Rider – Passive x2 (equally with car driver) Active x0 – All passive (including initial (headline)).** 2 sentences use 'crash' and 'involved in a crash with' to allocate passivity to both SAs	**Equal Power** Implied equality of blame evades manifest difference in power and protection afforded by each mode.
		Car driver/Car – Active x0 , Passive x2 (equally with bike rider) – All passive (including initial (headline)). 2 sentences use 'crash' and 'involved in a crash with' to allocate passivity to both SAs.	**Causation and Blame**
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'.	**Bicycle Rider – High functionalisation** 5 sentences refer to SA as 'cyclist' (object associated with activity). 0 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Bicycle Rider – Low identification**	**Blame & Figure of the Cyclist** In absence of individual details, the high functionalisation of bike rider SA as activity-associated object ('cyclist') places SA in

(compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	• Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	1 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender). 1 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (next of kin). 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 3 sentences refer to SA without identification	artificial position of action. Mobilises 'lawbreaking cyclist' discourse (see 'cyclist' v 'cycling' distinction).
		Car Driver – Low functionalisation 1 sentences refers to SA as 'driver' (suffixed verb). 0 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Car Driver – No identification** 0 sentences refer to SA in terms of classification. 0 sentences refer to SA through relational identification. 1 sentences refer to SA without identification.	**Sympathy and the passive car driver.** Low functionalisation obscures SA's functional involvement in the crash; persists only as a single reference to the one who stopped (eg law-abiding). Note how associated with Backgrounding of driver.
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group		**Bicycle Rider – Moderate generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic**	**Them and Us**

(assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful. *Assimilation* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	Generic – 2 sentences where SA generalised into 1 class of people ('cyclist', 'a cyclist'). Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	
		Car driver – No generic reference, No specific reference, inconclusive Generic - 0 sentence where SA generalised into class of people. Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us**
	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Bicycle rider – Low aggregation, Moderate collectivization** Aggregation – Use of indefinite quantifier ('another') to aggregate SA into group (cyclists killed). Collectivization – 5 sentences use word 'cyclist' to express group identity. 1 sentence further associates with another cyclist killed recently.	**'Them'** Killed cyclists as sub-group of cyclists. Establishes a theme, but theme interpretation subject to discourse – are cyclists persistent victims of a problem or of themselves? Depends upon other elements, and also how other SA is constructed. In this case, (albeit weak) implication

			of the ‘lawbreaking cyclist’ amplifies discourse of cyclists being victims of themselves, whilst absence of car driver or location as theme further subordinates discourse of a problem existing outside ‘cyclist’ actions.
		Car driver – No aggregation, Low collectivisation Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 1 sentence uses word ‘driver’ to express group identity.	

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_002

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded *Impersonalization* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Bicycle rider – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 3 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial Exclusion (Backgrounded) Although referred to explicitly (as 'driver') in 2 sentences that describe collision related actions, the SA is not a subject of any crash related verbs.	**Car Driver as accessory to but not cause of crash** References to driver evade direct association with the action of the collision.
		Witnesses/Onlookers – Partially Excluded (Backgrounded) 4 sentences refer to witnesses and onlookers separate from the crash (post-crash actions). 1 sentences refer to witnesses and onlookers that also refer to the crash, but SA's not participants in the crash itself.	**Victims and Villains Discourse** 'it was quite horrible to see' frames aftermath of incident with audience as in a visual way that emphasises the physical consequences for the Bicycle rider.
	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have. (Such as being a 'problem')	**Bicycle rider** **Objectification – None** Represented without objectification in 7 sentences. 1 further sentence refers to the 'bike' being caught on the car, but bike is possessive object of personified rider ('his bike'). **Abstraction – Partial** Quality of 'victim' assigned.	

		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial** 1 sentence represents SA through 'car' that 'dragged' rider and bike up road. 3 sentences refer to SA without objectification ('driver'), including initial (headline). **Abstraction – Partial** SA refered to as 'hit-and-run driver' in 1 sentence.	**Impersonalisation by Mode** Although referred to as 'driver' 3 times and 'car' only once, this one time is also the only sentence where SA is subject of a verb related to the collision itself. Eg, the only sentence that relates the SA directly and unequivocally to the crash itself is also the one sentence that impersonalises the SA.
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Bicycle Rider – Passive x6 (including 1 shared equally with other SA's object) Active x0 – All passive (including initial (headline)).** 2 sentences use '**the crash**' to allocate passivity to SA. 1 sentences uses '**being dragged'** to allocate passivity to SA. 2 sentences uses 'was **killed'** or '**death**' to allocate passivity to SA. 1 sentences uses '**caught** on' to allocate passivity to SA, and allocates passivity equally with other SA.	**Causation and Blame** SA is not ascribed blame through role allocation, though all but one sentence associated no other SA with the action, meaning that this SA is mainly associated with the collision, albeit passively. SA is described as 'victim', so complex blame allocation.
		Car driver/Car – Active x0; Passive x1 ('Car' – object passivity shared equally with other SA) – mostly passive	**Causation and Blame** SA is passive accessory in sentences or clauses specifically relating to the

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Functionalization and identification
Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation.
Indicators: Compositional
Measure:
Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td>1 sentence uses ‘caught on’ to allocate passivity to SA, and allocates passivity equally with other SA. Does so specifically through SA related object (‘Car’)</td><td>collision, and only referenced via associated object (‘car’).</td></tr>
<tr><td>Police and Car driver
2 sentences refer to the Car driver being ‘hunted’ – implicitly by the police in the headline and explicitly by them in opening sentence. Although this action is not a part of the original collision action, it is noted due to the rhetorical power of the verb in use, which emotively frames the driver as a villain in the specific context of leaving the scene.</td><td>Causation and Blame
SA is active ‘villain’ in sentences or clauses relating to subsequent actions, but not to collision itself.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through:
• Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); ‘-er’, ‘-ant’, ‘-ent’, ‘-ian’, and ‘-ee’.
• Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with ‘–ist’, ‘-eer’ etc.
• Nouns suffixed with ‘man’ ‘woman’ or ‘person’

Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun:

• Classification – ‘gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…’</td><td>Bicycle Rider – Moderate functionalisation
3 sentences refer to SA as ‘cyclist’ (object associated with activity).
3 sentences refers to SA as ‘victim’ (role)
3 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation.

Bicycle Rider – Low identification
4 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender) of which 1 also age.
1 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (‘next of kin’).
0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification.
5 sentences refer to SA without identification</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Car Driver – Moderate functionalisation
3 sentences refers to SA as ‘driver’ (suffixed verb).
1 sentence refers to SA without functionalisation.</td><td>Levels of Functionalisation and identification appear similarly low between SA’s. Therefore more</td></tr>
</table>

	• *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	**Car Driver – No/Low* identification** 1 sentence refers to SA in terms of classification (gender) 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 3 sentences refer to SA without identification. *Gender identification is extremely marginal; one possessive use of 'his' in relation to car.	importance rendered to other elements, which identify difference between level of relation to collision itself between SAs.
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Bicycle Rider – Low generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic (but marginal)** Generic – 1 sentence where SA generalised into group of people ('cyclist'). Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us**
		Car driver – Moderate generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic. Generic - 2 sentence where SA generalised into class of people ('driver', 'hit and run driver').	**Them and Us** 1 of the sentences generalises into 'hit and run driver', a potentially more powerful

Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful. *Assimilation* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)		Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	classification since it modifiers the common 'driver' classification in a way that places the SA into a distinct sub-classification that is also associated with a criminal act. The 'Us'-ness of the driver classification is thereby inverted into a 'them' classification; rogue drivers. This inversion is significant for understanding the unusual results of other analytical elements, eg that the SA is ascribed more blame in this case.
	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Bicycle rider –Moderate aggregation, Moderate collectivization** Aggregation – Use of definite quantifier ('third cyclist') to aggregate SA into group (recent cyclist fatalitites). Collectivization – 4 sentences use word 'cyclist' to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of Cyclist**
		Car driver – No aggregation, Moderate collectivisation	**Them and Us – Figure of 'hit-and-run driver'**

		Aggregation – No use of definite quantifier Collectivization – 3 sentence uses word ‘driver’, 1 of which modifies it with ‘hit-and-run’ to express group identity.	The depersonalisation here is specific to the sub-classification ‘hit-and-run driver’, which serves to other the SA in the mind of audience members who consider themselves to be careful law-abiding drivers.

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_003a

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Bicycle rider – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 3 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial (Backgrounded) Referral in one sentence, separate from collision action (stopping at the scene; being arrested)	
Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have. (Such as being a 'problem')	**Bicycle rider** **Objectification – None** Represented as 'Cyclist' 4 times, and once as 'man' **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial** Introduced in terms of 'car' 1 once, before single reference to 'driver'. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	**Objectification by Mode**

2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA. *Functionalization and identification* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Bicycle Rider – Passive x3 Active x0 – All passive (including initial (headline)).** 1 sentence uses '**crash**'; 1 uses '**being hit**' ; 1 uses '**the collision**' to allocate passivity to SA.	**Causation and Blame** SA given passive role, though only one of the three sentences includes the other SA performing the action.
		Car driver/Car – Active x1 , Passive x0 – All Active (including initial). 1 sentences use 'being hit by a car' to allocate active role to SA.	**Causation and Blame** SA is given active role, implying blame, though only in one sentence that is late in the article and which uses object ('car)' rather than SA themselves.
	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person'	**Bicycle Rider – High functionalisation** 4 sentences refer to SA as 'cyclist' (object associated with activity). 1 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Bicycle Rider – Low identification** 1 sentence refer to SA through classification (gender). 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification	

	Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	**Car Driver – Moderate (but weak) functionalisation** 1 sentence refer to SA as 'driver' (activity, suffixed verb). 1 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Car Driver – Low identification** 1 sentence refers to SA in terms of 2 different classifications (gender and age) 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification.	**Blame** Whilst not realised through grammatical elements, SA is linked to possibility of blame through reference to them being arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving.
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference*	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people.	**Bicycle Rider – Moderate generic reference, No specific reference – mostly generic.** Generic – 2 sentences use singular 'cyclist' without definite article. Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Generic references frame SA as 'them' rather than 'us', but effect weak given lack of general detail on collision.

Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.	• Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Car driver – Low generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic (weak - neutral)** Generic - 1 sentence where SA generalised into class of people ('a 31-year-old man'). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Generic references frame SA as 'them' rather than 'us', although less apparent than with other SA. Generalisation is also unrelated to being a car driver. Effect weak given lack of general detail on collision.
Assimilation Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Bicycle rider – Low aggregation, Moderate collectivization** Aggregation – Use of definite quantifier ('seven') to aggregate SA into group (cyclists killed in London to that point that year) Collectivization – 4 sentences use word 'cyclist' to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of Cyclist** SA associated with cyclists as group, identity as 'them' in 'cyclist as out-group' discourse.
		Car driver – No aggregation, Low collectivisation Aggregation – No use of definite quantifier. Collectivization – 1 sentence uses word 'driver' to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of Car driver** Weak effect due to lack of references, but SA cast as normative 'driver' ('us') in one sentence.

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_003b

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Bicycle rider – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 3 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial (Backgrounded) Referral in one sentence, separate from collision action (stopping at the scene; being arrested)	
Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have. (Such as being a 'problem')	**Bicycle rider** **Objectification – None** Represented six times as 'man' or variations thereof; references to bicycle use incidental. **Abstraction – None.** No quality assigned.(Qualities mentioned are all modifiers of 'man')	**Objectification by Mode**
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial** Introduced in terms of 'car' 1 once, before single reference to 'driver'. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	**Objectification by Mode**

2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Bicycle Rider – Passive x3 Active x0 – All passive (including initial (headline)).** 2 sentences use '**knocked off**'; 1 uses '**hit**' to allocate passivity to SA.	**Causation and Blame** SA given passive role, though only one of the three sentences includes the other SA performing the action (and then as object). Note: change of verb choice from 003a ('knocked off').
		Car driver/Car – Active x1 , Passive x0 – All Active (including initial). 1 sentences use 'hit by a car' to allocate active role to SA.	**Causation and Blame** SA is given active role, implying blame, though only in one sentence and which uses object ('car)' rather than SA themselves.
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person'	**Bicycle Rider – High functionalisation** 0 sentences refer to SA as 'cyclist' (object associated with activity). 1 sentence refer to SA as **grandfather** (role - suffixed verb) 1 sentence refer to SA as **businessman** (role, - Noun suffixed with 'man' 1 sentence refer to SA as **mechanic** (role (object associated with non-mode activity) 14 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Bicycle Rider – High identification** 17 sentence refer to SA through classification (gender), within which 2 also refer to socio-	**Sympathy** Shift of functionalisation – cf high object associated with mode activity functionalisation in 003a – and replaced with specific references to SA as a person. Also increase in sentences referring to SA without functionalisation. Huge increase in identification renders SA

	Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	economic class ('businessman'; 'mechanic'), and 1 to age. 6 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (grandfather, father, SA's wife, friend). 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification	as human deserving sympathy.
		Car Driver – Moderate (but weak) functionalisation 1 sentence refer to SA as 'driver' (activity, suffixed verb). 1 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation (via object – 'car'). **Car Driver – Low identification** 1 sentence refers to SA in terms of 2 different classifications (gender and age) 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification.	**Blame** Whilst not realised through grammatical elements, SA is linked to possibility of blame through reference to them being arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving.

3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Bicycle Rider – High generic reference, High specific reference – Draw (both operate compositionally).** Generic – 7 sentences use a variety of singular nouns without definite article ('**grandfather'; 'a businessman**'; '**a mechanic'; 'a "brilliant" man'; 'He** was **a dad**'; '**a brilliant man**'; '**a dad'** . Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual in multiple ways: 1 sentence gives full name, first name and surname repeated separately in 1 further sentence each 1 sentence gives age. 2 sentences give occupation. 1 sentence gives indication of workplace.	**Them and Us** Complete absence of generalisation into 'cyclist', instead Generic references draw on a range of recognisable classification to which audience will share one or more membership, effectively frame SA as 'us' rather than 'them' in this instance. Specific references further emphasise the individual humanity of the SA. Whilst elsewhere generic and specific references have appeared as oppositional, here they work compositionally to establish a sense of 'us'. Effect further strengthened by subordination of mode; SA is (unusually)not generalised into a group of 'cyclist'.
		Car driver – Low generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic (weak - neutral) Generic - 1 sentence where SA generalised into class of people ('a 31-year-old man'). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Generic references frame SA as 'them' rather than 'us'. Generalisation is also unrelated to being a car driver – as with other SA, the mode is subordinated in this process. Lack of

Assimilation Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)			references of SA overall has a backgrounding effect; SA barely registers as 'them' or 'us', which minimises the sense that blame lies with a human agent.
	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Bicycle rider – No aggregation, Low collectivization** Aggregation – No use of definite quantifier to aggregate SA into group Collectivization – Some use of word 'family to collectivise of SA into group identity. No sentences use word 'cyclist' to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of Cyclist** SA now not associated with cyclists as group, now associated with largely domestic and work groups. Absence of cyclist group identity unusual, and notable that aggregation into killed cyclists is now absent. In becoming 'us', the SA simultaneously ceases to be assimilated into a group whose deaths are elsewhere framed as the fault of the victim.
		Car driver – No aggregation, Low collectivisation Aggregation – No use of definite quantifier. Collectivization – 1 sentence uses word 'driver' to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of Car driver** Weak effect due to lack of references, but SA cast as

			normative ‘driver’ (‘us’) in one sentence, whilst also being distanced from the collision..

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_004

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded *Impersonalization* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Bicycle rider – Not excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 6 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial (Backgrounded) Referral in 2 sentences, separate from collision action (being arrested, stopping at the scene and being arrested)	
	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have. (Such as being a 'problem')	**Bicycle rider** **Objectification – None** Represented in terms of 'cyclist' seven times. Represented four times as 'man' or variations thereof. **Abstraction – None.** No quality assigned.	
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial (inc headline)** Introduced in terms of 'van' 3 times, before first reference to 'driver', then 'van' 3 more tiems before 2nd and final reference to 'driver' **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	**Objectification by Mode**

2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Bicycle Rider – Passive x7 (of which 4 equally with other SA) Active x0 – All passive** 3 sentences use variations of 'killed' to allocate passivity to SA (**killed, to be killed, killed)** 1 sentence uses variations of crash to allocate passivity to SA (**in *the crash* with)** 2 sentences uses both killed and crash to allocate passivity to SA (**killed in crash** with, been **killed after a crash with)** 2 sentences use 'collision' to allocate passivity to SA (**a head on collision, a collision)**	**Causation and Blame** Total passivity assigned to this SA is matched by total passivity afforded to other SA, implying an accident with no blame. Notable double-passivity effect from sentence '**been killed after a crash with**', which distances passivity of 'crash' from 'being killed', as if the latter was less strongly caused by the former.
		Car driver/Car – Active x0; Passive x4 (of which all equally with other SA) – All passive 3 sentences use 'crash' to allocate passivity to SA (**a crash with, *the crash* with, in crash with)** 1 sentences uses 'crash' to allocate passivity to SA **(a collision of)**	**Causation and Blame** Passivity of both SA's implies no blame. Notable though that this SA referenced in fewer sentences related to crash action altogether, and always objectified as vehicle itself; SA as SA absent from these sentences. Where 5 out of 7 of the sentences in which the other SA is linked passively include variations of the verb 'to kill', only 1 of these also

			includes (objectified) reference to this SA (1 of 4 in total). This distances SA from the more emotive verbs uses, so that the danger/violence is something done to the other SA more than something involving this SA.
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's	**Bicycle Rider – Moderate to High functionalisation*** 7 sentences refer to SA as 'cyclist' (object associated with activity). 5 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation (of which 4 also refer to the bike or act of cycling). **Bicycle Rider – Moderate identification** 7 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender) of which 2 also age. 1 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (general reference to assumed 'friends and family'). 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 5 sentences refer to SA without identification	* Whilst the SA is referred to without linguistic functionalisation 5 times, the 7 times they are functionalised is quite high. Moreover, all but 1 of the 5 times they are not functionalised in the linguistic way described by van Leeuwen, there are also references to the bike/cycling
		Car Driver – Low to moderate functionalisation 2 sentences refer to SA as 'driver' (suffixed noun) 2 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Car Driver – Low identification**	

	mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	4 sentence refers to SA in terms of classification (gender). 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification.	
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Bicycle Rider – High generic reference, No specific reference – entirely Generic Reference** Generic – 4 sentences where SA generalised into class of people ('cyclists') 1 subordinate clause within sentence that otherwise uses definite article, where SA further generalised into a class of people ('**a man in his 30s**') Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Generic references suggest 'them-ness', especially as 4 of them are known out-group (cyclists as other discourse).
		Car driver – High generic reference, No specific reference - entirely generic	**Them and Us**

relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.		Generic - 2 sentence where SA generalised into two classes of people ('female', 'driver' – 'a female driver'). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	Generic references might suggest 'them-ness', although both modal classes of people are joined with gender. Audience also more likely to identify with driver as more lilely to also be a driver, so on balance with other SA fulfils marginal 'us'.
Assimilation Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Bicycle rider – Low aggregation, Moderate collectivization** Aggregation – Use of definite quantifier ('sixth') to aggregate SA into group (cyclists killed in London that year) Collectivization – 7 sentences use word 'cyclist' to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of Cyclist** Cyclists as ones who are killed on roads
		Car driver – No aggregation, Moderate collectivisation Aggregation – No use of definite quantifier Collectivization – 2 sentence uses word 'driver' (modified with 'female'), to express group identity.	**Them and Us – Figure of (female) driver.** Repeated modification of 'driver' with 'female' is unusual across the articles selected – gender often related but not repeated as a modifier to

			the noun ‘driver’ anywhere else in Cyc_Car. Implies specific group identity? Discourses around this?

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_005

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded *Impersonalization* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Bicycle rider – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 6 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Not excluded Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 4 sentences. Although first 2 (including headline) use term 'joyrider' rather than 'driver'.	**Distancing of driver** Whilst not excluded, the SA is framed in first two action references as a form of criminal ('joyrider')as much as a 'driver'.
		Other Car Driver – Partially Excluded 3 sentences refer to other Car Driver SA being indirectly involved in collision (events leading up to it), but this SA is only referred to as 'other car' or 'other vehicle'.	**Victims and Villains Discourse** Partial backgrounding of this other SA in contrast to non-exclusion of Car Driver SA implies less culpability for former. This SA did not hit bicycle rider SA, but this seems more down to luck given the information provided. Implication is that two very similar forms of bad driving behaviour diverge in the Villain discourse depending upon effect rather than cause. Cf

			‘lapse of judgement’ v ‘lapse of luck’.
		Witnesses/Onlookers – Partially Excluded (Backgrounded) 2 sentences refer to witnesses and onlookers that refer to the crash, but SA’s not participants in the crash itself.	**Victims and Villains Discourse** Emphasises car driver SA as villain ‘ ***the car*** racing ***the other*** ‘ ‘he just did a U-turn and drove away’, but does so through drawing distinction from implied normal driver behaviour.
	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have. (Such as being a ‘problem’)	**Bicycle rider** **Objectification – None** Represented without objectification in 7 sentences. 1 further sentence refers to the SA being with his ‘bike’, but bike is possessive object of personified rider (‘his bike’). **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial (v minimal)** 1 sentence represents SA through ‘a car’ in collision with a cyclist, though this is police quote at end of article. 5 sentences refer to SA without objectification (‘driver’ ‘joyrider’), including initial (headline). **Abstraction – Partial (v strong)** 1 sentence refers to SA as ‘racing joyrider’ 1 sentence refers to SA as ‘joyrider’.	**Distinction between normal driver and ‘problem’ driver.** To be cast as ‘villain’, SA must be associated with some specific figure of criminality – the rogue driver.

2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Bicycle Rider – Passive x7 including 1 shared equally with other SA's object ('car') Active x0 – All passive (including initial (headline)).** 3 sentences use action of being killed ('**kills**', '**killed** by', '**killed**') – 1 of which also includes 'knocked down' – to allocate passivity to SA. 1 sentences uses 'was **struck'** to allocate passivity to SA. 2 sentences use '**hit**' 'to allocate passivity to SA. 1 sentences uses '**in collision with'** to allocate passivity to SA, and allocates passivity equally with other SA.	**Causation and Blame** SA receives action throughout, and only shared with other SA in one instance. Verbs involved are highly emotive; SA receives being 'killed' 3 times, including in headline, and this is unusual in comparison to other articles looked at in this scenario and wider findings. Enhances SA as bike rider as victim, but notably in the context of being killed by a joyriding car driver.
		Car driver/Car – Active x4; Passive x1 ('Car' - 1 shared equally with other SA) – mostly active (including initial (headline)). 2 sentences use action of killing other SA ('**kills**', '**killed** by') – 1 of which also includes 'knocked down' – to allocate active role to SA. 2 sentences use '**hit**' to allocate active role to SA – 1 in reference to 'driver', one to 'car'. 1 sentence uses **'caught** on' to allocate passivity to SA, and allocates passivity equally with other SA.	**Causation and Blame** Active role allocation places blame on this SA, including through reference to SA as a form of car driver on 3 out of 4 sentences (only 1 sentence uses car for the active role). Use of vern 'to kill' also notable due to being highly emotive. However, in both uses of this verb where the SA performs the action, the SA is described as a 'joyrider' ('racing joyrider', 'suspected joyrider'), which

			separates the SA from the more typical 'car driver'.
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	**Bicycle Rider – High functionalisation** 4 sentences refer to SA as 'cyclist' (object associated with activity). 2 sentences refer to SA as 'teacher' (role – suffixed verb) (including initial (headline)). 2 sentences refer to SA as 'father' (role) 2 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Bicycle Rider – High identification** 10 sentences refer to SA through classification, of (gender), of which 1 also age, 2 also socio-economic group (teacher). 5 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (as father, SA's wife, SA's brother SA's children, SA's neighbour). 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 3 sentences refer to SA without identification	**Victim** High functionalisation and high identification both build a humanised account of the SA, highlighting the human tragedy of their death and framing them as a victim of a crime or tragedy.
		Car Driver – Moderate functionalisation 3 sentences refer to SA as 'driver' (function - suffixed verb). 2 sentences refer to SA as 'joyrider' (role - suffixed verb) 3 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Car Driver – No identification** 0 sentences refers to SA in terms of social classification.	**Villain – Figure of Joyrider** SA's moderate level of functionalisation is heavily influenced by the use of 'joyrider' in both the headline and opening sentence. This casts the SA in a villain role prior to the more common 'driver' functionalisation. The absences of

		0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification.	identification further serves to construct the SA as an archetype rooted in criminality, with the driver function secondary. Suggests discourse of the 'lawbreaker/criminal who drives a car ' as distinct from 'car driver'.
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Bicycle Rider – Moderate generic reference, High specific reference – mostly specific** Generic – 2 sentences where SA generalised into 2 different classes of people ('teacher', 'cyclist') Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual in multiple ways: 1 sentence gives full name, first name repeated in 1 further sentence 1 sentence gives age. 2 sentences give occupation. 1 sentence gives workplace. 1 sentence names brother.	**Them and Us**

relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful. *Assimilation* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)		**Car driver –Moderate generic reference, No specific reference – mostly generic** Generic - 2 sentence where SA generalised into to 1 class of people ('joyrider'). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us – othering the villainous driver** Use of singular without definite article is only applied to the use of 'joyrider' ('joyrider', 'a joyrider') – which is also the only term used as an active role with the verb 'to kill' (x2). References to 'driver' always use the definite article. This has the effect of specifically othering the SA as a class of criminal car users (joy rider) distinct from car drivers more generally – an effect amplified by the absence of 'specific reference'. In order to be cast as the villain in this article, the car driver SA must first be made 'them' by establishing them within this (criminal) classification/archetype.
		Bicycle rider – Low aggregation, Moderate collectivization	**Them and Us – Figure of Teacher**

	Aggregation – Use of definite (‘ x number of’) or indefinite (‘most’) quantifiers to aggregate individual SA’s into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities (‘crew’, ‘staff’,)	Aggregation – Use of definite quantifier (‘11th cyclist’) to aggregate SA into group ‘cyclists killed in capital this year’. Collectivization – 4 sentences use word ‘cyclist’ to express group identity. 2 sentences use word ‘teacher’ to express group identity (professional).	SA is introduced as ‘teacher’ before being collectivised as ‘cyclist’. Not fully made ‘us’ – still ‘cyclist’ aggregated with other killed cyclists – yet prominence of ‘teacher’ (including in headline) encourages greater sense of empathy.
		Car driver – Moderate aggregation, Moderate collectivisation Aggregation – No use of definite quantifier. 3 uses of indefinite quantifier: 2 sentences refer to the other car that was racing/joyriding. 1 sentence refers to ‘**people racing** each other all the time along here.’ Collectivization – 2 sentence uses word ‘joyrider’ and 3 sentences use the word ‘driver’ to express group identity.	**Them and us – figure of joyrider** SA is assimilated into the figure of the lawbreaking joyrider through both aggregation and collectivisation. Prominence (and precedence) of ‘joyrider’ (first two references, inc headline) over ‘driver’ reinforces othering of SA into ‘them’, where ‘them’ is also distinct from typical car driver. Note that one aggregation example uses ‘people’ – rather than ‘drivers’ – to relate frequent high speed driving along section of road. SA thereby aggregated with a group of joyriders specifically not referred to as ‘drivers’.

Article Reference: Car_Ped_001

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded *Impersonalization* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 3 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial (Backgrounded) Referral in one sentence, separate from collision action (stopping at the scene)	**Evasion of Blame from Driver – Evasion of collisions as the consequences of the excluded SA's decisions.** Depersonalisation as SA excluded. Notable pattern emerging (seen also in Car_Cyc) where SA first/only referred to not only separate to collision action, but specifically in relation to 'stopping at the scene' action. Argument is sometimes made that use of 'car/van/etc.' for collision is incidental, since it is self-evident that the vehicle has a driver. If so, then why introduce the driver in relation to stopping or not? Why not 'car stopped at the scene' – driver equally implicitly involved? Effect is that (non-agentive) vehicle

			associated with collisions, whilst (agentive) SA associated with stopping/not stopping, and effect of this is that stopping/not stopping is implied as a choice on the part of the SA, whilst the collision is not a choice, and moreover *not a result of choices*. **Backgrounding the SA also backgrounds the choices that led to the collision, but only for the SA who is partially excluded in this way.**
	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – None** **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial (including headline)** Introduced in terms of '£250,000 Rolls-Royce', 'Wraith', 'Supercar' 4 times before single reference to 'driver', then further references to 'the Wraith' and 'the car'. **Abstraction – Partial (mixed use)** Reference to 'supercar' establishes power and status. In context of articles other references to	**Objectification by Mode** Pattern seen elsewhere, except notable fixation upon cost and status of the vehicle. Establishes SA as unusual.

		such cars, implies that SA may be part of a 'problem' in parts of London.	
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x2 Active x1 – mostly passive (including initial (headline)).** 2 sentences use 'died (after) being hit by' 1 sentence uses 'he collided with.'	**Causation and Blame** Pedestrian SA slightly more passive than active – this is in contradiction to expected patter based on previous CA research, however consider whether other SA fulfils 'exception' discourse (eg Rogue or unusual).
		Car driver/Car – Active x2 , Passive x1 – Mostly Active (including initial (headline)). 2 Active sentences use 'hit'.	**Causation and Blame**
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person'	**Pedestrian – Moderate functionalisation** 3 sentences refer to SA as 'Pedestrian' (suffixed verb associated with activity), including initial headline). 3 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation (one only through 'his'). **Pedestrian – Low identification** 4 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender), of which 1 also age. 1 sentence further uses age.	**Blame**

(compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	2 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (assumed family/relatives). 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 1 sentences refer to SA without identification	
		Car Driver – Low functionalisation 1 sentences refers to SA as 'driver' (suffixed verb). 0 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Car Driver – No identification** 0 sentences refer to SA in terms of classification. 0 sentences refer to SA through relational identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification. **<u>Special Case</u>** ***Car* – High Identification (adapted as not an SA – Object is also intrinsically functional)** 4 sentences refer to Object in terms of classification ('Rolls-Royce' or 'Wraith'), of which 2 further refer to cost of car and 1 further refers to registration in Qatar. 0 sentences refer to Object through relational identification. 1 sentence refers to Object through physical identification ('supercar')	**Possible Contradiction between SA and Object discourses:** **SA - Sympathy and the passive car driver.** Low functionalisation obscures SA's functional involvement in the crash; persists only as a single reference to the one who stopped (eg law-abiding). Note how associated with Backgrounding of driver. **Object – Spectacle of the unusual Car/Different rules** The car is identified more thoroughly and repeatedly than would be needed purely to help jog memory of potential witnesses. Establishes object as unusual. Implies should be interpreted differently to 'normal' car.

3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Pedestrian – Moderate generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic** Generic – 2 sentences where SA generalised into 1 class of people ('pedestrian', 'a pedestrian'). Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable individual, though Age given.	**Them and Us** SA is weakly 'them' due to lack of specific reference and largely weak generic references that only marginally associate SA with a group to which the audience may associate themselves.
		Car driver – No generic reference, No specific reference, inconclusive Generic - 0 sentence where SA generalised into class of people. Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual. **Special Case** ***Car* – Low generic reference, high specific reference (adapted as not an SA)** Generic - 2 sentence where Object generalised into class of vehicle. Specific – Object rendered as identifiable vehicle across 5 sentences (Make, Model, cost, country of registration, and references to having	**Them and Us** SA themselves barely features and so in this sense is neutral in terms of 'them/us'. However, unusually high fixation upon details of the car can be interpreted through generic/specific analysis. High specificity frames the car as part of an out-grouping (the rich/high status, also implications of non-UK ownership). However, this

		previously been specially photographed around London by 'motoring enthusiasts')	is allied to an aspirational discourse underscored by the reference to the car having been regularly photographed by 'motoring enthusiasts'; this suggests an 'out-group' that the audience may wish they could be part of, rather than one to be viewed with disdain. Creates an 'aspirational us', which is a kind of 'us' in that there is empathy for this group – membership derived from wealth rather than choice.
Assimilation Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Pedestrian – No aggregation, Low collectivization** Aggregation – No use of any quantifier to aggregate SA into group Collectivization – 3 sentences use word 'pedestrian' to express group identity.	
		Car driver – No aggregation, Moderate collectivisation	**Them and Us – Spectacle of the Supercar**

		Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 1 sentence uses word 'driver' to express group identity. **<u>Special Case</u>** ***Car* – Moderate aggregation, Moderate collectivisation (adapted as not an SA)** Aggregation – 1 sentences uses indefinite quantifier ('many') to aggregate object into group ('Middle Eastern' registered 'super cars') Collectivization – 2 sentence uses word 'supercar' to express Object group identity.	SA largely absent, however through association with/representation through Object (car) they are realised as part of the 'aspirational them' mentioned above. However, there is here a sense of assimilating the object into a problem group (being driven too fast, being non-UK registered) that contributes to an out-grouping.

Article Reference: Car_Ped_002

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 3 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial (Backgrounded) Referral in one sentence, separate from collision action (not stopping at the scene)	**Evasion of Blame from Driver** Depersonalisation as SA excluded
Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – None** Represented as 'Man' or by age throughout **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial (including headline)** Introduced in terms of car/vehicle object 3 times before single reference to 'driver'. Followed by 1 further object reference **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned. **Special Case** ***Car* - Abstraction**	**Objectification by Mode** Familiar pattern (Car driver SA represented by vehicular object), but with addition that objectification in headline establishes specific SA identity 'BMW Driver'.

		Referred to as 'BMW' in headline; sets up implied quality for associated SA 'BMW driver'. Reference in body expected as part of police request for information; headline reference does more than this.	
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x3, Active x 0 – All passive (including initial (headline))*, but with** 3 sentences allocate passivity to SA: **'killed'** **'being knocked down'** **'struck'** *Use of 'in hit-and-run' suggests some shared passivity due to nominalisation of verbs 'hit' and 'run' into a hyphenated noun. Only occurs in sentences noted above, however.	**Sympathy** Verbs used and passive role inspire sympathy for SA, without specifically transferring blame to driver (see objectification above).
		Car driver/Car – Active x3 , Passive x0* (equally with Pedestrian) – All Active (including initial (headline)). 3 sentences allocate active role to SA: **'killed'** **'being knocked down'** **'struck'** *Use of 'in hit-and-run' suggests some shared passivity due to nominalisation of verbs 'hit' and 'run' into a hyphenated noun. Only occurs in sentences noted above, however.	**Causation and Blame** Despite Active role assignment, objectification reduces blame attribution on SA. Use of hyphenated noun formed of two verbs ('hit-and-run') associates active role with a particular kind of event (in which SA to blame) whilst simultaneously reducing significance through nominalisation (verbs->noun).

Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)			
	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	**Pedestrian – Low functionalisation** 0 sentences refer to SA as 'pedestrian' – only 1 sentence mentions that they were 'walking' 4 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Pedestrian – Low identification** 3 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender), of which 1 also age. 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification. 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification	**Blame or Sympathy** Lack of detail does little to engender either blame or sympathy. General passivity of SA and use of 'man' rather than 'pedestrian' builds some sympathy. Use of 'man' results in unusually low functionalisation, which evades pedestrian discourses and makes SA more straightforwardly a victim.
		Car Driver – Low functionalisation 1 sentences refers to SA as 'driver' (suffixed verb). 0 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Car Driver – No identification** 0 sentences refer to SA in terms of classification. 0 sentences refer to SA through relational identification. 1 sentences refer to SA without identification. **Special Case** ***Car* – Moderate Identification (adapted as not an SA – Object is also intrinsically functional)** 2 sentences refer to Object in terms of classification ('BMW'). Body reference consistent with Police appeal for information, headline	**Sympathy and the passive car driver.** Low functionalisation obscures SA's functional involvement in the crash; persists only as a single reference, though as criminal (not stopping). Note how associated with Backgrounding of driver; again the collision ('hit') is associated with the object (car/BMW), the 'run' with the human SA. So 'Hit-and-Run' is a two-part event, ascribed here to object and SA separately.

		reference adds little to this but does frame collision in terms of the Objects classification (higher status car). 0 sentences refer to Object through relational identification. 0 sentence refers to Object through physical identification.	
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Pedestrian – Moderate generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic** Generic – 2 sentences where SA generalised into 1 class of people ('man', 'a man'). Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us**
		Car driver – No generic reference, No specific reference, inconclusive Generic - 0 sentence where SA generalised into class of people. Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us**

relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.			
Assimilation Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Pedestrian – No aggregation, No collectivization** Aggregation – No use of quantifier to aggregate SA into group Collectivization – 0 sentences use words to express group identity.	**Us and Them** Unusual absence of modal identity, since SA referred to only by gender and age. Potentially engenders 'us' given lack of identification of other SA, and in particular the representation of the other SA through object (BMW) as subgroup ('BMW driver')
		Car driver – No aggregation, Moderate collectivisation Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 1 sentence uses word 'driver' to express group identity. **Special Case - *Car*** 2 Sentences specify car as BMW. Whilst police appeal reference is found elsewhere, additional	**Figure of the 'other' kind of driver** Implied qualification of SA as 'BMW Driver' (via objectified use of 'BMW' in headline) suggests a group distinct form the normative 'Car Driver'. Use of inverted commas in headline emphasises

		use in headline engenders indirect assimilation into ‘BMW Driver’ group identity.	this – a needless ‘scare quote’ that indicates a special case use.

Article Reference: Car_Ped_003

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded *Impersonalization* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 3 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial (Backgrounded) Referral in one sentence, separate from collision action (going to hospital; being arrested)	**Evasion of Blame from Driver** Depersonalisation as SA excluded
		Headline Both SA's are excluded from the headline	**Evasion of Human Agency** Exclusion of both SAs means headline renders collision as both 'horrifying' and absent people.
	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – None** Represented as 'man' twice, and as one of two 'pedestrians' once. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial** Introduced in terms of 'Mercedes' 2 times and 'car' once before first reference to 'driver'. Then 'car' once more, then 'driver' again **Abstraction – None**	

		No quality assigned.	
		Headline Whilst both SA's are absent from the headline, there is an abstraction-aspect to the use of 'high speed' to describe the crash – a quality of the Object associated with the Car Driver SA is used in place of them. A kind of second-order depersonalisation, where abstraction is applied to what is already objectified.	**Further exclusion of Car Driver SA** 'High speed' is a quality of the car more than of the car driver.
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA. *Functionalization and identification* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x4 Active x0 – All passive (including initial).** 2 sentences use 'hit' ('being **hit**', '**hit'**) and 2 further sentences use '**ploughed** into' and 'thrown into the air' respectively to allocate passivity to SA	**Sympathy** Pedestrian SA is passive victim of larger forces.
		Car driver/Car – Active x2 , Passive x0 – All Active (including initial). 2 sentences use 'hit' ('**hit** […] by', '**hit'**) and 1 further sentence uses '**ploughed** into' to allocate passivity to SA. Note: Several sentences describe action without mentioning SA or object, including headline and one sentence in body where other SA is mentioned but Car/Car Driver is not ('thrown into the air'… by what?)	**Causation and Blame** Causation associated with car through active role, yet several examples of this causation being related without even reference to Car object, let alone SA.

Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)			
	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	**Pedestrian – Low functionalisation** 1 sentences refer to SA as 'pedestrian' (suffixed verb). 2 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Pedestrian Rider – Moderate identification** 3 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender), of which 1 also age group. 1 sentences refers to SA through relational identification ('the pair' implies relational link between SA and other pedestrian involved). 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification	**Sympathy** Low functionalisation – and in particular the use of 'man' rather than pedestrian in 2 sentences (and use of 'man' even in sentence that does use 'pedestrian') – with moderate identification engenders sympathy and distances SA from potential blame discourses such as the figure of the inattentive pedestrian. This interacts with the location being a crossing, and the emphasis on the high speed of the car to further invoke sympathy and distance blame.
		Car Driver – Moderate functionalisation 2 sentences refers to SA as 'driver' (suffixed verb). 0 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Car Driver – No identification** 1 sentences refer to SA in terms of classification (age). 0 sentences refer to SA through relational identification. 1 sentences refer to SA without identification.	**Sympathy and the passive car driver.** Moderate functionalisation, but all associated with non-collision/non-driving actions (being arrested, being bailed) rather than the function of driving or the collision. SA's functional involvement in the collision; persists indirectly through implied criminal blame. Link to exclusion and impersonalisation, which shows how Object itself (car) is more explicitly part of the function of the collision.

3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Pedestrian – Moderate generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic** Generic – 2 sentences where SA generalised into 1 class of people ('man', 'a man'). 1 sentence where SA generalised into 2 classes of people ('pedestrians' and, 'a man') Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Main generic classification is gender based rather than mode based, engendering 'us' by emphasising as a kind of human rather than a kind of mode. Mode itself also more broadly shared by potential audience. Note: hierarchy of generic modal classification as a discourse (Drivers>Pedestrians>Cyclists).
		Car driver – No generic reference, No specific reference, inconclusive Generic - 0 sentence where SA generalised into class of people. Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Lack of either generic or specific reference makes grouping inconclusive, although use of definite article ('the driver') in two sentences associates the specific driver with criminal actions (arrested, bailed), serving to suggest an out-group/themness that is

Assimilation Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)			seperated from the generic classification of 'car drivers'.
	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Pedestrian – Low aggregation, Low collectivization** Aggregation – Use of definite quantifier ('pair') to aggregate SA into group (pedestrians involved in collision) Collectivization – 1 sentences use word 'pedestrians' to express group identity – possibly 'pair' also works here.	**Them and Us** Although low/weak, 'Pair' associates SA with other pedestrian involved, suggesting both an aggregate of victims and membership of a small group (a couple/couples) with which audience may identify.
		Car driver – No aggregation, Low collectivisation Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 2 sentence uses word 'driver' to express group identity.	**Rogue Us/Them** SA isolated (not aggregated) and further isolated from within 'car driver' group identity by use of definite article and use only in terms of alleged criminality (see generic/specific above)

Article Reference: Car_Ped_004

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded *Impersonalization* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 5 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Unusual Partial Exclusion (some backgrounding) Referral in one sentence related to collision, though sentence emphasises SA hitting a wall, with other SA consequently caught underneath vehicle. One other referral separate from collision action (being arrested)	**Arrested Driver not fully Excluded.** SA is present in a sentence describing the accident – suggesting that they are unusually visible compared to other articles – and this may relate to their being subsequently arrested (eg 'rogue driver' trope/discourse). However, even here there is some distance maintained between SA and collision: at the clause level, the driver actually hits a wall, not the other SA, and it is the car under which the other SA is trapped in the subsequent clause.

	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – None** Represented by name, gender, age, etc throughout. Note: never referred to as pedestrian. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial (including headline)** Introduced in terms of car object ('car', 'Honda Civic') 3 times before first reference to 'driver'. Two further references to car object in that same sentence. Final reference to 'driver' at end. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	**Objectification by Mode** Main focus is on car object, though driver is related to collision – albeit collision with wall rather than explicitly with other SA (see 'exclusion' above).
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x5 Active x0 – All passive (including initial (headline)).** 2 sentences use 'killed', one of which also 'hit' (**'killed by', '**was **hit** and **killed** by') to allocate passivity to SA. 2 sentences use 'struck' ('was **struck** by', 'was **struck**') to allocate passivity to SA. 1 sentences uses '**trapping**' to allocate passivity to SA.	**Sympathy** High number of sentences placing SA in passive role emphasises who is victim and engenders sympathy. Use of 'trapping' particularly evocative, since it is not only done to the SA (passive role) but also communicates being made passive/helpless by the car.
		Car driver/Car – Active x5 , Passive x 0– All active (including initial (headline)).	**Causation and Blame - Driver as passenger**

Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)		2 sentences use 'killed', one of which also 'hit' (**'killed by', '**was **hit** and **killed** by') to allocate active role to SA. 2 sentences use 'struck' ('was **struck** by', 'was **struck**') to allocate active role to SA. 1 sentences uses '**trapping**' to allocate active role to SA.	SA given Active Role, though note that this is largely communicated through reference to object (car) rather than SA directly.
	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'. • Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's	**Pedestrian – Low functionalisation** 0 sentences refer to SA as 'pedestrian' or any other functional term. 1 sentences refer to SA as 'teaching assistant' (role – suffixed verb). 4 sentences refer to SA in relational role (Mother x3, like a sister x1, partner x1 – suffixed verbs) 16 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Pedestrian – High identification** 22 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender), of which 1 also age. 10 sentences refers to SA through various relational identifications ('mother', 'family', 'like a sister', 'daughter'). 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 0 sentences refer to SA without identification	**Sympathy** Very High identification – with low functionalisation – engenders a strong sense of empathy and consequent sympathy. Casts SA as victim of tragic accident (more so than of crime - see also Car Driver analysis below)
		Car Driver – Low functionalisation 2 sentences refers to SA as 'driver' (suffixed verb). 0 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation.	**'The Tragic Accident' - Active but Absent Driver** Though ascribed active role above, this is mainly

	mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	**Car Driver – Low identification** 1 sentence refers to SA in terms of classification (gender). 0 sentences refer to SA through relational identification. 1 sentences refer to SA without identification.	via associated object (car). Low functionalisation obscures SA's functional involvement in the crash. Low identification further backgrounds SA (cf with exclusion). In context of the partial exclusion of this SA, the blame directed via active role is moderated; blame is less directed to this SA than sympathy is to other SA. Remainder of 'blame' left undirected.
3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference*	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people.	**Pedestrian – Low generic reference, High specific reference, mostly specific** Generic – 0 sentences where SA generalised into modal classification of people (no reference to 'pedestrian' etc). 2 sentences where SA generalised into non-modal classification of people ('mother', 'a woman).	**Them and Us** The low generic reference and high specific reference engenders empathy and brings the SA into the 'in-group' or 'us' for large parts of the audience.

Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful. *Assimilation* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)	• Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual through reference to name, age, family relations, place of residence, job.	
		Car driver – Low generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic Generic - 1 sentence where SA generalised into class of people ('a male driver' (arrested)). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Them and Us** Generic reference is low, but with no specific reference there is little to engender empathy. The classification of people is modal ('drvier') but modified with gender, which may engender some 'us-ness', though see also below re assimilation.
	Aggregation – Use of definite (' x number of') or indefinite ('most') quantifiers to aggregate individual SA's into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities ('crew', 'staff',)	**Pedestrian – No aggregation, Low collectivization** Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. However, those mourning SA described using semi-definite quantifier ('hundreds gathered', 'hundreds form the community'). This has an assimilating effect. Collectivization – 1 sentences use word 'from the community' in relation to those paying respects to SA to express group identity.	**Us** The assimilation of the SA into the wider community – denoted by references to 'hundreds' of mourners and being lived by 'everyone' – engenders a sense of SA as part of 'us'.

		No modal group identity.	
		Car driver – No aggregation, Moderate* collectivisation Aggregation – No use of quantifiers to aggregate SA into group. Collectivization – 2 sentences use word 'driver' to express modal group identity.	**Them - Figure of Rogue Driver** *In context of generic reference to 'a male driver', sentence concerned uses this generic reference in the context of the SA being arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving. SA thereby collectivised (weakly) into sub-classification of 'arrested/dangerous' drivers.

Article Reference: Car_Ped_005a

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded *Impersonalization* Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 2 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial (Backgrounded – slightly contradictory) Referral in one sentence, separate from collision action (arrested) Note: Although sentence refers to the arrest as being 'over the crash' – suggesting slightly more of a link to the collision, though also using verb nominalisation – the passenger is also referred to as arrested, suggesting some separation of the arrest action from the collision.	**SA roles** Contradictory. SA excluded from clear reference to collision action, whilst presence also denoted in the context of 'arrest' – though this for a criminal action potentially separate to *driving* actions as both car occupants arrested.
	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object. Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – Partial (v weak)** Represented as 'man' or 'victim' throughout, though one reference to 'on foot' is a weak form of objectification. **Abstraction – Partial** Quality of 'victim' assigned.	
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial (including headline)**	**Objectification by Mode**

		Introduced in terms of 'car' 2 times before single reference to 'driver'. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	
2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA.	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x2 Active x0 – All passive (including initial (headline)).** 2 sentences use 'hit by'' to allocate passive role to SA.	.
		Car driver/Car – Active x2 , Passive x0 – All active (including initial (headline)). 2 sentences use 'hit' to allocate active role to SA.	**Causation and Blame**
Functionalization and identification Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional	Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through: • Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); '-er', '-ant', '-ent', '-ian', and '-ee'.	**Pedestrian – No/Low functionalisation** 0 sentences refer to SA as 'pedestrian'. Note: 1 sentence refers to SA as being 'on foot' – activity noun, though not one formed in the way described by van Leeuwen. 1 further sentence uses 'victim' (role, again not in van Leeuwen) 2 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation.	**Blame and Sympathy** Despite generally low level of information, article draws specific attention to the SA as a 'victim' who was 'on foot', but of which

Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	• Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with '–ist', '-eer' etc. • Nouns suffixed with 'man' 'woman' or 'person' Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun: • *Classification* – 'gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…' • *Relational identification* – 'friend, aunt, colleague', with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child's mother) or postmodifier with 'of' (a mother of five). • *Physical identification* – 'Blonde, tall, etc'. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types ('a short man'). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.	**Bicycle Rider – Low identification** 2 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender). 0 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (next of kin). 0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification. 4 sentences refer to SA without identification	underscore vulnerability and engender sympathy.
		Car Driver – Moderate functionalisation 1 sentence refers to SA as 'driver' (suffixed verb). 0 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation. **Car Driver – Low identification** 1 sentences refer to SA in terms of classification (gender). 0 sentences refer to SA through relational identification (though 1 sentence implies some kind of relation to passenger). 0 sentences refer to SA without identification.	**Rogue car driver.** Despite low level of detail (1 reference sentence) functionalisation is moderate as this one sentence does functionalise. Function simultaneously linked ('over crash') and separated ('arrested' as verb) from collision action. Function thereby rooted in a role of criminal driving.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="5">3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience ‘us’) and who is the out-group (assumed audience ‘them’)

Generic and specific reference
<u>Type:</u> Objective count, subjective interpretation
<u>Indicators:</u> Oppositional
<u>Measure</u>:
No/Low/Moderate/High
Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.</td><td rowspan="4">Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people.
Use of plural without applicable article (‘the’, ‘some’).
Use of singular without definite article (‘the’).
Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.</td><td>Pedestrian – Moderate generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic
Generic – 2 sentences where SA generalised into 1 class of people (‘man’, ‘a man’).
Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable individual.

Note: not identifiable, but emotive use of definite article to relate SA as ‘the victim’.</td><td>Them and Us
Generic reference focuses on SA as ‘man’ rather than in terms of mode. Humanising effect that encourages ‘us’ interpretation.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Car driver – No generic reference, No specific reference, inconclusive
Generic - 0 sentence where SA generalised into class of people.
Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual (though is ‘the driver’).</td><td>Them and Us
SA is not generalised, and though not identified is represented as ‘the driver’ in the context of arrest. This separates SA form the generic ‘driver’ group and encourages ‘them’ interpretation.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Assimilation
<u>Type:</u> Objective
<u>Indicators:</u> Compositional
<u>Measure:</u>
No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)</td><td rowspan="2">Aggregation – Use of definite (‘ x number of’) or indefinite (‘most’) quantifiers to aggregate individual SA’s into groups.

Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities (‘crew’, ‘staff’,)</td><td>Pedestrian – No aggregation, No collectivization
Aggregation – No use of quantifier to aggregate SA into group
Collectivization – 0 sentences use word to express group identity.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Car driver – Moderate aggregation, Low collectivisation</td><td>Rogue Driver</td></tr>
</table>

		Aggregation – Use of definite quantifier ‘two men’ to aggregate SA into group (arrested men in car), although reference specific to car/collision. Collectivization – 1 sentence uses word ‘driver’ to express group identity.	Aggregation is limited to the other person in the car who was also arrested, associating SA with wider criminal driving behaviour linked to the crash. This counterbalances the association with a collective ‘driver’ modal group identity, to underscores SA as atypical of this group

Article Reference: Car_Ped_005b

Pass	Textual Indicators	Social Actors	Themes/Discourses Associated with SA in this category/element
1 – Who is present and who is absent? *Exclusion* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Radically Excluded/Partially Excluded/Not excluded	Radical – Implied SA not referred to at all Partial – SA backgrounded, referral separate from action	**Pedestrian – Not Excluded** Explicitly referred to in relation to collision related actions in 2 sentences.	
		Car Driver – Partial (Backgrounded – slightly contradictory) Referral in 3 sentences, largely separate from collision action ('shaken' x2, arrested x1) In one of the 'driver shaken' sentences, the 'collision' itself is also referred to, but in a subordinate clause in relation to the car the SA was driving rather than to the SA. In the 'arrested' sentence the 'crash' is referred to in the main clause ('arrested over the crash') which suggests a slightly more direct referral between SA and collision action – though also using verb nominalisation ('the crash') – but the passenger is also referred to as arrested, suggesting some separation between the arrest action and the collision.	**SA roles** Contradictory. SA excluded from clear reference to collision action, whilst also appearing as a kind of 'second passenger' in the 'shaken' sentence. 'Arrested' sentence denotes presence more clearly, though in the context of a criminal action potentially separate to *driving* actions as both car occupants arrested.
Impersonalization Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional	Objectification – SA is represented by reference to associated object.	**Pedestrian** **Objectification – Partial** Represented as 'pedestrian' in 3 sentences (including initial (headline)).	**Impersonalisation of Victim** A mixed picture; specific details (name etc) not yet

Measure: None, Partial (mixed use), Total Also note if initial representation of SA is impersonalised.	Abstraction – SA is represented by reference to quality they supposedly have (such as being a 'problem')	**Abstraction – Partial** Quality of 'victim' assigned.	available, but use of words such as 'stricken man' and 'poor guy' humanise as a person. Oddly, the use of objectification here contrasts with initial report – where word 'man' used in the headline and first sentence of the initial report, 'pedestrian' is used here, so that the later article opens with SA more impersonalised – we might expect the opposite (& see other examples).
		Car Driver **Objectification – Partial, Initial (including headline)** Introduced in terms of 'car/Mazda' 2 times before first reference to 'driver', which comes in a sentence further referring to the car object. Further sentence referring to car object, then two more to driver SA. **Abstraction – None** No quality assigned.	**Objectification by Mode**
		'Boy Racers' – Not present at scene, yet feature repeatedly (including in headline) **Objectification – None** always 'people', 'boy racers', 'motorcylist'. **Abstraction - Total** Represented throughout as a problem	**Figure of the Rogue Road Users (motorised)**

2 – Who is to blame, who deserves sympathy? *Role allocation* Type: Objective Indicators: Oppositional Measure: Number of instances – which used most. Also note & give more weight to which role is used in initial representation of SA. *Functionalization and identification* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation. Indicators: Compositional Measure: Low/moderate/high (compare number of instances with number of counter-instances within element)	Active role – SA performs action in sentence Passive role – SA receives action in sentence	**Pedestrian – Passive x4 Active x0 – All passive (including initial (headline)).** 4 sentences allocate passive role to SA. (‘**killed**’, ‘**hit by**’, ‘**collided**’, ‘**on impact**’)	.
		Car driver/Car – Active x2 , Passive x2 – Numerically inconclusive – interpretatively slightly more active (including initial (headline)).* 2 sentences allocate active role to SA/Object ‘hit by (car)’, ‘(car) collided with’. 2 sentences allocate passive role to SA/Object (‘in the collision’) (‘over the crash ‘). *Despite 50/50 split, can be determined to be more of an active role given two factors: 1. Initial headline role is active. 2. Active role assigned in sentences that include the other SA, whilst passive role in sentences where other SA not included. Therefore the action is done to the other SA by this SA/object.	**Causation and Blame** Complex. Other SA is clearly given passive role, and all relevant sentences involving both SA’s place car driver SA/object in active role. However, these are matched by sentences involving only the car driver SA (one of which also includes car object, albeit in a subordinate clause) in which SA is given passive role. Notable that Active role only given to car object. Results in a distinction between the car object as active agent, and the SA as passive.

<table>
<tr>
<td rowspan="2"></td>
<td rowspan="2">Functionalisation – SA referred to in terms of a function/activity/role. Realised through:
• Nouns formed by suffixed verbs (where root verb is the activity); ‘-er’, ‘-ant’, ‘-ent’, ‘-ian’, and ‘-ee’.
• Nouns denoting something associated with the activity, suffixed with ‘–ist’, ‘-eer’ etc.
• Nouns suffixed with ‘man’ ‘woman’ or ‘person’

Identification – SA referred to by what society believes them to intrinsically be. Realised through three types of noun:

• Classification – ‘gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation…’
• Relational identification – ‘friend, aunt, colleague’, with modifiers possessive pronoun (my friend), genitive (the child’s mother) or postmodifier with ‘of’ (a mother of five).
• Physical identification – ‘Blonde, tall, etc’. Also formed by adjectives with other noun types (‘a short man’). Lend themselves to establishing/maintaining stereotypes.</td>
<td>Pedestrian – Moderate functionalisation
3 sentences refer to SA as ‘pedestrian’.
1 further sentence uses ‘victim’ (role, not in van Leeuwen)
4 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation.

Bicycle Rider – Moderate identification
4 sentences refer to SA through classification (gender).
1 sentence refers to SA through relational identification (assumed next of kin).
0 sentences refer to SA through physical identification.
4 sentences refers to SA without identification</td>
<td>Blame and Sympathy

Despite generally low level of information, article functionalises more than initial reporting, and does during first part of article (including headline). Draws specific attention to the SA as a ‘victim’ ‘Poor guy’ etc. underscores vulnerability and engender sympathy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Driver – Moderate functionalisation
3 sentences refers to SA as ‘driver’ (suffixed verb).
0 sentences refer to SA without functionalisation.

Car Driver – Low identification
1 sentences refer to SA in terms of classification (gender).
0 sentences refer to SA through relational identification (though 1 sentence implies some kind of relation to passenger).
0 sentences refer to SA without identification.</td>
<td>Rogue car driver.

Function simultaneously linked (‘over crash’) and separated (‘arrested’ as verb) from collision action. Function thereby routed in a role of criminal driving.

Low identification provides little to engender sympathy, although article refers twice to the SA being ‘shaken’, which may perform this function (though not part of van Leeuwen’s analysis).</td>
</tr>
</table>

3 – Who is the in-group (assumed audience 'us') and who is the out-group (assumed audience 'them') *Generic and specific reference* Type: Objective count, subjective interpretation Indicators: Oppositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High Count number of instances, also number of different classes, assess relative power of each in relation to other SAs.). Which used most/most powerful.	Generic – Generalisation of SA into classes of people. • Use of plural without applicable article ('the', 'some'). • Use of singular without definite article ('the'). Specific – SA rendered as identifiable individual.	**Pedestrian – Moderate generic reference, No specific reference, mostly generic** Generic – 3 sentences where SA generalised into 1 class of people ('pedestrian', 'a pedestrian). Specific – SA not rendered as identifiable individual. Note: not identifiable, but emotive use of definite article to relate SA as 'the victim'. Also, definite article used in relation to gender 'the man', 'the poor guy' where initial reporting had used these terms generically. Note2: Possible issue with method here? Van Leeuwen's model seems to place generic in opposition to specific, yet does not clarify where to register uses of applicable article; these are non-generic, yet the opposing 'specific' category is for when SA rendered as an 'identifiable individual'. Some cases point towards specific individual, but do not identify.	**Them and Us** In contrast to initial reporting, generic reference now focuses on SA as 'pedestrian' (ie modally) rather than as 'man'. Humanising effect seen in intial reversed in terms of generic referencing – now more typical of other reporting in that generic pedestrian now encouraging more towards 'them' interpretation. Conversely, presence of definite 'the man', 'the poor guy' preserves some of the initial reporting's humanising effect, albeit not through what van Leeuwen's model codifies as a specific reference.

Assimilation Type: Objective Indicators: Compositional Measure: No/Low/Moderate/High (compare number of instances)			Ultimately 'them' for cause, but 'us' for sympathy?
		Car driver – No generic reference, No specific reference, inconclusive Generic - 0 sentence where SA generalised into class of people. Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual (though is 'the driver').	**Them and Us** SA is not generalised, and though not identified is represented as 'the driver' in the contexts of being 'shaken' and being arrested. This separates SA from the generic 'driver' group and encourages 'them' interpretation. 'Them' for cause.
		'Boy Racers' – Not present at scene, yet feature repeatedly (including in headline) **High generic reference, No specific reference, Generic** Generic – 3 sentences where SA generalised into class of people 'boy racers, 'people (who speed)' 'they' (speeders) 'a motorcylist' (who speeds, does wheelies). Specific - SA not rendered as identifiable individual.	**Figure of the rogue 'driver'** Though not present at the scene, and despite the SA car driver not being specifically associated with this SA, the juxtaposing of the references to this SA with the collision – which starts very conspicuously in the headline, encourages the audience to think on a 'them' 'out-group' of motorised vehicle users.

	Aggregation – Use of definite (‘ x number of’) or indefinite (‘most’) quantifiers to aggregate individual SA’s into groups. Collectivization – Use of words expressing group identities (‘crew’, ‘staff’,)	**Pedestrian – No aggregation, No collectivization** Aggregation – No use of quantifier to aggregate SA into group Collectivization – 3 sentences use word ‘pedestrian’ to express modal group identity.	
		Car driver – Moderate aggregation, Low collectivisation Aggregation – Use of definite quantifier ‘two men’ to aggregate SA into group (arrested men in car), although reference specific to car/collision. Use of indefinite quantifier ‘**they** just speed between the ***traffic lights*** at ***the junctions*** and then just slow down again’ – although referring to those not present, SA already associated with ‘they’ through juxtaposing with joyrider SA. Collectivization – 3 sentences uses word ‘driver’ to express modal group identity.	**Rogue Driver** Aggregation with the other person in the car who was also arrested, associating SA with wider criminal driving behaviour linked to the crash. This counterbalances the association with a collective ‘driver’ modal group identity, to underscores SA as atypical of this group. Moreover, the SA is collectivised with the joyrider SA indirectly through juxtaposition

Appendix E

Research Question 2 (RQ2) Completed Proformas

Text notation mode key

Social Actor	Vehicle/Object	Grouping (inc personal pronoun references)
Person using a bike	***Bicycle***	**Cyclists, bicyclists, riders, bike riders, them, etc**
Person using a car	***Car***	**Drivers, motorists, them, etc.**
Person walking	***On foot***	**Pedestrians, walkers, them, etc**
Other Person or entity present	***Junction, lights, carriageway, classification etc***	
Person or entity not present	***Junction, lights, carriageway, classification etc***	

Counterfactual, Thematic, and Episodic Frames

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_001

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
Use of crossing	Pedestrian or Bike Rider	(i) Not using crossing would have made things worse. (ii) If rider had respected crossing – irrespective of light phase – crash would not have happened (note: status of crossing phase not given).	(i) Subtractive, downward (ii) Subtractive, upward		(i) Pedestrian associated with good pedestrian thematic frame for using crossing. (ii) Bike rider associated with lawbreaking thematic frame for going through crossing
Rush Hour	Pedestrian and Bike Rider	At a quieter time of day, crash might not have happened.	Subtractive, upward	Both SA's associated with commuter peak, despite not being	Both SA's as problematic interlopers in auto-normative rush hour.

				explicitly associated with 'commuter' group.	
No previous known e-bike fatalities in UK (episodic – but in contrast to implied theme of 'previously known' non-e-bike fatalities).	Bike (Note: complex and contradictory thematic/episodic mix)	(i) If not an e-bike, crash might not have happened (or might not have been fatal) (episodic counterfactual). (ii)If e-bikes weren't on the streets, this new threat would not have emerged (beginning of a thematic counterfactual)	(i) Subtractive, upward (ii) Subtractive, upward	Disassociates with non-e-bikes, associates with new technology.	Implicitly recalls <u>problem</u> of traditional bikes causing fatal accidents. E-bikes as an <u>emerging threat</u>.
'insisted the bikes did not pose "any greater risk" than conventional versions'	Cycling UK and Bike / Bike Rider	If not an e-bike, crash might not have happened (or might not have been fatal).	(i) Subtractive, upward	Cycling UK framed as representative of cycling; cyclists as a homogenous group.	Implies that e-bike riders are prima-facie associated with a <u>problem</u>, against which Cycling UK must 'insist' a counter view.
'Under UK law, the electric assistance on e-bikes must cut out at 15.5mph.'	Bike and Bike Rider	If bike had been going slower, crash might not have happened (or might not have been fatal).	Subtractive, upward	Figure of the speeding cyclist.	Associates problem with <u>speeding cyclists</u>.

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with bicycles.

	Counterfactual Thematic (e-bike – see above)	
Location	Episodic	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_002

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
None	Pedestrian				
'Wanted' status for unrelated violent crime incident/altercation with police at crash site.	Bike Rider	If SA was not also potentially a perpetrator of violent crime/in conflict with authorities, accident would not have happened.	Subtractive, upward	SA as cyclist as 'villain' (implied through counterfactual, not explicitly named as such).	SA as cyclist associated with quality of criminality and resisting authority (implied through counterfactual, not explicitly abstracted).
'Two cyclists' turning into Oxford street, one of whom is the SA.	Bike Rider	If SA was not in a 'group', accident would not have happened.	Subtractive, upward	SA as cyclist is part of a group in ways other SA's are not (no clarity that the two cyclists were together: collectivisation asserted).	SA as cyclist associated with antisocial group riding (implication of 'two-abreast').

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes

Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with bicycles.
Location	Episodic	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_003

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	**Social Actor / Mode**	**Counterfactual Logic**	**Type**	**Collectivisation element**	**Abstraction element**
None	Pedestrian				
'a black man'	Bike rider	If rider had been of a different ethnicity, the crash would not have happened.	Subtractive, upward.	SA as member of ethnic out-group; 'other'.	SA as non-white ethnicity, non-white ethnicity as a problem.
'a quiet residential road' (subtractive, downward)	Location/road type	If it had been a busier road and/or high street, the crash would be more expected to happen	additive, downward		
'west London' (subtractive, downward)	Location	If it had been in a lower status part of London (discourse interpretation), the crash would be more expected to happen. Note: location (Shepherds Bush) already given twice, so further emphasis	additive, downward		

		on west London considered rhetorically significant.			

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with bicycles.
Location	Episodic	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_004

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
None	Pedestrian				
None	Bicycle Rider				

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with bicycles.
Location	Episodic	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.

Article Reference: Bike_Ped_005

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
'…while she was on her lunch break'	Pedestrian	If SA had not gone out for her lunch break, crash would not have happened.	Subtractive, upward.	SA as member of workforce, legitimate (professional, managerial, office based). Reinforces 'us' element of pedestrian victim SA in context to (illegitimate) presence of other SA (Bike Rider)	
None	Biker Rider				

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with bicycles.
Location	Episodic	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_001

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element

None					

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	**Thematic**	Details given of 1 other recent bicycle rider casualty (fatal) in preceding timeframe ('just over a week').
Car Driver/Car	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars. 1 reference to other bicycle rider casualty gives no details of what other vehicle/SA was involved.
Location	Episodic (location), **Thematic** (London)	Details of other bicycle rider casualty were not local (Clerkenwell), but part of wider 'London cycle casualty' thematic frame.
Summary and Discourse	One thematic element, bicycle rider focus.	Thematic frame does not include specific location theme, either in terms of place or road circumstances (eg road type, junction etc). Involvement of other SA in referenced other crashes is excluded. Thematic frame thereby implicitly reinforces discourse of bicycle rider as focus of problem (links to 'cyclist as lawbreaker', 'cyclist as villain').

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_002

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
Collision took place on World Bicycle Day	Bicycle Rider	On another day, the SA might not have been riding a bike and	Subtractive, upward	Cyclists collectivised as group who die, so more cyclists means more cyclist fatalities.	

		so the crash might not have happened.		Encouraging more cycling as irresponsible.	
Colour of respective vehicles (bike = black, car = silver)	Bicycle Rider/Bicycle Car Driver/Car	If the bike had been a brighter colour, the crash might not have happened.	Additive, upward		Lack of hi-vis bike colouring is a problem. (Colour of car may relate to police attempts to trace; colour of bike does not)
Cycle lane at junction with 1-way street was built 2 months ago	Cycling	Protected Cycle lane did not prevent collision; not building the cycle lane may have been better.	Subtractive, upward		Cycle lanes a problem; do not work. (Possible subtext of them encouraging more cycling>more collisions)

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	**Thematic**	Details given of 2 other recent bicycle rider casualties (fatal) in preceding timeframe ('that year').
Car Driver/Car	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars.
Location	**Thematic**	Details of other bicycle rider casualties emphasised as nearby (Greenwich) not and also part of wider 'London cycle casualty' thematic frame.
Summary and Discourse	Two thematic elements, clear bicycle rider focus with indeterminate location focus.	Thematic frame provides general location theme in terms of place, but no theme in terms of road circumstances (eg road type, junction etc) to this incident. Involvement of other SA in referenced other crashes is excluded, making it unclear if fatalities also involved drivers/hit-and-run drivers, or vans/buses/lorries etc. Thematic frame thereby implicitly reinforces discourse of bicycle rider as focus of problem (links to 'cyclist as lawbreaker', 'cyclist as villain'), with issue acute in London. Subtractive Counterfactual theme regarding protected cycle lane detracts

		from idea that infrastructure provision would avoid collision, though mention of junction leaves open possibility that the problem is with design/implementation.

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_003a

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
None					

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	**Thematic**	Reference to 7 other recent bicycle rider casualties (fatal) in preceding timeframe ('that year') in London. Details given of specific fatality a month earlier in Harrow; some time and distance away.
Car Driver/Car	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars.
Location	Episodic (location), **Thematic** (London)	Details of other bicycle rider casualty were not local to Camberwell, but part of wider 'London cycle casualty' thematic frame.
Summary and Discourse	One central thematic element, bicycle rider focus. Conflict with stated facts.	Thematic frame does not include specific location theme, either in terms of place within London or road circumstances (eg road type, junction etc). Involvement of other SA in referenced other crashes is excluded. Thematic frame thereby implicitly reinforces discourse of bicycle rider as focus of problem (links to 'cyclist as lawbreaker', 'cyclist as villain'), despite the article itself noting that the driver was

		arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving. In this way, the thematic/episodic frames conflict with the explicit/surface content.

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_003b

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
None					

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Car Driver/Car	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars.
Location	Episodic	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.
Summary and Discourse	All episodic – 'random tragedy'.	In contrast to Cyc_Car_003a – an earlier story on the same incident – all thematic framing is absent. This frames the incident as a tragedy un-related to wider issues or problems. Note that this re-framing is accompanied by a backgrounding of the bicycle rider SA as a bicycle rider – omission of word 'cyclist' etc – alongside retention of the backgrounding of the car driver SA. In ceasing to be a 'cyclist', the death becomes episodic.

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_004

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
Van 'had a logo from a van hire company on the side'	Van / Van Driver	If the van hadn't been a hire van, the crash would not have happened.	Subtractive, upward.	SA collectivised into 'female driver' group (see RQ1 proforma); this may interact with abstraction element to activate a discourse of the 'female driver unfamiliar with the hire van'.	People driving hire vehicles, in particular hire vans, are a problem, since they may not be experienced enough with such vehicles/unfamiliar with hire vehicle. This was therefore the source of the problem.
Bicycle Rider 'wasn't knocked off'	Bicyle Rider	If the bike rider had been knocked off, it would mean the crash was worse and their death would have been more expected.	Additive, downward.		Bicycle Riders are a casualty risk even if they are not 'knocked off' their bikes. Problem is with bicycle riders. Oddly in tension with the below counterfactual.
Event 'looked like a head on collision' (statement made by 'witness' who did not witness crash but only aftermarth)	Bicyle Rider and Van Driver	Speculative; if it had not been a head-on collision, bicycle rider may not have died.	Subtractive, upward		

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	**Thematic**	Reference to 6other recent bicycle rider casualties (fatal) in preceding timeframe ('that year') in London. Quoting of TfL director of Surface Transport re 'deaths on London roads', and their commitment to 'do something about it'.
Van Driver/Van	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars. Though note possibly implied hire van theme (see above counterfactual thematic analysis)
Location	Episodic (location), **Thematic** (London)	No details of other local bicycle rider casualties, but part of wider 'London cycle casualty' thematic frame. Quote from TfL weakly implies an infrastructural/design theme over which TfL have some control, but this is not clearly related.
Summary and Discourse	One central thematic element, bicycle rider focus. Conflict with stated facts.	Thematic frame does not include specific location theme, either in terms of place within London or road circumstances (eg road type, junction etc). Involvement of other SA in referenced other crashes is excluded. Thematic frame thereby implicitly reinforces discourse of bicycle rider as focus of problem (links to 'cyclist as lawbreaker', 'cyclist as villain'). Effect, magnified by counterfactual re not falling off bike; emphasises vulnerability of cyclist without attendant frame of external causes or contributing factors. This despite the article itself noting that the driver was arrested on suspicion of causing death by dangerous driving. In this way, the thematic/episodic frames conflict with the explicit/surface content. Counterfactual frame of Hire Van may weakly imply a (possibly gendered – see collectivisation in RQ1) 'inexperienced driver driving a hire van' theme which might suggest to some in audience that these factors contributed to the crash (eg van as vehicle associated with male drivers, hire vans associated with of lack of experience, therefore these factors somehow explain what happened.

Article Reference: Car_Cyc_005

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
People often race cars along stretch of road	Bicycle Rider	The stretch of road is unsuitable; If the cyclist had not used that stretch of road, the collision would not have happened	Additive, upward.		The road is a problem due to drivers 'racing' along it.

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Bicycle Rider/Bicycle	**Thematic**	Reference to 10 other recent bicycle rider casualties (fatal) in preceding timeframe ('that year') in London
Car Driver/Car	**Thematic**	In addition to above counterfactual thematic frame, references to '**people** racing each other all the time along here' is also a thematic theme for car driver SA. However, it is a special thematic case that is specifically distanced from the generic 'car driver' identity, being ascribed here to 'people' and related in the article to 'joyriders'.
Location	Episodic	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc., though see also above counterfactual theme re frequent racing.
Summary and Discourse	General 'killed cyclists' theme is present alongside a specific and localised theme of 'racing' along the stretch of road.	The 'killed cyclists' theme is similar to that found elsewhere – focus on cyclists being killed but with no thematic aspects as to the cause. The localised 'racing' theme sets up a specific problem at the location related to lawbreaking behaviour by a specific figure – the 'joyrider' – who is distanced form the general 'car driver'.

		Thus the article evades a 'driver behaviour' theme by framing the theme in temrs of a 'driving other'.

Article Reference: Car_Ped_001

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
'The driver stopped at the scene and there have been no arrests'	**Car Driver and Pedestrian**	If the driver – or anyone other than the pedestrian – had been at fault, they would have been arrested.	Additive, downward	Car driver identity v pedestrian identity.	Pedestrians as 'the problem'.
'There is no suggestion the car was speeding at the time of the crash'	**Car Driver**	If the car had been speeding, the collision might have been the driver's fault and might have been even more likely to happen/worse.* *'Worse' here may mean more fatalities.	Additive, downward	Distinction between SA as part of general 'car driver identity' – who are intrinsically 'us', and theoretical SA as part of 'speeder identity', who would be 'them'.	Driver group would be more dangerous if they were speeding – which they weren't – so there is no intrinsic problem with them. Problem only if they speed.
'Many (of the speeding supercars) are registered to Middle Eastern	**Car Driver**	If the car had been from one of those specific countries, it would have been more likely to be	Additive, downward	Further distinction between SA as part of general 'car driver identity' and as part of more specific 'non-UK, high status, rich, speeder' ('them').	

countries including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Emirates' – this car was registered in Qatar (Middle East, but not included in the list), and not described as speeding.		speeding and the collision would have been expected to be more likely/worse. * *'Worse' here may mean more fatalities.		CF sets up an out-group only to simultaneously distance SA from it, which establishes the uniqueness of the Object (car) whilst distancing the SA from blame.	
Previously pictured by 'enthusiasts' around Belgravia – collision was on edge of but not in Belgravia. AND Value of car (£250,000) – detail not needed for identification.	***Car***	If this was a less aspirational car and/or less expensive (luxurious, powerful, associated with car as status symbol/toy), the collision may not have happened or the outcome may have been better.	Subtractive, Upward.	Object collectivised as part of high status identity of consumption, yet distanced from any SA involved in collision. Associated instead with 'enthusiasts' – SA's not present yet associated with car cultures of consumption.	Car abstracted as 'problem' Object, but separate from SA.

'very busy section of road	Location **and** Pedestrian	If the pedestrian had not been crossing a busy section of road, the accident would not have happened/been fatal	Subtractive, upward	Pedestrian group using inappropriate crossing points; 'should not be there'.	Pedestrian as a 'problem' being present on/near busy roads.

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Car Driver/Car	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars.
Location	Episodic (location/London), **Counterfactual Thematic** (Belgravia – see above)	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.; see Counterfactuals for other thematic frame around speeding supercars of non-uk registration.
Summary and Discourse	No theme beyond counterfactuals.	Counterfactual theme may further obscure other potential thematic frames; effect possibly more profound than mere absence of thematic framing around collisions.

Article Reference: Car_Ped_002

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
'BMW'	Car/Car Driver	If the car had been another kind of car	Subtractive, upward	Car Driver SA is not part of the normal/normative car driver	BMW drivers are a problem.

(Note: used in headline, and with inverted commas scare quotes).		(and by implication, another kind of driver) the accident might not have happened/not been fatal.		modal group identity, but rather part of a distinct 'BMW driver' group identity. Distinction works to separate collision from what would happen if SA had been a normal Car Driver.	
'Did not stop at the scene'	**Car Driver**	(i)If the SA had stopped at the scene, outcome might have been different. Or (ii) If SA had stopped at the scene, it would indicate that they were responsible and not to blame (just an accident, or other SA to blame).	(i) Additive, upward. (ii) Additive, upward.	Car driver SA is not part of the normal/normative car driver modal group identity, but rather part of a distinct irresponsible/lawbreaking 'did not stop' group.	(i) Car drivers who do not stop are the problem. (ii)Either pedestrians usually a problem, or these collisions are usually just accidents.

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.

Car Driver/Car	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars.
Location	Episodic (location/London),	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.
Summary and Discourse	No theme beyond counterfactuals.	Counterfactual theme may further obscure other potential thematic frames; effect possibly more profound than mere absence of thematic framing around collisions.

Article Reference: Car_Ped_003

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
Collision occurred 'at crossing'	Pedestrian or Car Driver	(i) Not using crossing would have made things worse. (ii) If driver had respected crossing and red light, crash would not have happened (note: type of crossing not specified, but was light controlled).	(i) Subtractive, downward (ii) Subtractive, upward		(i) Pedestrian associated with good pedestrian thematic frame for using crossing. (ii) car driver associated with rogue driver thematic frame for going through crossing on red & at speed.

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties beyond that occurring in same collision.
Car Driver/Car	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars.
Location	Episodic (location/London),	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.
Crossing	Episodic	No details given of other casualties on or not on crossings.
Summary and Discourse	No theme beyond counterfactual.	Counterfactual theme may further obscure other potential thematic frames – eg around safety of crossings or car driver compliance with them. Effect possibly more profound than mere absence of thematic framing around collisions.

Article Reference: Car_Ped_004

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
Casualty was 'rushing' home and 'jumping out' of Taxi.	Pedestrian	If pedestrian had been taking time, not rushing, crash might not have happened.	Subtractive, upward.		Pedestrian associated with rushing/inattentive pedestrian theme. However, note that article repeatedly frames this 'rushing' in the context of the SA wanting to get back in time for her daughter, thereby rendering it legitimate and the

					accident more tragic than avoidable.
Collison occurred on a zebra crossing	**Pedestrian** or Car Driver	(i) Not using zebra crossing would have made things worse. (ii) If driver had respected crossing, crash would not have happened	(i) Subtractive, downward (ii) Subtractive, upward		(i) Pedestrian associated with good pedestrian thematic frame for using crossing. (ii) car driver associated with rogue driver thematic frame for going through crossing whilst pedestrian was on it.

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Car Driver/Car	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars.
Location	Episodic (location/London),	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.
Zebra Crossing	Episodic	No details given of other casualties on or not on zebrs crossings.
Summary and Discourse	No theme beyond counterfactual.	Counterfactual theme may further obscure other potential thematic frames – eg around safety of crossings or car driver compliance with them. Effect possibly more profound than mere absence of thematic framing around collisions.

Article Reference: Car_Ped_005a

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element
None					

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Car Driver/Car	Episodic	No details given of other casualties resulting from crashes with cars.
Location	Episodic (location/London),	No details given of other casualties in area/timeframe etc.
Summary and Discourse	No thematic framing.	

Article Reference: Car_Ped_005b

Counterfactual thematic frame

Counterfactual	Social Actor / Mode	Counterfactual Logic	Type	Collectivisation element	Abstraction element

Road is 'plagued by boy racers', including a speeding, motorcyclist doing wheelies.	**Road** **and** **Boy Racers** **and** **Pedestrian**	On another road where 'boy racers' are not a 'plague' the collision would not have happened. (Note: car driver SA not identified as 'boy racer' or speeder in article).	Additive, upward.	Pedestrian collectivised as victim of 'plague', despite no explicit link being made between collision/ car driver SA and 'boy racers'.	Boy racer's identified as a 'problem', and implication that the road is therefore a problem and should be avoided by VRUs.
Road has six lanes	**Road** **and** **Pedestrian**	If pedestrian SA had not attempted to cross six lanes, the collision would not have happened	Subtractive, upwards	Pedestrian collectivised as 'irresponsible pedestrian'.	Implication that the road should be avoided by VRUs.
Car was a 'sportscar' and a 'two seater convertible' ('Mazda MX-5' – detail given but not needed for police appeal).	**Car object**	If car object had not been a sport/luxury car, accident would not have happened	Subtractive, upwards		Car object abstracted as a problem specifically due to associated driving styles (speed, conspicuous), implied relationship to 'boy racers'.
Junction/Traffic Light cameras do not stop overall speeding.	**Road**	If infrastructural interventions had worked, collision would not have happened.	Additive, upwards		Subordinates ability of road infra to mittigate dangerous driving behaviour; interventions as useless/pointless (in relation to boy racers as problem, see

					above). 'Nothing to be done' trope.

Other Episodic or Thematic Frames

SA or Object Framed	Episodic or Thematic?	Notes
Pedestrian	Episodic	No details given of other pedestrian casualties.
Car Driver/Car	Episodic (general)	Suggestion that there is a theme of 'boy racers' (a 'plague') is counterfactual since SA not identified as such.
Location	**Thematic** (location) Episodic (London),	Witness refers to other recent collision on same road (though mode of any casualties not given). No wider them for London casualties.
Summary and Discourse	No thematic framing.	Episodic for pedestrian SA, but thematic frame linking 'boy racer' sub-group to location mobilises a discourse of problematic driving cultures where they deviate from an assumed (unstated) norm is counterfactual. Theme casts problem as specific to this sub-group, eg not with car drivers in general (assumed to be safe, law abiding, non-speeding). As the Car driver SA in this article is not explicitly – only implicitly – linked to this sub-group, the counterfactual thematic logic detailed above seems to be that the car driver SA must be some form of 'boy racer' for this outcome to have occurred. This logic appears necessary to 'make sense' of the collision (eg a normal car driver would not have done this).

Typicality and Typicality

Bike_Ped

Article	Social Actor / Mode / Object	Typicality Framing	Observed Typicality for Social Actor / Mode	Align/Contradict?
Bike_Ped_001	Pedestrian (F, 56)	Age/gender – None given – implies atypical Atypical – 'First pedestrian' killed in this way	7.4% (n=27) are women aged 56-65. Older women, and males of this age group and above, are more typical. Note that the assertion of atypicality is based on the bike having been electric – this detail does not appear in Stats19.	For Age/gender – Align For 'electric' – Align (based on CyclingUK).
Bike_Ped_002	Pedestrian (F, 73)	None given – implies episodic	11.1% (n=27) are women aged 66-75. Males of this age group are equally as prevalent, although older and some younger males - and older females - even more so.	Align
Bike_Ped_003	Pedestrian (M, 72)	None given – implies episodic	11.1% (n=27) are men aged 66-75. Women of this age group are equally as prevalent, although older and some younger males - and older females - even more so.	Align
Bike_Ped_004	Pedestrian (F)	None given – implies episodic	40.7% (n=27) are women, compared to 59.3% men.	?
Bike_Ped_005	Pedestrian (F, 44)	None given – implies episodic	7.4% (n=27) are women aged 36-45. Both older men and older women are more commonly casualties in the Bike_Ped scenario, though especially men.	Aligns

Car_Cyc

Article	Social Actor / Mode / Object	Typicality Framing	Observed Typicality for Social Actor / Mode	Align/Contradict?
Car_Cyc_001	Bike rider (M)	Framed as typical – Mode Framing references 1 other fatality (F, 55).	Men make up 88% (of 432) of casualties under Car_Cyc	Align
Car_Cyc_002	Bike rider (M, 50's)	Framed as typical – Mode Framing references 2 other fatalities (M,37)(M,46)	SA is across two Stats19 age groups. Men in 46-55 age group make up 18.3% (of 432) - the most prevalent age/gender group, whilst 56-65 constitute the fourth most prevalent (10.9% (of 432)).	Align
Car_Cyc_003a	Bike rider	Framed as typical – Mode Framing references 6 other fatalities, gives detail of one (F,30)	Compare overall modal typicality: not typical	Contradicts.
Car_Cyc_003b	Bike rider (M, 60)	Specifically excluded from thematic references – implies atypical.	Men in 56-65 constitute the fourth most prevalent (10.9% (of 432)).	Aligns
Car_Cyc_004	Bike rider (M, 30s)	Framed as typical – Mode Framing references 5 other fatalities – no specific references.	SA is across two Stats19 age groups. Men in 26-35 age group make up 11.1% (of 432) – the third most prevalent age/gender group, whilst 36-45 constitute the 2nd most prevalent (10.9% (of 432)).	Align
Car_Cyc_005	Bike rider (M, 32)	Framed as typical – Mode Framing references 10 other fatalities – no specific references.	Men in 26-35 age group make up 11.1% (of 432) – the third most prevalent age/gender group.	Align

Car_Ped

Article	Social Actor / Mode / Object	Typicality Framing	Observed Typicality for Social Actor / Mode	Align/Contradict?
Car_Ped_001	Pedestrian (M, 66)	Specifically excluded from thematic references – implies atypical.	Men in 66-75 age group make up 7.3% (of 2313) – the sixth most prevalent age/gender group.	Align
Car_Ped_002	Pedestrian (M, 59)	Specifically excluded from thematic references – implies atypical.	Men in 56-65 age group make up 6.5% (of 2313) – the seventh most prevalent age/gender group.	Align
Car_Ped_003	Pedestrian (M, 30s)	Specifically excluded from thematic references – implies atypical.	SA is across two Stats19 age groups. Men in 26-35 age group make up 9.5% (of 2313) – the third most prevalent age/gender group, whilst 36-45 constitute the fifth most prevalent (8% (of 432)).	Contradicts
Car_Ped_004	Pedestrian (F, 30)	Specifically excluded from thematic references – implies atypical.	Women in 26-35 age group make up 3.4% (of 2313) – the joint 11th most prevalent age/gender group.	Align
Car_Ped_005a	Pedestrian (M, 30s – Note that Stats19 record for collision gives age as 53)	Specifically excluded from thematic references – implies atypical.	SA is across two Stats19 age groups. Men in 26-35 age group make up 9.5% (of 2313) – the third most prevalent age/gender group, whilst 36-45 constitute the fifth most prevalent (8% (of 432)).	Contradict
Car_Ped_005b	Pedestrian (M – age removed in follow up article)	Specifically excluded from thematic references – implies atypical.	Men overall make up 67.2% (of 2313) of fatal casualties in this scenario.	Contradict

Appendix F

STATS19 Data for Observed Typicality
- Crosstabulations

Crosstabs – Modal Typicality

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Casualty_Cyc_Ped_Other * VEH_CTV_Bike_Other_coded	12341	100.0%	0	0.0%	12341	100.0%

Casualty_Cyc_Ped_Other * VEH_CTV_Bike_Other_coded Crosstabulation

			VEH_CTV_Bike_Other_coded			
			Bicycle only	Car, Taxi, or Van only	Other Vehicles	Total
Casualty_Cyc_Ped_Other	Pedestrian	Count	22	2187	837	3046
		% of Total	0.2%	17.7%	6.8%	24.7%
	Bicycle Rider	Count	114	426	202	742
		% of Total	0.9%	3.5%	1.6%	6.0%
	Other Mode	Count	0	4568	3985	8553
		% of Total	0.0%	37.0%	32.3%	69.3%
Total		Count	136	7181	5024	12341
		% of Total	1.1%	58.2%	40.7%	100.0%

Crosstabs – Demographic Typicality (Bike_Ped)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Sex_of_Casualty * Age_Band_of_Casualty	22	100.0%	0	0.0%	22	100.0%

Sex_of_Casualty * Age_Band_of_Casualty Crosstabulation

			Age_Band_of_Casualty						
			26 - 35	36 - 45	46 - 55	56 - 65	66 - 75	Over 75	Total
Sex_of_Casualty	Male	Count	1	0	1	2	3	6	13
		% of Total	4.5%	0.0%	4.5%	9.1%	13.6%	27.3%	59.1%
	Female	Count	0	1	0	1	3	4	9
		% of Total	0.0%	4.5%	0.0%	4.5%	13.6%	18.2%	40.9%
Total		Count	1	1	1	3	6	10	22
		% of Total	4.5%	4.5%	4.5%	13.6%	27.3%	45.5%	100.0%

Crosstabs - Demographic Typicality (Car_Cyc)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Sex_of_Casualty * Age_Band_of_Casualty	426	100.0%	0	0.0%	426	100.0%

Sex_of_Casualty * Age_Band_of_Casualty Crosstabulation

			Age_Band_of_Casualty											
			0 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16 - 20	21 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 45	46 - 55	56 - 65	66 - 75	Over 75	Total
Sex_of_Casualty	Male	Count	1	4	24	24	35	48	54	78	46	38	23	375
		% of Total	0.2%	0.9%	5.6%	5.6%	8.2%	11.3%	12.7%	18.3%	10.8%	8.9%	5.4%	88.0%
	Female	Count	0	2	1	1	5	11	6	7	9	5	4	51
		% of Total	0.0%	0.5%	0.2%	0.2%	1.2%	2.6%	1.4%	1.6%	2.1%	1.2%	0.9%	12.0%
Total		Count	1	6	25	25	40	59	60	85	55	43	27	426
		% of Total	0.2%	1.4%	5.9%	5.9%	9.4%	13.8%	14.1%	20.0%	12.9%	10.1%	6.3%	100.0%

Crosstabs - Demographic Typicality (Car_Ped)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Sex_of_Casualty * Age_Band_of_Casualty	2186	100.0%	1	0.0%	2187	100.0%

Sex_of_Casualty * Age_Band_of_Casualty Crosstabulation

			Age_Band_of_Casualty											
			0 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16 - 20	21 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 45	46 - 55	56 - 65	66 - 75	Over 75	Total
Sex_of_Casualty	Male	Count	19	30	36	85	119	211	174	184	135	161	320	1474
		% of Total	0.9%	1.4%	1.6%	3.9%	5.4%	9.7%	8.0%	8.4%	6.2%	7.4%	14.6%	67.4%
	Female	Count	17	15	25	50	29	72	61	71	62	81	229	712
		% of Total	0.8%	0.7%	1.1%	2.3%	1.3%	3.3%	2.8%	3.2%	2.8%	3.7%	10.5%	32.6%
Total		Count	36	45	61	135	148	283	235	255	197	242	549	2186
		% of Total	1.6%	2.1%	2.8%	6.2%	6.8%	12.9%	10.8%	11.7%	9.0%	11.1%	25.1%	100.0%