

**DISCIPLINING PEDESTRIANS?
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TRAFFIC SAFETY
DISCOURSES**

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how a non-profit organization, concerned with reducing injuries, promotes pedestrian safety in Canada. It is a case study which, from a critical perspective, uses several qualitative methods to locate the *Canada Safety Council* in its social context and to examine its conceptualizations of pedestrian safety within the 'system' of automobility. Through a review of relevant documents of the *Canada Safety Council*, this study examines safety promotion practices and discourses as they relate to the management of pedestrian risks. I discuss the political-economic implications of traffic safety promotion discourses within a neoliberal context that prefers individualized solutions to traffic risks. I argue that discourses of safety promotion discipline pedestrians and ultimately reinforce particular forms of mobility that support industries dependent on automobility. The promotion of pedestrian safety ensures pedestrians do not impede automobility and obscures a reconsideration of the adequacy of the 'system' of automobility for all people.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of contents.....	v
List of figures and tables.....	viii
List of abbreviations and acronyms	ix
Chapter 1 The promotion of pedestrian safety.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Pedestrian safety in Canada	2
1.3 The case of the Canada Safety Council	4
1.4 Theoretical and methodological considerations	5
1.5 Limitations.....	10
1.6 Outlines of the chapters	11
Chapter 2 Traffic safety as a discourse	13
2.1 Research in traffic safety.....	14
The ‘field’ of traffic safety	14
Socially constructed safety	17
2.2 The ‘system’ of automobility	20
Automobility and car-dependent transportation.....	20
Automobility and vulnerabilities.....	22
2.3 Risk, safety, and risk management.....	24
The ‘risk society’ and risks in the ‘system’ of automobility	24
Accidents and risk management.....	27
2.4 Political and economic contexts of discourses of pedestrian safety	28
Neoliberalism, discourses of responsabilization and self-regulation	28
Partnerships with the private sector to promote traffic safety.	31
Pedestrian safety in a neoliberal context.....	33
Chapter 3 Methodology: collecting and generating data for a critical discourse analysis	34
3.1 Why the Canada Safety Council?.....	34
The Canada Safety Council’s standing as a national safety promotion organization	35
The role of the Canada Safety Council in promoting pedestrian safety in Canada.....	35
Funding sources of the Canada Safety Council	36
3.2 Methodology: document review and interview	37

Document review	37
Interview	38
3.3 Issues in data collection:	39
Sampling & data generation strategies	40
3.4 The methodological approach to data analysis.....	41
Critical analysis of the Canada Safety Council discourses of pedestrian safety	41
Thematic content analysis and social network analysis.....	43
Coding	44
Interview and triangulation	46
Issues in studying non-profit organizations' funding	46
Chapter 4 Promoting pedestrian safety in Canada	47
4.1 Role of the Canadian government(s) in promoting pedestrian safety.....	48
Federal government.....	48
Provincial governments.....	53
Municipal governments.....	54
Who is responsible for pedestrian safety in Canada?	54
4.2 Non-governmental organizations, non-profit organizations, and corporations addressing pedestrian safety.....	56
Non-governmental and non-profit organizations.....	56
Corporations	56
4.3 The Canada Safety Council and its operational environment.	57
What is the Canada Safety Council?.....	57
The Canada Safety Council's role in the promotion of safety in Canada	58
Implications of the Canada Safety Council's funding sources and partnerships	60
The partners	62
Canada Safety Council's practices and discourse of pedestrian safety: Who cares?	64
Chapter 5 Canadians as risk managers?.....	65
5.1 Discourses of pedestrian safety: risk management, health promotion, and individualized solutions to systemic problems.....	65
5.2 The discourses and practices of the Canada Safety Council: pedestrian safety	66
Pedestrians practicing self-defense: empowerment to survive within automobility	68
Children should follow the rules (and stay out of the way of automobility)	72
Walking can be avoided.....	75
Partnerships to promote safety: opportunities for sponsors to shine?	78
Promoting neoliberal 'common sense' as risk management.....	81
5.3 Allocating responsibility for pedestrian safety	85
5.4 Disciplining pedestrians.....	87
Chapter 6 Concluding comments	89
Appendices	93
Appendix 1: Excerpt of the Canada Safety Council's constitution	93

Appendix 2: An article from <i>Living Safety</i>	94
Appendix 3: An article in the Canada Safety Council’s newsletter, <i>Safety Canada</i>	98
Appendix 4: Interview schedule	99
Appendix 5: Schema of the architecture of the Canada Safety Council’s website.....	100
Appendix 6: Research questions and associated methods.....	101
Appendix 7: Sponsors of the Canada Safety Council	102
Appendix 8: Canada Safety Council’s national public awareness campaigns.....	105
Appendix 9: Figure from <i>Living Safety</i>	106
References	107
Canada Safety Council administrative documents: annual reports and constitution.....	107
Canada Safety Council documents from its website	107
Canada Safety Council articles from <i>Living Safety</i> magazine	108
Canada Safety Council documents from <i>Safe Canada</i> Newsletter	109
Interview with Canada Safety Council representative	110
Other references	110

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 4.1	Road Safety Strategy graph showing the percentage of vulnerable road users injured or killed after being struck by a vehicle on urban streets.....	52
Table 3.1	Coding categories and indicators used in establishing themes.....	45
Table 4.1	Transport Canada <i>Vision 2010</i> national target and sub-targets.....	50

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CRA: Canada Revenue Agency

CSC: Canada Safety Council

HC: Health Canada

ICBC: Insurance Corporation of British Columbia

MADD: Mothers Against Drunk Driving

NTA: National Transportation Act

PSEP: Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness (Canadian federal department of)

TC: Transport Canada

WB: World Bank

WHO: World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1

THE PROMOTION OF PEDESTRIAN SAFETY

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines how a non-profit organization, the Canada Safety Council (CSC) - whose mandate is to reduce injuries to Canadians - promotes pedestrian safety. As a case study of the CSC's practices and discourses related to pedestrian safety, this thesis goes beyond traditional examination of the risks associated with road use to include a sociological perspective which permits a critical analysis of the embedded assumptions present in safety education. Pedestrian safety is an important social issue that requires a sociological analysis.

Worldwide and in Canada, road accidents, including those involving pedestrians, are an important cause of injury and death. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that, annually, 1.2 million people are killed in road accidents and 50 million are injured worldwide (2006). It further characterizes road injuries as "a major public health and development crisis" which it predicts will continue to worsen if not properly addressed (WHO 2004, xviii). The World Bank (WB) (2006) calls road accidents a "pandemic" and estimates that, yearly, up to 15 million people – the majority of whom are impoverished pedestrians and cyclists - are injured and half a million die in urban road accidents in developing countries. The corresponding economic costs can reach up to 2 percent of the GDP in many countries (WB 2006). Yet, the WB (2006) describes the field of traffic safety as "mature" with "a long-established consensus of what to do, expressed in the well-known triple E slogan: education, engineering and enforcement". Further, it asserts that a "P should be added for public participation, an essential element of safety and security programs" (WB 2006) but does not further explain what public participation means. Similarly, the WHO emphasizes that a systemic approach, which examines all components (road users, vehicles, and infrastructures) and their interactions, should be adopted to address the risk associated with road traffic (WHO 2004). Solutions to road safety must therefore not only tackle the safety of drivers and passengers, but also the safety of others who are not using a car but who nevertheless

interact with the road system. The WHO refers to these 'others' as "vulnerable road users", a category it defines as "road users most *at-risk* in traffic" and includes pedestrians, cyclists, public transport passengers, but may also designate children, the elderly and the differently abled (2004, 202 emphasis added). This thesis focuses on the promotion of pedestrian safety particularly in the Canadian context, but which could be relevant to other settings. Because pedestrians are the most vulnerable or 'at-risk' in transportation, and because they tend to be poor and disenfranchised, examining approaches to address their safety is imperative. While I focus on the Canadian perspective, much research is needed to examine the safety and prevention strategies for pedestrians in other places and contexts.

1.2 Pedestrian safety in Canada

In Canada, although the number of cars has increased since 1975, the number of fatalities on roads has decreased (Transport Canada 2004b, 6). Yet, Canadian roads still count 1,670 motor vehicle collisions on average every day (Transport Canada 2004b, 6). In the year 2001, the last year for which data is available, 2,781 people died in road crashes meaning that *every day* 7.6 people die and 606 are injured on Canadian roads (Transport Canada 2004b, 6). In reporting that about 20% of road users killed or seriously injured are "vulnerable road users" (Transport Canada 2004d, 2) - a term which includes motorcyclists, cyclists and pedestrians - Transport Canada (TC) acknowledges the risks that car transportation poses to pedestrians. Although the number of pedestrian fatalities decreased 24% for the period 1992-2001 (TC 2004c, 15), in 2001, 556 vulnerable road users were killed and 3,603 were seriously injured, including 334 pedestrians dying and 13,475 injured (TC 2004c, 2). Pedestrians over 65 years of age account for the majority of pedestrian fatalities and of those, 27% are males and 39% are female and "the fatalities in this age group were significantly over-represented for both genders and is expected to increase as the Canadian population ages" (TC 2004c, 15). Urban areas are particularly deadly for pedestrians over 65 years of age, with 85% of fatalities occurring on urban roads; for all pedestrians, 95% of injuries occurred on urban roads (TC 2004c, 1-2). In addition, TC reports that half of all pedestrians killed or seriously injured "were deemed to have been at fault", a designation based on actions by pedestrians that do not respect traffic laws and signals (jaywalking, crossing without the right of way etc.) (TC 2004d, 3). TC asserts that the decrease in pedestrian fatalities can

be attributed to a “greater awareness of road safety in general” (TC 2004c, 15) but does not explain how it arrives at this conclusion.

Those involved in the field of traffic safety address pedestrian safety in many different ways. Traditional approaches to pedestrian safety are generally restricted to the three ‘Es’ aforementioned, combining engineering, education and enforcement. Non-profit organizations such as the CSC, are especially likely to be involved in educating the public about appropriate pedestrian behaviour in traffic. Examining how non-profit organizations address traffic and pedestrian safety is important because it allows for an examination of the social construction and framing of pedestrian risks and corresponding safety. Despite the fact that traffic and pedestrian risks are significant issues - given the number of injuries and deaths in each year - sociology has only recently begun to examine traffic safety and is relatively silent on the topic of pedestrian safety. Moreover, the general public or media show relatively little interest in these issues compared with other phenomena such as terrorism, criminality, and Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) that may statistically be less life threatening. As an invisible, normalized, and expected occurrence, ‘experts’ often examine pedestrian unsafety on a case-by-case basis or actuarially and epidemiologically. Police, coroners, statisticians, or engineers are part of a network of “accident-workers” who “cleanse the road, repair the car, heal the victims and lock up irresponsible drivers – suggesting that afterwards driving has become safe” (Beckmann 2004, 95).

This case study contributes to both sociology and the field of traffic safety by examining, from a sociological perspective, the CSC’s effort to prevent avoidable injuries to pedestrians. As the CSC educates Canadians about how to manage their risks, it contributes to and reinforces ‘appropriate’ behaviour for pedestrians. More specifically, this thesis argues that the CSC’s advice and tips constitute codes of conduct that construct and position the individual as a risk manager within the transportation system. This process, I argue, frames the individual pedestrian as responsible for their fate on the roads, contributes to the social disparities of ‘vulnerable road users’, allows various agencies to treat the pedestrian as an afterthought rather than a mode of transport, occurs within a neoliberal political economic context that prefers individualized solutions to systemic dangers inherent to automobility, and fails to challenge the underlying ‘system’ of automobility.

1.3 The case of the Canada Safety Council

In exploring the practices of the CSC, I focus on its approaches to risk management for pedestrians. As a non-governmental organization in partnership with the federal government, the CSC delivers safety prevention programs for the Government of Canada. In 1967 the government established the *National Transportation Act* (NTA) and in 1968, the CSC was created by combining the Canadian Highway Council, the National Safety League, and the Canadian Industrial Safety Association¹ into one organization. The 1967 NTA, which set a policy statement for transportation in Canada, created a single federal regulatory body, and provided a mechanism to bring extra-provincial trucking under federal control wherein it:

declared that an economic, efficient and adequate transportation at the lowest total cost is essential to protect the interest of users of transportation and to maintain the economic well-being and growth of Canada, and that these objectives are most likely to be achieved when all modes of transport are able to compete, under conditions ensuring that having due regard to national policy and to legal and constitutional requirements. (Government of Canada in Gratwick 2001, 9)

The NTA fostered competition between modes of transportation and allowed for regulation. Within this context, the constitution of the CSC (found in Appendix 1) states that it should aim to be an independent body, that serves the interests of all Canadians, and should contribute to the public debate about public safety and assist in the drafting of legislation (CSC#A1 1997, i). The CSC's constitution states that its most important objective is:

to minimize avoidable death, injury and damage to property by devising, recognizing, encouraging and promoting methods and procedures leading to improved safety, protection and health among all persons in public and private places throughout the country. (CSC #A1 1997, i)

In its own words, the CSC provides a forum for:

the public debate of a safety issue by providing reliable information and raising concerns that may not have otherwise been considered - offering a voice of reason on emotionally-driven issues. By articulating an objective, well-informed perspective, CSC engages the public, legislators and the media in discussion. Directors and members are kept advised of these activities, and relevant communications are accessible to the public on the Internet.

¹ The CSC's constitution does not explain who created the CSC and why the three organizations were fused into one. An interview with a CSC representative and further follow up phone calls, could not answer this question (CSC Interview 2005).

...
CSC, with its broad mandate, is not a single-issue organization. It does not represent victims or commercial interests, but takes into account information from a wide spectrum of stakeholders in the overall context of the public good. The Board of Directors, members and a broad base of partners provide the legitimate mandate for CSC to carry out its work. (CSC #W5 2005)

An important role for the CSC is to deliver safety programs in partnership with departments within the Government of Canada. Health Canada (HC) and TC are two examples of such federal departments and they are a stable source of funding to the CSC (TC 2005a; 2005b). The CSC is one of many non-governmental partners involved in program delivery to help the federal government fulfil its mandate. For example, the CSC certifies the delivery of safe driving courses. Most of the CSC's funding comes from grants for projects and campaigns, program and film sales, and memberships and subscriptions to its periodical, *Living Safety* (CSC#A2 2003; CSC#A3 2004; CSC#A4 2005).

Pedestrian safety is but one of CSC's mandates for educating and informing Canadians about how to protect themselves and to promote their health. However, pedestrian safety cross-cuts public concerns about safety and health and mandates of government departments whose focus is on health, safety or transportation. I chose to examine how the CSC promotes safety to pedestrians, and which practices and discourses it employs in managing risks to pedestrians, because walking is the simplest form of transportation. Further, pedestrian safety depends on conceptualization of human mobility and transportation spaces and is influenced by the requirements of the 'system' of automobility. My focus on the CSC's promotion of safety is not only about determining how pedestrians should stay safe *in* transportation, but it is also about examining the steps society takes to ensure the safety *of* transportation *for* people. The distinction is not trivial as the former presupposes behavioural changes and the latter is a concern for the safety of a transportation system for pedestrians.

1.4 Theoretical and methodological considerations

In examining the CSC as a sociological case study in the promotion of safety to pedestrians, it is necessary to place the analysis within a broad theoretical and social context. Given that social theory has neglected the social, cultural and political implications of traffic safety, and pedestrian safety more particularly, I found it useful to

draw on the work of several theorists. Taken together, they inform my understanding of the implications of traffic risks and the promotion of safety to pedestrians. For example, Urry (2004) and Sheller and Urry (2000) theorize that modern modes of human transportation can be best described as a 'system' of automobility. Drawing on Beck (1992) who theorizes about the advent of risks in modernity, Lupton (1993; 1999a; 1999b), Dean (1999), and Petersen (1997) discuss how the modern citizen self-regulates and manages risks. Gusfield (1981; 1996) was one of the first to examine traffic safety from an early constructionist perspective and Beckmann (2004) combines theories of automobility and risk theories to discuss the safety of mobilities. These theorists, however, do not specifically address pedestrians. Theories about the construction of accidents (Green 1997; 1999) are useful in establishing a framework to understand pedestrian risk management. Although they do not specifically address pedestrian safety, theories about governance, surveillance and critiques of neoliberalism provide a basis from which to examine the 'system' of automobility from a political economic perspective that situates the promotion of pedestrian safety. I examine how the Canadian government and non-governmental organizations promote safety to pedestrians, using the case of the CSC's discourses and practices. I discuss conceptualizations of transportation, citizenship, personal safety and locus of responsibility for pedestrians' safety within the 'system' of automobility. This research shows the linkages between the promotion of responsible, appropriate, and safe behaviour to pedestrians, and the influences of other components in the 'system' of automobility. It is based on an in-depth case study that employs qualitative content analysis, and critical discourse analysis. From a critical perspective, and given that the CSC operates within the 'system' of automobility, I examine how it manages risks and promotes safety to Canadian pedestrians.

Urry's (2004) conceptualization of the 'system' of automobility is immensely useful in revealing the pervasive influence of the automobile on modes of mobility and their interactions. Automobility refers to a complex and interlocking network of components (cars, car parts, petroleum products, infrastructures) and interests (profits made) which function to perpetuate and even expand the use of the automobile as a primary form of human mobility. I am interested in exploring how automobility influences the discourses and practices of pedestrian safety. Automobility organizes social life and citizenship and creates particular identities as it includes and excludes those "in-cars" and "not-in-cars" respectively (Sheller & Urry 2000). Urry's discussion of automobility

neither includes pedestrians nor safety specifically, but is an important organizing concept that allows me to situate 'The Pedestrian' within an interconnected network. The conceptualization of automobility as a system also invites a political economic examination of the linkages between, for example, governments, educational campaigns, car manufacturers and other players such as the CSC. The CSC, as *part of* this 'system' of automobility, helps Canadians manage their traffic risks and promotes safety for drivers, pedestrians, elderly, or children *within* the 'system' of automobility.

Though Beck (1992) does not specifically discuss pedestrians or traffic safety, his concept of the risk society helps to illuminate the issue of pedestrian safety. In response to environmental concerns, Beck argues that we now live in a risk society wherein risk is an organizing principle around which modern society functions. He theorizes that risks and the ability to recognize and avoid them, is a new unifying (or dividing) basis that configures society and citizenship (Beck 1992). While some theorists (see Lupton (1999) and Petersen (1996; 1997) for example) take issue with Beck's sweeping claims about 'risk society', they find his approach to the concepts of risk and the self-managing individual useful. These concepts highlight the centrality of how different institutional forms (for example, the health care system or the law) and everyday life engage in producing the 'good citizen' who is "actively engaged in shaping his or her own biography and making decisions according to calculations of risk and opportunities" (Petersen 1997, 192). Their insights are useful to my analysis of the CSC's promotion of pedestrian safety which implies that conscientious and responsible individuals will manage their risks and take on responsibility for their safety. Theories of automobility and risk society provide useful frameworks for understanding the significance of pedestrian safety in modern and late modern society, but they do not adequately address it in any detail and do not indicate how managing risks to pedestrians is such an ordinary part of daily life.

Few social theorists address traffic and pedestrian safety, with notable exceptions. Gusfield (1981), for example, in a coherently developed theory of the social construction of the 'drunk-driving' problem, considered how it serves rhetorical and ideological purposes. In particular, he examined social constructions of drinking and driving as it relates to safety. His approach is useful as a unique early constructionist approach to traffic safety which then departed from traditional empirical and epistemologically realist approaches. Similarly, Reinerman (1988) examined the

particular case of MADD and the social constructions of socio-political and economic considerations implicated in its approaches to traffic safety. More recently, and from a post modern perspective, Beckmann (2004) focuses specifically on traffic safety, arguing that automobility works because the risks inherent to the system are denied by the system, reinforcing an illusion of safety by addressing mishaps without challenging automobility itself.

Constructionists' perspectives are useful to my examination of pedestrian safety as they illuminate how social processes make individuals apt managers of their traffic risks. As Green (1997a; 1997b; 1999) suggests, the notion of 'accident' implies a moral obligation. In her analysis of changing conceptualizations of accidents, Green suggests that new forms of risk management and injury avoidance dictate that accidents are not random occurrences but the result of inadequately managed risks. Constructionist perspectives open up for investigation the conceptualization of 'The Pedestrian' as a self-regulated citizen, who adequately manages traffic risks. This understanding is perhaps especially true for those 'vulnerable road users' who are 'at-risk' to be the victim of accidents. As defined by Green (1997a; 1997b; 1999), the late modern view of the accident portrays its occurrence as a failure of individuals to aptly manage risks. Consequently, social constructions of 'at risk' pedestrians suggest that individuals should take care to protect themselves and that corrective intervention is necessary when behaviour is inadequate or inappropriate. Further, Lupton's (1993, 1999a, 1999b) discussion of the discourse of risks is applicable to the CSC's road safety prevention campaigns. All road users, especially those 'at-risk' such as pedestrians, are subject to educational and safety promotion campaigns. In analyzing the CSC, I suggest that automobility produces an understanding of accidents which is paradoxically both expected and the result of individual failures.

This case study of the risk and safety discourses of the CSC not only examines configurations of 'The Pedestrian' as a rational, self-regulated citizen concerned with his/her safety and that of his/her dependents, but also examines the socio-economic context in which the texts produced by the CSC exist. Through a political-economic analysis of the CSC as an organization receiving government and industry funding, I seek to contextualize whether and how the CSC's discourses of pedestrian safety support neoliberal understandings of citizenship whereby one is expected to be self-sufficient from demands on the state *and* responsible for managing risks adequately.

Neoliberalism, characterised by the deregulation of markets, privatization and downloading of responsibilities from the state to the private sector and to individuals and family units (Brodie 1995) as a mean to achieve a perceived efficiency, fosters expectations that individuals and families can – and should - adequately and successfully manage their own risks. Within the neoliberal socio-political context, organizations such as the CSC are sanctioned by the state (through funding and partnerships) to perform social functions for social good. The CSC is one of many organizations which fulfills a traditional role of the state to protect Canadians from injuries. The CSC is also funded by corporations and enters in partnerships with them to accomplish its mission. For this reason, an examination of the interplay of government, industries, and non-profit organizations like the CSC, from a political-economic perspective will expose the vested interests involved in these partnerships. Based on the work of Carroll and Carson (2003) and Carroll and Shaw (2001), I explore how hegemonic forms of transportation, such as automobility, are perpetuated through an interlocking of interests that support particular constructions of safety. Corporations and business making a profit within and from the ‘system’ of automobility may have an interest, and are in some cases involved in promoting and preserving a particular understanding of ‘safety’.

This study is empirical and exploratory and its qualitative design uses several methods to gather data. I use the educational as well as administrative texts produced by the CSC as a basis for a critical analysis of its discourses of traffic safety. This approach focuses attention on the role of texts in defining and negotiating issues pertaining to traffic safety. Critical discourse analysis allows for an examination of embedded assumptions about pedestrians, automobility, and the locus of responsibility for safety entrenched in the CSC-produced texts. It goes beyond an examination of the texts in and of themselves toward an integrated analysis of their meaning in the social and political context in which they are produced. I explore the CSC’s linkages with corporations that have a stake in the ‘system’ of automobility, depict three themes within the CSC’s message and approach to pedestrian safety, and discuss two methods through which the CSC promulgates its message to Canadians. I critically examine the discourses of the CSC and discuss their implications given the CSC’s political economic context and links to corporations and government. The interview that I undertook with a CSC representative also triangulates findings from documents about the strategic direction of the CSC in promoting traffic and pedestrian safety and sources of funding.

Critically analysing the discourse allows for an examination of the CSC's texts in the neoliberal context which produces them to elucidate whether and how the 'system' of automobility contributes to promoting particular constructions of pedestrian risks, safety, and risk management.

1.5 Limitations

This thesis is based on a case study that explores the discourses and practices of an organization. The scope of this study limits the examination to how the CSC, when fulfilling its mandate as a non-profit organization, elects to promote pedestrian safety. Although I reviewed the publicly-available documents of the CSC in detail using content analysis, thematic analysis, and critical discourse analysis, this study does not allow for generalization to other organizations. Further, if the interview with a representative of the CSC allows triangulation with the document review, it does not allow for anonymity. This implies that the interviewee likely gave the 'official line' which was useful in confirming my interpretation of documents but unlikely to be a source which would be critical of the discourse and practice of the CSC. It is important to note that my survey and analysis of how the Canadian federal government addresses pedestrian safety is restricted to information, reports and documents available on departmental websites and within Departmental Performance Reports². It is also important to note that this research does not historically review the CSC's discourses of pedestrian safety. While I examine documents dating back to the early 1980's, I am neither evaluating how the CSC's approaches and ideal may have developed over time nor how its response(s) to its social context may have changed over the years.

While the study does not suggest that all traffic safety organizations hold the same discourses and practices, it allows for a preliminary understanding of how the CSC, a well established and visible organization, approaches pedestrian safety. This case study discusses how the CSC – a component within the 'system' of automobility – is integrated within the system, and exposes some of the linkages between itself and other players. This research is not an exhaustive study of the 'system' of automobility, its consequences *on* pedestrians, nor is it an evaluation of the successes and failures of pedestrian safety promotion. Nevertheless, this study contributes to a better

² Departmental Performance Reports are reports federal departments table in parliament to inform parliamentarians about the performance of respective departments' initiatives and, programs in fulfilling departmental mandates and objectives.

understanding of its cultural and socio-political implications through an empirical, theoretical, and exploratory examination of the discourses and practices of pedestrian safety and contributes to an emerging field examining traffic safety from a sociological perspective.

1.6 Outlines of the chapters

In the chapters that follow, I argue that the 'system' of automobility and a process of responsabilization constructs the individual – The Pedestrian – as a risk manager. I argue that the CSC constructs pedestrians as a group which is 'at-risk' and thus worthy of targeted intervention and surveillance. In chapter 2, I review theoretical perspectives that help to elucidate these arguments. I also critically examine literature in the 'field' of traffic and pedestrian safety, and show that it is neither 'neutral' nor 'objective' but is rather socially constructed.

Chapter 3 discusses methodological issues that arise in the study. I discuss the methodological implications of using a case study approach as a means to discuss the implications of the CSC's authoritative standing in promoting pedestrian safety. I also discuss issues relevant to the use of content and thematic analysis, organizational analysis, and critical discourse analysis of website material and publications of the CSC.

In chapter 4, I describe and contextualize safety promotion and pedestrian safety in Canada and discuss the roles governments and non-profit organizations play in pedestrian safety. I also examine and discuss the implications of the practices of the CSC, its role in promoting pedestrian safety in Canada, its partners, sources of funding, and the affiliations of those involved on its board of directors.

In chapter 5, I describe and discuss the discourses and practices of the CSC in promoting pedestrian safety. I identify three prescriptive themes: pedestrians should practice self-defence; pedestrians should stay out of the way; and walking can, and should, be avoided when conditions are not favourable. I also discuss two practices or processes through which the CSC address pedestrian safety: partnerships with corporations are important in achieving safety for Canadians; and Canadians should use (neoliberal) 'common sense' approaches to pedestrian safety.

In the concluding chapter, I discuss how these themes and discourses suggest that the CSC prefers individual responsabilization more than systemic approaches that

would lead to a reconsideration of the adequacy of automobility as the primary risk management strategy to address the safety of pedestrians in Canada.

CHAPTER 2

TRAFFIC SAFETY AS A DISCOURSE

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, I examine the 'field' of traffic safety with a particular emphasis on the theories that provide a basis from which to address pedestrian safety. I also discuss theories about the system of car transportation that characterizes modern societies and its implications for approaches to safety. Second, I discuss relevant theories and the literature which frame the social, political and economic context in which the CSC practices pedestrian risk management in Canada. I start the chapter by discussing traditional approaches to car transportation and examine automobility as an organizing societal concept with implications for citizenship and participation. I examine sociologically how automobility, as a theoretical framework, influences social constructions about traffic safety and conceptualizations of 'The Pedestrian' in society. I also discuss theories about concepts of 'risk' and the 'risk society' (Beck 1992), safety (Beckmann 2004), accidents (Green 1997a; 1997b; 1999; and Perrow 1984), risk management, and theories about governance, discipline, and self-regulation, often influenced by the foucauldian perspective (Dean 1999; Green 1997; Green 1999; Lupton 1993; Lupton 1999a; Lupton 1999b; Petersen 1996; Petersen 1997) as they are central to a better understanding of the promotion of pedestrian safety within the 'system' of automobility. While there is little social theory literature examining pedestrian safety, many theorize peripheral issues which, taken together, allow me to critically analyze the risk management perspective on risk and safety as well as the promotion of safety to pedestrians. Underpinning risk management practices is the political economic context in which the CSC operates. I examine how scholars (e.g. Brodie 1995) critique neoliberalism and I discuss how neoliberal ideology permits the state to download program delivery functions to private organizations (whether for- or not-for-profit). I also draw upon scholars (Carroll & Shaw 2001; Carroll & Carson 2003) who study the interlocking links between organizations to help illuminate CSC practices. Finally I discuss how the above mentioned literature provides me with a framework from which to examine the discursive, social and political-economic implications of the CSC's practices and discourses of pedestrian safety.

2.1 Research in traffic safety

The 'field' of traffic safety

Traffic and pedestrian safety are fields of research in their own right. As a topic of research, traffic safety can be explored from a variety of perspectives. Indeed, engineers (Crandall et al. 2002; Johansson 2001), historians (Kline & Pinch 1996; Tedlow & Hunt 1992), civil, urban, or transportation planners (Cervero & Radhsch 1996; Helbing et al. 2001; Johansson 2001), and epidemiologists or medical professionals (Duperrex et al. 2002; Fontaine & Gourlet 1997; Fortainberry & Brown 1982; Hewson 2005; TC 2004c) have all examined various aspects of safety and risk management practices associated with the transportation of people. The automobile manufacturing industries and the businesses associated with the construction and maintenance of roads and other infrastructures supporting roads also conduct research, mostly from a design or engineering perspective (Crandall et al 2002; Ford 2006; GM 2005; Honda 2006), but also for marketing purposes so as to be able to claim and sell safer products - a strategic planning exercise in corporate image (Burns 1999; Laird 1996) that resembles branding as described by Klein (2000) .

Traffic safety approaches that seek to improve technologies stem from a recognition that while some automobile accidents are inevitable - because, as Perrow (1984) argues, they are “normal” within complex systems – “technology should be developed to compensate for the shortcomings of the public” and “automobile manufacturers should take into account the occasional inherent shortcomings of human nature when they build their vehicles” (Nader in Wetmore 2004, 384). The same reasoning may be applied to automobile manufacturers and urban planners as they seek to technologically improve automobiles or infrastructures to compensate for the weaknesses of drivers. Researching technological improvements to the safety of pedestrians from traffic risks can take numerous forms. It can mean better lighting at intersections, various signalling technologies, and more recently, vehicles built to minimize injuries to pedestrians during an impact. Recently, some car manufacturers are building and conducting testing of their vehicles to reduce the impact they may have on pedestrians (Honda 2006; Ford 2006). At least that is the message they wish to convey. While few car manufacturers research and market this consideration as a safety feature, it represents a shift in automobile design from what Jain described as a lack of consideration for and a vast understudying of “bystander deaths” (2004, 62) to a greater

concern with an image demonstrating a concern for the safety of vehicles for persons outside the vehicle. Nevertheless, I would argue that this new interest in researching pedestrian safety constitutes an extension of a relatively older concern, identified by Burns (1999) and Wetmore (2004), with the marketability of vehicles' safety features meant to protect its inhabitants. It is a means for car manufacturers to proclaim their vehicles as safe and market their safety features.

It is easy for researchers of traffic safety to conceptualize the field as objective. Transportation is very much a technological field. Cars, roads, traffic signalling and other technological 'advances' all point to the idea that risks encountered in traffic can be remedied through technological changes, adaptations, and innovations to adjust or reform transportation systems. Engineering, in its concern with improving infrastructures, vehicles or signalization apparatus, is a prominent approach to address risks to pedestrians. For example, research can seek to improve the design of road vehicles' design³ (Crandall et al. 2002 for example), urban design⁴ (Hass-Klauss 1990; Hess et al. 2004; Johansson 2001; Schneider et al. 2004, for example), or educational programs about traffic safety⁵ (Brussoni et al. 2002; Duperrex et al. 2002; Fortenberry & Brown 1982; Gielen 2004; MacGregor et al. 1999; Michon 1981; Pucher & Dijkstra 2003; Vinje 1981), the accurate statistical or actuarial representation of accidents involving pedestrians (Malek et al. 1990), or the explanation of differences in accident rates between groups (gender, race, age, and so forth) (Reed & Sen 2005). Others discuss the costs of transportation policy (Khisty & Ayvalik 2003), including the costs to public health (Katzmarzik et al. 2000; Pusher & Dijkstra 2003), and the environment (Adams 1996; Draper 1991; Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2003). Still, others examine the response of the legal system (Jain 2004) or the medical system (Roberts & Coogan 1994) following accidents involving pedestrians. The WHO discusses "the 3 Es" approach to traffic safety which includes engineering, enforcement, and education and adds that a "P" should be added to include the importance of public participation (WHO

³ Crandall et al, for example, discuss how the standardized tests measuring pedestrian injury on impact and how designing vehicles to include the use of "energy absorbing components" would reduce pedestrian injuries and improve pedestrian protection (2002, 1145).

⁴ Hass-Klauss (1990) and Schneider et al (2004) review the role of transport planning in protecting pedestrians. Hess (2004) discusses the association between public transit and pedestrian collisions.

⁵ For example, Duperrex et al (2002) attempt to quantify the effectiveness of a pedestrian prevention program, and Michon (1981) evaluates six studies addressing different elements of pedestrian education programs aimed at children.

2006). The “3 Es” approach, however, frames and restricts understandings of traffic and pedestrian safety. Public participation, moreover, explains Petersen (1997, 204), presupposes that citizens can be empowered to “engage with formal political structures and with various experts (...) to demonstrate commitments to shared goals”. On the face of it, these traditional approaches appear to be addressing safety in a comprehensive way, tackling the technologies, the law and the education, but effectively, the ‘3 Es’ are working within existing transportation arrangements.

Education, enforcement, and the “P” for public participation are particularly relevant to this study. Safety promotion approaches that emphasize education, enforcement, and public participation focus their efforts on people’s behaviour. Education seeks to change inappropriate habits and promote correct behaviour, and enforcement controls unsuitable or unlawful behaviour. It seems that enlisting public participation to address traffic safety following the ‘3 Es’ inevitably solicits the public to engage with governments and relevant organizations to achieve the ‘common’ goal of improving existing transportation arrangements without challenging its adequacy. The “3 Es” and public participation approaches are inadequate because they do not question the ‘system’ of automobility and effectively propagate the social organization which facilitates car-based transportation.

Safety education is not a new practice and solution to traffic unsafety. For example, as early as 1931, an article published in *The Journal of Educational Sociology* notes

It is an incontrovertible fact that accident hazards in the modern city are mounting with rapid strides, partially as a result of the mechanization of life and industry. ... Safety education, then, must be regarded from the very necessity of the case as an essential of the present-day curriculum. It is intensely practical; it is *education in self-maintenance* – a product of the exigencies of modern life. (Muntz 1931, 224 emphasis added)

Educational programs, which are the primary focus of this study, seem to ‘make sense’ and are difficult to challenge as they aim to protect children, adults, and the elderly by teaching them how to stay safe. Indeed, the field of traffic safety is generally limited to challenging the ‘successes’ of educational strategies through evaluation studies. Such

research not only has difficulty in assessing 'success',⁶ it is also flawed epistemologically. In evaluating and seeking to improve educational programs, studies assume that pedestrian safety research is valid, objective, unbiased, and impartial. Such studies do not consider ways in which the 'system' of automobility frames the experiences of the 'vulnerable road user'. Further, the assumption that safety can be objectively researched and that technological fixes offer impartial solutions clear of power relation issues, restricts solutions to reforming car transportation. The realist epistemology of such approaches assumes that technical research is a true representation, devoid of political or subjective judgement and that it can accurately, measure, estimate, and represent the phenomenon of 'traffic safety'.

Only recently have the social sciences, including sociology, examined the power relations and implications of automobilized transportation (see Hawkins 1986 for a commentary on Sociology's silence on the automobile⁷) by examining the discourses and practices of safety, within the context of automobility. This study contributes to an understanding of the implications of the socially constructed character of pedestrian safety, and *how* governmental or non-governmental organizations construct risk management for pedestrians.

Socially constructed safety

As discussed in the previous section, many players in transportation research investigate traffic safety as a science and an objective field. This section examines traffic safety from the perspective that risks and safety are not only 'real' in the realist sense, but are also social constructions. This challenges the notion that research about and practices of traffic and pedestrian safety practice are neutral, objective, and unbiased. Further, I argue that practices aiming to address pedestrian risks are instead contributing to a hegemonic transportation system dependent on the automobile.

⁶ For example, an evaluation of an educational campaign by SafeKids for bicycle helmets noted the following: "It is difficult to determine whether or not helmet promotion was successful due to the high response rate on helmet wearing frequencies for most wheeled activities. What the results indicate overall is that most parents surveyed understand the importance of their children wearing a helmet, especially for bicycle riding" (Brussoni, Hofmeister, & Turcotte 2002). Evaluating an educational campaign is difficult because it presupposes that surveyed respondents are able to identify the source of their knowledge.

⁷ Hawkins (1986) provides an interesting commentary on the reasons why sociology has neglected the automobile. He deplores the fact that little research exists in the field of human-machine relationships (61), the lack of framework allowing for a sociological analysis of human-machine relationships (66) and argues that change which is obvious and pronounced is more likely to be sociologically examined (71).

Gusfield's influential work is important for sociology, and ground-breaking for the field of traffic safety. From an early social-constructionist approach, Gusfield questioned the realist approach to road safety and established that traffic safety is a social construction. He studied drinking and driving policy in the US and questions whether the search for "absolute grounds" hides "the conflicts of sentiments and interests which are embedded" in drinking and driving policy (Gusfield 1981, 108). He explained, that traffic safety cannot be argued against. It is, rather, necessary and undeniably positive; no one is 'for' traffic unsafety (Gusfield 1981, 169). Yet, the facts about traffic safety are not absolute, neutral, or objective. Rather:

various statements alleged as 'fact,' as certain knowledge, have a status also as rhetoric. They attest to the serious character of the issue through its facticity. (...) In the effort to persuade skeptical, recalcitrant, and indifferent people to a way of action involving cost, inconvenience, and displeasure, the appearance of certainty is an essential rhetorical device. (...) The world of objective reality is, like much of natural behavior, confused, ambiguous and unobtainable; it must be organized, interpreted and compressed to create a clear message, to form an understandable but objective reality. (Gusfield 1981, 79-80)

The science at the basis of traffic safety engineering and education practices poses as 'Truth' and 'fact', precluding alternative approaches. The important point here is that traffic safety has social meaning beyond that of being a science interested in preventing accidents and preserving the safety and security of citizens. Science and scientific knowledge are not absolute 'Truths'; rather they are rhetoric, or what Gusfield refers to as an art of persuasion (1981, 28). Thus, traffic safety is a sort of organizing principle around which *some* questions are asked, but others are not considered or even brought to consciousness. Consequently, research seeking to promote traffic safety is not neutral. Certain interests are helped by some findings. The problem

is not that such knowledgeable [scientific] conclusions and theories are 'wrong,' in the sense of being incorrect and invalid as general statements. It is that the style of scientific presentation and its transmission to the interested public create a reality of undoubted certitude. It is not that alcohol is unrelated to automobile accidents. It is that the system of asking questions excludes alternative ways of asking. Thus the auto itself – its design and mass consumption – is *not* viewed as a possible source of accidents that are capable of being controlled. (Gusfield 1981, 187)

In drawing on Gusfield, Reinerman (1988) shows, for example, ways in which Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) has constructed the anti-drunk driving movement through its partnership with corporations and government agencies. MADD

gained power but also contributed to promoting the interest of corporations or industries (alcohol, advertising, broadcasting, automobile manufacturers), government (social control, legislation, policy), or other organizations (religious) (Reinarman 1988). Considering traffic safety from this perspective allows for new understandings. To acknowledge that traffic safety is a set of constructed ideas, as these authors do, leads to questioning the meaning of *traffic safety*. Traffic safety, the knowledge that informs it, and the seemingly neutral scientific claims it makes, conceals embedded power relations. Gusfield's early constructivist approach is an important departure from traditional approaches to traffic safety as it allows for an examination of the interests preserved by not challenging the 'science' of traffic safety. It is also a building block to an examination of the discourses embedded in pedestrian safety education and risk prevention. Reinarman's study of MADD is an interesting example of the neoliberal context within which traffic safety operates. It shows that to achieve a social good, a private, albeit not-for profit, entity can work with various private organizations and companies to call upon citizens to be responsible and not drink and drive. MADD's success rests on two premises. First, MADD is ably exploiting an issue which cannot be argued against; accidents caused by drinking and driving are terrible tragedies and no one is *for* drinking and driving. Second, it is navigating the issue of drinking and driving, partnering with industries involved in either drinking *or* driving, without threatening the existence of either of those industries. Therein lies the key to MADD's success and a hint for other organizations whose source of funding depends on the very industries that may be at the source of traffic unsafety.

Reinarman combines a social constructionist approach with a political economic approach and acknowledges a link between the promotion of safety and the system of road-related industries. Reinarman's study of MADD is a useful model for this study as both the CSC and MADD are non-profit organizations seeking to promote traffic safety, and both organizations negotiate funding arrangements which fulfil their needs and the marketing and promotional aspirations of their donors. However there is one important difference between this study and Reinarman's. This research benefits from a body of literature which discusses the implications of the 'system' of automobility (as discussed in Sheller and Urry 2000; Urry 2004) for the safety of its users (Beckmann 2004). Further, Reinarman's work does not look specifically at the discourses of road safety education. Unlike that of Reinarman, I explore how the CSC constructs safety *within* the 'system' of automobility. I describe and discuss how the CSC is not only part of the

'system' of automobility but its texts promoting safety to pedestrians reinforce neoliberal conceptualizations of safety that further promulgate automobility. The next section discusses the 'system' of automobility and its implications for pedestrian safety.

2.2 The 'system' of automobility

Automobility and car-dependent transportation

Transportation in many industrialized countries and especially in or between urban centres relies heavily on individual automobile use and the road systems that support it. As Freund and Martin (1993) suggest, transportation choices are more than a reflection of the availability of infrastructures facilitating the automobile; the

car is perceived as affording the driver a high level of freedom of choice as to when and by what route he or she travels, as well as the designation of travel. ... Indeed, the auto represents an icon of freedom of movement and is seen as a great equalizer among citizens. The degree of motorization of a country is often taken as a measure of its democratization. (Freund & Martin 1993, 82)

The appeal of the automobile, they argue, may partially lie

in its deep embeddedness in our cultural and psychological experiences as an icon of individual mastery over technology, of individual freedom, of power and speed, of social status, and of sexuality. Individualist and consumerist ideologies mystify the problems engendered by auto hegemony, including environmental degradation; transport disenfranchisement of populations, even in the fully industrialized world; intense resource and energy use; bodily mayhem, and more subtle health problems; and distortions in the fabric of social life, particularly the losses of public space and street life. (Freund & Martin 1993, 11)

While Freund and Martin (1993) discuss the important role of consumerism ideologies in maintaining the hegemony of the automobile, their approach is limited. Their description, does not account for the political economic forces that enable automobility. Indeed, the 'system' of automobility is today a complex system of transportation that embeds the interests of many industries that have an interest in maintaining the system intact and viable. For this reason, Sheller & Urry (2000) and Urry (2004) refer to the car dependant transportation of people as a 'system' of automobility. Their theory builds on social constructionist approaches but goes much further because it not only examines how a system of transportation such as automobility is a social construction, but also how it

produces meaning about transportation and about people in transportation. Urry describes the 'system' of automobility as

viral, emerging first in North America and then virulently spreading into, and taking over, most part of the body social within pretty well all corners of the globe. Indeed, to some degree, the poorer the country the greater the power of this virus.

...

Automobility can be conceptualized as a self-organizing ... system that spreads world wide, and includes cars, car-drivers, roads, petroleum supplies and many novel objects, technologies and signs. The system generates the preconditions for its own self-expansion. (2004, 27)

Urry describes this as a form of "path-dependence" (Urry 2004, 27), through which transportation of human and goods is increasingly dependant on an integrated system of roads designed for individual vehicles (Sheller & Urry 2000, 742). Consequently, automobilization is the process of implementation and expansion of automobility. Further, automobility is

a system that *coerces* people into an intense *flexibility*. It forces people to juggle fragments of time so as to deal with the temporal and spatial constraints that it itself generates. Automobility is a Frankenstein-created monster, extending the individual into realms of freedoms and flexibility whereby inhabiting the car can be positively viewed and energetically campaigned and fought for, but also constraining car 'users' to live their lives in spatially stretched and time-compressed ways. The car is the literal 'iron cage' of modernity, motorized, moving and domestic. (Urry 2004, 28 emphasis in original)

The car is thus more than a commodity, and the 'system' of automobility is too complex an issue to be reduced to a form of facilitation of or accommodation to this commodity. The consequences of automobility and the implications of the car for society go beyond the issue of the adequacies or shortcomings of this particular form of transportation policy. Rather, the car

is not simply an act of consumption since it reconfigures the modes of especially urban sociality. Urban social life has always entailed various mobilities but the car transforms these in a distinct combination of flexibility *and* coercion. (Sheller & Urry 2000, 739)

Automobility "has reshaped citizenship and the public sphere" (Sheller & Urry 2000, 739) in such a way that no modern society or community is today autonomous from this system. Automobility has implications for citizenship as it privileges 'car-drivers'.

The enfranchisement of 'car-drivers' and the disenfranchisement of pedestrians and other 'not-in-car' road users are important ways of conceptualizing the impact of automobility. As Sheller & Urry (2000, 739) argue, the automobility system has "reshaped citizenship and the public sphere" with civil society "reconceptualized as a 'civil society of automobility'". This reshaping of civil society has implications for enfranchisement and disenfranchisement for "car-drivers" and those "not-in-cars". But 'car-drivers' and 'not-in-car' road users are not static or discrete categories, rather, 'car-drivers' can become pedestrians for at least some portion of their travels, perhaps "between the car and the Wal-Mart" suggests Jain (2004, 61). The divide between the two is one of privilege: while virtually all 'car-drivers' will at some time be pedestrians, not all pedestrians can be 'car-drivers'. This privilege places one in a particular political space of participation in an automobilized society. The others are bystanders, "integral and random parts of the public environment" (Jain 2004, 61).

Although theories about the 'system' of automobility are central to this study, it is important to note that Sheller & Urry (2000) and Urry (2000) do not discuss its implications for safety. Within the 'system' of automobility, varying degrees of enfranchisement correspond with risks and endangerment. Although they discuss how automobility organizes citizenship or may configure urban life, they do not, for example, discuss the consequences of automobility for pedestrians or for their safety. The following section examines the safety of automobility for road users.

Automobility and vulnerabilities

Freund and Martin (1993 & 2001), discuss the hostile nature of an automobilized society for urban life:

pedestrian street life is the heart and soul of urban life, and its degradation in many contemporary cities is a prime sign of their decline. The pedestrian is a vanishing breed who is beset by a hostile urban environment. (1993,156)

The vanishing of pedestrians not only has consequences for urban life and its liveability (Lund 2002) but it also has consequences for the safety of pedestrians. Ironically, as the number of pedestrians decrease, walking becomes more dangerous and, as Jacobsen (2003) shows, policies that increase walking and biking "appear to be an effective route to improving the safety of [walkers and cyclists]" (Jacobsen 2003, 205). The 'safety in numbers' principle underlying this finding is important because it provides a basis for

addressing both pedestrian safety and the liveability and quality of urban life. What is relevant to traffic safety and important to remember about the situation of pedestrians in urban areas, is that while we are all pedestrians at some point, some have no choice but to navigate the hostile environment for their daily transportation. Their lack of choice contributes to a disenfranchisement already exacerbated by an exclusion from automobility. Pedestrians, like cyclists, have become second class citizens (Freund & Martin 1993) with corresponding consequences for their safety. Automobility, or car-centered transportation, isolates

many kinds of people in our society. Particularly vulnerable to automobile dominance are children (...)The outcome of this trend is that 'the victim' is being removed from the street (Appleyard 1981; Barber 1995). This means that children do not grow up having knowledge of, or a sense of responsibility for, their neighborhood. They have no opportunity to feel the self-confidence of making their own way through the city. (Fowler & Layton 2002, 125)

This vulnerability to the automobile is an important organizing concept that merits further exploration. The concept of 'vulnerable road users' has ambiguous meaning. While it suggests that this population needs protection, it also implies that it has secondary status. TC (2004a, 2004b, 2004d) for example, uses the concept "vulnerable road users" to describe pedestrians, riders of bicycles, motorcycles and mopeds. The definition has the advantage of recognizing pedestrians, and smaller or self-propelled vehicles, as *road users* and therefore as part of the transportation planning and policy. It also points to the fact that automobility is dangerous to pedestrians and, at a minimum, they need protection from the system.

At the same time, the concept of 'vulnerable road users' creates a special, at-risk category which acknowledges that some are more vulnerable than others in transportation. Dean discusses how the creation of a category of people found to be 'at-risk' creates a division⁸ between "active citizens (capable of managing their own risks) and targeted populations (the '*at-risk*', the '*high-risk*') who require intervention in the management of risks" (Dean 1999, 147 emphasis in original). Yet, this division does not absolve those 'not-at-risk' from risk management. Rather,

⁸ Dean characterizes this division as existing "along with and, to some extent, re-inscribes older division of class and disadvantage". The division is not "strict" and that rather, the "consequences of the language of risk is that the entire population can be the locus of a vulnerability that can also single out specific populations". (Dean 1999, 147)

technologies of citizenship engage us as active and free citizens, as consumers of services, as members of self-managing communities and organizations, as factors in democratizing social movements, and as agents capable of taking control of our own risks. (Cruikshank and Yeatman discussed in Dean 1999, 147)

It is not clear when a pedestrian is 'not-at-risk'. In fact, all pedestrians must manage their traffic risks adequately to avoid accidents. While some may be more vulnerable, all can be potentially involved in an accident. Yet, vulnerable road users, including pedestrians, are vulnerable *within* automobility and *because* of automobility. Their status as second class citizens, as discussed above, and the link between automobility, disenfranchisement, and safety, indicates that pedestrians are primarily left to fend for themselves, and at most are targeted as 'at-risk' populations. Consequently, to address their safety requires that one address the adequacy of the 'system' of automobility.

As Freund and Martin discuss, automobility is "a significant latent reason for traffic accidents", indeed "the constant vigilance and self-control that driving and moving in driving space require are not the natural condition of subjectivity" (2001, 208). As such, pedestrian safety can be defined here as a state of constant management of the traffic risks associated with walking in car-dominated areas. Automobility produces understanding of risk, safety, vulnerabilities, and conceptualization of being at-risk. Although these concepts are essential to an examination of pedestrian safety, they are not particular only to pedestrian safety. The concept of risk is not a new organizing principle within social science theorizing and many theorists (for example Beck 1992; Dean 1999; Lupton 1999a; Lupton 1999b), examine its meanings and implications for the governmentality of modern societies. The following section examines approaches and theories about risk and safety to delineate how the promotion of pedestrian safety is a form of risk management particular to a society where risk is an organizing principle.

2.3 Risk, safety, and risk management

The 'risk society' and risks in the 'system' of automobility

Beck's *risk society* is an important concept in understanding the promotion of traffic safety. 'Risk' is a modern concept which "presupposes decisions that attempt to make the unforeseeable consequences of civilizational decisions foreseeable and controllable" (Beck in Yates 2003, 98). Beck theorizes that we live in a globalized 'risk society', that unites and divides people, and organizes or configures society and

citizenship on the basis of the ability to recognize and avoid risks (Beck 1992). Central to Beck's thesis of the risk society is the idea that globalized risks are more challenging to recognize, manage and avoid, forcing a reconfiguring of how modern society understands social structure and its institutions.

According to Beck, safety is the "counter-project" to the risk society; it is its "basis and motive force" (1992, 49). Safety is the motor of Beck's risk society, as we have moved from "the solidarity of needs to the solidarity motivated by anxiety". He explains:

whereas the utopia of equality contains a wealth of substantial and *positive* goals of social change, the utopia of the risk society remains peculiarly *negative* and *defensive*. Basically, one is no longer concerned with attaining something 'good', but rather with *preventing* the worst; *self-limitation* is the goal which emerges. The dream of the class society is that everyone wants and ought to have a *share* of the pie. The utopia of the risk society is that everyone should be *spared* from poisoning. (Beck 1992, 49)

The point that Beck makes about the pervasiveness of risk in late modern society is an important one. Arguably, we have shifted from a class-based industrial society where workers found unity in their struggle for equality, employment, and better living conditions, to a risk society where the "*commonality of anxiety* takes the place of the *commonality of need*" such that anxieties about the risk and the unsafety of the world we live in is what ultimately, despite other bases for affiliation, will unite us. This duality between risk and safety, and the anxieties they produce, are what drive the risk society. Further, Beck contends, risks and hazards are increasingly universalized. For example, global risks to our food and environment transcend class and wealth by infiltrating water sources, food chains, and the air we breathe such that we are all to a certain degree affected. He explains the boomerang effect whereby

risks display a social *boomerang effect* in their diffusion: even the rich and powerful are not safe from them. ... The circularity of this social endangering can be generalized: under the roof of modernization risks, *perpetrator* and *victim* sooner or later become *identical*. (Beck 1992, 37-38)

Risks do not distinguish between rich and poor, men and women, adult and children; in the end we are all unsafe from risks, no one is exempt, and we are only more or less at risk: it is a matter of degree. This is a powerful unifying characteristic. We are all facing the same risks. It is a matter of degree, with few of us financially or logistically able to minimize or diminish risk but never completely able to avoid. This insight is

particularly true for pedestrian risks. Although some (the elderly, the poor, children) may experience risks differently, or be more vulnerable, within the 'system' of automobility, everyone (even those who cannot afford a car, choose not to use it, or are unable to operate it) operates under the umbrella of traffic safety. Consequently, the fact that traffic is chronically unsafe touches all of us *as a group*: rich and poor, men and women, young and old, parents or not. All are potential victims, even though some may experience or avoid risks differently.

Yet, Beck's theory of the risk society ignores how inequalities play a role in experiences of risks. As Chan and Rigakos point out, the risk society envisioned by Beck is not a neutral concept; it is, for example, inherently gendered. They explain that: "first, risk, as it pertains to risk taking, is gendered in the types of activity or risky behaviour women choose to engage in. (...) Second, the concept is also gendered in discussion of how women prevent risks" (Chan & Rigakos 2002, 755). They argue that risk is multifaceted and that it: "does not exist in any absolute sense, which is not to suggest it does not exist in a real sense. What we are saying is the gender intersecting with race and class conditions the very definition and practice of risk" (Chan & Rigakos 2002, 757). While their focus is on the conceptualization of risk in criminological writing, their idea that risk is multifaceted is relevant and important to a discussion of risks to the pedestrian. 'The Pedestrian', like the risk he or she may encounter, is not gender or age neutral. Although all pedestrians are vulnerable, some are more vulnerable than others. Different pedestrians may experience and respond to risk in diverse ways. Consequently, the research and management of pedestrian risks should not employ a monolithic understanding of either 'risk' or 'pedestrian'.

Although he does not discuss pedestrian risks specifically, Beck uses traffic accidents to exemplify the idea that because people have "trust in science and research", risk

is tolerated in many areas of social life. The deaths from traffic accidents, for instance. Every year a middle-sized city in Germany disappears without a trace, so to speak. People have even got used to that. (Beck 1992, 46)

Yet, he does not discuss further the example of traffic risks, or their implications. In neglecting the 'system' of automobility, Beck does not address traffic risks. In contrast, Beckmann, building on theories discussing the 'system' of automobility argues that the risks associated with automobility, although well known by the public, are collectively

denied. He explains that automobility functions “*because its accidents are denied*” and describes the process:

the risks of driving are denied and the illusion of safety is reconstructed by an accident investigation that aims at preventing the recurrence of the crash, Accidents-workers cleanse the road, repair the car, heal the victim and lock up irresponsible drivers – suggesting that afterwards driving has become safe. With such treatment, the accident is not just subject to a particular kind of denial, but also removed to another region in the auto network. (2004, 95)

Thus, traffic risks and accidents are handled by and within the ‘system’ of automobility. Theories of the risk society and the system of automobility contribute to a framework for beginning to understand how an organization such as the CSC is part of a network. The CSC addresses traffic rules, including those of pedestrians, but its discourses and practices define the risks in ways that deny their social significance. In particular, the CSC suggests that pedestrians and other ‘vulnerable road users’ must take responsibility for their risks. In effect, the CSC constructs pedestrians as risk managers. This argument is supported by literature that examines the changing conceptualization of accidents and risk management.

Accidents and risk management

Green (1997a; 1997b; 1999) discusses the evolving meaning of accidents and how their conceptualization allows for their management through prevention. She explains that if ‘accidents’ were truly accidental, they would “lie by definition outside the remit of a rational public health, concerned with patterned causes and their *management*”. As such, she continues, there would be “no possibilities of literature on prevention, and indeed there are very few references to accident prevention in medicine and public health until the second half of the twentieth century” (1999, 28). Green identifies a shift from ‘accidents’ understood as random, inevitable misfortune, to ‘risk’, wherein the person is expected to competently manage risks (1999). As such, she contends that the modern focus on prevention suggests there are no accidents, only preventable events which are the “outcome of mismanaged risks ... a misfortune which should never have happened in the first place” (Green 1999, 35). The shift in conceptualizing traffic mishaps from accidents to preventable events engages us

in a seemingly irresistible strategy of constant risk management. The strategy is irresistible because to manage risks is to construct oneself as

a rational, competent human being, capable of keeping oneself and one's dependent safe. ... To construct a mature and competent social identity requires presenting oneself as an adept risk assessor and manager (Green 1999, 35).

This shift presents an interesting paradox: "accidents no longer demonstrate the proper limits of rational explanatory systems, but rather individual failure" (Green 1999 p.34). Though Green does not discuss automobility and traffic risks, her discussion of accidents is relevant to pedestrian safety.

To further develop the idea of risk management of pedestrian safety, the following section examines theories of discipline, surveillance, and self-regulation within a neoliberal context. They provide a theoretical framework which helps elucidate how organizations, such as the CSC, focus on prevention and education about traffic and pedestrian risks. Given the socially constructed nature of risks, pedestrian risk management which emphasizes individuated practices hinges on self-regulation. In bringing together theories of risk, accidents and the 'system' of automobility, the following section examines neoliberal conceptualizations of safe behaviour and individual responsibility for pedestrian risks.

2.4 Political and economic contexts of discourses of pedestrian safety

Neoliberalism, discourses of responsabilization and self-regulation

In developing an understanding of risk management practices within automobility it is important to situate the political and economic context in which pedestrian safety promotion is practiced. The promotion of safety, risk management and the attribution of responsibility for traffic accidents do not occur in a political vacuum. As Green's (1997a; 1997b; 1999) discussion indicates, the modern focus on accidents defines them as the result of individual failure to manage risks appropriately. This discourse presupposes that risks are calculable and that active citizens must monitor their risks or be the target of intervention (Dean 1999). As Dean suggests, neoliberal governments in particular, construct certain individuals, groups and communities as "targeted populations", deem them 'at-risk', and expect that "they enter into agreements to subject themselves to

technologies of citizenship⁹” (Dean 1999, 148). Dean’s writings are close to those of Green (1997a; 1997b; 1999) and Petersen (1997) and link more directly those governmentality practices with neoliberal, liberal states’ “contracting out of formerly public services”:

Looked at from ‘top-down’, those identified as ‘at-risk’ are to be empowered or entered into partnership with professionals, bureaucrats, activists and service providers. With the help of markets – often artificially contrived – in services and expertise, these targeted populations are enjoined to recognize the seemingly natural bonds of affinity and identity that link them with others and to engage in their own self-management and political mobilization.

...

From below, these aggregations appear as consumer organizations, citizens’ initiatives, social movements, cultures and subcultures, and communities, resisting and opposing the decisions of authorities, contesting the claims of expert knowledge, demanding consultation over planning and services tailored to their needs (Dean 1999, 149-150).

The “proliferation of risk rationalities and reliance on the prudential individual” provides governments a way “of governing without governing society” (Dean 1999, 150) to ensure the “‘neo-liberal’ prudential subject is the rational choice actor who calculates the benefit and costs or risks of acting” (Dean 1999, 145). Risks, as Petersen argues, “play a crucial role in ‘neo-liberal’ societies: in distancing experts from direct intervention into personal lives, while employing the agency of subjects in their own self-regulation” (1997, 203). This section examines further the role and implication of neoliberalism as the context in which a non-profit organization promotes pedestrian safety and delivers a ‘public good’ function.

Generally speaking neoliberalism is understood as “a loosely knit body of ideas ... premised upon a (slight) rethinking and a (substantial) reassertion of a classical liberalism ... [and] advocates the rights of the individual against those of the ‘coercive state’” (Marshall 1998, 445). Since the late 1970’s neoliberalism has meant a shift in how society and the state interact, creating a new “governing orthodoxy” holding that “changing international realities put roughly the same demands on all governments”

⁹Dean explains that “technologies of citizenship engage us as active and free citizens, as consumers of services, as members of self-managing communities and organizations, as actors in democratizing social movements, and as agents capable of taking control of our own risks. This is not to cancel agency but to seek to show how it is produced, how it is inserted in a system of purposes, and how it might overrun the limits established for it by a particular programme or even the strategic purposes of a regime of government” (Dean 1999, 147).

(Brodie 1995, 16). Governments now are leaving behind their post-war consensus, the ways of the Keynesian state, and are now compelled to:

- maximize exports
- reduce social spending
- curtail state economic regulation
- enable market forces to restructure national economies as parts of transnational or regional trading locks (Friedman 1991, in Brodie 1995, 16).

Neoliberalism commands a government to be committed to its own competitiveness through measures that embrace and conform to “market-driven development strategies”, that help the industry adjust to this need for competitiveness through a reduction of regulations, that forfeit “the economic terrain to the private sector” (Brodie 1995, 17).

While the political and economic changes brought about by neoliberalism are significant, another profound change is unravelling. Neoliberal economic policies bring about a philosophical change in how the state views and constructs citizens. This emerging neoliberal philosophy is restructuring the identity, citizenship requirements and what one can expect from the state. Neoliberalism is affecting the relationship of the state with its citizens and it is ultimately redefining identities, responsibilities, and expectations. The neoliberal agenda is changing the very starting point of claims made on the state by changing what is contestable and what is not. In other words, neoliberalism can be best understood as a dominant discourse that is

a set of impositional claims which attempt to make politically contestable positions appear to be non-political and uncontestable – part of the natural order of things. Politics is characterized by conflicting discourse, each of which puts into “play a privileged set of viewpoints,” making certain thoughts and ideas present and others absent. (Eisenstein 1988, in Brodie 1995, 27)

Brodie outlines how the neoliberal discourse is reshaping state forms and “progressively changing the terrain of the political, the workplace, and the home” (1995, 49).

Neoliberalism is:

- shrinking the public and expanding the private
- recoding the public and the private with market mechanisms doing public good
- hollowing out the welfare state
- redefining Citizenship: individual responsabilizing & self regulation. (Brodie 1995, 49-63)

Brodie does not specifically discuss how neoliberal discourse and responsabilization strategies affect traffic and pedestrian safety. However, the responsabilizing features of neoliberalism she outlines are particularly relevant to the promotion of safety to pedestrians. The good citizen is one who promotes and adheres to the principles of traffic safety, is self-reliant, and embraces self-regulation and self-help. This understanding of the good citizen constructs anyone who fails in their endeavour to be safe as needy, and they become the subject of state scrutiny. The 'ordinary Canadian,' the responsible, prudent, ordinary person, "does not require state assistance and protection" (Brodie 1995, 72) and is able to manage risks appropriately so as to provide safety and protection for themselves and their dependents.

Partnerships with the private sector to promote traffic safety.

In placing the CSC in its social context, it is important to recognize the importance of the political economic forces on private industries. In particular, the 'safety industry' and the automobile industry play a significant role in defining pedestrian safety. Adams' (1995), review of risk management practices finds that "the relentless pursuit of risk reduction [makes] safety an enormous industry" that has the potential to focus on everything and anything from safety in the home, fire, casualty services, safety at play, safety at work, to, of course, safety on the road (Adams 1995, 31). He questions whether this large industry is producing positive results or 'value-for-money' (1995, 32). Similarly, Mohan and Roberts characterize partnerships between organizations (whose profits are made from automobility) and non-profit organizations (whose purpose is to improve traffic safety) as giving "cause for concern" as they recommend safety education and training without supporting evidence that they have any effects (2001, 648). The WHO indicates that road safety is a "shared responsibility" requiring "commitment and informed decision making from government, industry, nongovernmental organizations and international agencies" (WHO 2006, 158). The shared commitment advocated by the WHO, however, does not critically examine whether campaigns to promote traffic safety should be disinterested or humanistic operations to save the lives of children and innocent victims. Rather, other interests might come into play when safety promotion

initiatives¹⁰ are sponsored by automobile and related industries. *Independence*, when traffic safety research organisms are funded by industry, is questionable. As described in chapter 3, the CSC is sponsored by various corporations.

The question arises as to the interest corporations may have in promoting traffic safety. They may seek to ensure that the expansion of their products is not compromised by traffic safety programs that question the dangerousness and ultimately the adequacy of automobility. Their involvement in traffic safety partnerships is akin to business activism¹¹ and contributes to approaches and promotion strategies for traffic safety that do not directly challenge the legitimacy of the automobile, the source of their profit. Following Burns' work (1999), which examines the benefits for the automobile industry to project an image of safety, I argue that the private sector's partnerships with organizations interested in promoting safety such as the CSC, serves marketing interests of those private enterprises. The promotion of traffic safety and car safety can be a marketing strategy for car manufacturers. For example, Burns found that in one case a manufacturer "attempted to include safety as a significant part of its image" despite evidence that "with regard to safety, [that manufacturer's] vehicle generally performed below the averages of comparison groups" (1999, 341). Based on Burns findings, I argue that safety is not only a construction; but also a discourse which serves to maintain intact a source of revenue and the legitimacy and standing of the automobile as today's transport policy. Clearly, the interest in reducing traffic injuries is not solely a disinterested, concern for human life, but also a form of damage and image control by the industry to protect the commodity on which their very existence depends.

In their studies of business activism and business networks, Carroll & Shaw (2001) and Carroll & Carson (2003) examined the interlocking nature of the affiliations of

¹⁰ For example, the Traffic Injury Research Foundation, is sponsored by Anheuser-Bush Companies, Toyota Canada inc., Brewers of Canada, Imperial Oil Foundation, Canada Automobile Association, Michelin North America, Nissan Canada inc., Dollar Thrifty Automotive Group Canada inc., and various insurance companies among other sponsors, to name a few (Traffic Injury Research Foundation 2004).

¹¹ Carroll and Shaw (2001) discuss the consequences of business activism and the involvement of corporations in promulgating "the emergence of a neoliberal discursive field" (211). They explain that corporate involvement in the field of policy is "an important sign of successful hegemony" and controls the policy agenda by "delimiting the spectrum of feasible policies: the common-sense of state politics" (2001, 211). For my purposes, I find that their analysis of corporate involvement in policy think tanks is similar to corporate involvement in safety promotion organizations such as the CSC. The involvement of a car manufacturer on the board of directors on the CSC plays a role in what Carroll and Shaw argue is a "discharge [of] an intellectual function in the political field, not as representatives of their particular business sectors (...) but as representatives of the business community" (2001, 211). I would argue that corporate involvement in organizations such as the CSC serve to 'guard' business interests in preserving automobility intact but also in promoting market solutions to safety.

corporations' boards of directors' members. They examined the boards of directors of some of the world's largest companies and identified some of the consequences and implications for transnational capitalist hegemony and the promulgations and promotions of neoliberal policies to governments. For businesses involved in the market of car transportation, traffic safety that maintains automobility is arguably a form of business risk management. Their involvement also contributes to how safety issues and their management are constructed. As such, and within the automobilized society, businesses involved in promoting safety contribute to producing particular understandings and approaches to traffic and pedestrian safety.

Pedestrian safety in a neoliberal context.

Within the 'system' of automobility, the promotion of safety to pedestrians points to the following considerations. First, the 'system' of automobility produces discourses of safety that do not challenge automobility. Second, within automobility, the promotion and education about traffic safety that responsabilizes the individual is the preferred means to address accidents. Third, the dependence on the automobile as the main mode of transportation *happens to be* an extraordinary source of profit for a nexus of corporations from car manufacturers to asphalt companies. These considerations need to be embedded in a discussion of the discourse of pedestrian safety. Promoting traffic safety implies that there is room for improvement. It means that traffic safety can be the responsibility of individuals and that, if well educated and willing, individuals can prevent accidents and manage their traffic risks. Within the 'system' of automobility, pedestrians stand, unprotected by the technological features of an automobile, all alone in traffic and responsible for their own safety. The management of pedestrian risks and theorizing about automobility, risk, risk management, and neoliberalism are central to understanding the CSC's approach to pedestrian safety. Having established a theoretical framework to examine the social constructions and discourses of pedestrian safety, I now turn to the following chapter to discuss the methodology for such an examination. In chapter 4 I examine the economic and socio-cultural context in which the CSC operates.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY: COLLECTING AND GENERATING DATA FOR A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This research is a case study of a non-profit organization involved in promoting pedestrian safety. This chapter addresses the methodological considerations encountered within this study. It discusses the reasons which led me to focus on the CSC, the implications of different methods of data collection, and how I coded and analyzed data. I also discuss some of the theoretical and methodological implications of using a critical discourse analysis.

3.1 Why the Canada Safety Council?

In Canada, various organizations address traffic safety and they have sometimes similar, sometimes diverging discourses of traffic safety. Examples of governmental organizations are Transport Canada (TC), Health Canada (HC), Department of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness (PSEP), Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canadian Council of Motor Transport Administrators, Provincial governments, and municipals governments. Non-governmental organizations also promoting traffic or pedestrian safety include the Traffic Injury Research Foundation, the CSC, MADD, schools, insurance companies, and automobile associations.

For a case study on pedestrian safety promotion in Canada I selected the CSC, a non-governmental organization, for two primary reasons: 1) governments are not substantially involved in promoting pedestrian safety and therefore, a non-governmental organization, such as the CSC, filling that role was a more appropriate choice; and 2) the CSC is the only organization promoting traffic safety on a national scale. A case study allows in-depth exploration of a program, an activity, or a process through the “collection of detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time” (Stake 1995, in Creswell 2003, 15). Further, it permits the investigation of processes and activities (Creswell 2003, 183) and the critical analysis of discourses.

The Canada Safety Council's standing as a national safety promotion organization

Created in 1968, the CSC is the only national, non-governmental organization describing itself as solely dedicated to the safety of Canadians and to preventing their 'avoidable' injuries. Its office is located in Ottawa, Ontario. 'Cooperating agencies'¹² in regions (for example the British Columbia Safety Council and the Vancouver Island Safety Council in British Columbia) have business agreements in place to deliver some of the CSC's programs. Cooperating agencies are not subsidiary organizations: they are autonomous, independent non-profit organizations sharing with the CSC a common mandate to contribute to safety. Its logo, a triangle surrounding a stylized maple leaf,

symbolizes the "three Es" of safety – enforcement, education and engineering. The Canada Safety Council, a knowledge-based organization, builds on these three fundamentals. (CSC #A5, undated)

The constitution of the CSC is found in Appendix 1 and lists the objectives of the CSC. The CSC is a relatively small organization with between 10 and 15 directors on the board of directors and a president. For the years 2000 to 2004, the CSC employed 10 or 11 employees, with most employees' salaries below \$70,000 but with some reaching more than \$100,000 per year (Canada Revenue Agency 2005).

The CSC addresses traffic safety, but also occupational health and safety, child safety, school safety, farm safety, senior safety, railway safety, and safety in the home. It offers educational material to organizations and individuals. As a national non-profit organization, the CSC has been "solely dedicated to the safety of Canadians" for more than 35 years (CSC #W5 2005).

The role of the Canada Safety Council in promoting pedestrian safety in Canada

The Government of Canada plays a role in working to ensure Canadians are safe by supporting the role the CSC plays in promoting safety. In fact TC, "works in cooperation with hundreds of other organizations with an interest in transportation issues in the delivery of programs and services aiming to achieve its strategic outcomes" (TC 2005a, 95). TC's *Departmental Performance Report* lists the CSC as a "co-delivery partner" (2005a, 95). Further, a review of the CSC annual reports indicates that, for the

¹² The provincial safety councils were often created much earlier than the CSC, for example, the BC Safety Council was created in 1945 (BC Safety Council 2005). The CSC calls them 'cooperating agencies' because they are delivering some programs in agreement with standards put forth by the CSC. These agencies may create and deliver programs of their own.

years 2002, 2003, and 2004, the federal government (TC and HC) as well as provincial governments and various municipal authorities have sponsored the CSC. The TC website names the CSC as a “partner” in “community based traffic safety” (TC 2005b) and links the CSC from its website. Essentially, the CSC is delivering federal programming about, amongst others, pedestrian safety. As such, it is essentially playing, at least in part, a public good and public safety role that could, under different political-economic conditions, be fulfilled by the state.

The CSC operates within the current, neoliberal milieu in Canada where governments have come to rely on non-governmental organizations to fulfil roles and services it does not provide (Brodie 1995). As Huntoon (2001) suggests, governments may use non-profit organizations to build social capital to nurture a public good which it does not itself provide. In a clear example of this state of affairs, HC, discussing health promotion strategies in Canada, explains that the non-profit sector involvement is important in encouraging Canadians to make healthier choices (HC 1998, 9-10). As such, the government partners with and relies on the private or voluntary sector for the delivery and promulgating of some ‘public good’ initiatives and policies. These partnerships are consistent with Brodie’s (1995) argument that the federal government prefers market solutions, non-profit sector involvement, and individual responsabilization strategies. This neoliberal approach applies to the promotion of pedestrian safety in Canada.

Funding sources of the Canada Safety Council

The CSC is thus a significant organization playing an important role in informing the public about safety issues. What makes it an interesting organization from a research point of view is its conflicting position between government, industry and pedestrians. The CSC purports to be independent from government and corporations, while collaborating with, and being sponsored by, government and corporations. The CSC fulfills an important role of government: to protect the Canadian public from harm. As a non-governmental and non-profit organization, the CSC exists within a market economy (even though it does not make profit) and as such, it competes for and relies on various sources of funding. The most important, in terms of numbers and amount¹³, is

¹³ For example, for the year 2004, the last year for which information is available, 15 major donors (who donated between \$1,000 and \$5,000) were corporations while only 3 were governments (CSC#A2 2003; CSC#A3 2004; CSC#A4 2005). Consult Appendix 7, for a detailed list of donors.

corporate donations, followed by government organizations. Other sources of revenue are individual and corporate memberships, certification fees, and the sale of material (CSC# A2 2003; CSC#A3 2004; CSC#A4 2005). A review of road safety management names the CSC, among other Canadian and international organizations, as an example of “business-sponsored” non-governmental organizations whose purpose is to provide research for or educate the public about road safety (Aeron-Thomas et al. 2002, 41).

Like many other non-profit organizations, the CSC must compete for and rely on funding, whether corporate or governmental, while continuing to be able to reasonably claim it provides a service to the Canadian people: to “lead the national effort to reduce preventable deaths, injuries and economic loss in public and private places throughout Canada”. In a neoliberal context, its mandate does not permit a broader approach to pedestrian safety that would allow a reconsideration of the adequacy of automobility. The CSC is located, however, in a peculiar and perhaps untenable position. It defends Canadians’ safety, promotes the public good by encouraging public acceptance of laws and regulations, and provides input into government policies. But as an applicant and recipient of government and industry funding, the CSC must navigate its mandate in a way that does not compromise future funding opportunities essential to its survival. As a result, its discourses may not be independent from these interests.

3.2 Methodology: document review and interview

Document review

This research examines several different types of documents to explore the ways in which the CSC conceptualizes Canadian pedestrians and how it promotes its safety messages. Because it is a non-profit organization that primarily strives to educate Canadians by putting forth educational material and information, the CSC’s documents constitute a relatively reliable, readily available, and unobtrusive source of data for documentary analysis.

The CSC’s website is an important dissemination strategy for communicating information to Canadians for both promotional and educational purposes. The website provides information about the CSC’s purposes, mandate, achievements, accomplishments, and goals in its contribution to keep Canadians safe. The CSC disseminates pamphlets, annual reports, a magazine, a members’ newsletter, letters to

governments, several letters to editors, and position letters most of which are on the website or can be obtained by mail from the CSC. The CSC publishes the magazine *Living Safety* (a French version exists: *Famille Avertie*¹⁴) quarterly for about \$11 per year (for non-members) and its subscribers are mainly corporations and businesses. The CSC also produces the members' newsletter *Safety Canada* which is available on its website. *Living Safety*, is "the only Canadian-produced off-the-job safety magazine, provides timely articles on consumer topics", while *Safety Canada* covers "current safety issues and CSC initiatives" and both are mailed quarterly, free of charge to all members (CSC #A5 undated). A sample article from and description of *Living Safety* and *Safety Canada* can be found in Appendix 2 and 3 respectively.

In analysing the content of the website and *Annual Reports*, I was able to identify the priorities of the organization, the members and affiliations of the board of directors, and the activities and achievement for that year. Because the CSC is a non-profit, charitable organization, it is registered as such with the federal government who requires registered charities to provide official information. Such information is available on-line. I accessed this information using a search engine provided by the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) on its website.

I scanned the website's documents (such as letters the CSC wrote to various organizations and for various purposes) as well as the magazine *Living Safety*, to identify the articles that specifically discuss traffic and pedestrian safety. This process involved considerable time. While a section focuses specifically on traffic safety, other articles discussing pedestrian safety could potentially also be found within other areas of the website. For example, articles on the elderly, children or school safety also discuss pedestrian safety issues particular to these groups.

Interview

Besides analysing CSC documents, I conducted an interview with a CSC representative by telephone, on December 2nd, 2005 after approval from the SFU Board of Ethics (see Appendix 4 for the interview schedule). The questions covered a wide

¹⁴ Interestingly, the translation of the title of the journal has a different meaning in French. The French title, *Famille Avertie*, translates as "warned family" or "careful family". The English title, *Living Safety*, is a play on words on how to live – living safely implies, when the English and French meaning are combined, being careful and that rational individuals care to protect their family.

breadth of topics but focused prominently on establishing the CSC's role in Canadian society in promoting traffic safety. In particular, the questions addressed the extent to which the CSC representative substantiated the website's messages about pedestrian safety.

Because interviewing a representative of a small, but visible non-profit organization rendered anonymity impossible, I made the alternate arrangement of not using responses unless the CSC representative could review the paraphrased material.

3.3 Issues in data collection:

Websites are not static: they are fluid and their owners update them over time with new information. Information found one week can be gone the next. While the website appeared relatively stable over time in its structure and content, I found it important to collect, examine, and analyze data at a specific point in time. I printed and saved to hard disk the website pages and relevant documents between January 2005 and May 2005 and reviewed them periodically for new documents or updates to the material until April 2006. This allowed for a stable base of data from which to conduct analysis. The CSC keeps archives of position letters on the website, but updates documents such as annual reports. Printing documents or saving the webpages on hard disk was the safest way to address the issue of the website being updated. As a way to conceptualize the structure of the CSC'S website, I developed a schema to show how the various webpages are connected with the homepage. A schema representing the architecture of the website is found in Appendix 5 and the articles I sampled are listed in the reference sections (CSC#W1 to CSC#W15). For a relatively small non-profit organization, the CSC's website is quite elaborated, informative, and very much reflects CSC's areas of interest. In this sense the CSC fulfils well its objective to "focus and engage" Canadians on the topic of safety, as described in its constitution (found in Appendix 1).

I photocopied articles from CSC's periodical *Living Safety* that discussed pedestrian safety. Since 1983, the CSC publishes *Living Safety* and articles discussing pedestrian safety are published yearly. The articles I sampled are listed in the reference section (CSC#LS1 to CSC#LS28). Refer to Appendix 2 for an example of an article from the magazine *Living Safety*.

Sampling & data generation strategies

Essentially, I used purposeful sampling strategy for data collection. A purposeful sample is a sample which permits the researcher to gather the documents “that will best help (...) understand the problem” under study (Creswell 2003, 185). A purposive sample can lead to an in-depth understanding of an issue, as it allows for an iterative process between the material and the theory informing its research. As Mason explains,

in theoretical or purposeful sampling, the process of sampling, data generation and data analysis are viewed dynamically and interactively. This means that a qualitative researcher must work out not only when to make sampling decisions, but also when to stop sampling. (Mason 2002, 138)

Before proceeding to sampling, I examined the titles of all sections of the website to identify which of the CSC’s webpages and documents likely addressed the issue of pedestrian safety. I looked for evidence of the CSC’s approach to educating Canadian pedestrian about how to stay safe and Canadian drivers about how to avoid accidents involving pedestrians. I did this review by following links that were likely to contain information about traffic safety, child safety, senior safety, or recreational safety for example. In my search to understand how discourses construct Canadians as risk managers of pedestrian safety, I found that the themes emanating from the texts often recurred. For this reason, and as Creswell explains, data collection strategy can be multifaceted, iterative, and move back and forth between analysis, data collection and problem reformulation (Creswell 2003, 183). To get a clear picture of the CSC’s promotion of pedestrian safety it was important to ‘find’ all relevant CSC information about pedestrian safety. The emphasis of this research is on exploring the CSC’s broad themes, approaches and discourses about pedestrian safety. Because the CSC is involved in many varied initiatives, I found it important to restrict the analysis of documents to those which were specifically within the scope of the research.

Because the CSC has a broad and diversified mandate, I limited the study to documents posted on the website, magazine and annual reports. The CSC is regularly called upon by news media to comment on safety related occurrences. While it is likely that the CSC would post these articles on its website, I did not include news media articles in print, nor radio and television interviews.

Links to other websites are valuable in that their content may reveal who are the partners and what their interests may be in contributing to the CSC website. However,

for the purpose of determining how the CSC constructs Canadians with regard to traffic and pedestrian risk safety, I limited the reviews to those documents published by the CSC or posted on its website (all sites beginning with <http://www.safety-council.org/>).

3.4 The methodological approach to data analysis

I used several qualitative methods to examine how the CSC approaches pedestrian safety. I conducted a thematic analysis of the CSC promotion of safety, a critical analysis of the discourses it employs, a content analysis of the CSC's funding, and a network analysis of CSC's connection to corporate interests. Taken together, these multiple methods provide triangulation, giving some assurance of validity.

Critical analysis of the Canada Safety Council discourses of pedestrian safety

The purpose of conducting a critical analysis of the CSC's discourse is to seek to contribute to a political-economic analysis of the ways in which traffic safety is structurally embedded. A critical analysis of the traffic risks and pedestrians unsafety discourses of the CSC allows for establishing the extent to which the CSC embraces existing, perhaps hegemonic, modes of transportation. As such, the purpose is not to evaluate the effectiveness of the educational and safety promotion practices of the CSC. Rather this thesis seeks to establish discursive linkages between automobility and the manner in which the CSC addresses pedestrian safety. The risk management practices and discourses the CSC adopts may reveal embedded interests that preserve the 'system' of automobility. This analysis seeks to elucidate and explore how structurally embedded power relations – between government, transportation infrastructure policy, car manufacturers and 'the pedestrian', are potentially maintained through discourse.

Critical discourse analysis has different meanings for different theorists or researchers. To examine safety as a discourse and how knowledge about pedestrian safety is produced and maintained, it is useful to define and examine what is meant by 'discourse'. Whereas Beck's theory of the risk society "tends to waver between a realist and a weak constructionist position", foucauldian hard constructionist approaches are relativist (Lupton 1999b, 5-6). Such approaches are "not interested in investigating the nature of risk itself, but rather the forms of knowledge, the dominant discourses and expert techniques and institutions that serve to render risk calculable and knowable, bringing it into being" (Lupton 1999b, 6). The approach taken here is that risk exists in a

realist sense, *and* in a constructivist sense. Risks exist but discourses and practices produce knowledge of them. Brodie defines discourse as a set of impositional claims that supports certain ideas and makes difficult political contestation. It is the convincing nature of those impositional claims that ultimately prohibits contestation. Fairclough's approach is generally recognized as "the most developed theory and method for research in communication, culture, and society" (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, 60). For Fairclough, analysis of text alone is inadequate for the purpose of discourse analysis as it "does not shed light on the links between texts and societal and cultural processes and structures" and therefore, he advocates an interdisciplinary perspective so as to combine textual and social analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, 66). An important benefit of his approach drawing on macro-sociological tradition is that "it takes into account that social practices are shaped by social structures and power relations, and that people are often not aware of these processes" (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, 66). Discourse is extensively used in social theory, explains Fairclough, often

referring to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice. ... Discourses in this sense are manifested in particular ways of using language and other symbolic forms such as visual images (See Thompson 1990). Discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or 'constitute' them; different discourses constitute key entities (...) in different ways, and position people in different ways as social subjects (...), and it is these social effects of discourse that are focused upon in discourse analysis. . . . (Fairclough 1992, 3-4)

Critical analysis of discourse differs from discourse analysis. It is critical in that it "aims to reveal the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world, including those social relations that involve unequal relations of power" (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, 63). As such, it allows for an exploration of the ways in which discourse functions to maintain inequalities in power relations. Thus, critical discourse analysis is committed to social change by seeking to "uncover the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of unequal power relations, with the overall goal of harnessing the results of critical discourse analysis to the struggle for radical social change" (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, 64).

It is these features of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis that makes it stand apart from foucauldian and hard constructivist approaches. Because Fairclough's theory allows for change and for action, it makes it a useful tool to unveil the discursive practices that maintain or perpetuate power relations. Traffic safety discourses, within

the context of automobility, and how they influence the promotion of pedestrian safety are central to a better understanding of embedded power relations and prevailing interests. Critical discourse analysis unveils embedded power relations in the knowledge used to promote safety and improves understanding of how discursive formations about safety in traffic are not value free but rather embed the interests of some of the players in automobility.

I examined a total of 49 documents for thematic and critical discourse analysis. For an example of documents retained for analysis, consult Appendix 2 and 3. Before proceeding to a critical analysis of the CSC discourses of pedestrian safety, I first summarized the content of the documents to situate their messages and the context in which they exist. I read each document retained for analysis twice: first in an exploratory way to understand the context of relevant articles so as to situate each article in the context of the others, and second, more systematically, to outline recurring themes. I grouped articles under recurring themes where one document could contain several themes and each theme could encompass several variations or topics.

Thematic content analysis and social network analysis

I first carried out a thematic content analysis on the material to establish how the CSC constructs '*The Pedestrian*', how the CSC expects individuals to manage the risks associated with being a pedestrian in an automobilized society and how it promotes safety. Content analysis, a research technique developed in the 1940's for propaganda and communication studies, "reduces freely occurring text to a much smaller summary or representation of its meaning" and can take different forms, whether quantitative (through 'objective', systematic, and quantitative description of the material or counting the recurrence of certain words) or qualitative (examining general semantic concepts, stylistic characteristics, or themes) (Marshall 1998, 114). It differs from a critical analysis of the discourse in that it is mostly descriptive and stops short of analysing the texts *themselves* in context. In comparison, critical discourse analysis seeks to situate texts and discursive formations in the broader social, political, and economic context in which they exist. To give a basis for critical discourse analysis, I used a qualitative, thematic content analysis to provide a description of the material and to establish a better understanding of the CSC.

As a case study, this research seeks to understand the CSC's broader context by examining its source of funding and the possible influences of government or industry funding on its promotional campaigns. I analyzed the CSC's sources of funding, including partners and sponsors. Starting from the premise that businesses may wish to have a presence on boards of directors to develop and maintain contacts within their business sector or spheres of influence, I sought to identify: the members of the board of directors, and their affiliations, but also where such affiliations are located within the 'system' of automobility. This approach is in line with the network analysis conducted by William Carroll (See Carroll & Shaw (2001) and Carroll & Carson (2003)). Using the annual reports produced by the CSC and the database of the CRA's charity registry, I listed and examined the members of the board of directors' affiliations¹⁵ for the years 2002, 2003, 2004. The annual reports and the charity registry list affiliations of members of the board of directors. I examined the composition of the board of directors to establish its stability in terms of affiliations (other non-profit; corporations; federal, provincial, or municipal governments) over time. Board members' names were submitted into the federal government's lobbyist registry¹⁶ search engine to determine whether they had lobbied the federal government for issues related to transportation safety. Lobbying activities indicate that such organizations are active in promoting their perspectives to governments. This analysis created the basis from which to examine the interests members of the board of directors may represent and how these interests may in turn influence the CSC's discourses.

Coding

To structure the examination of the ways in which the CSC promotes pedestrian safety, I coded the data. Before establishing themes, I organized the data in order to take into consideration the socio-political and cultural context in which the CSC exists. I found it important to contextualize the safety promotion message, and approaches of the CSC by considering that it operates within its organizational purpose and mandate. The CSC's documents can be administrative (discussing mandates, constitutions, objectives,

¹⁵ By affiliation, I mean the kind of organizations they may represent, whether these organizations were other non-profit organizations, corporations, governments, or associations.

¹⁶ The Canadian federal lobbying registry is an on-line tool which allows a search by name or affiliation persons who lobby (or have lobbied) the federal government. Lobbyists are required to register before taking on their lobbying activities. The tool is maintained by Industry Canada (Industry Canada 2005).

funding, or the programs and activities the CSC offers), or promotional (discussing what Canadians can do to stay safe and the relationships of pedestrians with the rest of society). For these reasons, I grouped the information observed in documents according to the following categories:

- Pedestrian safety activities and programs of the CSC
- Pedestrian safety strategies
- The relationship between pedestrians and society.

The coding frames and corresponding indicators can be found in table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Coding categories and indicators used in establishing themes.

Coding category	Indicators
Pedestrian safety programs and activities	Programs Activities Promotions Campaigns promoted Lists of activities Sponsors opportunities discussed directly or indirectly Source of funding
Pedestrian safety strategies and risk management	Rules, codes of conduct, tips, advice, tone of the strategies Conceptualization of traffic risks Conceptualization of accidents Conceptualization of 'the pedestrian' Conceptualization of responsibility for pedestrian risk management
The relationship between pedestrians and society	Relationship between pedestrians and: The state Other road users Corporations The 'system' of automobility Children/parents/families as evidenced in the CSC's programs and strategies

As described earlier, I read all selected documents to get a sense or a 'feel' for the functioning and approaches of the CSC. I then developed the coding categories and indicators (in table 3.1). When coding the information within documents, I sought to keep in mind the other documents and the general context of the CSC's mandate and approach to promoting safety. All in all, every effort was made to represent fairly the purpose of the CSC in promoting safety and the financial and cultural context in which it operates.

Interview and triangulation

In using multiple methods, I have been able to 'triangulate' them. Triangulation the "use of a combination of methods to explore one set of research questions" (Mason 2002, 190) is an important way of aiming for validity in research. For a list of research questions and associated methods, consult Appendix 6. My interview with a CSC representative was useful and informative in heightening confidence about the sources for documentary analysis. As Mason explains, qualitative interviewing adds "an additional dimension, or may help you approach your questions from a different angle, or in greater depth" (Mason 2002, 66).

Issues in studying non-profit organizations' funding

Non-profit organizations depend on funding for their existence. Funding may be from individuals, corporations, governments, or from other organizations. Non-profit organizations may rely on funding which is sporadic or a 'one-time' donation, or they may rely on more substantial and stable funding provided yearly, and in some cases, year after year. Some organizations such as the CSC also rely on fees collected from memberships, programs delivery or periodical subscriptions, and they may provide marketing opportunities to sponsors on educational material in exchange for funding.

Critically evaluating and analysing the implications of sources of funding for a non-profit organization can impact its future funding opportunities. While I am aware of the potential consequences for the organization, the information I use in the analysis of the CSC's funding sources is publicly available. Further, I provide socio-political context for the operational environment of the CSC and describe and discuss the context of the promotion of traffic and pedestrian safety in Canada. Although this thesis is a case study and does not permit generalizations to other organizations or other situations, providing background to the analysis demonstrates that the case of the CSC may not be unique.

CHAPTER 4

PROMOTING PEDESTRIAN SAFETY IN CANADA

Before analysing the CSC's discourses of traffic and pedestrian safety, it is important to examine the political and economic context in which the CSC operates. As a charitable organization dedicated to the safety of Canadians, the CSC operates within a legislative and cultural context. It also exists within a larger context of pedestrian safety in Canada. In this chapter, I first examine the roles of various players in the domain of pedestrian safety, including: federal, provincial, and municipal governments, non-governmental and non-profit organizations, and car manufacturers. I then review the CSC in detail, identifying its sources of funding, board of directors, organizational structure, partnerships, its lines of businesses, programs, and objectives. As this chapter discusses, pedestrian safety is a complex issue that involves industry, governments, citizens, and non-profit organizations. While pedestrian safety is the safety *of* people in transportation, it is also the safety of transportation *for* people. The distinction hints at the different ways in which various organizations and governments address pedestrian risks. Some may be more concerned with promoting appropriate behaviours, while others may want to examine whether the road transportation system is safe for all users. This chapter provides a socio-political and cultural context as part of a critical discourse analysis of the CSC's approaches to pedestrian safety. It examines how the different players (industry, government, non-profit, citizen) in the 'system' of automobility promote pedestrian safety and its social implications. As this chapter shows, pedestrian safety is a multifaceted issue, often haphazardly addressed as an afterthought within the 'system' of automobility. It also demonstrates that pedestrian safety is not an important priority for governments and other relevant organizations. Their solutions to pedestrian safety are often individualized, and simplistic. They position pedestrians as second class citizens, responsible for their own safety.

4.1 Role of the Canadian government(s) in promoting pedestrian safety

As a safety promoting organization, the CSC operates in a complex social and political-economic context. Tensions exist between federal, provincial and municipal governments' involvements in protecting the health and safety of Canadians in transportation. Each level of government has specific mandates that have relevance for pedestrian safety, but as my examination of government websites and publications suggests, efforts deployed to address the safety of pedestrians are minimal.

Federal government

In the Canadian federal government, three departments discuss pedestrian health and safety: Transport Canada (TC), Health Canada (HC), and Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness (PSEP). The latter two departments give only cursory attention to pedestrian safety on their websites. The Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC) provides tips on pedestrian safety on its website (PHAC 2005; 2006a; 2006b). HC recommends to 'take a walk' once a day and to "find out about walking and cycling paths nearby and use them" (HC 2006) but does not discuss safety issues related to walking. The PHAC (2006a) posts safety tips for pedestrians and instructs parents to: "make sure your children get to school safely". It suggests they start a 'walking school bus' and educate their children about road safety. Information on pedestrian safety on HC's website is limited, suggesting that pedestrian safety is a lower priority than other health-related issues (smoking for example) (PHAC 2006b). The department of PSEP groups links to resources from federal departments and other sources of information about pedestrians (among other topics). Some of the links on its website include information about pedestrian corridors, pedestrian safety, rail and pedestrian safety, information and activities for kids that discuss pedestrian safety (PSEP 2005).

In contrast, to the latter departments, TC gives more attention to pedestrian safety. This federal department is responsible: for serving "the public interest through the promotion of a safe and secure, efficient and environmentally responsible transportation

system in Canada” and, for the years 2000 to 2010, it is leading a horizontal initiative¹⁷ named *Road Safety Vision* which aims to make “Canada’s roads the safest in the world” (TC 2005a). Categorizing pedestrians as ‘vulnerable road users’, TC empirically and actuarially examines how pedestrians fare within the transportation system in several studies (see for example: TC 1997, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c). In one study, it lists the following risk factors for pedestrians:

- **alcohol use:** about ¼ of all pedestrians killed had been drinking
- **time of the day:** most incidents occur between 5 and 7 pm
- **location:** most likely to be killed at non-intersections
- **conspicuity:** night or artificial lighting are riskier
- **urban areas:** incidents more frequent at speeds <70 km/h
- **traffic control:** more than ¼ killed at signalized intersections
- **rural roads and highways:** 30% incidents on roads >80 km/h
- **age:** younger pedestrians “were most often at fault” overall, 50% of pedestrians are deemed at fault and older pedestrians are three times more likely [than other age groups] to be killed and twice as likely to be seriously injured. (TC 2004d, 2-3)

TC has developed a national road safety plan called *Road Safety Vision 2010*, which succeeded its initial road safety strategy, *Road Safety Vision 2001*. The strategic objectives of the plan are to:

- raise public awareness of road safety issues;
- improve communication, cooperation and collaboration among road safety agencies;
- enhance enforcement measures;
- improve national road safety data quality and collection. (TC 2004a)

The plan emphasizes “the importance of partnerships and the use of a wide variety of initiatives that focus on road users, roadways and motor vehicles” and indicates that “all levels of government, as well as several key public and private sector partners, support the renewed plan” (TC 2004a). The report for the plan discusses targets and an action

¹⁷ A horizontal initiative is a process which responds to a recognition from the federal government of “the need to find effective ways to work on complex socio-economic issues that cross organizational or jurisdictional boundaries, defy simple solutions, typically have multiple causes, and have developed over a long time. Such problems cannot be addressed by individual departments or governments; they require a response by a number of departments, often through horizontal initiatives” (OAG 2005, 3). Horizontal initiatives can be problematic as Treasury Board’s Secretariat’s definition “is based on the way funds are released to several federal organizations, and not on the need for an appropriate governing framework” (OAG 2005, 21), a narrow understanding. In the case of *Road Safety Vision 2010*, Transport Canada is the lead department, and the initiative involved Health Canada to some degree, but mostly encompasses provincial and territorial transport authorities and road safety agencies (such as the provincial public insurance corporations).

plan. The national target “calls for a 30% decrease in the average number of vulnerable road users killed or seriously injured during the 2008-2010 period compared with 1996-2001 average figures¹⁸” (TC 2004a, 10). Sub-targets can be found in table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Transport Canada *Vision 2010* national target and sub-targets.

Road Safety Vision 2010 National Target: A 30% decrease in the average number of road users killed or seriously injured during the 2008-2010 period compared with 1996-2001 average figures.	
Area concerned	Sub-target
Seat belt	A 95% rate of seat belt wearing and proper use of appropriate child restraint by all motor vehicle occupants
Unbelted occupants	A 40% decrease in the number of fatally or seriously injured unbelted occupants
Crashes involving drinking	A 40% decrease in the percentage of road users fatally or seriously injured in crashes involving drinking drivers
Rural roadways	A 40% decrease in the number of road users fatally or seriously injured on rural roadways (defined as roads where the speed limit is 80-90 km/hr)
Speed / intersections	A 20% in the number of road users killed or seriously injured in speed- or intersection-related crashes
Commercial vehicle	A 20% decrease in the number of road users killed or seriously injured in crashes involving commercial vehicles
Young drivers	A 20% decrease in the number of young drivers/riders (those aged 16-19 years) killed or seriously injured in crashes
Vulnerable road users	A 30% decrease in the number of fatally or seriously injured vulnerable road users (pedestrians, motorcyclists and cyclists)
High risk drivers	A 20% decrease in the number of road users fatally or seriously injured in crashes involving high-risk drivers

Road Safety Vision 2010, TC 2004a, 10

The Canadian Council of Motor Transport Administrators (CCMTA) oversees task forces assuming ownership of the various sub-targets and provides “annual progress reports to the Council of Deputy Ministers Responsible for Transportation and Highway Safety, reporting to the Council of Ministers” (TC 2004a, 10).

As seen in table 4.1, pedestrians are included in the *Road Safety Strategy*, under the rubric ‘vulnerable road users’, TC elaborates on the sub-target related to vulnerable

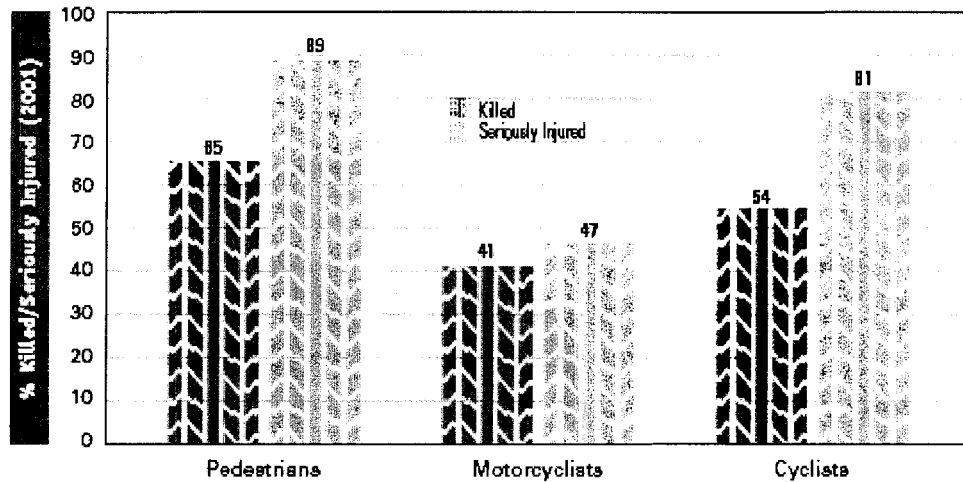
¹⁸ The average figures refer to a first set of targets (Road Safety Vision 2001) which covered the years 1996 to 2001.

road users, explaining that “this group included several high-risk subgroups” amongst which “fatally injured pedestrians, older people (65 years or older) are over-represented” (2004a, 17). The groups include pedestrians, motorcyclists and cyclists, a definition consistent with that of the WHO, that, within the ‘system’ of automobility, effectively place in an ‘at-risk’ category those who are not car-drivers. This category has implications for risk management. To be “vulnerable” connotes a degree of weakness, where one is defenceless, or at the mercy of something, as opposed to in control of and able to effectively manage road risks. In other words, it describes the pedestrian as a vulnerable, potential victim of the ‘system’ of automobility, but who the system nevertheless ‘blames’ for their injuries when an accident happens. Within vulnerable road users, those most at risk are: elderly pedestrians, young people, pedestrians who have been drinking, and motorcyclists. They are also second class citizen, for whom the ‘system’ of automobility restricts mobility. Collectively, vulnerable road users account for 20% of traffic fatalities and serious injuries (TC 2004a, 17).

An interesting detail of the *Road Safety Vision 2010* report for the year 2002 is that while the graphs are attractive visually, they can be interpreted as insensitive in featuring the numbers of pedestrians killed and injured with graphics mimicking tire print marks. See for example figure 4.1 which shows that in urban areas cars are especially dangerous to pedestrians. Of all pedestrian, 65% pedestrians were killed and 89% were seriously injured in urban areas.

Figure 4.1 Road Safety Strategy graph showing the percentage of vulnerable road users injured or killed after being struck by a vehicle on urban streets.

The majority of vulnerable road user fatalities and serious injuries occur on urban streets (≤ 60 km/hr)



Source: TC 2004a, 18, by permission

TC's identification of vulnerable road users as a subtarget for reducing fatalities and injuries suggests that it acknowledges the need to 'protect' pedestrians. It aims to achieve a "30% decrease in the number of fatally or seriously injured vulnerable road users (pedestrians, motorcyclists and cyclists)" (2004a, 17). It has also established a "framework of accountability" such that:

task forces, under the auspices of the CCMTA, assumed ownership of the various sub-targets and are developing and implementing initiatives to achieve them. These task forces comprise representatives from the federal and provincial/territorial governments, the police community and non-governmental stakeholders with a strong interest in traffic safety. (TC 2004a, 10)

However, in the same document, TC acknowledges that "no national initiatives are currently in place to address vulnerable road user safety" although "a number of provincial and territorial activities are focusing on research, education and awareness, enforcement and road infrastructure" (TC 2004a, 18). The fact that TC does not have a strategy to achieve its objectives to reduce the numbers of injured or killed pedestrians indicates a lack of political commitment to truly addressing pedestrian fatalities by cars. On the other hand, TC has strategies to reduce the numbers of driver fatalities, the incidence of drinking and driving, speeding, and to increase occupant restraint use.

To monitor the progress made in implementing *Road Safety Vision 2010*, the CCMTA produces an annual report to the council of Deputy Ministers Responsible for Transportation and Highway Safety, which then reports to the Council of Ministers. These organizations are responsible for the safety of infrastructures or the safety of vehicles whether they be boats, planes, buses or cars. To be responsible to ensure that vehicles and infrastructures are meeting certain safety standards does not constitute a strategy for pedestrian safety. Of all the federal departments addressing pedestrian safety, TC is clearly more involved in discussing the issue than other federal departments or agencies, but does not effectively address pedestrian risks on Canadian roads.

Provincial governments

Provincial governments are responsible for motor vehicle regulations and driving certification. They are also studying pedestrian safety within their examination of road and traffic safety (see for example British Columbia 2003; Ontario Ministry of Transportation 2005; Québec 2005). In most cases, however, provincial governments' pedestrian programs consist of placing tips about pedestrian safety or statistics on their websites. The bulk of the safety promotion programming is done by provincial insurance corporations. An example is that of the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia (ICBC). In 2001, it began a "Pedestrian Safety Month" campaign whose goals were to

- decrease the number of pedestrian injuries/fatalities in Vancouver by five percent, thus saving ICBC money;
- involve five stakeholders in a one-day event that will lead to future partnerships on safety-oriented events and gain credibility with customers;
- launch 'Pedestrian Safety Month' in Vancouver and promote awareness on the topic of pedestrian safety;
- attract media attention to promote pedestrian safety; and
- establish ICBC as the subject matter expert. (Salloum 2001, 4)

One of the purposes of the campaign is to "help to enhance [ICBC's] social responsibility image" and gain "public support because a focus was also placed on strict enforcement of traffic laws" (Salloum 2001, 4). In another example of pedestrian safety promotion, the BC Coroners Services, in a yearly media release of motor vehicle accidental pedestrian death statistics, establishes correlations between various factors and pedestrian fatalities and injuries. It also instructs drivers to use headlights and proceed with caution at intersections, and pedestrians to "be visible, use cross-walks, activate pedestrian

crossing signals where available and avoid entering crosswalks until approaching vehicles have stopped” (BC Coroners Services 2005, 2004).

Municipal governments

Municipal governments are “becoming increasingly involved in ... road maintenance, traffic engineering, police services and injury prevention efforts” (TC 2004a, 3). For example several cities have pedestrian safety programs seeking to make their streets safer (see, for example Vancouver 2006; Kamloops 2006; Toronto 2002; Ottawa 2006), or outline on their website tips for pedestrians, and describe the kind of infrastructures in place to protect them (Calgary 2006; Kamloops 2006; Toronto 2006; Vancouver 2006; Winnipeg 2006).

Several municipalities are actively engaged in redefining walking as a central form of transportation and travel. For example, Toronto created in 2002 a ‘Pedestrian Charter¹⁹’ recognizing walking as “the most ancient and universal form of travel” and defining and promoting the rights of people to live in an environment “that encourages and supports walking” (Toronto 2006). Most large cities have pedestrian advisory committees or other ways to promote the integration of pedestrians’ needs in transportation.

Who is responsible for pedestrian safety in Canada?

As the above suggests, pedestrian safety is a peculiar issue for risk management as it does not clearly fall under any federal departmental mandate. Pedestrian safety involves the safety *of* people, suggesting HC should be involved, but it is also the safety of transportation systems *for* people, which should be the mandate of TC.

HC, whose mission is to “help the people of Canada maintain and improve their health” (HC 2006, 5) is responsible to:

- prevent and reduce risks to individual health and the overall environment;
- promote healthier lifestyles;

¹⁹ As of May 2002, the City of Toronto announced that it “now has a Pedestrian Charter identifying principles, rights and actions to help make Toronto a city in which people can enjoy walking. Council adopted the charter, which is in keeping with the City’s broad goal of improving the quality of urban life. Councillors also decided that the City will ask the police to vigorously enforce restrictions on riding bicycles on sidewalks” (Toronto 2002).

- ensure high quality health services that are efficient and accessible;
- integrate renewal of the health care system with longer term plans in the areas of prevention, health promotion and protection;
- reduce health inequalities in Canadian society; and
- provide health information to help Canadians make informed decisions. (HC 2005, 6)

Though, it is not directly responsible for ensuring transportation safety, it is responsible for the promotion of healthier lifestyles for Canadians and to reduce risks to *individual* health and the *overall environment*, which should include roads. If HC encourages Canadians to walk, the question arises, then, about its responsibility to ensure that they can do so safely. HC and TC jointly²⁰ produced an overview of road safety in Canada in which they state

road safety is the responsibility of both the transportation and health sectors. ... Public health and transportation experts work together to increase public awareness, to promote safe behaviours on the road, and to establish road safety programs. (HC & TC 2004, 3)

TC plays a leadership role by “conducting national traffic collision data collection and analysis, research, program development and evaluation, and knowledge transfer” and developing regulations under the authority of the *Motor Vehicle Safety Act*, the *Motor Vehicle Transportation Act*, and the *Criminal Code of Canada* (TC 2004a, 2). If TC does not have a national strategy to address pedestrian safety and if pedestrian safety does not appear to be directly under the mandate of HC, then pedestrian safety is falling between governmental mandates. The federal government, even as a whole, does not have a strategy to ensure the safety of people who walk for transportation. It seems that pedestrians stand at a very unsafe crossroad between health policy and transportation policy. Adding to the confusion, responsibility for road safety and for pedestrian safety initiatives “is shared between the federal and provincial/territorial levels of government” (TC 2004a. 2).

²⁰ As discussed in an earlier footnote (see section 4.1, *Federal Government*) Transport Canada has the lead for a road safety horizontal initiative which involves Health Canada and provincial and territorial authorities (Transport Canada 2005a). Nevertheless, this document (HC & TC 2004, and TC 2004b) is the only document I could find which is jointly produced by Transport Canada and Health Canada.

4.2 Non-governmental organizations, non-profit organizations, and corporations addressing pedestrian safety.

Non-governmental and non-profit organizations

Many non-profit sector initiatives address pedestrian safety and are generally concerned with prevention, research or advocacy. Examples of organizations that produce documentations addressing pedestrian safety internationally include the WHO, WB, Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Such international organizations use multifaceted approaches that include engineering, enforcement, educational and policy initiatives to address pedestrian injuries and fatalities.

In Canada, the Traffic Injury Research Foundation (TIRF), CSC, Canadian Psychological Association, Canadian Institute for Child Health have published documents discussing or addressing pedestrian safety. Their activities include researching the issue (see for example: TIRF undated, 7; Jutras 2003; Hunt 1998) or promoting safety through educational campaigns or programs (see Hunt 1998; Jutras 2003), as the CSC does. National organizations are more education focused, with their programs focusing on educating pedestrians with 'tips' about how to remain safe.

Corporations

Some car manufacturers integrate the image of safety within their marketing and include pedestrian safety in their design or engineering. For example, Honda claims "leadership in pedestrian protection" and has developed a pedestrian 'dummy'. Honda states that it designs vehicle with the "safety of everyone" in mind and explains that

to improve auto safety to a truly new level, it is not enough to be concerned only with the people inside our vehicles. In fact, pedestrian fatalities rank second among traffic-related deaths in America. ... Honda created the most advanced pedestrian dummy in the world to help develop technologies that reduce life-threatening injuries. (Honda 2006)

Ford expressed the same 'concerns' and its *Jaguar* "keeps pedestrian safety in mind" (Ford 2006). Ford explains:

Pedestrians may admire the new Jaguar XK for its beauty and speed, but they should also admire the XK for keeping their safety in mind. ... In the event of a pedestrian impact, the deployable bonnet [hood] ... automatically 'pops' up a few inches, to create a cushioning effect between the engine and the bonnet. (Ford 2006)

The *Jaguar* appears to be the only vehicle designed by Ford whose design and technological features address pedestrian safety. Ford, as a corporation, understands the risks to pedestrians posed by vehicle traffic. In its own plants, it sought to improve the safety of its workers through a pedestrian safety program which, it reports for the year 2002, resulted in a “50 percent reduction in serious pedestrian injury incidents compared to 2001” (Ford 2003). It is safe to assume that the reduction in pedestrian injuries to Ford’s employees/pedestrians was likely not achieved through fitting all plant vehicles with a “deployable bonnet”²¹. Volvo also purports to give “considerable attention” to the safety of pedestrians, ensuring that all Volvo cars are designed in that “the front of the car features clean, smooth lines, with no protruding parts that could cause additional injuries” with a soft, impact-absorbing ‘bumper’ (Volvo 2006).

After describing these governmental, non-governmental, non-profit, and corporate organizations researching, discussing, and promoting traffic safety, I now turn to describing more clearly the CSC and the context within which it operates.

4.3 The Canada Safety Council and its operational environment.

What is the Canada Safety Council?

The CSC is a non-profit, “national, non-governmental, charitable organization dedicated to safety” whose mission is to “lead in the national effort to reduce preventable deaths, injuries and economic loss in public and private places throughout Canada” (CSC #W7 2005). It is the result of a 1968 merger of Canada Highway Safety council, the Canadian Safety League of Canada and the Canadian Industrial Safety Association. The purpose of the merger was to establish “one national, not-for-profit organization solely dedicated to the safety of Canadians” the mandate of which is to “minimize avoidable death, injury and damage to property by devising, recognizing, encouraging and promoting methods and procedures leading to improved safety, protection and health amongst all persons in public and private places throughout Canada” (CSC #W5 2005).

²¹ For example, at a Kentucky Ford plant, a pedestrian safety program that sought to reduce employees’ injuries included raising awareness, installing mirrors, reducing blind spots, and certifications (Piscopo 2003).

As a charitable organization, the CSC cannot lobby the government. The council purports to “serve as a credible, reliable resource for safety information, education and awareness in *all* aspects of Canadian life - in traffic, at home, at work and at leisure” (CSC #W7 2005 emphasis added). The council’s goal of reducing preventable deaths, injuries or economic losses is to be achieved through educating the public and working to gain “public understanding and acceptance” of safety legislation. As such the CSC fulfills a legitimizing role on behalf of Canadian governments’ safety-related legislations. CSC’s main website (<http://www.safety-council.org>) is the most comprehensive source of information, and is readily available to Canadians with computer access. The CSC also writes letters to editors and governments, and frequently responds to media inquiries on various safety issues. As stated on its website: “this council’s role is unique; there is no comparable Canadian organization” (CSC #W7 2005).

The council produces: annual public awareness campaigns²²; driving training; and various publications. It considers itself an important source of information on “proactive approaches to prevention” and other “information on subjects of public interest” (CSC #W7 2005). The council’s objectives, as stated on the website are to:

- focus attention on the vital importance of safety.
- arouse public interest and participation in safety measures.
- publish and disseminate educational programs and information relating to safety.
- promote and support the development of safer products and services.
- provide incentives for leadership and to recognize achievement in safety.
- assist in the drafting and enactment of safety legislation. (CSC #W7 2005)

These objectives are not restricted to traffic safety which is only one area in which the CSC is involved. They are rather applicable to the whole of the CSC’s mandate of promoting safety in all aspect of Canadian’s life.

The Canada Safety Council's role in the promotion of safety in Canada

As a non-profit organization the CSC is, at least in theory, independent from government or industry. The CSC’s role and mandate is to work with government to

²² The national public awareness campaigns for 2005 are: National Farm Safety Week; National Summer Safety Week; National Road Safety Week; National School Safety Week; National Community Safety and Crime Prevention Campaign; National Seniors’ Safety Week; National Home Fire Safety Week; and National Safe Driving Week – all of which are “trademarks” of the Canada Safety Council.

educate the public about safety legislation and various safety issues to help prevent avoidable deaths and injuries throughout Canada. As such, the CSC is a unique and leading promoter of safety in Canada. As a self-described objective third party, the CSC seeks to educate the Canadian public and provide neutral, objective, and independent research and information contributing to its mandate of reducing preventable accidents.

In terms of public policy, the CSC's

role in representing safety interests is to help formulate laws that address clearly identified problems, are based on well-researched evidence and can be enforced. CSC often adds to the public debate of a safety issue by providing reliable information and raising concerns that may not have otherwise been considered – offering a *voice of reason on emotionally-driven issues*. By articulating an objective, well-informed perspective, CSC engages the public, legislators and the media in discussion. Directors and members are kept advised of these activities, and relevant communications are accessible to the public on the internet. (CSC #W5 2005 emphasis added)

The CSC maintains relationships with the federal government to “form and implement public policy”. Because TC and HC do not have strategic initiatives to address or promote pedestrian safety, perhaps the federal government expects NGOs or NPOs to fill the void. Huntoon found that “policy objectives not obtainable as a result of direct action by government may be reached by the creation of social capital by associations” (2001, 1). While the CSC may contribute to public policy by filling a void left by government in addressing pedestrian safety, the CSC is limited in what it can achieve for pedestrians. It cannot regulate, design infrastructures, or direct policy. The CSC participates in policy formation by making recommendations based on what it considers to be objective research. It also educates Canadians and promotes safe behaviours in all activities.

Effectively, the government has downloaded responsibility for pedestrian safety to the private, for- and not for-profit sector and, ultimately, onto individuals. For example, Reinerman's examination of drinking and driving and the case of MADD, explains that safety can create markets:

The anti-drunk driver movement has now provided an additional market segment and a new funding base that has furthered the growth of private, for-profit treatment – for a different, more well-heeled clientele with different alcohol problems, for whom treatment is not voluntary and traditional treatment ideology is not designed. (Reinerman 1988, 109)

Private treatment clinics are an example of how MADD's campaigns and discourses produce a market for people identified as drunk drivers to receive treatments in private, exclusive clinics so that their 'drinking and driving' can be 'resolved'. Other examples of safety-driven market solutions are child seats, booster seats, individual breathalyzers, reflective lights, or others products or 'upgrades' designed to protect road users. The state regulates traffic safety and the use of safety equipment through the measuring of alcohol blood content, or specification for child seats. Compliance with these measures (being sober, or affording the safest (read more expensive) child seat), depends on individualized means and the market availability of the 'right' product. Organizations such as the CSC fulfil an intermediary role between governments who regulate safety, the market which produces safety apparels, and the individual who purchases products to remain safe. The CSC promotes acceptance of laws and regulations and encourages the use of all available safety equipment. The ways in which the CSC addresses pedestrian safety exists in the broader, neoliberal context. As MacGreggor's work (2002) suggests, in Canada, neoliberal, individualized, and market solutions to traffic safety prevail.

Implications of the Canada Safety Council's funding sources and partnerships

As a non-profit organization, the CSC depends on various sources of funding but indicates that "private sector partnerships have become increasingly important in the development and delivery of CSC programs" (CSC #W9 2005). On its website, the CSC notes

like most not-for-profit organizations, CSC regularly approaches the private sector for funding. Industry groups often sponsor initiatives related to their interests. However, by maintaining a diversified revenue base, CSC avoids conflict of interests that might compromise its independence. (CSC #W5 2005)

Further,

companies and industries may sponsor initiatives related to their interests. Corporate philanthropy enables the Canada Safety Council to fulfil its mission while at the same time helping the sponsor achieve *compatible business objectives*. (CSC #W12 2005 – emphasis added)

The CSC acknowledges "there can be risks, and we manage partnered initiatives accordingly" (CSC #W9 2005). While the CSC does not expand on the nature of the risks, it adds that it

works with the sponsor to fit its objectives into the context of the CSC's mandate. A contract commits the corporation to conditions that will benefit both CSC and itself, and protects both parties. CSC gives no discounts or commissions to third parties. Above all, CSC maintains control of all safety messaging. (CSC #W9 2005)

The CSC does not explain what it defines as 'safety messaging' nor does it explain what procedures exist to manage the case where 'safety messaging' would be contradictory to the interest of a partner or funding entity.²³

All in all, the CSC asserts that its independence is preserved through its "diversified revenue base" such that conflict of interests between the public good objective and the interests of donors is avoided. For most of its funding, the CSC relies on certification training, memberships from charitable donors (personal and corporate), partnerships with businesses, corporations, and other organizations for funding of campaigns, and training programs. The CSC also links from its website, partners to its traffic safety programs: TC; Vehicle Information Centre of Canada; Operation Lifesaver; Motorcycle & Moped Industry Council (MMIC); and the Traffic Injury Research Foundation (TIRF) (CSC #W14 2005). Although the website is unclear as to whether these organizations are funding partners or whether they are linked to the organization in some other ways, annual reports show that some of them fund the CSC (MMIC, TC, for example) while it funds others (TIRF, for example).

To better manage the risks associated with corporate funding, the CSC developed a statement of independence²⁴ reiterating that it serves as a "credible third party acting on the sole basis of [a] commitment to safety [for] Canadians. [The CSC does] not accept funding that is conditional on taking a stand contrary to the best interests of Canadians" (CSC #W12 2005). Further, it is not lobbying but is rather "taking into account information from a wide spectrum of experts and stakeholders in the overall context of the public good" and "policy positions reflect sound research, and consultation

²³ MADD came into conflict with the CSC over the statistical calculation of death caused by impaired drivers, their desire to see the blood alcohol content limits diminished, and legislation about ignition interlock (Debates of the Senate 2001). When the government discussed related legislative changes in the Senate, the CSC opposed lowering the limit and MADD questioned the motives behind the position and referred to a "CBC-TV disclosure program which revealed information suggesting that the Canada Safety Council's public policies are shaped by who gives them sponsorship, rather than what's in the best interest of the public" (MADD 2003).

²⁴ The first reference I could find of this 'statement of independence' is in the April 2004 members' newsletter *Safety Canada*, where the statement appears under the heading "President's Perspective" (CSC#SC1 2004) and was perhaps responding to MADD's critical stand against the CSC (see footnote above).

with stakeholders, including police, insurers, industry, health and safety professionals, and others” (CSC #W12 2005).

While the CSC is clearly positioning itself as a ‘third party’, it does not explain who the other parties are. The CSC does not specify whether it is a third party between industry and Canadians, between industry and government, or between government and Canadians. The CSC’s objective to be a credible independent organization, concerned solely with the safety of Canadians, may be difficult to achieve. Effectively forced to juggle donors’ corporate interests with the inalienable right Canadians have to safety, the CSC assumes the two considerations are compatible. What is clear, though, is that the CSC is purporting to be a neutral, objective and rational source of information. As such, it is positioning itself within a particular authoritative space for promoting the safety of pedestrians.

The partners

While the website mentions few partners to CSC’s traffic safety programs, its annual reports name corporate sponsors whose line of business is related to automobility. Appendix 7 outlines the various sponsors of the CSC, and the types of donations and the industry sector from which the donors are from. “Endowment Members” and “Sustaining Members”²⁵ have been a relatively stable source of funding. This source of funding includes a car manufacturer, members of the insurance industry, transportation associations, alcohol products companies, as well as a cellular phone company for the years examined in this study (2001-2005). A large number of corporate members also support the council, some of whom donate and acquire memberships every year. Federal, provincial, and municipal governments also donate money to the CSC.

The CSC’s board of director, for the years 2001, 2002, 2003, and 2004 had more than 10 members. Most members of the board of directors are government representatives, police force representatives, heads of transportation associations, or representatives of corporations. The complex nature of board members’ interests is

²⁵ ‘Endowment Members’ includes donations which exceed \$5,000; ‘Sustaining Members’ donate between \$1,000 and \$4,999. ‘Regular members’ refers to contributions toward an annual membership fee of a minimum of \$250 but less than \$1,000. Associate Members refers to non-profit, non-government provincial and municipal safety councils or leagues from which no financial support or fee is needed. Individual members contribute a fee of \$50 (CSC# 1997, 7).

illustrated by the case of one board member for the years 2002, 2003, & 2004 who was also the manager of Automotive Regulatory Activities for a car manufacturer (CSC #A2 2003; CSC#A3 2004; CSC#A4 2005). For the year 2004, this person was concurrently a federally registered lobbyist for that same car manufacturer (Industry Canada 2005). The registry lists subject matters covered by the lobbying activities of this person: "Motor vehicle safety regulations", and the departments lobbied included: HC, Industry Canada, Transport Canada, and the Transportation Safety Board of Canada (Industry Canada, 2005). Conducting lobbyist activities while being on the board of directors of the CSC is not illegal, but it is symptomatic of an intermingling between the CSC and industries' interest in influencing government as it regulates traffic safety. Carroll, who examined the consolidation of neoliberal hegemony in Canadian public policy, found an interlocking network of corporations through directors' participation in various boards producing a "heightened level of business activism in the field of public policy" as "leading executives actively discharge an intellectual function in the political field" (Carroll & Shaw 2001, 211). A similar situation occurs here, where a car manufacturer is lobbying government, influencing the direction of safety promotion - including pedestrian safety - all the while profiting from policies favouring car transportation. In contrast, the CSC's board of director does not include transportation rights groups, elderly, children, parents' advocacy groups, pedestrian coalitions, or other citizens' coalitions. Although the CSC makes no claim of being democratically representative, it nevertheless claims to be representing and safeguarding the interests of Canadians.

Though the CSC does not lobby the government and believes it is independent of corporate influence, its own board of directors includes members who represent industry interests and even a lobbyist. These interlocking networks suggest that the CSC is not separate from the industry sector. While industry involvement can be solely financial, partners can be involved in safety promotion campaigns that combine safety messaging (which the CSC claims it fully controls) and product or brand placement. A 2003 campaign named *Nerves of Steel* provides an example of such an alliance. Steel producers partnered with the CSC to conduct a survey of aggressive driving and multi-tasking while driving. After presenting the results of the survey, the CSC explains:

the first line of defence toward road safety is being alert while behind the wheel and to focus solely on driving." Says Bill Heenan, president of TheSteelAlliance. "The last line of defence is to make sure your vehicle is designed to protect you in the event of an accident or collision.

Canadians polled overwhelmingly chose steel as the number one material to protect themselves and their families in the event of a collision. More than 80% of those with an opinion felt steel provided more protection than other materials such as aluminium, fibreglass and plastic. The modern high strength steels used in automobile production today offer increased durability and crash resistance while providing mass reduction, fuel efficiency and design flexibility. (CSC#W15 2005)

It is clear that the CSC worked closely with its corporate partner and even included references to its products within the survey's methodology and discussion of findings. The CSC's visibility as a promoter of safety to Canadians is an asset for industries interested in promoting their product as safe. This alliance places the CSC in the precarious position of seeking funding and partnerships, responding to the need of businesses to market their products, and preserving its mandate to "serve as a credible, reliable resource for safety information" (CSC#W7 2005). As such, industry is, at least partially, involved in determining what approaches are appropriate to address traffic safety issues. While the CSC states it has procedures in place to mitigate the risks to its mandate posed by such partnerships, an analysis of how it addresses traffic and particularly pedestrian safety will shed light on which interests are better served by its practices and discourses.

Canada Safety Council's practices and discourse of pedestrian safety: Who cares?

Besides the Government of Canada, the CSC is one of the few safety organizations that is both national in scope and a leader in promoting safety. Its access to the Canadian media and reach to the Canadian public is considerable, with two periodicals and frequent exposure in printed media (CSC#W5 2005). The CSC is an interesting case for how health and safety promotion campaigns construct knowledge about pedestrian risks and safety strategies because of its mandate to reduce preventable accidents. What this chapter demonstrates is that the CSC's promotion of safety exists within a neoliberal context where the CSC's partnerships with corporations with a stake in maintaining the 'system' of automobility may favour particular understandings of 'pedestrian safety'. Official bodies such as the CSC present and construct knowledge about traffic risks, safety and accidents to Canadians through their promotional campaigns. The next chapter will examine how the CSC conceptualizes the pedestrian and promotes his or her safety.

CHAPTER 5 CANADIANS AS RISK MANAGERS?

5.1 Discourses of pedestrian safety: risk management, health promotion, and individualized solutions to systemic problems.

This chapter discusses the ways in which the CSC has chosen to promote pedestrian safety in Canada. Its prevention campaigns and safety promotion strategies, combined with its reliance on corporate and government funding to fulfill its mandate, makes the CSC an interesting starting place to examine the discourses of traffic and pedestrian safety in Canada. This chapter identifies, describes, and analyzes the themes in CSC's documents that address pedestrian safety. As discussed in chapter three, I examined several kinds of CSC documents, including annual reports, periodicals, position letters, educational material, handouts, or information. Because they contained the most information about pedestrian safety, most of the documents cited here came from CSC's periodical *Living Safety*. As the CSC uses its website as an important way to communicate with Canadians, I also found it a rich source of information on pedestrian safety. I collected website and magazine documents between January 2005 and April 2006. I identified articles that discussed pedestrian safety and reviewed 28 articles, published between the years 1983 (date of the first publication) to 2005. They are listed in the reference section.

In examining the risk-management practices promoted by the CSC, I suggest that pedestrian safety discourses embody power relations involved in preserving individualized solutions to pedestrian risks, and ultimately, maintaining automobility. The CSC's discourses portray both pedestrians and other road users as responsible to protect themselves in traffic and to accommodate privately owned automobiles that have priority on streets. In particular, the CSC directs safety messages at pedestrians who are most 'at-risk' such as children and the elderly. In analyzing the CSC's promotional discourse of traffic safety, I unpack the socially constructed knowledge about pedestrians' risks and the accident-free, risk-managing idealized citizen. I show how the

CSC conceptualizes pedestrians as 'at-risk' and as 'vulnerable road users,' which essentially positions pedestrians as 'abnormal' vis-à-vis car-drivers. The CSC produces pedestrians as second class citizens and through the promotion of their 'safety,' teaches them (purportedly for their own protection) to avoid interfering with 'normal', automobilized modes of transportation. Such discourses engage pedestrians to competently navigate automobilized spaces. The themes I describe in this chapter paint a picture of the CSC's neoliberal discourse that characterizes pedestrians, more specifically, but also all Canadians as risk managers within the 'system' of automobility.

5.2 The discourses and practices of the Canada Safety Council: pedestrian safety

In examining the CSC's approaches to address pedestrian safety, I identified three themes summarizing the CSC's messages: pedestrians should practice self-defence; pedestrians should know their place and stay out the way; and walking can be avoided. I also summarize and discuss *how* the CSC promotes its message, the importance of its partnerships with corporations, and safety guides of conduct it bases on 'common sense'. Through a comprehensive review of the CSC's texts, this chapter outlines its discourses of pedestrian safety to Canadians.

I identified and interpreted these themes as a way to explore the CSC's discourses and how they portray pedestrians as risk managers. These themes are abstractions of the ideas I found within the communications of the CSC. An interview with a CSC's representative was also useful in this matter. Over the time period under scrutiny, and across document types and format, the CSC's messages, tips and advice remained extraordinarily consistent. It shifted its messages, however, as regulations (e.g. emerging seatbelt legislation in the 1970's), or technologies changed (e.g., the increasing popularity of 'walkman' in the 1980's). My explorations of the CSC's themes provide a 'picture' for me to discuss pedestrian safety promotion in Canada. They also provide a basis from which to examine the implications of neoliberal conceptualizations of pedestrians as 'vulnerable' and 'at-risk' within the 'system' of automobility.

Pedestrian safety is not the sole focus of the CSC's campaigning and other considerations, as outlined in chapter 3, are part of its campaigns. While the CSC has several national public awareness campaigns, a list of which can be found in Appendix 8, none are solely dedicated to pedestrian safety. Pedestrian safety is discussed in

passing within the context of other campaigns such as the “National School Safety Week”, “National Road Safety Week”, “Seniors Safety Week”, and the “National Safe Driving Week”. This silence is telling as the CSC mandate to “lead in the national effort to reduce preventable deaths, injuries, and economic loss” does not specifically address the dangers vulnerable road users face.

Taken individually, the themes describe and summarize the CSC’s approach to pedestrian safety. The first three themes, for example, are closely related in that they show *what* message the CSC wishes to convey to Canadian pedestrians: to treat the streets as inherently dangerous, to manage those risks by acting with self-preservation in mind, to steer clear of roads unless permitted by designed accommodations, and to avoid walking when it could be dangerous to do so. More specifically, these messages target the road users the CSC and statistics from TC find the most ‘at-risk’. While all pedestrians are ‘vulnerable road users’ children and the elderly are disproportionately injured and killed, and as such, the CSC tailors its educational messaging to what it perceives to be their ‘needs’. Once educated, the CSC expects Canadian pedestrians to behave responsibly and apply this knowledge. The last two themes summarize *how* the CSC addresses and promotes safety: partnered initiatives and common sense approaches are both important methods the CSC employs to fulfil its objectives. The CSC adopts partnerships with the private sector as common practice. The CSC’s activities are a perfect medium for the marketing aspirations and business interests of its partners. The message promoted throughout partnered initiatives and publications of the CSC is one of ‘common sense’. The CSC’s approach to pedestrian safety is one which does not require the CSC to research or explain new concepts. It is the tried and true of pedestrian safety messages. Yet the ‘common sense’ approach implies responsabilization strategies that themselves hinge on governance practices of self-regulation and self-discipline. Taken as a whole, the themes summarizing the *what* and the *how* of the CSC’s direction on pedestrian safety paint a picture of pedestrians as vulnerable, yet responsible and apt risk managers. Critical analysis of the themes show that this conceptualization of pedestrian risks and accidents, as well as risk management strategies for ‘at-risk’ pedestrians have implications for street use, citizenship, and for transportation options which respond to the needs of all, whether car-user or not.

Pedestrians practicing self-defense: empowerment to survive within automobility

An important theme throughout many of the CSC's articles is that of self-defense or the need for pedestrians to protect themselves against the dangers of traffic. Several articles exploit this theme with metaphoric references to traffic and automobility as being inherently dangerous for users. The examples supporting this theme emphasize that pedestrians, when facing dangers inherent to automobility, should practice self-defense by buying products and/or modifying their behaviour. The CSC frequently urges pedestrians to empower themselves by taking appropriate protective measures. They should follow traffic regulations and the CSC's guidelines and tips. The CSC and others (TC 2004c, TC 2004d) expect those pedestrians who are 'at-risk' to be especially careful.

The CSC uses metaphors to emphasize to its reader that road safety is a serious issue and that roads are dangerous to pedestrians. In one example, the CSC refers to the car transportation environment as a jungle. It writes "there's a concrete jungle out there and you should know how to stay alive" (CSC#LS21 1994, 11). In another example, the CSC compares interactions between different road users as a combat situation, as seen in a photo depicting a pedestrian dressed in martial art attire, in a combat position against a car (CSC#LS4 1983, 22). In other examples alluding to the dangerousness of roads for pedestrians and their need for self-defense, the CSC provides "survival tips," "guides to survival," and "defensive walking" techniques (CSC#LS1 1989, 30; CSC#LS21 1994).

The CSC suggests that pedestrians should acquire protective equipment to help them effectively manage the traffic risks they encounter when walking. It often contextualizes the importance of protecting oneself from traffic risks by adopting market solutions through first discussing research findings and statistics. For example in a 1994²⁶ article titled *Walking, your guide to survival*, under the heading 'survival kit' the CSC explains that:

Transport Canada reports that in 1992, 248,990 people were injured in a total of 171,723 traffic collisions. You need protective equipment to prevent you from becoming one of the statistics. (CSC#LS21 1994, 12)

²⁶ The CSC published a similar article (titled "Walking defensively") in 2004, citing 2002 statistics before asserting that Canadians "need protective equipment" (CSC#LS19 2004, 27).

Although the statistics do not pertain specifically to pedestrians, the CSC nevertheless lists equipment they should acquire to stay safe (e.g. retroreflective tape or clothing, good quality shoes, walking stick, flashlight, and adequate clothing). In effectively endorsing market solutions to pedestrian's risks, the CSC's proposed solution of buying equipment may perpetuate inequalities in safety on the basis of one's capacity to afford the protective equipment. Effectively, the CSC's prevention efforts endorse industries which profit from what Adams calls the "relentless pursuit of risk reduction" (1995, 31). While Adams questions the efficacy of marketed measures for drivers, arguing that the more safety apparatus one acquires, the more likely one is to take risks²⁷ (Adams 1995), I would argue that another point is at stake. Within the 'system' of automobility, the discourse of market solutions produces a normative pedestrian who is able to protect him or herself by purchasing products that assist self-defence. In following Beck's (1992) risk society thesis, one can argue that automobility produces risks to humans. Accordingly, road users seek safety and a potential "solidarity motivated by anxiety" over traffic risks in their constant concern "with preventing the worst" (Beck 1992, 49). But in stressing self-defence, the discourse promotes safety at the individual level, suggesting automobility risks are indeed preventable and accidents are the result of what Green (1999) called "individual failures".

Self-defence discourse of the CSC also urges pedestrians to adjust their behaviour according to survival "guides", "kits", and "tips" which provide particular attention to children, parents or the elderly. Generally speaking, they urge the pedestrian to:

- follow traffic rules
- expect the unexpected
- be visible: wear bright clothing, retro-reflective material, use flashlights
- wear eye glasses, hearing aids, good shoes
- use facilities designed for pedestrian use: bridge, tunnel, island, refuge
- stay home if: drinking, taking prescription drugs, extreme weather exists.

Similarly, the CSC discourse urges parents to educate their children to:

- look all ways before crossing the street

²⁷ Adams elaborates and explains that the race to safety is comparable to the arms race: "the roads following this logic, will not be truly safe until walking and cycling have been banned and everyone is driving around in an armour-plated juggernaut" (Adams 1995, 155). His argument is closely related to the second and third themes identified in the CSC messages to Canadians: to be safe, pedestrians should stay out of the way and walking can and should be avoided.

- keep away from parked cars
- ride bicycles safely, obey all signs and signals
- play games in a safe place, away from traffic
- walk, don't run when crossing the street
- where there are no sidewalks, walk off the road on the left and face oncoming traffic.²⁸

These strategies underline both the vulnerability of pedestrians and also that their empowerment is possible. The vulnerability theme is particularly apparent in messages aimed at parents. In fact, the CSC asserts, young children are at a physical disadvantage when it comes to crossing the road safely as they lack experience, and have underdeveloped psychomotor skills, peripheral vision, information processing, and coordination (CSC#LS26 1984). The CSC adopts a discourse informing parents that they must constantly supervise their children, responsabilize them, and combat their natural curiosity and impulsiveness. For example the CSC explains

young children are naturally curious and impulsive, and while these may be positive characteristics in the proper environment, they can prove deadly in the street. Darting out into the street to retrieve a rolling ball or find a friend are common behaviour among children. Pain [an educational psychologist] says they must be taught to stop whenever they reach a road and understand that cars can injure or kill. (CSC#LS26 1984, 13)

Using experts, such as child psychologists, the CSC recognizes that the 'system' of automobility is inherently dangerous to pedestrians and maladapted to their safety needs. Yet, the CSC constructs children and the elderly as disabled vis-à-vis automobility. The CSC seeks to remedy pedestrians' physical disadvantages through awareness raising, education, and prevention programs aimed at empowering them, within a culture of automobility. It explains that "it will take years of practise and guidance" before "a young child can be responsible in traffic" (CSC#LS26 1984, 11). This strategy of empowerment, however, presupposes that individual abilities and capacities are lacking or need to be addressed in order for the individual to be able to cope with automobility. Empowerment strategies, as Freund and Martin explain, are problematic, because

the ability to use spaces safely is not simply a matter of individual capacities but the result of a fit between those capacities and the social organization of space-time. It is this premise that motivates the disability

²⁸ These rules are "Elmer's safety rules" aimed at pedestrians. They outline to children the basic 'common sense' rules in traffic. They are used frequently in articles, but also in colouring book-style images distributed to children.

rights movement's critique of policies that simply focus on individuals as disabled rather than on disabling attitudes and disabling social organizations of space-time and of practice. (Freund and Martin 2001, 211)

Paradoxically, the CSC recognizes that pedestrians are not only vulnerable but can indeed be considered disabled relative to the 'system' of automobility. Yet, the CSC expects that everyone - adults, the elderly, and children – pedestrians or drivers, will behave responsibly and adequately manage traffic risks. In fact, and as TC explains, vulnerable road users, including pedestrians, should walk “*more defensively* in order to make road travel safer for everyone” (TC 2004d). In seeking to empower Canadian pedestrians, the CSC's discourse expects that individuals *can* be empowered. However, such initiatives can sometimes contribute to further disempowerment by actually concealing continued disadvantage or oppression and impeding challenges from advocates²⁹ (Hannah-Moffat 2000).

The CSC's discourses of empowerment, through the promotion of individualized solutions to risks, produce expectations of a idealized, rational and responsible pedestrian. Paradoxically, while the CSC constructs child pedestrians as physically disadvantaged, it also expects that education can empower them to become responsabilized. As Green explains, children can be “adept at individualized risk assessment,” and use “their competence in this arena as a rhetorical device to present themselves as mature individuals” (Green 1997b, 477). Children, even at a young age, can be responsabilized into understanding and perhaps making rational decisions about actions leading to self-defense and enhanced pedestrian safety. But empowerment and responsabilization are only superficially addressing the fact that automobility as a system is inherently dangerous to pedestrians. As the next section discusses, surviving within automobility also involves following all traffic rules so as to ensure that pedestrian are not impeding or encumbering roads.

²⁹ For example, Hannah-Moffat, who examined empowerment strategies in Canadian women's prisons discusses empowerment as a governance strategy. She demonstrates that “vulnerability and resistance of a ... marginalized group of unempowerable prisoners illustrates the triangular interdependence of sovereignty, discipline and government in penalty” (2000, 528). The case of the pedestrian in automobility is similar: empowerment strategies aimed at pedestrians may in fact be irrelevant to any real empowerment when facing a road – they are, however, preserving the system of automobility by making any challenge on the basis of its unsafety more difficult. Because they are empowered with the knowledge of traffic rules and tips, pedestrians are in effect responsabilized for their own safety and automobility, the discourse does not challenge the actual source of disempowerment for pedestrian.

Children should follow the rules (and stay out of the way of automobility)

This theme emphasizes that to remain safe, pedestrians should follow all traffic rules. The CSC instructs child pedestrians, more particularly, to not play in the street and to stay away from all cars, whether in motion or parked. Following rules to stay out of the way of cars are commonly occurring themes and constitute the thrust of the CSC's message to mitigate the traffic risks to child pedestrians. This theme is also an important element of the CSC's mandate to promote respect for traffic laws. The CSC also instructs adults to follow traffic rules, traffic signals, and not to jaywalk. This theme builds on the previous where I discuss the CSC's empowerment of pedestrians by teaching them self-defense strategies. The best form of self-defense against traffic is to stay out of the way.

As the previous theme mentions, to address the vulnerabilities of children and the elderly, the CSC proposes strategies to mitigate and manage risks to pedestrians that involve adapting or changing behaviours. An important tool the CSC uses to teach children about traffic rules is the mascot – 'Elmer' the safety elephant. The CSC calls these 'rules' - 'Elmer's safety rules' - and as the CSC explains they are never to be forgotten because, "an elephant never forgets" (CSC#LS22 1987, 28). The six rules applying to pedestrians are:

1. Look all ways before you cross the street.
2. Keep away from all parked cars.
3. Ride your bicycle safely. Obey all signs and signals.
4. Play games in a safe place, away from traffic.
5. Walk, don't run when you cross the street.
6. Where there are no sidewalks walk off the road on the left and face oncoming traffic. (CSC#LS22 1987, 28)³⁰

'Elmer's safety rules' have an authoritative tone; they are in fact orders. They are codes of conduct which, like the secondary schools' codes of conducts discussed in Raby, are both "necessary and benign" (2004, 72). The CSC above all urges Canadians, including children, to follow all formal laws and traffic regulations (CSC#L6 1984). It also seeks to contribute to the safety of all road users by urging pedestrians to stay out of the way. For example, the CSC promotes 'Elmer's safety rules' through illustrations depicting Elmer

³⁰ The CSC added a seventh rule when regulations on seatbelt use were implemented. It reads "wear your seatbelt at all times when riding in the car" (CSC#LS22 1987). Incidentally, only the 6 first rules apply to child pedestrians.

instructing children to “keep away from parked cars” (CSC#W2 2005), and “play in a safe place away from the street” (CSC#W4 2005). These instructions come in CSC copyrighted colouring book style images made for the purpose of distribution to children. In another example, the CSC instructs children that they should “never play hockey on the street. The rink is where smart [hockey] players meet” (CSC#LS15 1999). The image shows children playing hockey in a neighbourhood’s exterior hockey rink and depicts a residential street in the background.

Yet, the CSC does not discuss the disparities in access to ‘safe’ play facilities across neighbourhoods and regions. Not all children have the luxury of access to a near-by hockey rink, a courtyard, or a child-friendly park. Further, children’s residences may not be within walking distance to a ‘safe’ play area; their only option may be the street. As Freund and Martin discuss, even when a park is close by

a poor neighbourhood, for instance, may have fewer safe crossings, less well-maintained roads, more traffic (and less regulated traffic), and less access to car-free spaces for rest, play, etc. Like the effects of pollution and other health costs of car-centered transport, mortality from accidents, then, is also socially distributed along class lines. (2001, 210)

Further, when reviewing studies in the areas of social class and pedestrian injuries, Freund and Martin found that child pedestrian mortality was much higher in poorer neighbourhoods. One study concluded that

the higher mortality rate for child pedestrians of the lower social classes may be due to the probabilities that they are more dependent on walking, less likely to be accompanied by an adult caregiver, and more likely to walk in areas that are not as well organized for traffic safety. (Quick 1991 in Freund and Martin 2001, 211)

It is within this structural context that the CSC operates to promote safety and yet the solutions it proposes are based on adapting children’s individual behaviour rather than addressing the structural shortcomings of the ‘system’ of automobility.

In another example illustrating the idea that children should, under certain circumstances, stay out of the way of automobility, the CSC gives advice to parents before they decide if their children are ready to walk to school on their own. The CSC suggests parents should ask themselves whether their child is “safety conscious”, “old enough”, or knows another child with whom they could “buddy-up” (CSC#LS14 1999, 8). The same article also advises parents to walk their child to school for the first few times and to be “an example” for their child by following all rules (CSC#LS14 1999, 8). Other

articles not only instruct parents to teach their young children 'Elmer's safety rules' but also suggest they prohibit them from playing in the household's entryway (CSC#LS10 1997, 9 and CSC#LS16 1999).

Taken together, these examples show that the CSC teaches children socially normative behaviours which conform to the needs of the 'system' of automobility. They also clearly delineate and restrict children's acceptable play areas by making streets and parking areas out of bounds for children's play. The CSC essentially supports the boundaries existing between the automobilized adult world and that of children's. This supports the argument that child pedestrians are second class citizens within the 'system' of automobility and illustrates what Kearns and Collins call a "tendency for the adult world to dominate the world of the child" (2003, 208). 'Elmer's safety rules' responsabilizes children, and extends (albeit not to the same degree as the 'walking school bus' described by Kearns and Collins) adult authority over them to ultimately ensure children meet the terms associated with an automobilized, adult world. The CSC constructs children's (arguably normal, playful) behaviour as a risk and source of danger for all road users when they do not follow traffic rules.

If children are 'at-risk' they also represent a *risk* to other road users. While the CSC portrays children as participating in automobility through daily walks to and from school or parks, it also describes their behaviour as undisciplined and instructs drivers to expect "the unexpected", including children's unpredictable behaviour. Correspondingly, the CSC instructs drivers to "watch out for children" and to be prepared to respond to "distracting", "darting", or "erratic" pedestrian behaviour (CSC#L16 1999). Some articles provide statistics on the types of behaviours that result in collisions with automobiles (CSC#LS6 1984, 24 – see Appendix 9). The CSC gives drivers defensive driving tips, and explains that while pedestrians are ultimately responsible for their own safety, drivers can 'help' prevent pedestrian fatalities by developing defensive driving strategies (CSC#L6 1984, 24-25). The idea that children should stay out of the way of cars is difficult to challenge as it is for 'their own good'. In fact, it is the only option the CSC identifies which manages children's traffic risks while contributing to the proper functioning of the 'system' of automobility. Yet, Webb (2004) argues that the exclusion of children from transportation and from the use of space amounts to discrimination. What this theme indicates is that children should show disciplined behaviour and stay off the streets, if they are to participate at all in the 'system' of automobility.

Elmer's safety rules respond to the need for automobility to perpetuate itself. The safety of children and adult pedestrians poses a challenge for automobility. As Beckmann discussed, risk management and measures providing safety serve to "allow for ever more mobility. Hence, 'providing safety' and 'increasing mobility' are seemingly becoming synonymous, rather than contradictory" (2004, 97). Pedestrian safety for children and for adults serves one goal: to sustain automobility and prevent 'glitches' in the system. The first two themes – namely, that pedestrians must learn to practice self-defense within automobility and that they should stay out of the way –support the third identified theme: walking can be avoided. The CSC advises, as a solution to pedestrians' risks, that in some conditions, walking should be avoided altogether because it may be too dangerous.

Walking can be avoided

The CSC discusses walking in two ways: as an activity that can be easily done to stay active and combat obesity; and as a mode of transportation mostly for children and the elderly. In both cases, the CSC discusses the safety of pedestrians working under the assumption that walking is a choice. Consequently the CSC implies that, when conditions are not favourable, walking can be avoided altogether.

While walking as an activity and walking as transportation have very different objectives and contexts, the CSC, when it comes to risk management, is conflating the two. According to the CSC, walking as an activity is easily practiced and, by the same token, can easily be avoided when conditions are not favourable. For example, the back cover of a 2005 issue of *Living Safety* shows the legs of people wearing running shoes and its caption reads "Get Active. All you need is a pair of shoes" (CSC#LS20 2005, 32), demonstrating that walking as an activity is easily practiced. However, the CSC suggests that walking as an activity can and should be avoided when, for example, the risks associated with smog and pollution, are too great. The CSC suggests, for example, that walkers and runners avoid smog by using "less travelled routes" or alternatively, by exercising indoor (CSC#LS3 1993, 14).

Only in a few instances does the CSC discuss walking as part of the transportation system. For example, the CSC does not specifically acknowledge that, for the elderly, walking and taking public transportation may be the only available means of transportation. Yet, elsewhere on its website, the CSC states that "walking is the most

basic form of transportation. It's also an enjoyable exercise. Walking keeps you fit" (CSC#W13 2005). It then lists risks specific to seniors who walk, but asserts that "in most cases, the benefit of the exercise, independence, and social activities associated with walking outweigh the risks" and lists tips to prevent a "mishap" (CSC #W13 2005). The CSC not only conflates walking for recreation and walking for transportation, it applies the 'avoid walking when dangerous' solution to pedestrian risks with little regard to the fact that for some, walking is the *only* transportation option. To its credit, however, the CSC discusses factors that contribute to the danger of the pedestrian environment for elderly pedestrians, and recommends "measures a municipality can take to improve pedestrian safety" (CSC#W13 2005). For example, the CSC recommends that municipalities improve and better maintain pedestrian accommodations, and develop "an integrated plan for traffic safety which takes into account the community as a whole ... the needs of older pedestrians must be a key part of this plan" (CSC#W13 2005). This is the only instance I observed where the CSC took this approach to pedestrian safety.

For the most part, however, the CSC is concerned with disciplining pedestrians by giving advice to the elderly and parents of younger children, outlining how they can take measures to prevent injuries, and proposing "common sense precautions" such as avoiding walking when conditions are challenging. These 'common sense' solutions come in the form of advice and tips which suggest that in some circumstances people can and should avoid walking. An article titled *Walking. Your guide to survival*, describes "defensive walking techniques" but also describes the conditions where one ought to "stay home":

- you have been drinking;
- you have been taking prescription or non-prescription drugs likely to cause extreme drowsiness or disorientations;
- the weather conditions are extreme. (CSC#L21 1994, 13)

The article explains that:

there is no law against drinking and walking but the results can be as tragic as drinking and driving. Impaired pedestrians may cause collisions and are liable to be seriously injured or killed themselves. (CSC#L21 1994, 13)

It further explains that, as for drivers, pedestrians should make transportation arrangements before the party. In those cases, it is clear that although the CSC considers walking transportation, it nevertheless recommends that pedestrians

somehow could and should avoid walking in certain circumstances. This 'common sense' has repercussions for people who rely on walking for economic reasons or for the lack of better options. The idea that walking can or should be avoided presupposes that other arrangements are possible or that individuals can simply afford to remain safe at home.

In its discussion of pedestrian safety, the CSC is mostly focussing its prevention efforts on children and the elderly. It recognizes that for children, walking can be a means of transportation to and from school, between the home and the school bus stop, or to go to parks and playgrounds. Many articles focus on children's play and children's transportation to school, with articles giving parents safety tips and educational material for children to learn about safety rules. It is clear that for those who cannot afford other means of transportation, such as driving, public transportation, or even bicycling, however, pedestrian safety, as understood by the CSC, is not achievable. Within the context of automobility, pedestrians are not only in the way, as described earlier, but in certain conditions, walking is simply not compatible with automobility, whether because of smog, air quality, weather, or traffic risks. In other words, and as Freund and Martin explain,

In a car-centered transport system children are to some degree made house-bound by car-dominated space, as are older and disabled persons. (Freund & Martin 2001, 210)

While one article, focusing on smog and the ecological consequences of automobility, recognized that there are "structural problems" impeding people from adopting alternative modes of transportation, in no instances is the CSC encouraging citizens to lobby government for change to the pedestrian environment. Besides recommending the purchase of new safety products to minimize dangers, the CSC focuses its efforts to reduce pedestrian injuries on individualized education and prevention, rather than on advocating changes to the physical and structural environment of pedestrians. An article posted on the CSC's website recommends that municipalities "develop integrated plans for pedestrian safety" (CSC#W13 2005). It is unknown, however, whether this recommendation was only passively posted on the CSC's website or whether it corresponded with municipalities to voice this recommendation more directly.

Putting forth the idea that walking can be avoided in challenging conditions indicates a lack of consideration for the fact that for the less fortunate, walking is often

the only option for transportation. For this reason, safety and prevention advice provided to pedestrians by the CSC that suggests walking should be avoided in certain situations, illustrates a bias toward those privileged enough to be able to avoid walking in times when it is less safe.

The themes discussed so far point to the fact that the CSC's approach to pedestrian safety relies on establishing and maintaining normative codes of conduct and normative behaviours that discount the rights of pedestrians to a safe environment. The CSC constructs pedestrians and walking as an elective mode of transportation. As such, the CSC places the pedestrian in a position of inferiority vis-à-vis automobility. The question arises as to what could preclude the CSC from challenging automobility to truly address pedestrian safety. The next two sections discuss *how* the CSC addresses pedestrian safety and seek to elucidate why the CSC does not challenge the 'system' of automobility as the source of danger to pedestrians. The following section examines the CSC's practice of partnering with automobility-dependant industries, and discusses whether there is evidence that such practice limits the scope of its safety messages.

Partnerships to promote safety: opportunities for sponsors to shine?

One practice of the CSC is to develop partnerships with the private and public sector. I identified several instances where the CSC entered into partnerships in its effort to prevent car-related avoidable injuries³¹. However, few of the CSC's partnership campaigns focused exclusively on pedestrian safety. When they did, the campaign promoted pedestrians' visibility, pedestrian awareness of, and compliance with traffic rules. The messages of those campaigns were consistent with those already mentioned in the last three sections. In its focus on pedestrian safety, the CSC's partners were transportation corporations, tire companies, insurance corporations, and car manufacturers. These industries have a stake in preserving and even propagating the 'system' of automobility. In one example, partners were able to insert their logo on promotional/educational material destined to children, and the CSC mentions the partners on its website, annual reports, or within material discussing research and educational material about pedestrians.

³¹ Car-related avoidable injuries are only a portion of the avoidable injuries the CSC seeks to prevent. The CSC also seeks to reduce avoidable injuries occurring in the workplace, in the home, or in schoolyards.

Some campaigns which involve corporate partners, seek to educate adults or parents about children's safety as pedestrians. In one case, the CSC's website cited a manufacturer's car feature designed to prevent car collisions with objects immediately behind the vehicle under the heading *Solutions for the Blind Spot*. After presenting statistics on young children being struck in entryways by cars from Australia, the United States and Canada, the CSC informs readers of precautionary measures the Australian Transport Safety Board recommends:

- Always supervise children whenever a vehicle is to be moved. Hold their hands or hold them close to keep them safe.
- If you're the only adult at home and need to move a vehicle, even only a small distance, place children securely in the vehicle while you move it.
- Treat the driveway as a small road. Discourage children from using it as a play area.
- Make access to the driveway from the house difficult for a child. Consider using security doors, fencing or gates.(ATSB in CSC 2005)

The CSC then comments on a car manufacturer's new system that detects moving objects behind the vehicle. The car manufacturer and the new system is named and is proposed under the heading "Solution for the Blind Spot". In this case, the car manufacturer has been a long time partner to the CSC with a representative on the CSC's board of director. The manner in which the CSC presents the manufacturer's device as a solution for the blind spot resembles 'product placement' advertising.

In another example, one campaign seeking to educate children about pedestrian safety, the CSC partners with a corporate alliance of tire manufacturers for a safety promotion campaign targeting pedestrians (including children) and produces an activity booklet for children in grades 2 and 3 complete with retro-reflective armbands for distribution in schools by the partner (CSC#A3 2004). In another example, the CSC included the logo of an insurance company on the sweater worn by "Elmer the safety elephant" on a "Think Safe! kid's page" of the periodical *Living Safety* (CSC#LS17 2000). Elmer urges children to "look all ways before you cross the street" and "walk, don't run, when you cross the street" (CSC#17 2000). Perhaps the most flagrant example of partnerships between corporations and the CSC was the *Kiwanis Safety City* project which taught children, in a miniature urban city, the basic principles of good traffic behaviour. Fast food corporations, car parts and tires, and industries involved in building and maintaining roads, and car manufacturers sponsored the 'city' in exchange for advertising building and facades. Children received a "small fries driver's licence" and

coupons redeemable at popular fastfood chains (CSC#L9 1995, 7-8). These campaigns and programs have in common the project to inculcate in children normative behaviour which does not challenge the place of the automobile vis-à-vis walking and other modes of transportation. In other words, the CSC is seeking to promote safety and prevent avoidable injuries through the promotion of behaviours that do not interfere with automobility.

Yet in other situations, the CSC advocated that pedestrian safety would be best achieved through regulating and effecting changes to vehicles. For example the CSC advocated that school buses be adapted to prevent children from being fatally injured. The CSC explained that “the human factor is only part of the solution” (CSC#LS27 1992). Technology being the other part, the CSC nevertheless started the article with the following statement to ‘hook’ the reader:

[we] hope that no parent or adult would knowingly put a child in a dangerous situation without adequately preparing them and making the situation as safe as possible. None-the-less that is what appears to be happening across Canada. (CSC#LS27 1992, 4)

So, while the CSC advocated for changes to bus design (flat noses, swing arms) and changes to bus school routes, it nevertheless culpabilizes and coerces parents into responsabilizing their children.

In seeking to inform people about defective products, the CSC plays a consumer protection role, telling Canadians about recalls and unsafe products. Yet, the CSC does not see cars as defective with regard to their effect on pedestrians in accidents. The CSC has not advocated that cars should be designed in a manner that makes them safer to pedestrians even though some car manufacturers, Honda and Volvo for example, are claiming to conduct research and modify the design of their automobiles to diminish their impact when they strike pedestrians. Instead of calling for safer automobile design that would prevent injuries to pedestrians, the CSC continues to ‘educate’ pedestrians about how to protect themselves against cars.

The fact that the CSC enters into partnerships with sponsors to fund its prevention campaigns may not be problematic in itself. While the CSC is delivering programs in (funded) partnership with the federal government, it must nonetheless rely on private sources of funding to survive. It is problematic, however, that some of these sponsors have a stake in preserving automobility as ‘*The*’ system of transportation. The

CSC's narrow approach to pedestrian safety may, in other words, be shaped and maintained by funding requirements. While this is only speculation, it is clear from an examination of the CSC's pedestrian safety discourses, that the approach taken is narrow and in effect supports automobility and fails to consider alternatives to its hegemony on transportation options.

Promoting neoliberal 'common sense' as risk management

Most CSC articles and communications I examined directly or indirectly refer to the idea that safety is important and the CSC expects Canadians to take precautions so they will remain safe. What this chapter demonstrates so far is that the CSC adopts prudential and self-regulatory discourses to pedestrian safety that, in part at least, rely on partnered initiatives with corporations who have a stake in preserving intact the 'system' of automobility. This section establishes that the CSC relies on messages of pedestrian safety it believes are 'common sense' and therefore benign, convincing and indisputable. I argue that the CSC implicitly uses neoliberal 'common sense' when it promotes pedestrian safety. Neoliberal 'common sense' presupposes that individuals will take it upon themselves to manage risks without challenging the 'system' of automobility, and avoid being a burden on the state.

An example of the CSC's use of neoliberal 'common sense' is a 1998 article titled "pride in safety" which is solely dedicated to the promotion of safety as something everyone can and should do (CSC#LS12 1994). The article marks a departure in style and content from more typical articles promoting safety through situation-specific advice and tips. It is rather a more explicit articulation of the ideology underlying the CSC's promotion of safety and contrasts with the pragmatic purpose of educational articles. It is a reflective piece promoting the ideology of safety and explaining the dangers of 'false pride' or recklessness:

unless we make some sweeping changes in our own thinking about safety and about its relationship, we will continue to have the same old disappointing safety statistics year after year – in the air, on the highway, even in the home. Replacing false pride with true pride can begin right now – with you and your family. Avoiding accidents – now that's something to be proud of! (CSC#LS12 1998, 11)

This article essentially makes the point that Canadians should both take measures to stay safe and take pride in practicing daily activities safely. It appears to be a reaction to

a recent trend glorifying risk-taking, and takes a position against the idea that safety means “softy” or “sissy”. The CSC denounces the irresponsible character of a culture of risk-taking and, in doing so, adheres to risk management practices akin to public health discourses which promote safe and healthy lifestyle choices:

government-sponsored arguments for public health education campaigns ... employ lifestyle risk discourse ...: (a) a basic responsibility to protect and promote the nation’s health; (b) providing resources through collective action to help individuals improve their health; (c) containing costs; and (d) preventing individuals from harming others through their lifestyle choices (...). Risk discourse ... especially when it emphasizes lifestyle risks, serves as an effective Foucauldian agent of surveillance and control that is difficult to challenge because of its manifest benevolent goal of maintaining standards of health. (Lupton 1993, 432-433)

The CSC advocates that people should care about their safety and that of their dependents. It constructs the individual as responsible, rational, and aware of the role each individual plays in contributing to the safety of others. In doing so, the CSC produces the safe pedestrian as a responsible citizen who, in ‘being careful’, avoids placing unnecessary demands on the state through irresponsible behaviour leading to accidents indicating poor risk management, which in turn, lead to the unnecessary and preventable use of scarce health or emergency resources. The CSC’s ‘common sense’ approach to pedestrian safety is essentially a neoliberal disciplining discourse: the responsible, prudent individual conforms to normative safety behaviour that prevents any en/counter with the automobile. In its effort to sensitize people to the dangers the road presents to pedestrians, the CSC explains

unfortunately, too many of us ignore the pedestrian perils that exist in every street and highway. Most pedestrian accidents are the *fault* of the pedestrian, not the driver. (...) From the very young to the very old, everyone who enters the road takes the chance of not making it to the other side. (CSC#LS16 1999, 22 Emphasis added)

This approach to pedestrian safety implies an ‘enter at your own risk’ perspective on individuals encountering a roadway. Emphasizing that one is taking a chance every time one enters the road recognises that transportation systems are inherently dangerous to pedestrians but nevertheless places the responsibility on the pedestrian to be vigilant, responsible, and exercise ‘common sense’. In particular CSC targets ‘at-risk’ pedestrians such as the elderly for prevention messages, educational programs, advice and recommendations. Yet, the fact that some groups are more often injured or killed by traffic mishaps need not necessarily imply that they should be the subject of prevention

or intervention. While automobility may be particularly dangerous for them, people may be aware of the dangerousness of venturing in traffic, but having no other choices they may do the best they can within a system maladapted to their abilities. Elderly adults, for example, may already be aware of their traffic risks and may already use 'common sense'. As Freund and Martin explain

because safety discourses about elderly pedestrians often blame the ageing process, risk-perception training is seen as an appropriate measure to reduce accidents. Yet those over 50 tend to be the most cautious in travel. Elderly female pedestrians are the most aware of their traffic context but still remain at high risk for injury and death from car accidents (Harrell, 1991). (Freund & Martin 2001, 210)

In addition, in the case of children, the CSC identifies their behaviour as an important cause in determining the occurrence of accidents. The CSC places the blame of pedestrians' injuries and fatalities particularly on these 'at-risk' populations. In constructing safety as 'common sense' the CSC leaves unchallenged the place of automobiles in society. The CSC advises that it is 'common sense' for drivers to permit pedestrians to 'encroach' onto roads. For example,

there may be situations where action is dictated by common sense rather than the law. For instance, if a 65 kilogram pedestrian wants to encroach upon what is legally the right of way of a 1,350 kilogram-plus vehicle, *the wise driver will permit* it. After all, there's really no contest. Conversely, if the driver of a 1,350 kilogram vehicle insists on taking a pedestrian's right of way, *the wise pedestrian will give way*. (CSC#L6 1984, 24 emphasis added)

Whether *wise* pedestrians follow 'the law' or 'common sense', they are responsabilized. In this example, the driver can "permit" while a pedestrian can only "give way". In this example, 'common sense' presupposes that within the 'system' of automobility, governance hinges on self-regulation, with pedestrians adopting codes of conduct which confirm their subordinate position vis-à-vis the automobile. Yet, an alternative 'common sense' would dictate that pedestrians and safety advocates should challenge the system of automobility and its inherent unsafety. Responsibilization strategies such as those used by the CSC work in tandem with more traditional forms of social control (Hannah-Moffat 2000 in Raby 2004), to "blend assumptions of autonomous, rational, self-regulation with those of the developing, un-self-regulated" (Raby 2004, 74).

Consistent with the CSC's mandate to focus on "safety education as the key to long range reduction in avoidable deaths and injuries" (CSC#W7 2005), the articles

integrate research findings in plain language. The CSC clearly acknowledges the dangerous nature of road traffic but the individualized solutions it proposes are limited to prevention at the individual level. Education and programs concerned with raising awareness of pedestrian risks contribute to shifting the locus of responsibility away from the system and onto the individual. This approach to traffic and pedestrian safety is consistent with the Canadian transportation safety policy MacGreggor describes:

transportation policy in this country focuses on individual behaviour as the chief cause of accidents and as a major factor in environmental pollution. Consequently, government is mostly blind to the larger picture of societal neglect, industrial malfeasance, and the political irresponsibility that lies behind unacceptable death and injury rates, and dangerous air quality in major cities. Overwhelming attention to individual behaviour and disregard for other factors in traffic safety are consonant with the dominant ideology of neoliberalism, which guarantees sway of the free market, regardless of public need. (MacGreggor 2002, 127)

Consistent with the neoliberal context, the CSC approaches traffic risks to pedestrian safety through education and prevention at the level of the individual.

The CSC's use of language in reporting research findings about pedestrians is indicative of its assumptions about the place of pedestrians in the 'system' of automobility. These assumptions are based on the fact that the 'system' of automobility itself prevents other ways of approaching safety. What becomes 'common sense' within the 'system' of automobility is what does not challenge it. In an article titled: *Pedestrians' Progress* the CSC reports findings from a TC statistical study on pedestrian fatalities and injuries (CSC#SC2 2005, 3 see Appendix 3). The CSC, however, could have chosen another more revealing title: *automobility's progress in lessening injuries and fatalities to pedestrians*. Instead, the title the CSC chose suggests that pedestrians are 'doing better' in terms of their own safety and that they have become increasingly aware of road safety precautions necessary for them to remain safe. A different, but similar example is a 1995 article in which the CSC depicts the "actions of pedestrians which resulted in automobile-related deaths" and draws a correlation between pedestrians' fatalities and their actions at the time of the accident (CSC#LS6 1984, 24) (see Appendix 9 for the actual illustration). The illustration emphasizes that, in the opinion of the CSC, poor risk management practices results in accidents. The article accompanying the illustration provides "common sense rules" and "survival tips for pedestrians" and gives drivers tips on "how to watch for pedestrians" (CSC#LS6 1984, 24). The neoliberal solution to risks the CSC proposes as 'common sense', disciplines pedestrians into conforming to the

imperatives of an automobilized society. These examples illustrate that the CSC promotes safety through an automobilized world's lens.

5.3 Allocating responsibility for pedestrian safety

The CSC's pedestrian safety programs and initiatives are interesting because they promulgate safety in a manner which locates responsibility within the individual. The CSC's tips, advice and recommendations are more than lay 'common sense'. Taken together, they constitute neoliberal, normative guidance that constructs, produces, and governs 'safe pedestrians' as risk managers. Risk management is not an activity restricted to adults. Children also perceive "themselves as having personal responsibility for balancing risks, assessing expert (adult) advice on risk reduction and accepting responsibility for the consequences of risks misjudged" (Green 1997b, 475). This neoliberal philosophy is reaching all of us, creating an irresistible urge to be a good, responsible citizen – one who will adequately manage the risks associated with the automobile – of course to protect oneself and one's dependents, but also to avoid becoming a burden on the state. Within the neoliberal state, where privatization is a preferred approach to program delivery, partnerships with the voluntary sector are important features of risk management. But the CSC goes beyond promoting individualized responsibility of pedestrians. Rather it responds to the 'risk society' and the multitude of risks for pedestrians by advocating a societal code of conduct that applies across all situations. The CSC promotes a neoliberal, responsabilizing society where people rationally manage risks, and are continuously and persistently looking out for potential risk. The CSC in effect is acknowledging that we live in Beck's 'risk society'; a neoliberal place where the state is somehow irrelevant to people's protection and where all are potential victims and everyone can and should manage risks. Responsibility for safety lies with "you and your family", the CSC asserts, letting advertising media, car manufacturers, and governmental policies or regulations off the hook. The pedestrian navigates the risk society, takes advice from expert organizations such as the CSC, and seeks to manage risks on an individual basis. 'Expert organizations' do not challenge the 'system' of automobility as the underlying source of the risks involved. The CSC, for example, provides very little information to its readers about what car manufacturers, municipal governments or provincial governments could do to reduce risks to pedestrians.

The CSC's discourses about the importance of safety, including pedestrians and traffic safety, correspond to Green's theorizing that public health conceptualizes accidents as preventable, and to avoid them, people can and should manage risks adequately. The CSC's pedestrian prevention and educational campaigns aim to reduce pedestrian injuries and fatalities by appealing to 'common sense'. As Gusfield argued, the issue is not whether one is for or against safety: to be against safety "has no standing in the public forum" (Gusfield 1981, 169). The CSC emphasizes that people should rationally and effectively manage risks to avoid or prevent accidents. This finding confirms that the CSC adopts a public health approach to pedestrian safety which, according to Green (1999), evolved over time to presuppose that accidents, originally by definition random occurrences, are avoidable. As Green explained, risk management is irresistible because "to manage risks is to construct oneself as a rational, competent human being" (Green 1999, 35), and educational approaches are persistent because

they construct individuals as responsible for the surveillance and management of their own risk environment. Such responsibility is seductive: few would resist by arguing that they were incapable of assessing and managing risks for themselves. (Green 1997a, 109)

It is clear that the CSC has espoused this link between individual accident avoidance and a social identity in which good citizens, as adequate risk managers, are responsible for their own safety and that of their dependents. The obvious purpose for safety promotion is to reduce fatalities and injuries from traffic incidents. Yet, paradoxically, and as Beckmann (2004) argues, the social function of traffic safety is to deny the risks associated with automobility to increase mobility by cars.

The CSC does not deny the existence of accidents, quite on the contrary. Rather the CSC denies *automobility's responsibility* for fatalities and injuries. The CSC acknowledges accidents as expected, even as normal occurrences. However, in focusing on prevention and education at the level of the individual, the CSC negates that the system is flawed, or that automobility is inherently dangerous to pedestrians. By focusing on the individual, the CSC is in effect working to perpetuate automobility while concealing, not that accidents occur, but that automobility is the *source* of risks. What the CSC's approach conceals is that an effective and safe transportation system should consider every accident involving a fatality or injury as a system failure which should not happen again (Carlsson 1998 in MacGreggor 2002, 141).

The CSC, like the WHO and the Canadian federal government, describes pedestrians as 'vulnerable road users' (WHO 2003, WHO 2004, TC 2004a). The designation of 'vulnerable road user' denotes a weakness vis-à-vis automobility and the transportation systems. It also denotes incapacity to control and effectively manage the risks associated with 'road using'. Logically, the concept of vulnerable road user should indicate that the pedestrian would need to be *protected from automobility*. Yet the CSC's discourses of pedestrian safety educate pedestrians and drivers to prevent accidents rather than to rally pressure on the industry and governments to ensure the road transport system "be designed so that people's mistakes do not have disastrous consequences" (Carlsson in MacGreggor 2002, 135). This is consistent with Wetmore's argument that responsibility for traffic safety should be reallocated more equally among all involved in automobility (2004, 400).

5.4 Disciplining pedestrians

This chapter critically examined the CSC's discourses of pedestrian safety for their cultural and socio-political implications. Exposing such discourses is important because, although they acknowledge that automobility is dangerous, they serve to perpetuate and maintain intact the 'system' of automobility by disciplining individuals rather than addressing the shortcomings of the 'system' of automobility.

The CSC's promotion of safety encompasses ideas about the responsible citizen: the good pedestrian is a good [read successful] risk manager who is able to protect him/herself and his/her dependents. Traffic safety is a project for the individual, where one is responsible for the management of risks and for the success of that enterprise. Just as the children interviewed in Green (1997b) took upon themselves some of the consequences for failing to appropriately manage risks, parents, who irresistibly think of themselves as good risk assessors and managers, may see themselves as responsible for traffic unsafety. Through self-subjection, these 'responsible' subjects increasingly self-discipline when faced with the multitude of demands placed on them by various discourses (Petersen 1997). For example,

with the recent and considerable broadening of the mandate of public health to include the strategies of 'community participation', 'green politics', 'sustainable development', 'intersectoral collaboration' and 'healthy public policy', individuals are being called upon to play an increasingly active role in creating a 'healthy', 'sustainable' environment. (Petersen 1997, 203)

Traffic safety also produces 'empowered' subjects who are self-disciplined through their beliefs in the importance of practicing and promoting traffic safety, educating children about 'accident' preventions, and ensuring that various safety equipment is available for purchase by the concerned, prudent citizen who is a good risk manager. Risk management strategies for pedestrian risks follow Green's (1997a; 1997b; 1999) theoretical framework. There are no accidents, only pedestrians who poorly manage their traffic risks.

The disciplined citizen is one who is a rational risk manager who navigates the 'system' of automobility responsibly and individuated approaches to risk management have their basis within particular ideologies and discourses informing expectations about proper behaviours of pedestrians. Discourses of safety frame understandings of appropriate behaviour and produce an idealized disciplined pedestrian against whom to measure oneself.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This thesis sought to uncover how the CSC constructs how Canadian pedestrians should stay safe. It also begins a discussion of the sociological implications of pedestrian safety discourses. Traffic accidents involving pedestrians are an important cause of death and injury in Canada (TC 2004c) and around the world (WHO 2003, WHO 2004, WHO 2006). Yet my cursory examination of the Canadian government's pedestrian safety programs, available on departmental websites, shows that departments do not have a strategy (as in the case of Transport Canada) or they fail to give pedestrian risks the attention they deserve. Further, the Canadian government does not seem to consider walking as transportation and, as a result, pedestrian safety falls between departmental mandates. In addition, in the current neoliberal context, the federal government relies on partnerships with non-profit organizations to promote traffic safety. The CSC is such an organization that has a partnership with governments to deliver programs (TC 2005c). At the same time, the CSC has increasingly sought funding from corporations, some of which are involved in the 'system' of automobility. I examined the CSC's strategies, sources of funding, and the influence of funding contributors to the CSC. I found, for example, that the CSC had on its board of directors, a person who lobbied government on behalf of a car manufacturer with an obvious stake in preserving the 'system' of automobility. Throughout this thesis, I discuss how the 'system' of automobility – a system which is inherently dangerous to pedestrians – produces disciplining safety discourses for pedestrians.

This study only begins to scratch the surface of the 'picture' of traffic and pedestrian safety in Canada. While I examine the CSC as a case study in pedestrian safety promotion, this study is not a program evaluation and does not seek to examine the CSC to establish value-for-money or to suggest improvements. Consequently, I do neither make policy recommendations, nor suggest changes to the way the CSC operates. Rather, this case study allows a reflection on the implications of the 'system' of automobility for Canadians and their safety. It takes on a small portion of the issue and

examines, from a sociological perspective, the implications of the discourses and practices involved in the promotion of pedestrian safety. What is novel about this research is that I combine a body of literature which discusses the 'system' of automobility (Sheller & Urry 2000, Urry 2004) with theories about the 'risk society' (Beck 1992) and safety within the 'system' of automobility (Beckmann 2004), while examining the case of the promotion of pedestrian safety in a neoliberal, political-economic context (as discussed in Brodie 1995). This exploratory and qualitative case study provides preliminary evidence to suggest that within the neoliberal Canadian context, the 'system' of automobility produces particular practices and approaches to pedestrian safety that promote individualized and disciplining discourses. Within an automobilized society, and drawing on the work of Green (1997a; 1997b; 1999), Petersen (1996; 1997), and Lupton (1993; 1999a; 1999b), I argue from examining this particular case, that neoliberal discourses influencing traffic safety produce an idealized, responsabilized, and self-regulated pedestrian who aptly, but individually, manages risks on Canadian roads. The CSC constructs pedestrian safety tips and advice as 'common sense' solutions to pedestrians' risks which embody neoliberal conceptualizations of the citizen as a rational, reasonable, and responsible subject who seeks to remain accident-free. Such solutions have implications for the place of pedestrians within the 'system' of automobility.

This study does not examine the extent to which individuals adopt these solutions nor does it show how individuals conceive of themselves as 'responsible pedestrians.' Nevertheless, this study demonstrates the significant role that particular kinds of messages play in public safety discourses. These tips and advice of normative behaviours obscure alternative practices and make them less available to pedestrians, young and old. Walking is the simplest form of transportation and everyone is a pedestrian, for at least some portion of a daily commute. Yet, walking is not normative behaviour within the 'system' of automobility and pedestrians are considered by the WHO, TC, and the CSC as 'vulnerable' and 'at-risk', as needing targeted education. Further, 'at-risk' pedestrians may be either unwilling or unable to conform to the imperatives of an automobilized transportation system. Deviation from what the CSC and TC consider normative behaviour (following traffic rules, being visible at all time, staying out of the way of automobiles, and avoid walking when 'dangerous') constructs offending pedestrians as 'at-fault'. Further, safety promotion and prevention campaigns presuppose that people can access or afford transportation options other than walking.

For example, the CSC expects children to play in a 'safe' place and assumes they have the option of not playing on streets, parking areas, or driveways. The purpose of such advice is to prevent pedestrians, young and old, from interfering with the 'system' of automobility. What this thesis demonstrates is that in this case study, the promotion of safety obscures the fact that automobility is inherently dangerous to pedestrians, constructs walking as a mere optional activity and not a legitimate mode of transportation, and ultimately produces the pedestrian as a second class citizen.

Automobility, a self-expanding system privileging one particular form of mobility over others (Sheller and Urry 2000), is a lens through which the CSC constructs 'the pedestrian', and discourses of 'safety'. As a critical analysis of the discourses of the CSC demonstrates, the promotion of safety to pedestrians hinges on preserving intact automobilized transportation and perceptions that automobility is not only safe (when risks are managed appropriately), but also viable. The CSC's promotion of safety to pedestrians not only implies that the locus of unsafety in traffic lies with the individual but also that the individual can be responsabilized and empowered to protect himself or herself and any dependents. Within a context where automobility is structurally and discursively entrenched as a normative form of transportation, empowerment discourses have little meaning in practice and are in effect disciplining. Although the CSC states that it is concerned with the particular situation of children and elderly pedestrians, its approaches may not significantly guard their safety because they do not challenge the real source of their unsafety.

An exploratory political economic examination of the CSC's funding practices, and its reliance for strategic direction on a board of directors not at arms' length with industries benefiting from automobilization, shows that safety promotion practices structurally and discursively embed the interest of such industries. Thus, the CSC is not positioned to be comprehensive in its objective to prevent avoidable injuries to pedestrians. Effectively, the CSC contributes to hegemonic, techno-scientific, and disciplining discourses of traffic safety that support the 'system' of automobility. This case study suggests that the CSC prefers discipline and market discourses to practices that would require it to reconsider of the adequacy of the industry products it promotes or to challenge the adequacy of the 'system' of automobility. The CSC aligns with neoliberal risk management in which, as MacGregor explains: "Canadians are typically

more willing to alter individual behaviour than to tackle industry giants on auto-safety issues” (2002, 133).

In Canada, the promotion of safety to pedestrians is an issue which is not at the forefront of the public agenda, and, despite statistics demonstrating its significance, it is constantly overshadowed by ‘less normal’ accidents such as SARS or terrorism. This case study begins a reflection on the implications of the ‘system’ of automobility for the place of people who walk, their citizenship, and more generally, the conceptualization of walking as transportation. Pedestrians are the most vulnerable to automobility and also the most ostracized by automobility. While TC designates them as ‘vulnerable *road users*’ it is clear that pedestrians are not welcome on roads and are literally and figuratively on the sidewalk of mobility with important implications for citizenship and access to public life. In fact, pedestrians are oxymoronically *almost immobile*, while the automobilized privileged pass by. Yet, the realization that *everyone* is a pedestrian, for at least some portion of their transportation, is an essential requirement for a reconsideration of how the simplest form of mobility can aspire to be a safe and legitimate mode of transportation.

The hegemonic grasp of automobility on social life commands further reconsideration. The experiences of pedestrians in traffic and the manner in which they subjectively experience the promotion of safety is a vast, but untouched topic. The disciplining discourses embedded in the CSC’s promotion of pedestrian safety provide evidence that the ‘system’ of automobility produces not only the structural, but also the discursive preconditions to its own expansion. To better understand this expansion, it will be necessary to further research the role of governments, schools, parents, and individuals in perpetuating discourses that propagate a fundamentally unsafe system of transportation. Further, and as Walker et al. (2000) discuss, cultural constructions of masculinity embedded in road safety education is an emerging topic. More research is needed to unpack, and understand the implications of gender and class assumptions embedded in road safety education.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Excerpt of the Canada Safety Council's constitution

Objects:

- To minimize avoidable death, injury and damage to property by devising, recognizing, encouraging and promoting methods and procedures leading to improve safety, protection and health among all persons in public and private places throughout Canada.
- To focus attention on the vital importance of safety
- To formulate action programs for safety in the fields of engineering, legislation, law, enforcement and education.
- In cooperation with governments and other interested organizations, to assist in the drafting and enactment of safety legislation.
- To arouse public interest and participation in safety measures by means of educational campaigns, campaigns, lectures, publications of all kinds, film, meetings, information media and such other means as may be available.
- To collect, correlate, publish and disseminate any educational and informative data relative to safety.
- To encourage and aid provincial safety councils or leagues and assist in the development of safety local organizations.
- To exchange ideas on accident prevention by means of conferences, meetings and by maintaining close liaison with others concerned with safety.
- To encourage the development of safer products and services.
- To encourage research and the development of information which would be of value in the prevention of accidents, injuries and preservation of health.
- To encourage the development of uniform systems of reporting and recording statistics on accidents, injuries and health hazards.
- To provide incentives for leadership and the recognition of achievement in safety.
- To co-ordinate activities in all fields of safety in the attainment of the foregoing objectives, and to do all things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment thereof.
- Such objects are to be carried out in more than one Province of Canada.

(CSC#A1 1997, i-ii)

Appendix 2: An article from *Living Safety*

Walking DEFENSIVELY

A 2004 Honda Accord, is one of the most popular family cars in Canada today, weighs approximately 3,294 lbs (1 1/2 metric tonnes). Even if the vehicle is travelling well below the speed limit, you can't survive intact a close encounter of the automotive kind.

According to the latest statistics from Transport Canada, pedestrians comprise the third largest category of motor vehicle fatalities, after drivers and passengers. In 2002, 2,936 people died in traffic collisions and of these 406 (13.8 per cent) were pedestrians.

There's a concrete jungle out there and you should know how to stay alive.

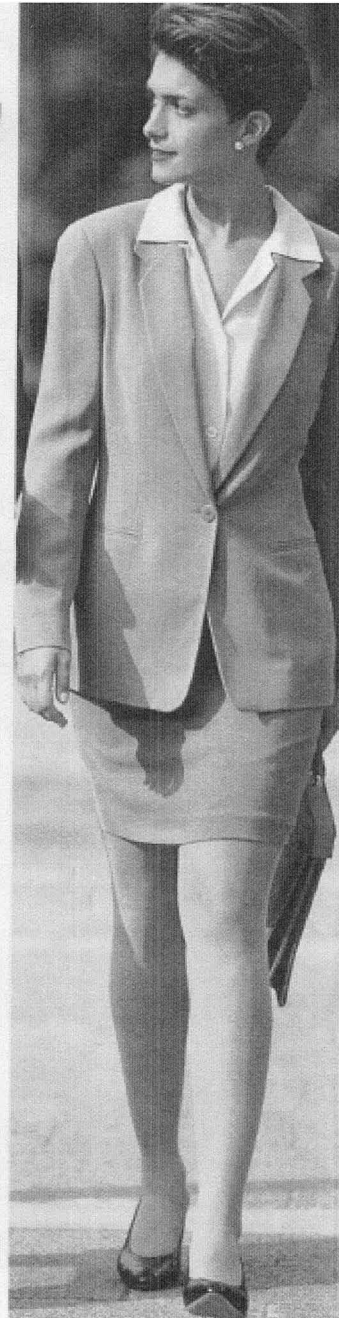
26 LIVING SAFETY • FALL 2004

Defensive walking techniques

With over 18 million vehicles registered in Canada, the pedestrian must practise defensive walking techniques to cope with today's congested traffic conditions.

I. Stand still and wait WHEN ...

- A driver is executing a tricky manoeuvre near you, such as a three-point turn or a U-turn. Less able or inexperienced drivers may not be paying attention to the presence of a pedestrian.
- There is a busy street scene that is confusing to a driver. For example, in a housing area where children are playing road hockey and a family pet is joining in the action. As a pedestrian, simplify the complex situation by standing still while the driver negotiates the obstacles.
- The road is snow-covered, no sidewalk is available and a vehicle approaches you. If you stand off to the side of the street, you are easier to avoid.
- You suspect a cyclist is behind you on a sidewalk or a pedestrian pathway. A serious collision can occur when a pedestrian tries to step out of the way of a speeding cyclist and, in fact steps into the cyclist's path.
- You want to talk to someone operating snow-clearing equipment, a lawn mower, electric hedge clippers or chain saw. The person may not be aware of pedestrians owing to the noise made by the machinery. Wait for a pause in the work before trying to attract attention.



(CSC#LS19 2004, 26 by permission)

2. Use your own eyes and ears to check road conditions before proceeding WHEN...

- A well-meaning driver waves you across an intersection. The driver may not have properly judged the danger to a pedestrian from other vehicles.
- You are signalled ahead by a police officer or security guard during the rush hour, when traffic lights are not working or at a collision scene. You must cooperate with hand signals given to you but check conditions first. Never step onto a roadway simply because an officer signals you to do so.

In 2002, 2,936 people died in traffic collisions and of these 406 (13.8 per cent) were pedestrians.

3. Put yourself in the driver's seat and realize you may not be visible WHEN...

- A vehicle is reversing. You may be in the vehicle's blind spot and not obvious to the driver.
- The rear windshield is cluttered up with toys or ice/over.
- It is late in the day and the driver is blinded by the setting sun.
- Lighting is poor because it is dusk or dark.
- Weather conditions are extreme; there is fog, heavy rain or a blizzard.
- You are behind a parked car. Never cross the street from behind a parked vehicle because by the time the driver sees you, it is too late for effective braking.

- You are in a busy parking lot crowded with vans and family cars. A shopper leaving a parking space may be tired or in a hurry and lax about checking for pedestrian traffic. Unskilled drivers have difficulty backing into small spaces and you may be difficult to spot if you are partly obscured by a parked vehicle.

4. Be in control of your own safety WHEN...

- A vehicle is signalling a left or right turn. Sometimes, a car's indicators are left on by mistake. Do not cross the direct path of the vehicle until the turn is completed.
- Traffic is approaching a crosswalk. Wait for a long break in the traffic flow before crossing a street if there are no pedestrian signals. Never assume that a vehicle can stop for you. Even a competent driver may not have full control of the vehicle in freezing rain or on icy roads when skidding is likely.
- You are in charge of a young child. Hold the child's hand. You should walk on the outside, nearest to the road. When there is no sidewalk, always walk facing the oncoming traffic.

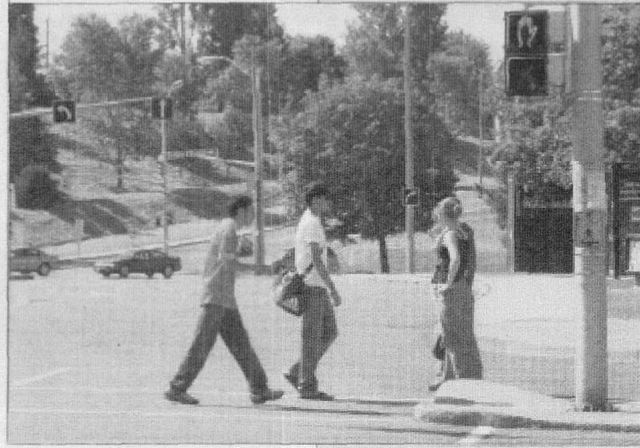
- You are taking your dog for a walk. A pet must be on a leash. If frightened, an animal may behave unpredictably and pose a threat to both traffic and other pedestrians.

5. Keep clear WHEN...

- A vehicle is stuck in mud or a snowbank. The vehicle may respond suddenly to efforts to free it and jerk out of control.
- Construction is underway. Hazards include debris on the road and sidewalk, trucks and heavy equipment in the area, noisy machinery, and impeded traffic flow.
- A tow truck is linking up a vehicle.
- You hear a train approaching. Never linger on or near the track.
- A traffic collision has occurred. A subsequent injury-causing situation may arise as curious drivers and pedestrians dawdle to see what has happened.

Survival Kit

Transport Canada reports that in 2002, 227,768 people were injured in a total of 159,471 traffic collisions. You need protective equipment to prevent you from becoming one of the statistics.



FFL 3004 • LIVING SAFETY 27

(CSC#LS19 2004, 27 by permission)

For night-time walking:

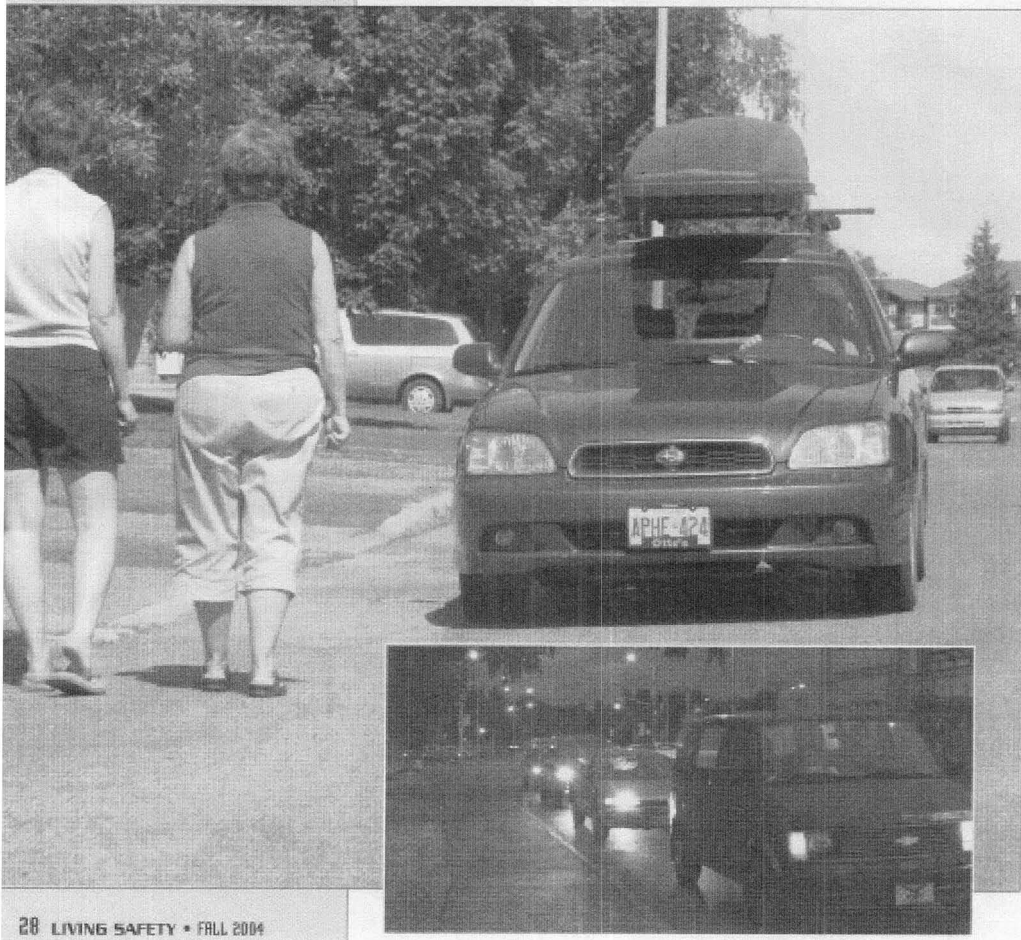
- Sew pieces of retroreflective tape onto your clothing. Look for the word "retroreflective" on the product you buy. This material focuses light and returns the light back to its source. Phosphorescent fabrics and those that glow in the dark are not adequate protection for the pedestrian. A sash made of retroreflective material is comfortable to wear and visible to traffic in all directions.
- Wear light-coloured clothing. It is easier for motorists to spot in the dark. Remember this when buying a new jacket or coat.
- Carry a lit flashlight when walking at dusk or during the evening.

In poor weather:

- Good-quality walking shoes that will retain a firm grip on all road surfaces are essential.
- If sidewalks are wet or slippery, use a walking stick to improve your balance. If your health is poor, accept the company (and supporting arm) of a friend or relative.
- Put on adequate clothing for the weather and carry an umbrella if rain is forecast. Being very cold or caught in a sudden downpour without an umbrella may cause you to hurry across roads without paying attention to the traffic.

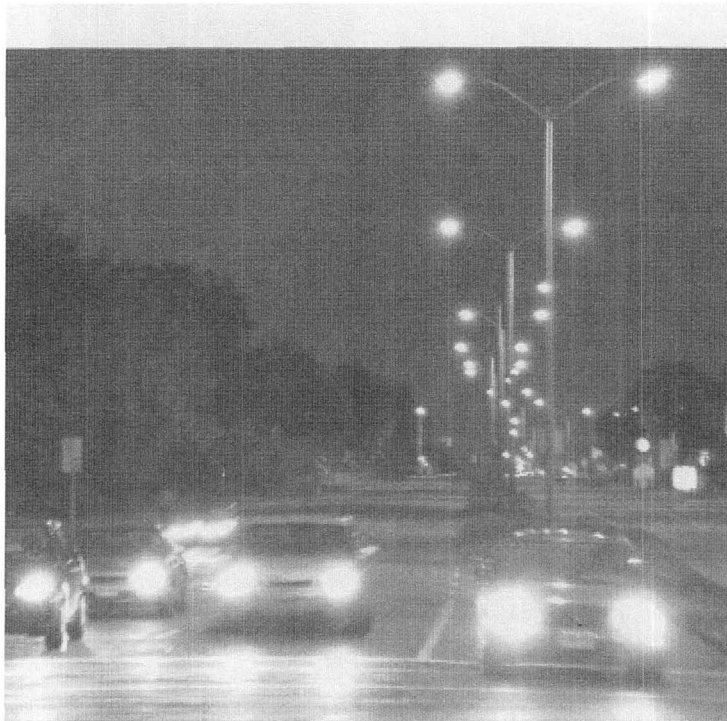
Every day:

- Wear your eyeglasses or contact lenses, as you would while driving your car. You need the best eyesight possible as a pedestrian. Pale-coloured vehicles and cyclists are difficult to see in some lighting conditions.
- If you have a hearing aid, use it outdoors. Modern automobile engines run very quietly and factors such as snow-covered roads make traffic difficult to hear. Bicyclists, skate-boarders and roller skaters are almost silent.
- Never listen to a radio headset when you are out walking.
- Use a home-to-store shopping cart, or recycle a child's wagon, for carrying heavy loads.



28 LIVING SAFETY • FALL 2004

(CSC#LS19 2004, 28 by permission)



When to stay home

There is no law against drinking and walking, but the results can be as tragic as drinking and driving. Impaired pedestrians may cause collisions and are liable to be seriously injured or killed themselves.

Here are three situations when you should stay home.

1. You have been drinking.

Your perception of speeds and distances may be distorted. Your behaviour may be over-confident or unpredictable. For example, you might step abruptly into the roadway, causing a driver to swerve into other traffic to avoid you.

If you intend to drink at a social occasion, make arrangements before the party for getting home safely. By the end of the evening, alcohol may influence your ability to make sensible decisions about your safety.

Never assume that the traffic will stop for you.

2. You have been taking prescription or non-prescription drugs likely to cause extreme drowsiness or disorientation.

Check the packaging and ask your pharmacist about possible side effects of your medication.

3. The weather conditions are extreme.

This includes fog, a hailstorm, freezing rain, extreme cold or a blizzard. Sprains, bruises and broken bones are commonly reported pedestrian injuries after freezing rain.

Check for oncoming traffic

Jaywalking is illegal and hazardous. When you want to cross the street, look for an intersection with pedestrian signals and follow these guidelines:

- Use the push-button to prompt the 'Walk' sign. It provides a longer crossing time than signals triggered by the traffic flow.
- Always check the traffic in all directions before stepping off the curb to obey the pedestrian signal.
- If you are on a crossing and the 'Don't Walk' signal appears, continue to the centre island or opposite sidewalk, whichever is nearer. Never double back.
- At intersections with no pedestrian signals, wait until the traffic lights facing you turn green. Check that the way is clear, then extend your right hand and arm out in front of your body to clearly indicate which direction you are taking. Or use your newspaper or umbrella. Proceed across the street.
- Pedestrians must not cross on a flashing green traffic light or on a green left turn arrow unless a 'Walk' signal is shown.
- Before stepping out at a crosswalk, check for motorists making a right turn on a red traffic light. This is permitted in some jurisdictions. In other words, look to your left and behind you. Do this even when you are signalled ahead by a 'Walk' sign.
- Never assume that the traffic will stop for you. Drivers may misinterpret red traffic lights or skid out of control on icy pavement. Traffic flow must be halted before you step into the roadway.
- If you are with a friend, concentrate fully on the traffic situation as you cross the street. Resume your conversation when you are safely on the opposite sidewalk.
- Use subways, elevated crosswalks, safety islands and other features designed to aid pedestrians.

FALL 2004 • LIVING SAFETY 29

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Appendix 3: An article in the Canada Safety Council's newsletter, *Safety Canada*

Canada Safety Council



Pedestrians' Progress

In December 2004, Transport Canada released a comprehensive report on pedestrian fatalities and injuries, covering the 10 years from 1992 to 2001.

Pedestrian fatalities went down by an impressive 24 percent over the 10-year period. The biggest drop was among children nine years of age and under. Nonetheless, an average of one pedestrian is killed every day on Canadian roads. Seniors are still the most at risk — pedestrians 65 and over suffered a disproportionate number of deaths and injuries.

Almost 70 percent of fatalities and about 95 percent of injuries happened in urban areas. When a vehicle hits a pedestrian on a rural road the outcome is most likely to be fatal due to higher vehicle speeds.

Canada's aging population is of great concern.

In 77 percent of fatalities and 49 percent of injuries, no traffic control was present. For example, the victim may have been crossing between intersections, walking along the side of the road either against or with the traffic, or running out into or playing on the street.

Most pedestrian fatalities (80 percent) and the majority of injuries (57 percent) occurred while the vehicle was travelling straight ahead. Intersections were the most common location.

The statistics also revealed that there are more pedestrian injuries and fatalities in the latter part of the afternoon, and during the fall and

Continued on page 4.

Canada Safety Council

Pedestrians, from page 3.

early winter. The greatest number of fatalities occurred between 5:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m., while injuries peaked between 3:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. The worst months for fatalities were August to December. Injuries were most frequent in September to January. The report suggests this time-related profile is due to the shortening of daylight hours during the last three months of the year.

Alcohol is another significant factor in pedestrian fatalities. Of those who were tested for alcohol use, over 40 percent had been drinking. Most had blood alcohol concentrations over the legal driving limit (80 mg%). Alcohol was present in almost 30 percent of all pedestrian fatalities in 2001.

Based on its findings about pedestrian actions, the report recommends precautions highly reminiscent of Elmer the Safety Elephant's rules and CSC's See and Be Seen campaign with Alliance Tire Professionals:

- Wear bright or reflective clothing.
- Take more care in crossing at intersections with or without traffic controls.
- Avoid crossing where the pedestrian has no right of way.
- Avoid running into the road or playing on the road.
- Always walk against the traffic where there are no sidewalks.

Alcohol was present in almost 30 percent of all pedestrian fatalities

The report credits the drop in pedestrian deaths and injuries to greater awareness of road safety. It concludes that Canada's aging population is of great concern.

The safety of seniors crossing the street could be addressed through the medical community, discussed in a doctor/patient relationship or seniors' groups. City planners and traffic engineers should also consider the duration of walk signals in areas with a high concentration of seniors. Δ

Transport Canada Fact Sheet TP 2436E, RS-2004-01E, *Pedestrian Fatalities and Injuries, 1992-2001*, December 2004.

CSC#SC2 2005, by permission.

Appendix 4: Interview schedule

Interview questions – by topics

Introduction questions / background

What do you do for the CSC? How long have you been there?

What is the purpose or mission of the CSC? What does it do for Canadians?

What is the greatest activity the council does – what is the most important program?

How did the CSC begin?

Who was involved? I understand it was a coming together of various safety promotion organizations?

Founding principles?

Have the goals, mission and objectives of the CSC changed – were they different? How important are these goals to Canadians? In what ways are they still relevant to Canadians?

According to you and the CSC, who is ultimately responsible for traffic safety in Canada?

What is the relationship of the CSC to the federal government? Funding, Exchange of information

CSC policy setting / strategic planning

How does the CSC decide what issues are important to communicate to Canadians?

With regard to traffic safety?

What are some of the important traffic safety issues / greatest traffic safety risks for Canadians?

How have these issues changed over time?

What are the goals of the CSC in the area of traffic safety?

There are so many other organizations promoting traffic safety, including the government, where does the CSC fit? What approach/element does it bring to the table that other organizations do not?

What are some of the challenges the CSC faces?

How does the CSC best communicate with Canadians? Best ways?

Any different communication strategies with regard to traffic safety?

How do you ensure Canadians are exposed to your message? Communication research?

How does the CSC ensure its goals of reducing traffic safety injuries and death are achieved?

How do you achieve your objectives?

How do you verify that you have achieved your objectives?

Pedestrian and road safety

How do Canadians 'stay safe' on the roads? What would be the ideal safe driver?

What needs to be done to make roads safer for pedestrians? What are you working toward to improve road safety for pedestrians?

Who is the ideal pedestrian? What is the CSC teaching to Canadian pedestrians for them to remain safe?

Funding and connection to industry.

Where does the CSC fit in the landscape of traffic safety and prevention in Canada and internationally?

What are the primary sources of funding of the CSC?

Revenue from courses?

Subscription?

What is the CSC's relation to:

- the federal government?
- the TIRF
- other safety organizations?
- Industry.

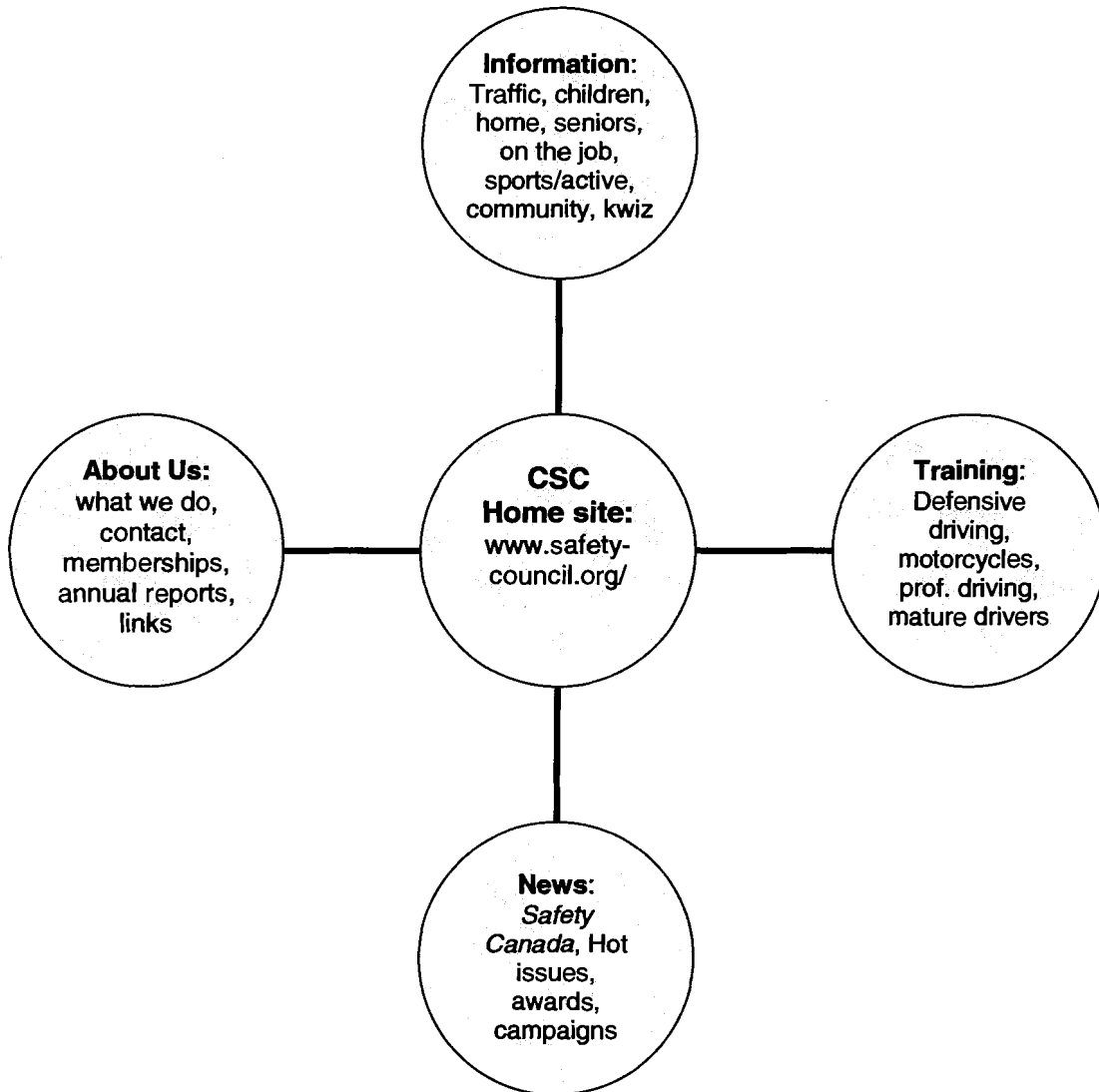
Which activities of the CSC require the most funding?

Produce the most revenue?

Anything else you think I should know? – Anything else you would like to discuss?

Appendix 5: Schema of the architecture of the Canada Safety Council's website

The CSC's elaborate website contains most publications and communications from the CSC with the exception of articles from the magazine *Living Safety*. The section 'About us' links to administrative and organizational information about the CSC. The section 'Information' contains educational material on various topics. It is within this section that I found most documents promoting pedestrian safety to Canadians. The section 'News' contains the newsletter, news releases and public awareness campaigns and was useful in better understanding the position of the CSC on various current issues. The 'Training' section links to information about the various CSC certified programs which can be offered through cooperating organizations.



Appendix 6: Research questions and associated methods

Within the broader socio-economic and political context, how does the CSC currently construct Canadian pedestrians as risk managers?		
Research Questions	Data Sources and Methods	Justification
1. With regard to traffic and pedestrian safety, what risks does the CSC identify? What solutions does it propose? How are these solutions and advice promoted?	Documentary analysis. Interview with CSC representative. Critical discourse analysis. Analysis of which risks the CSC identifies and defines as threatening to pedestrians. Analysis of how the CSC promotes pedestrian safety and the advice or tips it determines as adequately addressing the threats it identifies.	Allows for a determination of how the CSC defines risks to pedestrians and solutions to those risks within the 'system' of automobility. Allows for an examination of the solutions and the practices and discourses the CSC uses to promote safety or otherwise address pedestrian risks (if applicable).
2. With regard to pedestrians, how does the Canada Safety Council construct pedestrian risks, accidents, safety, and the role Canadians can play in addressing those?	Documentary analysis. Interview with CSC representative. Critical discourse analysis.	This allows understanding of how the CSC conceptualizes pedestrian risk, accidents, and safety. Also addresses: who is this 'pedestrians' and what are the assumptions about its construction. Is it a monolithic entity? Are there silences? Omissions? Assumptions?
3. Where does the Canada Safety Council's construction of traffic and pedestrian risks fit in the neoliberal context and what are some of the implications for risk management?	Documentary analysis. Review of the literature on neoliberal policies. Comparison with other constructions (risk management in other contexts, health promotion).	Allows for an examination of whether the wider political economic context within which the council operates is reflected within the discourse(s) adopted.
4. Who is implicated, financially supporting, or influencing the Canada Safety Council and what is the nature of their interests?	Documentary analysis Interview Network analysis / search through Lobbyist Registry	A content analysis examines who is involved in supporting the website/council and what are their relative interests. Determining where members of the Board of Directors' affiliation lie within the 'system' of automobility.
5. What interests are best served by the Canada Safety Council's construction of pedestrian & traffic risks, safety and proper risk management?	Documentary analysis Theorizing	What particular frames, discourses of traffic safety benefit which interests? Are there silences?

APPROVAL

Name: Lucie Vallières
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: Disciplining pedestrians? A critical analysis of traffic safety discourses

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Date Defended/Approved:

September 26, 2006

Appendix 7: Sponsors of the Canada Safety Council

Canada Safety Council Supporters		2001-2004	
Donors	Type ³³	Type of donations ³²	
		Sponsorship & Special Contributions	Endowment Members
		Interest ³⁴	Sustaining Members
Affiliated Computer Services Inc. (ACS)	Technologies	?	2002-2003
Agriculture and Agri-food Canada	Government	n	2002-2003
Air Canada	Air Transportation	n	2002-2003
Air Liquide Canada Inc	Dangerous Goods	?	2002-2003-2004
Allstate Foundation of Canada	Insurance	y	2002
Association of Canadian Distillers	Alcohol	y	2002
Bank of Nova Scotia	Unrelated	n	2002-2003
Brewers' Association of Canada	Alcohol	y	2002-2003-2004
Bridgestone/Firestone Canada Inc.	Vehicle Manufacture	y	2002-2003-2004
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation	Financial / Insurance	n	2002
Canadian All-Terrain Vehicle Distributors Council	Automobility	y	2002-2003-2004
Canadian Child Care Federation	Non Profit	n	2003
Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, CIBC	Financial / Insurance	n	2002-2003-2004
Canadian Restaurant and Foodservice Ass.	Alcohol	n	2002

³² These distinctions between the types of donors are from the annual reports. The year indicates the year in which the donation is reported. Endowment Members are those organizations which donate more than \$5,000 and Sustaining Members donate between \$1,000 and \$4,999. Regular members are those organizations which contribute an annual membership fee of a minimum of \$250 but less than \$1,000. Associate Members shall be non-profit, non-government provincial and municipal safety councils or leagues from which no financial support or fee is needed. Individual members contribute a fee of \$50 (CSC# 1997, 7).

³³ These categories were established to help make sense of the donors and to place them in the context of their position in the system of automobility. The category 'automobility' denotes petroleum, car manufacturers, chemical and other part/products related to automobility. The 'alcohol' category comprises industries or associations with an interest in hospitality industries, they are brewers and distillers and well as food services associations. 'Government' includes all levels of government. 'Financial / Insurance' category include insurance companies, including public insurance companies. 'Cellular and communication' include companies with a stake in cellular phones and other communications.

³⁴ This column is meant to provide guidance on whether the donors have a direct economic interest in preserving intact the system of automobility.

Canada Safety Council Supporters		2001-2004	Type of donations ³²		
Donors	Type ³³	Interest ³⁴	Sponsorship & Special Contributions	Endowment	Sustaining Members
Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Ass.	Cellular and comm.	?	2002-2003		
The Co-operators Group Limited	Financial / Insurance	y	2002-2004		2002-2003-2004
Diageo Canada Inc.	?	?			2002-2003-2004
Driving School Association of Canada	Training & Education	y	2002		
DuPont Canada Inc	Automobility	?			2003
Fred Deely Foundation	Non Profit	?	2002-2003		
General Motors of Canada	Automobility	y		2002-2003-2004	
Gouvernement of Manitoba	Government	y			2002
Health Canada	Government	y	2002-2003-2004		
Hellen Moore	Non Profit	?	2004		
Imperial Oil Foundation	Automobility	y	2003-2004		
Insurance Bureau of Canada	Financial / Insurance	y	2002	2002-2003-2004	2002
Insurance Corporation of British Columbia	Financial / Insurance	y			
Justice Canada (Ntl Strategy on Comm. Safety and Crime Prev.)	Financial / Insurance	y			
Labatt Breweries of Canada	Government	y	2002		
Liberty Mutual Insurance Company	Alcohol	y	2002		
Manitoba Public Insurance Corporation	Financial / Insurance	y	2002-2003		
Manitoba Transportation and Government Services	Financial / Insurance	y			2002-2003-2004
Michelin North America (Canada) Inc.	Government	y			2003-2004
Motorcycle & Moped Industry Council	Automobility	y	2003-2004		
Ontario Ministry of Transportation	Automobility	y	2002-2003-2004		
Operation Lifesaver	Government	y		2002-2003	
PPG Canada Inc.	Non Profit	?	2003-2004		
Propane Gas Association of Canada	?	?			2002-2003-2004
Railway Association of Canada	Automobility	y	2003		
Royal Bank of Canada Foundation	?	?		2002-2003-2004	
Rogers Cantel Inc	Financial / Insurance	?			2002-2003-2004
Rogers Wireless	Cellular and comm.	?			2002
	Cellular and comm.	?			2003-2004

Canada Safety Council Supporters		2001-2004		Type of donations ³²		
Donors	Type ³³	Interest ³⁴	Sponsorship & Special Contributions	Endowment Members	Sustaining Members	
Royal and Sun Alliance Insurance Company of Canada	Financial / Insurance	Y			2002-2003-2004	
Saskatchewan Government Insurance	Financial / Insurance	Y	2002			
Scotiabank	Financial / Insurance	?			2003-2004	
Shell Canada Limited	Automobility	Y			2002-2003	
Spirits Canada	Alcohol	Y			2004	
TheSteelAlliance	Automobility	Y	2002-2003			
Stewart Moore Endowment for Traffic Safety	Non Profit	Y	2002-2003			
Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada	Financial / Insurance	Y			2003-2004	
Therien, Elizabeth	?	?	2003			
Transport Canada	Government	Y				
Wabtec Corporation	?	?	2004		2002-2003-2004	

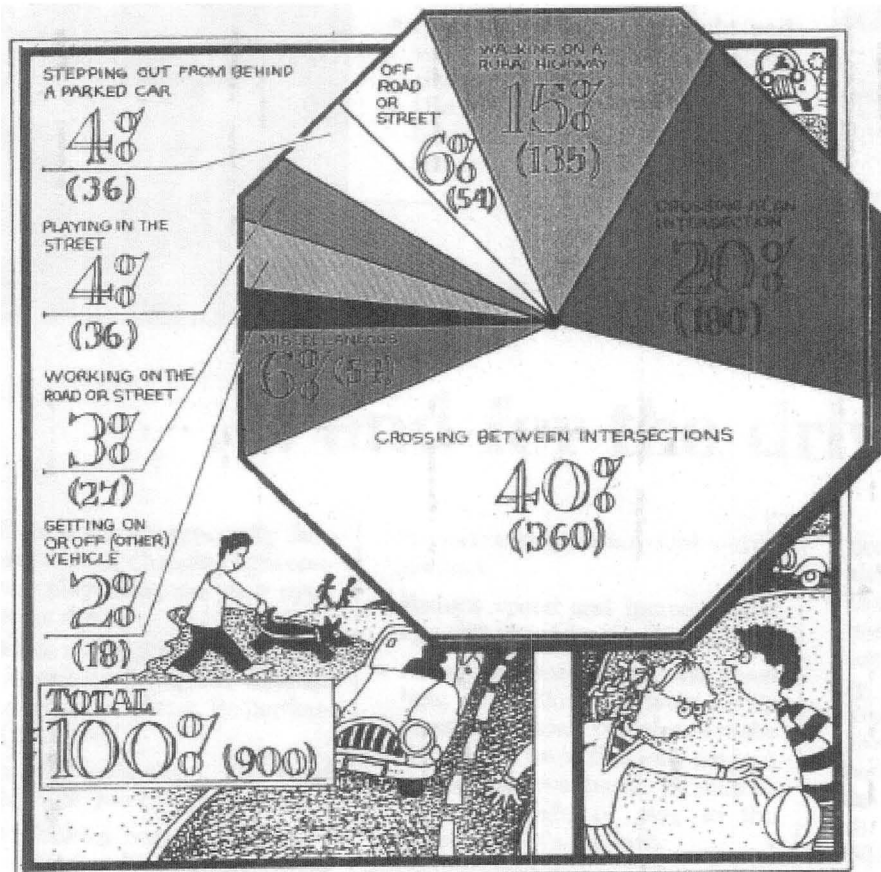
Appendix 8: Canada Safety Council's national public awareness campaigns

National Public Awareness Campaigns (2005)

- National Farm Safety Week (March 14 to 20)
- National Summer Safety Week (May 1 to 7)
- National Road Safety Week (May 17 to 23)
- National School Safety Week (October 17 to 23)
- National Community Safety and Crime Prevention Campaign (November)
- National Senior's Safety Week (November 6 to 12)
- National Home Fire Safety Week (November 24 to 30)
- National Safe Driving Week (December 1 to 7)

(Source Canada Safety Council Website, 2005)

Appendix 9: Figure from *Living Safety*



Shown above are the actions of pedestrians which resulted in automobile-related deaths in 1983.

(CSC#LS6 1984, 24 by permission)

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