LUND UNIVERSITY

Ephemeral selves

A semiotic cultural analysis of a Swedish bicycle helmet campaign

Robin Öberg

Master of Applied Cultural Analysis
Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences
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Supervisor
Jessica Enevold

Abstract – English

Ephemeral Selves: A Semiotic Cultural Analysis Of A Swedish Bicycle Helmet Campaign
Robin Öberg

In 2014, Lund municipality in Sweden handed out 830 bicycle helmets for free. Such governance campaigns are commonplace in Sweden, yet no campaign has ever been evaluated. There are two research aims to this thesis. First, to evaluate how many of the 830 cyclists actually wear the bicycle helmets that they received. Second, to gain insight into why some cyclists choose to wear the helmet that they received, and why some choose to not wear the helmet that they received. The research purpose is to look at why these cyclists choose to become helmet-wearing or helmet-free, and use that to attain a deeper understanding of ephemeral selves. Two research questions are answered to reach the aims, one quantitative and one qualitative. This leads to a mixed-methods perspective, where a survey complements subsequent in-depth interviewing. Questionnaires were sent via post and the online service Webropol, in order to answer different questions regarding the helmet-usage. The response rate was over 50%, and it was found, among other things, that over 70% of the helmets were still in use at the time of the survey. The detailed results of this quantitative survey were used to find representatives to interview. 3 separate in-depth interviews were then performed to gain insight into why some would choose to (not) wear the helmet. These one hour long interviews were coded and analysed using the author's take on C.S. Peirce's semiotics. A model is presented, with helmet-wearing and helmet-free cyclists as two ephemeral selves. It is shown that while some cyclists choose to wear the helmet because they want to be associated with what helmet-wearing signifies, some cyclists choose to actively abstain from the helmet because they would rather want to be associated with what it signifies to be a helmet-free cyclist. The research findings of the ephemeral selves, is shown to have academic significance as well as relevance to applied research. Having used applied cultural analysis in this case has not only facilitated an academic explication upon the socio-cultural phenomenon and analytical category of ephemeral selves, it has also enabled for further insight into end-user behaviour for municipalities, NGOs, state ministries, private companies, and other stakeholders of governance and policy design.

Keywords: Applied Cultural Analysis; Bicycle Helmets; C.S. Peirce; Cultural Anthropology; Ephemeral Selves; European Ethnology; Evaluation; Governance; MACA; Marketing; Material Culture; Materiality; Mixed-Methods Approach; Performance; Policy; Semiotics; Social Self; SPSS; Statistics; Traffic Safety Campaign; Qualitative Insight

Abstract – Svenska

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Under 2014 så delade Lunds kommun ut 830 gratis cykelhjälmar. Sådana styrande kampanjer är vanliga i Sverige, ändå har ingen kampanj någonsin blivit utvärderad. Syftet med denna uppsats är tvådelad. Först, att utvärdera hur många av de 830 cyklisterna som faktiskt bär hjälmen som de blev tilldelade. Sedan, att nå insikt om varför vissa cyklister väljer att bära hjälmen och varför andra väljer att inte bära hjälmen. Målet med uppsatsen är att se på varför dessa cyklister väljer att bli hjälmbärare eller hjälmfria, för att nå en djupare förståelse kring efemära själv. Två forskningsfrågor besvaras för att uppfylla syftet, en kvantitativ och en kvalitativ. Detta leder till ett perspektiv med blandad metodologi, där en enkätundersökning kompletterar djupintervjuande. Frågeformulären skickades via post och onlinetjänsten Webropol, för att besvara olika frågor kring hjälmanvändande. Svarsfrekvensen var över 50%, och det visade sig, bland annat, att över 70% av hjälmarna var fortfarande i användning då enkätundersökningen genomfördes. De detaljerade resultaten från enkätundersökningen användes för att finna representanter att intervjua. 3 separata djupintervjuer utfördes för att nå insikt om varför vissa väljer att (inte) använda hjälmen. De entimmeslånga intervjuerna analyserades med författarens tolkning av C.S. Peirces semiotik. En modell över hjälmbärande och hjälmfria cyklister presenteras, för att beskriva de två efemära själven funna genom denna studie. Vissa människor väljer att bära hjälmen för att de vill bli associerade med vad hjälmbärande betyder, medan vissa människor väljer att avstå från att bära hjälmen för att de hellre vill bli associerade med vad det betyder att vara en hjälmfri cyklist. Forskningsfyndet av de efemära själven visar sig ha både stor akademisk betydelse och relevans för tillämpad forskning. Att ha använt tillämpad kulturanalys i denna fallstudie har inte bara inbegripit en akademisk utforskning utav det socio-kulturella fenomenet och den analytiska kategorin efemära själv, utan det har också möjliggjort för vidare insikt av användarbeteende för kommuner, organisationer, statliga verk, privata företag, och andra intressenter av utformning utav styrmedel och riktlinjer.

Nyckelord: Blandad Metodologi; C.S. Peirce; Cykelhjälmar; Efemära Själv; Europeisk Etnologi; Kvalitativ Insikt; Kulturantropologi; MACA; Marknadsföring; Materiell Kultur; Materialitet; Riktlinjer; Semiotik; Socialt Själv; SPSS; Statistik; Styrmedel; Tillämpad Kulturanalys; Trafiksäkerhetskampanjer; Uppträdande;

Preface

This text is the result of a master thesis course at the programme of Master of Applied Cultural Analysis. The MACA programme is a joint effort between the European Ethnology department at Lund University in Sweden, and the department of Anthropology at Copenhagen University in Denmark. The MACA programme teaches students how to apply theory and methodology from both the social sciences as well as the humanities, by the active engagement with clients in real work-life conditions.

The semester before the thesis course is when the students are supposed to do their internships, working for clients and getting empirical material for their theses. I was unable to do this due to lack of funds, and so I was forced to gain my work-life experience at the same time as I was writing the thesis. Even though this was taken into account and planned for, it turned out that keeping to the scope and timeframe was impossible, not because of anything on my part, but simply because the quantitative research data took too long to come into my possession.

The printing, the packing, and the mailing of the questionnaires took longer than promised. Almost all of the respondents went over the deadline for responding. The scanning company took longer than they promised. By the time I had the data, it was only one week left of the semester and I still had to do all the analysing in SPSS. I had done most of the qualitative work already, and everything was prepared to go into the thesis as soon as the quantitative analysis was finished. Even this was a valuable experience in terms of how projects can pan out when working for clients in a work-life situation, the changed timeline of the thesis was out of my hands, and I was forced to continue working on the thesis over the summer break.

Aside from all those methodological issues, I have had a very good time writing this thesis. It was the first time I ever employed this kind of semiotics, and it was the third time I used SPSS in a practical application. The PowerPoint-aided presentation that I held for the municipality and the NGO also went very well, where I spoke for almost 2½ hours, happily answering all the questions they had about my research. They were so happy with my work that I received signed references and accolades.

I hope the reader will enjoy reading this thesis as much as I have writing it.

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Helena Ensegård at the NGO Miljöbron also deserves mention, because I would never been put in contact with the Lund Municipality without her. The project itself was posted via Miljöbron. Her advice as well as optimism has also been an important asset.

I also want to thank my academic peers, Ashlen Lenisco, Wentong Cai (蔡闻桐), and Ida Burguete Holmgren, for providing much needed feedback during the review process. The 'royal we' should now be nowhere to be seen.

Last but not least I want to extend a thank you to my partner Laura Nieuwenhoven, for her daily support, and for pushing me to put in more work on this thesis. It would not have been nearly as much fun without you.

Thank you all
//Robin Öberg
Lund, 2015

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List of abbreviations and definitions

Control group	In this case, the respondents that did not receive a bicycle helmet.
Ephemeral	Something which is impermanent, brief, and fleeting.
n	Number of respondents, the sample size.
Helmet-free cyclist	The praxis of having actively chosen to abstain from wearing a helmet, while being situated on a bicycle
Helmet-wearer & Helmet-wearing	The praxis of having actively chosen to wear a helmet, while being situated on a bicycle
Independent & dependent variables	Dependent variables change depending on the independent variables. For instance, maybe helmet usage change depending on the age of the respondents.
MACA	Master of Applied Cultural Analysis, a joint education programme coordinated by the ethnological departments at Copenhagen University and Lund University
Respondents	Persons who actually answered the survey.
Self	What you are presented as being. Human, cyclist, helmet-wearer.
Sample	In this case, the respondents that received a bicycle helmet.
Specific difference	The difference between the sample and the control group.
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (at this time owned by IBM).
Statistical significance	The probability that the specific difference was not due to chance.

> "I took the bicycle helmet because I was planning on using it myself, some weeks here and there. But then I used the helmet less and less. In the end, the helmet was just lying there, on the hat rack in the hallway at home."
>
> //Helmet-receiver

1 Lund, bicycle helmets, and signs

1.1 Lund municipality and the bicycle helmet campaign

The field chosen for this thesis is delineated foremost to the municipality of Lund in the south of Sweden. Lund was at the beginning of the year 2015 populated by ~116000 people (Kommunkontoret, 2015). Lund city is one of the most cyclist dense places in the world, with up to 43% choosing the bicycle as their main mode of transport for daily activities, to compare with 40% in Amsterdam NL, 37% in Copenhagen DK, 32% in Beijing CH, and 6.1% in Portland US (Swan, 2014). This motivates the local municipality in Lund to be a major stakeholder in the safety of the cyclists, which can be seen in the amount of resources spent on the cyclists. In the year 2013, Lund municipality had 2.4 kilometre of bike road per capita, which is well over the national average. In the same year, Lund municipality invested 448 SEK per capita [~54 USD per person, at that time's currency conversion rate] on the construction and maintenance of the bicycle roads, which is almost double compared to the average of 250 SEK at the national level. For investments on bicycle information and campaigns in the same year, Lund municipality spent 3.7 SEK per person, to compare with the national average of 3.5 SEK per person. (Gorjifar, Forsberg, & Zajc, 2014)

One of the campaigns that Lund municipality had active throughout the year of 2014, was one where bicycle helmets were handed out for free to only non-helmet-wearing cyclists. 830 persons chose to stop, listen to the co-workers from the municipality, and receive a helmet. They were all given information about them possibly being contacted about this very evaluation in the nearby future, and still made the choice of giving up their personal contact details in exchange for the helmet. A few of them, maybe around 10 persons, I do no remember the exact figure, gave fake contact details. This, it was told to me during my designing the survey, was deemed acceptable due to the fact that at least then the helmets got out into the public, and maybe used by someone. Of course there is no way of knowing, but maybe it is not incorrect to assume that someone would not go through the effort of stopping and listening to

a co-worker and writing down fake contact details in exchange for a helmet if they had no intention of someone eventually using the helmet.

In the year after, when the campaign was finished, in January of 2015 to be more precise, that was when I was asked by the non-governmental organisation Miljöbron to perform an evaluation of the campaign. They were the first ones to give me the information about the bicycle helmet campaign. Miljöbron, which in a literal translation means 'the environmental bridge', is a small organisation funded mainly by municipalities in southern Sweden and eastern Denmark, two landmasses connected by the Öresund bridge. The volunteers at Miljöbron work to help students get into contact with clients, giving the students work-life experiences in applied settings, while the clients get eager students performing professional analyses for them. I was told at the introductory meeting that most of the students coming into contact with Miljöbron are engineering students at technical high schools, and most of the projects have a theme related to environmental or sustainable issues. Miljöbron could be seen as a kind of lobby organisation, in that they get funding for sustaining their organisation, which is about supporting students with some form of environmental or sustainability agenda connected to their theses. This was one reason why I in the survey I designed, made at least a small effort to make an exploratory investigation into whether 'concern for the environment' was a factor in the cyclists choosing to wear or not to wear their helmets. More on that in sections 3.2 and 4.1 in this thesis. I was told by Miljöbron after I presented the results of this thesis, that it was no problem that I could not find a correlation between the helmet-wearing and environmental issues, considering that they did not expect to see bicycle helmets having any direct connection to the environment. Miljöbron said that the work that I had done was rewarding for them and their organisation anyway, because they could use it to apply for more funding in the future.

Miljöbron had in turn been given the assignment of evaluating the bicycle campaign, by the Technical Services Committee at Lund Municipality, so it was eventually the municipality that I was directly answerable to. The municipality gave me all the details about the bicycle helmet campaign, some of which I had already been informed about by Miljöbron, but a lot of it which was unknown to Miljöbron as well. As I found out when I first visited the municipality concerning this project, Miljöbron had only been given enough information to fit circa 1-2 A4 pages. I could derive at this conclusion because Miljöbron could not tell me anything aside from what was written on the one sheet of paper they had been given by Lund

municipality. For example, it was not until I visited the municipality concerning this project, that I was given the information that an evaluation like this has never been performed before. This information was later substantiated by my literature searches as well, as can be seen in section 1.7 of this thesis. Considering that an evaluation on bicycle helmet campaigns have never been conducted before, I think that the practical applicability of the cultural analysis in a thesis like this, should be valuable both for Lund municipalities as well as for other traffic safety conscious organisations.

1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to look closer at why some recipients of free bicycle helmets choose to (not) wear their helmets, and then to use that as a window into increasing the understanding of how the (non-)helmet-wearing cyclists can constitute what later in the thesis is referred to as ephemeral selves. In short, I am with this thesis partly attempting to create a scientific theory that extends upon the current research on selves, by presenting the idea of a short-lived kind of self.

Photograph 1: One of the helmets from the campaign, shown to informants during interviews. This photograph can serve as an iconic sign of the research topic of this thesis, which is the wearing or not wearing of bicycle helmets. The photograph was taken by me, the author of this thesis.

Because part of the purpose of this thesis is to conceptualise and present the idea of ephemeral selves, the term of ephemeral selves cannot be defined at the beginning of the thesis. Instead, those research findings are presented at the end of the thesis.

1.3 Two research questions

In order to evaluate the success of the helmet campaign, what Lund municipality wanted to know was simply this; *do people actually wear the helmets that they've been given, in other words, did the campaign work?*

To fully understand what this query entails, it is necessary to first conduct an operationalisation of the terms. An operationalisation is the process of defining the variables and operators in the research question, so that readers and clients understand the question in the same way that the researcher does (Jonker & Pennink, 2010; Sarantakos, 1993:46), in other words, what do I mean when I write "people", how do I know it when I see it? I double-checked these things with my contact at the municipality, seconds after I was given the query, and now the reader also needs to know, for the thesis to make sense for everyone involved. Chapter 2 operationalises theoretical terminology through problematisation, mainly in relation to the second research question, but in this section of the thesis, what first need to be operationalised are the key variables for the first research question. To this end, the first variable that needs to be operationalised is "people", then the variable "helmets", and lastly the operator "work":

The "people" can be said to be persons over 15 years old, because from the 1st of January 2005, it is illegal in the country of Sweden for children under 15 years old to be on a moving bicycle without wearing a helmet (Andersson & Vedung, 2014:27). Because children under 15 years old are minors in the eyes of the law, they do not get punished by the law enforcement if they are caught cycling without wearing a helmet, but parents or other persons over 15 years old will be punished if they wilfully let a person under 15 years old ride on a bicycle without wearing a helmet (SollentunaKommun, 2015).

Furthermore, the "people" in the query are not only over 15 years old, they are also persons who cycled without a helmet, because the co-workers from Lund municipality did not offer helmets to cyclists already wearing helmets. The "people" were also cyclists that cycled on the randomly chosen bicycle path where the co-workers from Lund municipality chose to stand at that particular instance. This is so, because the co-workers from Lund Municipality

stood on bicycle paths where they knew from personal experience that there are many cyclists coming by at that time of the day. One such location was the town square, between 12 AM and 1 PM. I did not make a list of all the places and times they handed out the helmets, as I deemed it unnecessary for this study. The sampling was performed using the information that the cyclists gave, looking at whether or not they lived within Lund Municipality. This operationalising of the term “people” helped create a semi-random sample for this thesis, before the empirical data collection process was underway. More information on the sampling can be found in section 3.2 in this thesis.

Operationalising further, the “helmets” in the query are bicycle helmets given to Lund municipality by surplus sponsors. They are helmets of various sizes, in different colours and shapes. Red, blue, yellow, and maybe other colours, I did not see all of them myself and my client could not recall the shapes and colours of the different batches involved. A photograph of a helmet that I received, can be found further up in this thesis. I chose to receive a helmet myself, because I did not own one when I was given this evaluation project, and I thought it would be a good idea to be representable to the public and to my future informants. It did not feel like good taste to perform an evaluation on a bicycle campaign, and not be wearing a helmet myself. I had not worn a helmet since I was very young, maybe when I was 6 to 10 years old. I remember it being a purple and green helmet, and I received it from my parents together with my first bicycle, a red and white BMX bicycle with images of Spider-man and The Hulk on it. I grew up in the countryside, cycling on the single lane road to and from school. I think they would call it ‘free-range’ parenting today, or laissez faire parenting, because I was left to cycle on my own in traffic at a rather young ago, but where I grew up, those 30 years ago, this was a normal relationship towards cycling safety. Once the helmet had too many cracks in it, I stopped using it, and I have no used a helmet since. It was just not something that people in my vicinity did. Helmets were only for those sports cyclists that cycled in groups around the island where I grew up, taking up the entire road space, making my father angry as he could not pass them with his large American 1961 Chrysler Windsor.

Finally, I also asked Lund municipality how they define whether or not the campaign “worked”, and I was given the answer by Anders Söderberg, my main contact and the person in charge of bicycle safety at Lund Municipality, that if at least 50% of the helmet-recipients wear the helmets that they have been given, then it can be said that the campaign “worked”.

I accepted to take on the task of answering this query, with the addendum that I could also ask the question 'why'. This felt like a key-issue to me, because simply answering how many persons that are wearing their helmets did not appeal to me as a student at the programme Master of Applied Cultural Analysis. At the MACA programme I was taught to think outside the box, and to present clients with alternative and creative ways of looking at familiar issues, or as this description of 'cultural analysis' so aptly puts it:

> The adoption of a cultural analysis paradigm or perspective presupposes a belief in the explanatory power of culture and cultural activity. That is, it places considerable importance on the meaningfulness of the production and reproduction of culture and cultural artefacts in the course of everyday human social life. (McLaughlin E., 2003:62)

I speculate that students are taught see the familiar in an unfamiliar way, because the MACA programme is the closest thing to a master-programme in European Ethnology at Lund and Copenhagen Universities; There is a tradition within European Ethnology to teach students to think outside the box using different techniques. One such technique is known as perspectivation, or "perspektifiering" in Swedish (Löfgren & Ehn, 1982). Perspectivation entails a continuous changing between different levels of thinking, such as abstract/concrete, society/individual, history/present (Jönsson, 2000). In addition, the perspectivation technique is often employed with a metaphorical searchlight. The searchlight is a metaphor that is used to teach students to be open to insight coming from different empirical data sources, acquired using different methodologies, and analysed using different theories. This process leads to a more nuanced view of reality, which enables the exotification of what might otherwise be brushed off under the guise of normal everyday life (Löfgren & Ehn, 1996:86). This tradition of thinking outside the box, and coming up with new creative ideas, is something which often necessitates a qualitative approach, or, a cultural approach. In short, the expertise of an applied cultural analyst, is to apply a qualitative approach to find and present the client with an unfamiliar view of a familiar cultural phenomenon. I decided that this was essential for my case, partly because of my academic training, but mainly because of my client's extensive background knowledge of bicycle helmet campaigns. It was for this reason that I felt myself justifiably compelled to amend the assignment by the addendum of this follow-up question; *why do some bicyclists in Lund choose to (not) wear the helmet that they received for free?*

The second research question has already been operationalised, because the particular cyclists, Lund itself, as well as the helmet, have all already been introduced to the reader. As the two research questions have now been presented and operationalised, the way I choose to go from here is to see how the nature of the research questions affect the subsequent methodology.

1.4 Mixed-methods approach

First off, I wish to mention that due to the nature of the research questions at hand, this study employs a synchronic perspective rather than a diachronic perspective (Liao, 2004:1109). This means that the empirical material and the subsequent analyses are not only specific to a culture in a specific geographical region, but also that the material and analyses are specific to the specific timeframe of the year of 2014. How helmet-receipients would respond to a survey and in-depth interview, before or after the year of 2014, is outside of the scope of this thesis to answer. However, this is not to the detriment of this thesis, as the purpose the thesis is not bound to a historical process. Because aim of the research questions in this thesis is to first present an evaluation of a specific helmet campaign, and then to use the results of that evaluation to increase the understanding of the concept of ephemeral selves, I judge that there is no need for a diachronic perspective.

To continue further on the nature of the research questions, I will now use it to justify the choice of a mixed-methods approach (Flick, 2006:389-390); Because it is good science to let the nature of the research questions decide the methods (Wisker, 2007:Chapter 8), this thesis applies a mixed-methods approach in order to answer the posed questions. The specific mixed-methods approach in this case, begins by the application of a quantitative method in order to answer the question of how many actually used the helmet. This quantitative method was performed via a questionnaire that I designed and sent to the persons who received a helmet, as well as to a smaller control group. The data retrieved from this questionnaire was then analysed using the statistical software SPSS, in order to find any correlations between different variables. I attempted to employ as broad a spectrum of variables as possible, in order to catch any unknown but still significant correlations. This way, the quantitative analysis formed a segmentation of the bicyclists in Lund municipality, creating groups from which I chose random representatives to perform in-depth interviews with. This enabled the quantitative method to organically connect to the qualitative part of the thesis, which ultimately

attempts to the answer why some people choose to wear the helmet while others do not, hopefully elucidating upon the specific ephemeral selves that this thesis set out to develop and understand.

To me personally, the methodology involving the mixing of methods was substantiated as a legitimate approach used by cultural analysts, when my MACA class had a lecture on the 27th of November 2013, entitled "Mixing methods, tasting fingers", presented by Andréa Wiszmeg, PhD student in Ethnology. Specifically, which is something that I think justifies the choice of a mixed-methods approach in this thesis, the lecture presented support for the notion that the mixing of methods is especially helpful at elucidating the meaning-creating context behind cultural phenomena: "Experimentally generated facts always depend on interventions that, involving artifact, are literally artificial." (Mann, Mol, Satalkar, et al, 2011:238)

I choose to employ a mixed-methods approach (Flick, 2006:389-390) in this thesis, because of the two reasons already hinted at; The first reason for choosing a mixed-methods approach pertains to the fact that the nature of each research question decides which kind of method with which it is more suitable to answer. In short, it is a matter of epistemology. Epistemology being the philosophy of science behind how to properly acquire information. For example, it would maybe not be a good idea to attempt to use a quantitative method such as a survey, in order to answer why a cyclist would choose to wear its helmet, because an intention or a motivation is not quantifiable. If I were to ask 'how much do you like the helmet?' and the person would answer '7.', then I do not think that that would be useful to me or a potential client. Conversely, it would maybe not be a good idea to use a qualitative method such as in-depth interviews to answer how many of the helmet-recipients wore their helmets regularly. If I were to ask 830 persons about their childhood experiences related to cycling, just to answer a simple yes-or-no question, then I would maybe still to this day be interviewing them. It would just not be very practical approach either way, both in terms of time-constraints as well as in terms of scientific validity. A high scientific validity indicating that the method answers the correct research question at all. The justification for the mixed-methods approach, is here then, that a non-mixed methods approach would be unable to answer the research questions at hand, as the aforementioned hypothetical examples should substantiate.

The second reason I employ a mixed-methods approach, is also because of practical reasons. I would not know whom to perform the in-depth interviews with, if I did not have the quantitative material from the questionnaires to guide me. In this fashion, the mixed-methods

approach could be likened to a metaphorical two-step rocket; The two methods went hand-in-hand, methodologically speaking. Without the questionnaires, I could not do the interviews. The quantitative survey gave me the sampling I needed to perform the in-depth interviews, and I needed the results of the analyses of the in-depth interviews in order to answer the second research question. The two methods tie in together, and that is why I choose to employ a mixed-methods approach.

More information about the mixed-methods approach will be presented in section 3.1 of this thesis. The following three sub-headings will introduce the research topic of bicycle helmets a little bit more closely, by separating it from similar topics.

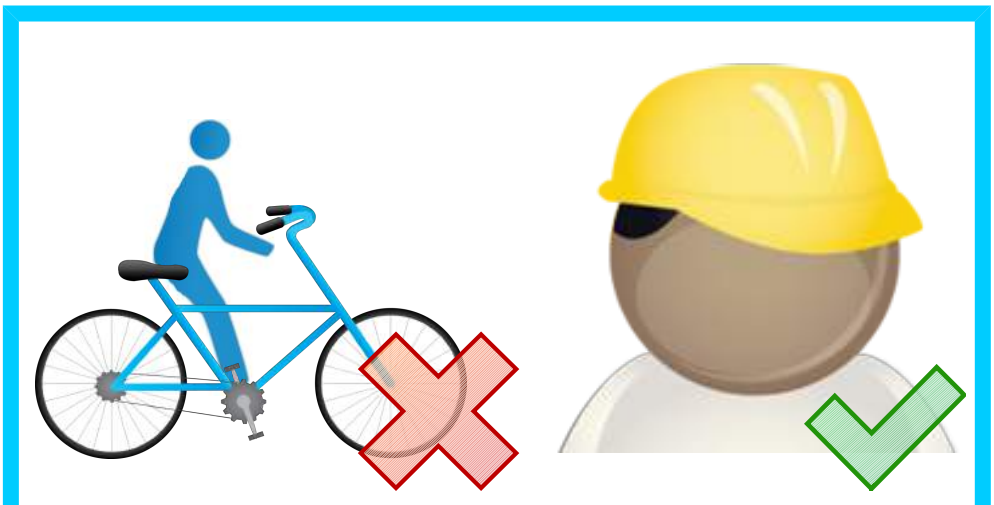
1.5 Delineating the research topic

In this section it might be a good idea for me to pre-emptively say a few words about what this thesis is not about. This is something that I felt was necessary to make clear, when I spoke to people during the writing of this thesis, and so I think that it might be necessary to put it down in writing in the thesis itself. While I think that section 1.7 of this thesis does describe the topic quite well as well, via short literature reviews, but I will take the opportunity to describe what the research topic is not, in this section that aims to present the research topic to the reader.

First off, this thesis is not about cycling in general. Neither is it about cyclists in general. Instead, as Visualisation 1 shows (made by author, using LibreOffice clip-art under GNU licenses), the research topic is specifically about the wearing or not wearing of bicycle helmets, and the subsequent reasons for why one could choose to wear or not wear a bicycle helmet. Because this thesis is not about cycling or cyclists in general, this thesis will not go into too much detail on those two relatively related subjects. Cycling and cyclists in general are here instead considered to be worthy of their own topics of research.

This thesis will also not be looking closer at person or personhood, as that would be too closely associated with an individual's personality, and that would maybe be a more suitable topic from a psychological point of departure. As one definition clearly states in *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, person is "the personality of a human being" (Merriam-Webster, 2009). This thesis is not looking at bicycle helmet wearing as a question of personality, as that would not in line with the purpose of the thesis. Instead this thesis takes a semiotic

point of departure, for reasons made more explicit under the next sub-heading, as well as in chapter 2.



Visualisation 1: The research focus is primarily on bicycle helmets

Similarly, one might consider issues of identity to be an interesting topic to research concerning helmet wearers, and maybe look at how bicycle helmets in general enables a group identity for the wearer, but that would not be related to the research purpose of this thesis. This thesis does not look at helmet wearing identity or cycling identity or any other identity. To do so would not be within the scope of this thesis, as issues of identity does not pertain to the purpose of this thesis, nor does it pertain to the research questions of this thesis. In other words, it would not help conceive of the concept of ephemeral selves, to digress into the concepts of person or identity.

Now that this short delineation of the topic has been presented, the following section will briefly introduce the concepts of culture and semiotics.

1.6 The concepts of culture and semiotics

Because this thesis applies a semiotic cultural analysis, it is necessary define what is meant in this thesis when something is here labelled as cultural. The working-definition of culture, applied in this thesis, follows closely Clifford Geertz' definition of culture as a semiotic concept:

> Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance that he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical. (Geertz, 1973)

I take this quote as Geertz saying that the aggregated symbolic actions of social beings is what culture itself is. Even if this would be an incorrect interpretation of Geertz on my part, this is nonetheless how I have chosen to define culture in this thesis. Following this definition of culture, it would mean that choosing to wear or not wear a helmet is at least in part a socio-culturally communicated sign that represents something to the persons within the culture that the persons find themselves in.

The premise that the wearing of bicycle helmets is at least in part something socio-cultural, is my main justification for choosing to understand the empirical material using Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotics as the main theoretical framework. I choose Peirce's semiotics because it was specifically created to increase understanding about signs, which is what might make it suitable to use to analyse the insider's perspective about the signs that helmet wearing cyclists constitute. (Thomas N. Headland, 2004).

Even though it is not essential to the research topic, I feel compelled to mention to the reader that I make a distinction between phenomena that are social and phenomena that are cultural; Phenomena that are social I define as phenomena that play themselves out between social positions in society. While this is my working-definition used particularly for the purposes of this thesis, it is also a definition that I have found to be relatively substantiated by *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, specifically in its definition of social: "of or relating to human society, the interaction of the individual and the group, or the welfare of human beings as members of society" (Merriam-Webster, 2009). For example, consider the phenomenon of a person turning into a cyclist by seating itself upon a bicycle, I consider that to be a social phenomenon because it deals with how society is constituted.

Conversely, cultural phenomena, I define as phenomena that are taught and/or learned from other members in the culture that one finds oneself situated in; For example, cycling is a cultural phenomenon, because children are taught how to cycle. To give an even more specific example, I have personally noticed on many occasions that cyclists in Lund seem to

respect cars to a lesser degree than cyclists in Malmö, the neighbouring city. This lack of respect towards cars in Lund, as I perceive it, is a cultural phenomenon because it is different from how cyclists are taught/learn how to behave in other cities, such as Malmö for example. This, my working-definition of cultural phenomena, can also be described in the following manner:

> In *ethnography*, culture is used as an analytic rather than a descriptive term. In other words, the term does not describe a set of traits of a group but refers instead to a form or pattern abstracted from observed behavior. Presently, that pattern is most often spoken of as an ideational system—that is, a kind of knowledge and understanding that members of a given group share. (Schwandt T., 2007:60)

To further substantiate what I have just described as my own working-definition of what cultural phenomena might entail, *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* defines the term "cultural" in this manner:

> 5 a : the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations
> b : the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group; also : the characteristic features of everyday existence (as diversions or a way of life) shared by people in a place or time *popular culture* *southern culture*
> c : the set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterizes an institution or organization *a corporate culture focused on the bottom line*
> d : the set of values, conventions, or social practices associated with a particular field, activity, or societal characteristic *studying the effect of computers on print culture* *changing the culture of materialism will take time — Peggy O'Mara*
> (Merriam-Webster, 2009)

As its title implies, *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* is made by and for academics, comprised specifically of scientific terms that other dictionaries lack, making it a useful tool for presenting definitions of academic terms. Of course, having some understanding of semiotic theory, I know that a dictionary does not determine the meaning of terms. As this thesis

also shows, the meaning of signs, including terms, is instead determined by their context, their usage. However, what an academic dictionary can do, is to provide with some indication of said usage, which can be useful as a starting point for further investigation. Also, the premises that these terms help present as background to the research topic, will be further explicated upon in the next chapter, using established and peer-reviewed references.

So, to recap, the first premise in this thesis is that the wearing of a bicycle helmet is a socio-cultural phenomenon, that is, it is both social and cultural. Directly following this first premise, I from here also introduce that the second premise in this thesis is that any manifestation of oneself is in itself a signifying action, an action that communicates meaning about oneself to others. I consider this second premise relatively substantiated by the fact that Milton Singer, the originator of the term and field of Semiotic Anthropology, inferred the same thing in his book-section "Signs of the Self" (1984). In other words, the second premise in this thesis is that the self is a sign that one communicates with.

Singer's "Signs of the Self" was one of the texts included as obligatory literature in the MACA programme, and together with lectures on Peirce's semiotics[1], showing the students how interpretation of signs can be a very useful tool for cultural analysis. The focus during those lectures was on the differences between icons, indices, and symbols. I found during my work on this thesis that there was analytical value to go even deeper, and use the different *kinds* of icons, indices, and symbols, in order to code the transcribed material from the in-depth interviews, so that a more complex and accurate picture of the culturally disseminated signs can be conveyed.

My two premises, and my working-definition of culture, will be further explicated upon in chapter 2, where the theoretical framework of this thesis is presented. Before I go deeper into that, however, I will first present the research topic using a short literature review; The research topic of this thesis being that of the wearing of bicycle helmets.

1.7 Previous research on the topic of bicycle helmet campaigns

One scientific significance of this thesis is that there has been no evaluation of Swedish municipal governance that actually asks the cyclists themselves about their helmet usage. This, I think, indicates a knowledge gap that this thesis might fill. This can also be seen in the short literature review which this section presents, as neither me nor anyone in my vicinity have

[1] Lecture entitled "Event Culture and Urban Shamans", presented on the 19th of November 2013, by anthropologist Mark Vacher from Copenhagen University.

been able to find any evaluation of a helmet campaign. I found nothing that could indicate whether or not a specific helmet campaign actually managed to convince helmet-recipients to wear their helmets on a regular basis. The closest thing I have been able to find, are the following studies on the effects and consequences of bicycle helmet campaigns. This presented me with the opportunity to provide the scientific community with a unique study into bicycle helmet wearing; No one else seemed to have asked the helmet-recipients whether or not they wore their helmets on a regular basis.

There are several reports from non-governmental consultancies and governmental agencies that present statistics surrounding the rate of bicycle accidents in conjunction with the rate of helmet usage per city, exemplified by the following quote:

> During the years 2007−2012 [in Sweden], 153 cyclists died, and more than 56 000 injured themselves so badly that they had to seek emergency hospital care. Of the injured cyclists, 10 788 had been injured severely, and 1 421 very severely. Head injuries comprised one out of ten of the most severe injuries, and four out of ten of the very severe injuries. Helmet usage has a potential to decrease the amount of deceased cyclists by 25 percent and to reduce the amount of severely injured by ten percent. (Andersson & Vedung, 2014:7, My translation)

The quote above is from a report by a Swedish consulting agency called Cajoma Consulting. It is a report that was handed to me by Anders Söderberg at the Technical Services Committee at Lund municipality. At the writing of this thesis, this report appears to be the most current and most extensive bicycle helmet report available for municipalities in Sweden. It is a meta-study report that combines bicycle helmet usage data from 187 international articles, with data mostly from the U.S.A., Canada, and Australia. Aside from that meta-study, the authors also performed 32 interviews, with representatives from municipalities, research institutes, organisations, corporations, authorities, and the bicycle business. While the report has a good analysis of the data it presents, it presents no data on Swedish cyclists. Also, while the report shows how helmet wearing correlates with fewer deaths and accidents, this is something that could be attributed to helmet wearers being more safety prone than non-helmet wearers. Without attempting to answer the question ‘why’, the report cannot say more than there is a correlation between helmet wearing and reduced deaths and accidents. This is, however, still valuable information for this thesis, as presentation of the background of the

research topic of helmet wearing. The assertion that helmet wearing is at least materially associated with reduced deaths/accidents, can now be added to the collective scientific knowledge of the research topic of helmet wearing.

Related to that report, this is how Magnus Andersson, the author of the report from Cajoma Consulting, said that he increased the amount of helmet-wearers in his own family:

> I have for several years time been trying to get my teenage daughters, aged 15 and 17, to start using helmet when they cycle. I have informed and nagged about risks, accident data, and all the benefits that helmet usage would mean, but nothing have worked.
>
> Last week I thought that I had to change my strategy. I went to the two best and most serious bicycle shops we have here in Uppsala – Leffes Cykel and Cykelviktor – and I borrowed home a total of eight different helmet with different brands, design, and colour. My daughter agreed to at least try on the helmets, and they each found a helmet that they liked. Since that day they always cycle with helmet. My wife that has never used a bicycle helmet became so inspired by the children that she also picked a helmet that she now uses for cycling to work, the store, et cetera. (Magnus Andersson 13th of May 2015, excerpted with permission from a personal e-mail correspondence, My translation)

In Sweden it is a law that persons under 15 years old are obligated to wear a helmet. There are some studies to indicate the effectiveness of such a law. For example, in a study from Ontario in Canada, which is a place that in many respects have a similar socio-environmental climate to Sweden, it was shown that the amount of bicycle accidents dropped significantly after a helmet law was passed. Also, during the same time span that the law was in effect, and in the same areas where the law was in effect, persons over 16 years old did not experience an equal reduction in amount of accidents, indicating that a potential law for adults would be a step in the right direction, for traffic safety in general (Wesson et al., 2008). In a similar study, Canadian provinces which had helmet legislations were compared to Canadian provinces without helmet legislations, and it was further substantiated that legislation does indeed reduce the amount of bicycle related head injuries (Macpherson et al., 2002). While this information is pertinent background information for the research topic at hand, it does not touch upon why helmet-recipients (do not) wear their helmets.

In regards as to whether areas with bicycle helmet campaigns have a reduction in prevalence of bicycle related injuries, one Swedish study that is more relevant to this thesis has been found. The study indicates that bicycle helmet campaigns can decrease the amount of serious head injuries by up to 43%, and non-head injuries by up to 76%, via increased awareness, knowledge, and helmet access (Ekman, Schelp, Welander, & Svanström, 1997). Reiterating here again that no study has been found about whether bicycle helmet campaigns actually increase bicycle helmet usage. The much higher decrease in non-head injuries, in the previous study mentioned, compared to the much lower decrease in head injuries, could indicate that bicycle helmet campaigns do other things that help traffic safety, than merely an increased helmet usage, which would make it impossible to rule out whether the study confused causation with mere correlation, or *Cum Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc* as such logical fallacies might be labelled.

I found two studies that were about whether helmet usage itself helps reduce the incidence rate of bicycle accidents. One Swedish study showed that increased helmet-wearing can decrease the amount of head injuries by up to 46% (Berg & Westerling, 2007). This is corroborated by the following meta-study commissioned by the Australian government. Studies from Australia, Canada, U.S.A., and United Kingdom were included in the meta-study. It shows that between 1987 and 1998, helmet wearing cyclists had a third less of a risk to experience head injuries, brain injuries, and facial injuries, compared to cyclists that did not wear helmets (Attewell, Glase, & McFadden, 2000). Another, smaller meta-study, covering U.S.A., shows even higher figures, with up to two thirds reduction in incidence rates of head and brain injuries, for helmet-wearers compared to helmet-free cyclists (Thompson, Rivara, & Thompson, 1999).

One French study made an experiment on whether handing out information together with helmets would have an impact upon future helmet usage. It was found that the recipients that chose to only take the helmet without additional information, wore the helmet to a much greater extent in the future, compared to those that chose to receive the information. Noteworthy for this thesis, is that only 6.6% of all their participants were ever seen wearing their received helmet. (Constant, Messiah, Felonneau, & Lagarde, 2012)

During my work on this thesis, I have been told by a helmet-free interviewee and closer friends, that maybe wearing helmets give cyclists a false sense of security. A French study in the *American Journal of Public Health* looked at whether cyclists ride faster with a helmet

than without. While observed females did not have a significant increase in speed, observed males did. This increased speed, however, was judged to be compensated by an increased risk awareness, leading to the conclusions that the helmet is still efficient for injury prevention. (Messiah, Constant, Contrand, Felonneau, & Lagarde, 2012)

A Norwegian study on whether helmet-wearers cycle faster than helmet-free cyclists, show that such was not the case. Speedy cyclists are more often involved in accidents, but both speedy and regular speed cyclists wear helmets to the same extent. What they did find however, which is somewhat pertinent to this thesis, is that the perception of accident prone cyclists is that they wear helmets (Fyhri, 2010). One could say from that, that it is a part of the image, or the sign, of a cyclist in an accident, to be a helmet-wearer.

During the quantitative research design, I chose to spend some effort into looking whether the helmet usage could be correlated with aspects of fashion. To justify and contextualise this, I used the book “Understanding Fashion History” (2004) by Valerie Cumming. Cumming is a trained historian, and she has worked for over 30 years in museums. Throughout those 30 years she has been studying dress and its relation to fashion specifically, writing and lecturing extensively on the subject of dress and fashion history. During her writing on the book, she worked as a chairman of the Olive Matthews Collection at Chertsey Museum, and was also elected chairman of the Costume Society. The book itself portrays a kind of evolution of western fashion history, pointing at examples throughout history of different persons wearing clothing that was popular at that time or for that type of person or for that person specifically. These examples that Cumming points at are all unique in some way or another, like when she points at a king wearing his ceremonial dress, or a woman in breeches. They highlight specific phenomena in fashion history, creating a kind of systemic pattern for the reader. If I was to criticise anything about the book, it’s the prevailing ethnocentrism in the book. Cumming says sweepingly ‘fashion history’ when it is in fact western, European, white, upper class fashion history specifically that she is looking at. There is nothing in the book about what kind of clothing was popular among the poor working class Japanese people hundreds of years ago, for example. This is not a large caveat, seeing as what should be taken away from the lesson she gives, are the historical and cultural patterns, those unique phenomena that afflicted specific groups of people throughout this western fashion history. The understanding of these patterns is what holds transferability and generalisability. Just as these western white affluent European women were not allowed to wear breeches, maybe the poor working class

Japanese people were not allowed to wear types of clothing that only the rich upper class Japanese people wore. In that sense, the book makes a lot of sense, and that is a big part of why I chose it as a reference for when I speak of fashion in this thesis.

Maybe the most directly relevant article for the research topic of this thesis, I have found in a cultural analytical article on bicycle helmets by Markus Idvall, an ethnologist at Lund University. I think that the article is directly relevant to the research topic because it is the only bicycle helmet article I have found that touches upon the helmet wearing culture in Sweden in general, and helmet wearing in the south of Sweden in particular. In the article, Idvall analyses the discourse surrounding bicycle helmet usage as it is presented in various popular Swedish children's short stories. Seeing as children's stories are something that many children grow up with, it is not far-fetched to consider it a major part of the socialisation process (Macionis, G. & John, L., 2010:109), determining to some degree how adults come to perceive their surrounding signs. Considering the possibility of bicycle helmet wearing as a signifying action, the most significant finding for this thesis, was that Idvall saw how the bicycle helmet – in the particular discourse present throughout the recent modern history of children's books – is associated with the event of falling-off-the-bicycle:

> The books that are about children with tricycles, almost completely lack the risk involved with falling off the bicycle, or getting hit by a car. [_ _ _] The bicycle helmet is thereby making its entrance first when the children are confronted with the two-wheeler in their lives. What is put in front of them then, is not only to learn to maintain the balance and avoiding falling. The helmet is to be a companion as one grows older, it shall provide protection even when the children think that they can maintain their balance in all situations, but are not always doing so. (Idvall, 2009:55, My translation)

I interpret this quote as the bicycle helmet being, through this discourse, associated with an inability to maintain one's balance. This association with an inability to maintain one's balance, is something that I think can be extrapolated, to the bicycle helmet being associated with lack of skill, lack of competence, lack of self-reliance, and lack of independence. This is what the presence of the helmet seem to be projecting about a person wearing it, for cyclists in Lund. It is almost as if a bicycle helmet is seen as something for an irresponsible child:

> The proscribed bicycle helmet has been transformed to one of our primary tools for dividing groups and individuals based on their ability or inability to assume a kind of adult and responsible posture in the public (traffic) space. (Idvall, 2009:47, My translation)

This association of childishness and irresponsibility, was found in the discourse of children's books in Sweden. Whether the informants in this thesis carry similar connotations towards bicycle helmets, might be seen when the results of the qualitative analysis is presented in chapters 4 to 6.

To compare and contrast the helmet wearing culture in Lund, I apply the book "Two Wheels" (2009) by Matt Seaton. It is a book that gave me valuable and interesting insight into the British/Londonian helmet wearing culture. Matt Seaton wrote a weekly column in the British newspaper The Guardian throughout 2005. That column was later turned into this book, in which the columns were loosely ordered into thematic chapters. It is strictly speaking not an academic book at all, but there are some interesting references to research throughout. I use it more for insight into British culture, and in some cases also as a means of insight into more specific cultures in particular British cities. I used this book to compare and contrast with the culture in Lund and South of Sweden, as might also be seen when I reference the book in this thesis. Also, as I myself moved to Britain during the writing of this thesis, the contrasting between Lund and Britain was something that arose organically, but I still needed Matt Seaton's book to substantiate any claims I might have from personal anecdotes. One example of what I found from this contrasting was that, in broad strokes, it can be said that in Britain, cycling is generally not an activity that you just do without any preparation. People seem to feel that they have to put on special cycling clothes and special cycling footwear, even if they are just going to the store, or even if they are just going to their jobs. No matter where they cycle, people generally dress in special way for it (Seaton, 2009:49). In contrast then, I have found after 8 years of living and cycling in Lund, that cycling in Lund is more a mode of transport, than it is a special activity in itself. I would say that in Lund, you do not need to be a health nut or a sports cyclist or anything special like that, only because you find yourself sitting on a bicycle. In the culture of Lund, in my personal experience, anyone can be found on top of a bicycle. This cultural difference might change how cyclists are perceived, and subsequently also how helmet-wearing cyclists are perceived. Mr Seaton speaks of, for

example, how a special type of cyclist can be recognised because the cyclist is not wearing special cycling shoes (Seaton, 2009:49). I think that this would not be the case in Lund, where it is not uncommon for people to hop on their bikes without putting on cycling shoes first. How this difference in attitude relates to the research topic of this thesis, will be touched upon just a little bit, after the analysis of the empirical material has been presented. Before that, however, chapter 2 will show the theoretical framework behind the thesis in general, and the theoretical framework behind the qualitative analysis in particular.

2 Selves and signs

This chapter will present the theoretical framework used to analyse the empirical material. This begins with a definition of the term self, in order to operationalise the research question(s). This defining is conducted using theories by Goffman, Miller, Peirce, and Singer. Between presenting the theories of Miller and Peirce, I take a small but necessary detour away from the operationalisation of the term self. In this detour I shortly present theories by Baudrillard, Löfgren, Willim, Sunderland, and Denny, in order to justify the choice of analysing the (non-)helmet-wearing from a semiotic perspective, which is necessary in order to understand why this semiotic definition of the term self is being used.

After the defining of the term self, this chapter goes on to describe C.S. Peirce's theory of signs, and how selves themselves constitute signs. This theory is called pragmaticism, and it is the main theoretical framework that I use to analyse the qualitative empirical material found in this thesis. The choice of pragmaticism as the main theoretical framework is justified by how it fits the qualitative research question. The theory of pragmaticism is reiterated during the presentation of the coding of interview quotes, in chapter 4 section 2 subsection 1. The next paragraph begins the presentation of what self means in this thesis.

One of the concepts that needs to be defined, in order for me to be able to even ask the research question, is that of the self. Therefore, what follows here, is a semiotic and action-oriented definition of the self, to fit with the theme of the thesis. One of the more seminal texts on the self could be said to be Erving Goffman's "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" (1969). It is a text that outlines how using a dramaturgical model can help us understand how people present their selves when they meet others, and how people use various strategies and tactics to overcome various difficulties that might arise in presenting their selves. What might seem slightly baffling, is that Goffman does not actually use the term self in his book about presenting the self. He only uses the term in the title, and after a swift first chapter of some semiotic background to his research topic, he exchanges the semiotic terms with his own dramaturgical model, and instead of talking about the self, he talks about the "performer" (ibid 1969:28). In presenting a working definition of the self, he does not even say that he is in fact defining the self. He speaks around the self, saying that the self is a definition of the situation, a definition that an individual projects. This projection, Goffman

says, forces others to take their expectations and obligations into account when they go forth to treat the person doing the projecting. What I find important to take with me from this action-oriented definition of the self, are precisely those two aforementioned points; a self is what is projected to others in a particular situation, and it is something towards which others have no choice but to relate to. What is being projected in my thesis, following Goffman's definition of the self, is a cyclist wearing a bicycle helmet, or a cyclist not wearing a bicycle helmet, and the particular situation in which the projecting is being done is the traffic space itself, a traffic space where the others are other road users and pedestrians, and these have no choice but to treat the cyclist wearing a helmet as a cyclist wearing a helmet, and cannot choose to treat the cyclist wearing a helmet as a cyclist that is not wearing a helmet.

Goffman does not speak specifically of cyclists or bicycle helmets, nowhere in his text on the presentation of self in everyday life, and maybe he never would have. The definition of the self, as alluded to by Goffman, does not exclude the existence of more short-lived selves, or ephemeral selves as I like to call them, but looking closer at the examples that Goffman gives of what would constitute selves, the reader might make the observation that most of these examples are not very short-lived at all:

> The individual may tell himself through dreams of getting into impossible positions. Families tell of a time a guest got his dates mixed an arrive when neither the house nor anyone in it was ready for him. Journalists tell of times when an all-too-meaningful misprint occurred, and the paper's assumption of objectivity or decorum was humorously discredited. Public servants tell of times a client ridiculously misunderstood form instructions, giving answer which implied an unanticipated and bizarre definition of the situation. Seamen, whose home away from home is rigorously he-man, tell stories of coming back home and inadvertently asking mother to 'pass the fucking butter'. Diplomats tell of the time a near-sighted queen asked a republican ambassador about the health of his kind. (Goffman, 1969:25-26)

Journalists have either long experience or long education, giving them the credentials to call themselves journalists. One could stay a diplomat even if one changes occupation. Being a seaman can be a life-long vocation, and I do not know of anyone who would say that one could be a seaman by just stepping on a boat. A queen rarely stop being queen, especially not

just because she takes off her crown. With these examples in mind, it does not seem like Goffman thought of ephemeral selves when he explicated upon his dramaturgical model, and maybe he would not even have agreed that ephemeral selves could even exist. Despite this being the case, Goffman's definition of the self suits this thesis very well. It is a definition that comes from a semiotic theoretical background, it sees the self as something that is social, it sees the self as something which is performed, something which is created in the meeting between people and situations. The way this definition will be used is this, by looking at helmet wearers, and using a definition of the self as something that is semiotic, I hope to show that the selves of helmet wearing cyclists can be very ephemeral, which is something that could affect whether or not people choose to wear their helmets.

Another researcher's text that is relevant to the theoretical framework of this thesis, is Daniel Miller's book "Stuff". While it is not so much related to cycling or helmets *per se*, and while I have been told that Miller himself has stated to be critical against semiotics as a theory, it is nonetheless decided to be a reference that aids this thesis in operationalising the term self. This is so, because the book describes how clothing is not universally perceived of as superficial, and seeing as bicycle helmets can also be seen as wearable garments, it is decided the book is of relevance to the operationalisation of the self in this thesis. In the book, Miller describes how he travels to Trinidad, India, and London, and compares the different views of different clothing garments in the different cultures. He finds that it is because the self in London is perceived to be hidden deep within, within the individual, like a core of sorts, that clothes are considered superficial in London. When Miller then goes on to Trinidad and India, Miller sees that clothing is perceived differently in those two cultures, compared to London, because of how they perceive the self. In Trinidad, Miller sees that there is nothing superficial about clothes, because there you are who you appear to be, that is your self. This is a very pertinent point for this thesis, because it shows how the creation of selves via worn kits can take on different forms in different cultures. This is further exemplified when Miller looks at the sari in India. By just tweaking the sari a little bit, Indian women can change who they appear to be in the eyes of others, and through doing that they can control how they are treated. Following Goffman's definition of the self, the Indian women are changing the definition of the situation by projecting a different self. Miller assumes it is not possible, to the same extent, to change one's self in London. It is presented as if the Londoners do not have a semiotic sense of self, that they instead see the self as something that does not change with

the situation, as if Londoners do not think that one ‘is’ a journalist, that is more than that. (Miller, 2010)

I would suggest however, that even cyclists in London treat helmet wearing cyclists differently than they do cyclists without helmets. If the bicycle helmet is to the cyclist as the sari is to the Indian woman, then it would only be a matter of logical inference to state that cyclists with helmets will be treated differently than cyclists without helmets, even in different cultures. How the cyclists with helmets will be treated, how they will be perceived, what kind of sign they signify, now that is something that is wholly dependant upon the particular history of each culture. That is the cultural construction of any specific ephemeral self. This part of the theoretical framework is something that helps in giving this thesis some weight when looking at helmet-wearing in the culture of Lund.

In merely a few minutes per day, maybe even less, a person can send a message to those around, about being a helmet-wearing cyclist, with all the culturally disseminated connotations associated with such a message.

In some contexts, such as in the traffic space, people do communicate that they are what they appear to be, such as a helmet wearing cyclist for example. There is no permanent hidden core in a helmet wearing cyclist. If the helmet wearing cyclist removes its helmet, then it would not be a helmet wearing cyclist any longer. This quote by Daniel Miller substantiates this:

> [. . .] we are all onions. If you keep peeling off our layers you find – absolutely nothing left. There is no true inner self. We are not Emperors represented by clothes, because if we remove the clothes there isn’t an inner core. The clothes were not superficial, they actually were what made us what we think we are. (Miller, 2010)

It is a quote that seems to say the same thing that Goffman said. One is, what one projects to others in a situation. Nothing more, nothing less. At least, I judge that that is maybe all that I need to take with me from Goffman and Miller, in order to be able to present a viable understanding of the helmet wearing. So that is how I construct the theoretical framework for this thesis. Helmet wearing cyclists are like metaphorical onions, remove the helmet and they are just cyclists, remove the bicycle and they are not even cyclists. All that the helmet wearing cyclists are, is what others see them as. All that they are, is what they signify, as helmet wear-

ing cyclists. Following again, Goffman's definition of the self, cyclists with helmets know that they signify cyclists wearing helmets, and the cyclists think that other road users know this as well, and this changes the whole situation. One premise for this thesis is that the aforementioned applies not just in the traffic space, but in the social space as well. Cycling past friends, co-workers, family, even strangers, these others will see the helmet wearing cyclist as signifying more than what the functionality of the helmet provides. More than just the material protection of the head in case of an accident. Values, ideals, and other non-functional aspects will present themselves to these others. These non-functional aspects, in turn, are things that the helmet wearing cyclist has to relate to, when it chooses to cycle wearing a helmet.

I will now take the liberty of side-tracking from the operationalising of the terms in the research question, to swiftly present Baudrillard's conceptualisation of value. I do this to elucidate to the reader how important/valuable it can be to people, the non-material social function of a material artefact such as a bicycle helmet.

Following the idea that people do not just don a helmet for the function that a helmet provides, I do not think that the step is very far to Jean Baudrillard's four levels of value (Baudrillard & Levin, 1981:113). Baudrillard observed that the function of an object is the lowest level, the most-basic value that consumers are willing to exchange for. Above that is the economic value, and above that is the symbolic value. The highest level value is the sign value. Baudrillard's four levels of value is a hierarchy that means that a pen that signifies prestige is worth more than a pen that does not even work.

In my own words, Baudrillard's four levels of value can be seen in the following hypothetical example: When a cyclist chooses a helmet because it signifies something of great status and prestige, the lowest level value is still there, the functional value of the helmet is still there, even when the sign value takes precedence. A whole and still functional helmet still protects the head in case of an accident. The sign value just trumps it, that is all. If however, a cyclist would gain enough social status, that cyclist might be willing to use the helmet, even if the helmet is broken and does not fulfil its function of protecting the head. That last scenario is not relevant for this thesis though, seeing as all the helmets in the helmet campaign were whole and fully functioning. All the 830 cyclists wore functioning helmets, but that which is the topic of this thesis, is not the functional value of the helmets, but the sign value of the helmets. The sign value is a higher value than functional value. This is something that

could be said to be an inferred premise for this thesis, the fact that the function of a helmet is not as important to the cyclists as what the helmet signifies to them.

Following this addition to the theoretical framework, in an extreme case someone might cycle with a helmet that is broken, just because it has been worn by a famous king or similar, but exploring such a thing is a topic all on its own, and too big for this thesis to delve into. Let me just say that some people might rather don a bicycle helmet for what it signifies in the social world, instead of what function it might serve. This could be even more so in an experience economy. An experience economy is one where people buy and sell experiences, rather than whatever function a product might provide. A cyclist in such an economy might consume a helmet because it is fun to wear a helmet, instead of merely be in possession of the protective qualities that a helmet might provide. I would say that Lund 2014 was in a state of experience economy, because during my 8 years of living in Lund, I have made the observation that consumers in Lund are presented with "not only material commodities and services, but also atmosphere, symbols, images, icons, auras, experiences and events". (Löfgren & Willim, 2005:13)

This idea that a consumer buys more than what is described, is also something that the applied anthropologists Patricia L. Sunderland and Rita M. Denny might agree with, because they state in "Doing Anthropology in Consumer Research" that the anthropological view is essentially one where there is no text without both sender and intended receiver implicated in the text itself (Sunderland & Denny, 2007:116). It is an assumption that they use to not only analyse text, but also to analyse visual ads that convey culturally shared significations. As an example, they look at a picture of a boy with a tiki-necklace, and they listen to their informants' stories around this boy with a tiki. Through this method associated with the field of visual anthropology, they find parts of what the sign of 'a boy with a tiki-necklace' represents to their informants. For example, they find values, like "being strong", and they find life goals, such as "making the most of life" (Sunderland & Denny, 2007:145).

In this thesis, I'm using a similar theoretical approach as Sunderland and Denny, but I am applying it to the sight of a real cyclist with a helmet. Instead of showing informants a picture of a boy with a tiki-necklace, I ask my informants about the helmet wearing cyclists that they see in their everyday lives. It's about finding out whether cyclists choose to abstain or wear their helmets, because of the message it would send to cycle with or without a helmet. It is

the difference between seeing a picture of a boy with a tiki-necklace, and seeing a picture with a boy without a tiki-necklace.

I use this approach in order to understand more about what it can signify to wear a bicycle helmet in Lund, but I do not consider it necessary to show my informants any photographs of cyclists with helmets, because I assume that they have at some point in their lives seen real cyclists wearing helmets. After having lived in Lund for 8 years, I have made the observation that helmet wearing cyclists are so common in Lund that it would be quite surprising to find any person in Lund that have not seen a helmet wearing cyclist in the same day. What can such a metaphorical image of a helmet wearing cyclist signify in the culture of Lund, according to my informants? To gain a deeper understanding of this, I analyse the empirical material using Peirce's general theory of signs.

Charles Sanders Peirce was an American philosopher at the beginning of the 1900s. His work came to have a large impact upon sciences in general, and upon the social sciences in particular. According to Peirce's philosophy of pragmaticism, a person's perception of an object is the conception of the effects that the practical bearings the person can conceive the object to have, or in Peirce's own words:

> The entire intellectual purport of any symbol consists in the total of all general modes of rational conduct which, conditionally upon all the possible different circumstances and desires, would ensue upon the acceptance of the symbol.
> (Peirce, 1905:CP5.438)

One inference I can draw from this theoretical framework here then, is that a helmet wearing cyclist is a sign, communicating meaning or associations or intentionalities or emotions or anything else that signs can communicate. A cyclist that has chosen to not wear a helmet they have received for free, is also a sign, because they equally present themselves as they are, to others in traffic and in public. What this means for me in this thesis, is that the symbol, or to be more correct, the sign, is the cyclist with a helmet, or the cyclist without a helmet, as helmet receiving Lund cyclists would see them. They are presented as helmet wearing or non helmet wearing cyclists. When I think about that, then I cannot help but ask myself these questions: When the cyclists put on the helmets that they received, what are the meanings that they are communicating? What kind of sign are they turning themselves into? What kind of selves might they be creating, in the cultural world of Lund bicyclists?

While this exact way of using Peirce's semiotics have not been written about before, it is not a far-fetched use of the theory either. It is not alien to cultural analysis and social science to see people as signs of selves. Milton Singer wrote in his article "Signs of the Self: An Exploration in Semiotic Anthropology" about how Peirce's semiotics is a way of explicating the self. According to Singer, Peirce's semiotic conception of the self is logically consistent with the social and cultural nature of the self, making it an ideal tool for revealing what the self might look like, in specific contexts (Singer, 1984).

While it might not be revolutionary to be looking at materiality as signifying the self, the particular case here concerns a material condition which could be seen as too short-lived to be considered a self. It could be that there are people who thinks that a self has to be less impermanent than a 30 minute bike ride. Seen in this way, it could be argued that the materiality signifying such a self is different from the signs that signify a less impermanent self. It could be said that there is a qualitative difference between being seen as a father, or a teacher, compared to being seen as a helmet wearing cyclist, or a non helmet wearing cyclist.

In this thesis, however, the bicycle helmet usage is not seen as that very much different from the way Daniel Miller described the sari use in India (Miller, 2010). Even though the actual time wearing the helmet might be a short timespan in the day or even the life of a regular cyclist, the cyclist still has no choice but to relate to the culturally shared associations that people have towards helmet-wearing and helmet-free cyclists. It is not possible for a social being to opt out of living in a social reality. This is the second principle that Erving Goffman brings up in his definition of the self. The culturally shared associations, or signs, were there before the helmet was put on, and will be there after the helmet has been taken off. By living in a sign-sharing cultural milieu, the cyclist is forced to take into account the fact that there are ideas and mental images about cyclists with helmets, and that these are different from ideas and mental images about cyclists without helmets. This necessity is here taken as an existential imperative for the cyclist, which is what might enable me to formulation the concept of the short-lived self, the ephemeral self. What I mean by that is that I think, with the help of the theories presented, that there can be no cyclist without some form of relation between the cyclist and the culturally transmitted mental image of a cyclist with/without a helmet. That is one thing that I eventually hope to have demonstrated by the end of this thesis.

Looking at the helmet-wearing and the helmet-free cyclists as the signs of different selves, is the beginning of the theoretical framework that I employ to gain a deeper understanding of the choices that individuals make concerning their helmet wearing or non helmet wearing, and in order to formulate these selves, it is necessary to take a closer look at the signs with which the cyclists engender the existence of the ephemeral selves.

To give some examples of what an ephemeral self could look like, I found the two examples of artists and performers in the book "Understanding fashion history" (Cumming, 2004:87). In this book, Cumming does not speak of selves, ephemeral or otherwise, it was just that I found the examples in this book, as I was searching for a connection between bicycle helmets and helmets as a fashion item. I did not find anything about helmets as fashion items in the book, but I found other things related to my research topic, such as these examples of ephemeral selves. It occurred to me that artists and performers often present themselves in manners that are very short-lived. They go out on a stage for a short while, or they dress up in a specific way for a short while, giving people the impression that they are what they appear to be. An actor can pretend to be a professional cyclist, by dressing up and behaving like one, and the viewer then sees this person as a professional cyclist, and not as an actor. One might argue that this is an illusion, but that is irrelevant, because the concern here is the effect of the appearance that the individual has on a particular situation. As I thought about this and continued reading in Cumming's book, I came about the section on ceremonial dresses, and it occurred to me that a person wearing a ceremonial dress is per definition also a short-lived projection. The situation changes when someone is in a ceremonial dress (Cumming, 2004:87), people treat such a person differently than they normally would, for a brief moment of time. The wearing of a ceremonial dress is a very clear sign to others, that the social situation has changed:

> [Ceremonial dress] is a wide category and can be defined in a variety of ways. Usually it includes the formal dress worn at European courts, at major events such as coronations, robes connected with orders of chivalry, the garments designed or accidentally developed to render lawyers and academics imposing in appearance and the dress of the clergy.
>
> Traditional forms of ceremonial dress change slowly but this may reflect the fact that they are a form of occasional and dignified disguise not worn often enough to cause concern about their archaic features. (Cumming, 2004:106-107)

In order to analyse selves, as signs that people surround themselves with in their cultural milieus, I looked to the semiotic theory designed by Charles Sanders Peirce. I chose this theory because Peirce himself designed and employed this triadic model in order to analyse all kinds of signs, even selves. According to Peirce, each sign, let us say that of a helmet-wearing cyclist, can be presented using a model where each sign is divided into three trichotomies. I imagine this model as three small pyramids, where a sign with complete presence would have references to each part of each pyramid.

The first trichotomy in the model, is known as the representamen, and I have found that it is often drawn as the top pyramid in the model. For a sign, the representamen is that which represents something else. Again, the representamen is that which represents something else. The representamen as a trichotomy is comprised of three parts. These three parts are the qualisign, the sinsign, and the legisign. A qualisign is a quality of some sort, for instance a feeling about helmet-wearing, and it is usually the first aspect of a sign entering the mind of the perceiver. A sinsign is something that can be physically measured, like the shape or weight of a helmet, it has some tangible connection to what it represents. A legisign is something abstract, like the concept of traffic safety, it has no tangible connection to what it represents, and it is usually the last thing that enters the mind of the perceiver. (Atkin, 2013; Everaert-Desmedt, 2011)

The second trichotomy is the object, which is what the sign represents. The object is a trichotomy because it can be connected to its representamen as an icon, or an index, or a symbol. When the sign is an icon, the representamen resembles the object, like when a helmet-wearing child looks like a mushroom, as one of the interviewees told me. When the sign is an index, the representamen directly affects the object in some way, such is the case when a hel-

met would affect the balance of the cyclist. When the sign is a symbol, the only thing connecting the representamen to the object, is a cultural convention, like a helmet-wearing law. (Atkin, 2013; Everaert-Desmedt, 2011)

The third trichotomy is the interpretant, which is how the perceiver interprets the connection between the object and the representamen. The interpretant is a trichotomy because there are three ways to interpret the object-representamen connection. First, there is the instance when the sign is rhematic. It is rhematic when it says something specific about something general, a so called predicate. Helmets are ugly, helmet-wearers are clumsy, or a similar predicate. The second way to interpret the representamen-object connection, is when the sign is dicentic. Dicentic signs says something specific about something specific, a so called proposition. For example, this helmet is cool, or this helmet strap is strong, or a similar proposition. The third way to interpret the representamen-object connection, is when the sign is an argument. A cyclist under 15 years old without a helmet, will incur a fine as a violation of the traffic rules, for example. (Atkin, 2013; Everaert-Desmedt, 2011)

According to the rules of this theory of signs, the third of each trichotomy [argument, symbol, legisign] includes a second [dicentic, index, sinsign] and a first [rhematic, icon, qualisign]. In turn, the second of each trichotomy [dicentic, index, sinsign] includes a first [rhematic, icon, qualisign]. This logic creates a hierarchy which limits the amount of combinations between these nine categories to only ten combinations. Add to that, that there is no sign with only one particular set of combinations of signs, every sign has more than one combination of these trichotomies.

All this allows for the use of tables to visually present the analyses performed, which is what I do in the chapter for the qualitative analysis, chapter 4. If the reader wants to see how all these terms are to be understood in practice, they are all applied in the analysis of the interviews, in second 4.2 of this thesis. There, each in-depth interview is coded using the terms above, so that each interview is sorted, no chronologically as the paragraphs were spoken in the interview, but from the first trichotomy to the third trichotomy. This builds a structure where the interviewee's more directly sensed things are listed above the things that are sensed after. The feeling of hating the helmet's colour yellow, is listed above what would happen to a child if its parent would die because it did not wear a helmet, for example. Each table is also accompanied by a text that explains how I interpret it. Basically, a text that

explains how I interpret how my informants interpret the signs of helmet wearing and non helmet wearing cyclists.

This was the chapter on the theoretical framework in this thesis. It has defined what is meant by self, using theories from Goffman, Miller, Singer, Sunderland and Denny. Then it connected this culturally constituted concept of the self, with that of Peirce’s semiotics, describing how to analyse helmet wearing and non helmet wearing cyclists as culturally constituted selves. In other words, the main tool for analysis in this thesis is Peirce's semiotics, the other theories are here primarily to operationalise the terms used in the research question(s).

The next chapter will describe the mixed-methods approach that have been employed to acquire the empirical data, and how I designed the questionnaires and how I set-up the interviews. This will show not only how I found the empirical data, but I also hope that it helps justify the choice of methods to answer the research questions.

3 Methodology

3.1 Employing a mixed-methods approach

As has been mentioned previously, this thesis triangulates the topic using both a quantitative method as well as a qualitative method. The quantitative method consists of the employment of questionnaires and the qualitative method consist of the employment of in-depth interviews. The idea is that the combining of two methods like questionnaires and in-depth interviews could provide the advantages of one method to fill up the gaps of the flaws of the other method. (Flick, 2006:390)

The reason for employing a mixed-methods approach (Flick, 2006:389) in this thesis is twofold. First, it is part of what makes this thesis applicable, for the thesis to be able to present a client with an answer to their question. Do people wear the helmets they have been given, and to what extent? This is what the quantitative method does, by actually asking people whether they use the helmet, and to what extent they have used the helmet. The flaw of using a quantitative method such as this is that a survey assumes what concepts might mean to the respondents.

Second, in order to go deeper and answer why some might be wearing the helmets and why some might not be wearing their helmets, a qualitative method is necessary. A quantitative method cannot answer qualitative research questions, just as a qualitative method cannot answer quantitative research questions. The qualitative method of in-depth interviewing can give some answers as to the question 'why', by adapting the questions to the specific individual, finding out how they perceive what it means to be a helmet-wearer. The downside to using a qualitative method such as this is that the findings cannot be generalised to a larger group of individuals. The point of using a qualitative methodology, from my previous experiences of performing qualitative research, is not to say anything about people, but the point of using a qualitative methodology is to be able say something about concepts. For example, interviewing one helmet wearer will not give any information on what all the other helmet wearers do or think, but it might give some insight into what helmet wearing can be, what helmet wearing can mean, and helmet wearing can signify.

In this way questionnaires and in-depth interviews complement each other well, and fill up each other's knowledge gaps, because the qualitative method provides the in-depth insider

perspective that the quantitative method cannot, and the quantitative method provides the generalising outsider perspective that the qualitative method cannot. This is substantiated by the book “An Introduction to Qualitative Research” (Flick, 2006) when it says that one advantage to applying the mixed-methods approach, is because the approach is about: “Transgressing the (always limited) epistemological potentials of the individual method.” (Flick, 2006:390)

The specific combination of methods employed in this thesis is called methodological triangulation. Specifically, it is the methodological triangulation of between-method triangulation (Flick, 2006). It is my personal view that the combining of questionnaires with semi-structured interviews is what is commonly used as an example of between-method triangulation, and that is what has been employed for this thesis as well.

3.2 Questionnaire design and application

Throughout the year of 2014, a total of 830 persons voluntarily received helmets in exchange for their personal contact information. Concerning any ethical implications of using the addresses of the participants to send out the questionnaires to the participants, I did judge it as a problem because the participants voluntarily chose to disclose their contact information, knowing that their contact information would be used for receiving information about an evaluation.

The printing of the questionnaires, and the subsequent scanning of the responses, was paid for by Lund Municipality, whom was my client for this master thesis. The cost amounted to a little over 20.000 Swedish crowns in the exchange rate of the time [Around 2300 USD in the exchange rate of the time]. I felt that this put a lot of pressure on me, to deliver a report of acceptable standard, within the given time-frame. I was later told both by Lund Municipality as well as by Miljöbron that my presentation and my work was of high quality, so maybe the pressure was a good thing, to make me achieve what was necessary. There were no demands articulated, concerning the level of quality of my work, and I was given the total academic freedom to design the questionnaires myself, as well as design and conduct the interviews and analyses myself, without interference from anyone. I was told both my Lund Municipality and Miljöbron that I was given this total academic freedom because they trusted me as an expert on what questions to ask, how to ask those questions, and how to interpret the results. I

found it to be a mutually beneficial relationship. I received the data for my thesis, and they received their evaluation.

When I designed the questionnaire, I separated it into different themes that the initial material lead me to explore. This methodology is directly derived from the process of abductive reasoning, a philosophy concerning scientific methodology developed by C.S. Peirce (Peirce, 1905). I personally often describe abductive reasoning like this: Make up as many hypotheses as you possibly can, and then find the one with the best fit to the empirical material at hand. Compare abductive reasoning with inductive and deductive reasoning for a more in-depth understanding of this methodological process (Kedia, 2008:25)

One of the themes that I tested for fit against the empirical material, was that of fashion. I wanted to see if the respondents gave any inklings towards seeing the helmet in any way related to contemporary fashion. In order to explain how my thinking lead me to wanting to explore this theme, it is important to begin by looking at the definition of fashion

> Fashion is defined as 'prevailing custom, especially in dress' [_ _ _] dress is visible clothing, costume or wearing apparel that can imply a style or fashion, which reflects prevailing customs. This is useful because it indicates that clothing has to be visible, but does not have to be fashionable. (Cumming, 2004:17).

In other words, while much of what is fashionable is visible clothing, not all that is visible clothing is fashionable. This is not enough of a definition to help us understand why some clothing can be fashionable within certain groups, while the same clothing can at the same time be completely out of fashion, which would be the case if some people would choose to wear the helmet because of fashion. For instance, until the late 1800s, men could wear skirts and trousers without being subjected to criticism, while if a woman showed anything that was associated with masculinity, such as short hair, a jacket, or trousers, then that woman was subjected to negative sanctions (Cumming, 2004:100). More useful then for this thesis here, perhaps, is a definition of fashion as a historical process. A process where clothing that begins as popular among the majority of society becomes cemented into one or few specific groups in society as the overall popularity of the clothing subsides. For example, more aerodynamic looking bicycle helmets might at one point been popular among everyone, but is now mainly used by sports cyclists. This is how I was thinking when I thought that maybe fashion could be a factor in why some decide to wear the helmet and why other decide not to wear the hel-

met. So, I asked questions about how important the respondents think it is to look properly dressed when they are cycling, and if the respondents think it is important that others think that the respondents look properly dressed when they are cycling. As with all the other themes, all the questions were checked for correlations against age, gender, income, and other demographical categories, together with whether they wear the helmet, if they have worn the helmet, or if they never wore the helmet. Looking for whether any demographical group had worn the helmet, together with whether they valued their appearance, could have been an indicator of whether fashion was a factor in whether or not they chose to wear the helmet. By doing this, I was able to dismiss, for example, that young high-income women more often chose to wear the helmet because it went hand in hand with their view of looking properly dressed, while old low-income men chose to not wear the helmet because they thought it not go in hand in hand with their view of looking properly dressed. In other words, by not finding a correlation between fashion and helmet wearing, fashion did not show the greatest fit as a possible hypothesis for why some wear the free helmets and others do not. As I did all this, using SPSS, the only larger correlation that I found were between helmet-free individuals and whether the respondents believe that it is important that others see them as properly dressed while they ride on their bicycle. Because this correlation was not statistically significant, it was not included in this study. This meant that I could not substantiate whether any particular social group in my study had had fashion affecting their wearing of the helmet, so I decided to not invest any more time and effort into exploring the theme of fashion any more than I did. This is how I justify looking into fashion, and this is also how I justify stopping looking at fashion.

My main field contact during my work on the questionnaires, was Anders Söderberg at the Technical Services Department at Lund municipality. He helped me through the practical issues of printing and sending the questionnaires. He never said anything negative about my work during my time there. He trusted me to be the expert on the research design, so I was free to perform the study in the way that I best saw fit. I personally value academic freedom highly, so I made conscious decisions to make certain that the research topic came before any obligations I might have experienced towards the municipality and Miljöbron.

As I started out, Söderberg told me that a response rate of 40% would be greatly optimistic, based on his experiences with previous municipal surveys. In order to pre-emptively counter the risk of a low response rate, in case it would create sample bias (Segen, 2006), I

formed various strategies. One such strategy was that the most sensitive questions were asked towards the end of the questionnaire, making respondents feel as though they might as well answer those as well because they have already put so much effort into the other questions already. Another strategy was that I put a deadline in the cover letter of the questionnaire (see Appendix-I). Applying a deadline was a conscious decision on my part, because it seems to work well with Swedish people in general, when they are presented with a deadline:

> Likewise, if you want a Swede to do something, be very specific. Avoid expressions such as 'as soon as possible'. If you specify a date or time, a Swede will feel obligated to complete your requested task without excuses. By asking for a response by a specific time, the American communications director found her Swedish colleagues responded promptly and either met her deadline or beat it. (Robinowitz & Carr, 2001:130-131)

Having the support of Lund Municipality behind me, I was also fortunate to be able to hand out free cinema tickets to a 10th of the respondents to the sample questionnaire and to a 5th of the respondents to the control group questionnaire, hopefully this increased the response rate dramatically. To hand out to every 10th and every 5th respondent was Anders Söderberg's suggestion. I did not question these figures because I knew that he has performed many surveys before, and I personally found the figures to be quite high. If I would fill out a questionnaire myself, I would think that one in ten would be enough of an incentive for me to complete the questionnaire and send it in.

There are ethical as well as methodological considerations in the promising of cinema tickets in exchange for cooperation. For one, it could create a bias among the respondents, if for instance, older people do not want to go to the cinema, then the sample might not be statistically representative of the population. This was deemed as acceptable, mainly because old people do not use bicycles as often as young people, but also because the results of the sample survey is controlled against the control group.

The control group was generated using KIR. KIR stands for KommunInvånarRegistret, which is the Swedish municipal inhabitant registry, and it is the national standard tool for municipalities to register their inhabitants. The software used with KIR has built-in tools for randomly selecting persons from it, and so me and Anders Söderberg used it to select 300 persons who were; over 15 years old and under 75 years old, registered as living in Lund

municipality, and had not received bicycle helmets from the municipality. This enabled me to create a control group which was statistically representative of the population.

An ethical consideration arose from the usage of KIR. Unlike the persons who gave away their personal information in exchange for a bicycle helmet, these people had not accepted to be a part of any evaluation or study. Therefore, anonymity and integrity was of utmost importance. As soon as the data had been collected, the names and addresses were destroyed. The same principle was employed with the information about the sample respondents, for equal measure. One respondent did not trust the cover letter that said that the survey is completely anonymous (see Appendix I & III), and chose to remove the identification number at the top of their questionnaire, but the only outcome of that action was that there was no way of knowing which address to include in the randomly selected respondents who would be receiving a cinema ticket.

A third of the responses were gathered via an internet version of the questionnaire, using a service called webropol.se, paid and supplied to me by the Technical Services Committee at Lund Municipality. This web questionnaire contained the exact same questions, with the exact same pagination, as the paper questionnaire, in order to minimize any psychological differences in how the respondents responded. The respondents could choose to state their e-mail address upon giving their contact information, and roughly half of them did. This is to where a personal URL for the web questionnaire was sent. The recipients of the web questionnaire were told to answer either the web questionnaire or the paper questionnaire. For those that still answered both, I chose the paper questionnaire, because I spent more effort on printing, folding, packing, and sending those.

In the end, the response rate was very high. A little more than 300 respondents for the paper questionnaire and a little more than 200 respondents for the online questionnaire. That amounts to a total response rate just over 60%, which is over the 40% that me and Anders Söderberg were hoping for. It has to be said though, that it took a long time waiting for the responses to drop in, and then the scanning company took a very long time to send the data back to me. There was nothing I could do about it, I had to break the given scope and time-frame of the one semester I was given to finish this thesis. Without empirical data, the thesis would not have been possible, so I was forced to wait for the responses to drop in, so that I could have something to analyse, so that the client could get his evaluation on their governance campaign, and so that I could write this thesis on bicycle helmets. In the end though,

the questionnaire received a high response rate, which yielded higher quality data, and this in turn has provided increased insight into a relatively new field of research.

3.3 Interview set-up and execution

The interviewees were chosen based on the initial results of the web questionnaire. When 160 of the web questionnaires had been answered, statistical tendencies could be detected. Using these tendencies, I formed categories out of the respondents. These categories can be seen in the presentation of each interviewee, as well as in the questionnaire findings themselves. From these categories I then contacted representatives for interviews. Three of these answered and agreed to an interview. In defence of having so seemingly few interviews, it can be reiterated that the research question related to the in-depth interviews, is a qualitative research question. The question here is not 'how many' of the helmet recipients think or do anything particular, that is rather what the quantitative survey is for. The question here instead is 'why' recipients might choose to wear or not wear their bicycle helmets. To answer this question, the quantity of the interviewees is irrelevant. What matters is rather how much thick data that can be acquired regarding the research topic. This is what I believe that I have been able to do using the three interviews presented in this thesis. The three interviews were enough to reach theoretical saturation. Theoretical saturation is when the researcher thinks that it has found enough information about a concept/field/topic. (Flick, 2006:127). In other words, these three interviews were more than sufficient to answer the research question.

The form of sampling that was used to find the three interviewees, is a form of sampling known as theoretical sampling. For this thesis, theoretical sampling was chosen as the most justifiable sampling available, considering the purpose of the thesis and the subsequent nature of the research questions asked. In short, theoretical sampling was chosen because it is a form of sampling that is based on the process of creating a scientific theory, and that is what I am doing in this thesis by the creation of the concept of ephemeral selves. (Flick, 2006:125-126; Hoonaard, 2008)

The interviews were performed in Swedish, and quotes have been translated English by me. No translation can ever capture the nuances of the original language, but insofar as the task of a translator consists of the following, this task has been fulfilled:

> [. . .] to find the intention toward the language into which the work is to be translated, on the basis of which an echo of the original can be awakened in it. (Rendall, 1997:159)

In the subsequent transcription process, interpretive choices have been prioritised over representational choices. The justification for that is that the signifying meaning sought after in the analysis, is not assumed to be found behind linguistic utterances, but behind the helmet wearing practice itself. This lead the transcription process to be a more naturalized practice, rather than a denaturalized practice. Using a more naturalized practice means that the transcription aimed to reach the pragmatic context and meaning of the sentences, rather than just what sounds that the informants spoke (Bucholtz, 2000; Koike, 1989).

Each interview took an hour, and they were more unstructured than semi-structured, though there were some questions that the interviews themselves lead up to. This unstructured interview approach was justified because the research question was to find out the percepts of the interviewees (Firmin, 2008:907-908). This unstructured interview approach is the reason I do not have the interview questions attached to this thesis as an appendix, because I did not create any interview questions on beforehand, because doing so would not have been the best method with which to answer the purpose of the thesis, and in good science it is also common practice that the research question decides the research method.

I first came into contact with the interviewees via e-mail. I sent e-mails to all respondents that fit the criteria found from the quantitative analysis, and these three were the only ones that agree to be interviewed in time. I booked the appointments at any time that the interviewees were available. I booked the appointments in small rooms on the first floor at Kristallen, the main municipal building in Lund. I thought that choosing a place outside of their own home would make them more willing to agree to be interviewed. Kristallen is also a nice looking building, I think, with a lot of colourful glass and post-modern design. It, to me, feels like an inviting place.

Before the meetings I was quite nervous. I waited in the lobby/entrance of the building, hoping that I would recognize their faces from their profile photos on Facebook. I searched for them on Facebook only for this reason, after I saw their faces I stopped looking at their private pages. For one of the interviews, this approach was not enough, and I found myself standing next to the interviewee for over 15 minutes. Eventually the interviewee approached

me and asked me whether I was Robin. That was a little bit embarrassing, but nothing that affected the interview. As I lead the interviewee to the room, I explained more about the evaluation and my role as a MACA-student. I asked each interviewee if it was OK with them if I recorded them. They all agreed to being recorded.

During the interview I showed them my helmet and tried to get them to speak about the materiality of the artefact, but that approach yielded nothing. The best approach seemed to be to just talk about the helmet and their experiences with helmets. After each interview, I again explained how their information was to be confidential, thanked them for their time, and asked them if they could notice that I was nervous. None of them said that I looked nervous, and all of them said that I seemed professional, whatever they might mean by that.

As far as ethical considerations goes, the interviews were performed one on one, with no insight or interference from either my client or my academic supervisors. The interviewees consented to being recorded, and told me that they had nothing to hide, and that they are fine with being mentioned by their real names. For my own reasons of professionalism I will keep them anonymous anyway, because I do not consider gossip to be of value to the research process at hand. The recordings have only been available to myself and no one else, and the same with transcriptions and any other material pertaining to the empirical data collection. The data will be available for as long as until the thesis has been examined and made available for public access, after that the data will be deleted, for the sake of the privacy of the informants. I deem their privacy more important than any issues of long-term transparency, because my personal opinion is that civil rights trump academic rights.

The main ethical concern in this thesis might be the power position I possessed as an academic interviewer with municipal backing, but to be honest, I do not think the interviewees would have even agreed to participate at all if I had not used this power position to my advantage. During the interviews themselves I was reflexive and aware of my age, my gender, my appearance, the locale, our relative positions in the room, my tone of voice, and the wording of my questions. I often repeated what was said by the interviewee, so as to make sure that my interpretation of what was said was not too far off from what the interviewee itself wanted to convey. Often, during the interviews themselves, I had to revise my approach, and let several leads go. From my personal experiences working as an ethnographer in Kenya and Hawaii I have found that it is usually a good idea to let go of a subject when an interviewee continuously refuses to elaborate after I have rephrased the question once or twice. I

took every precaution I could think of to not let my own preconceptions bias the study, and to make sure that the interviewees themselves were heard. This empathetic approach was also one of the reasons for why the semiotic approach was utilised, as I think that it is an advantage that such an approach provides the empirical data many unrevised and raw quotes from the interviewees, which can be seen by the coded interviews as presented in chapter 4 section 2. An approach like this is something that I think enables a better insight into the insider's perspective, which in this case is the perspective of the cyclists that have received bicycle helmets.

The interviewees will be given a copy of the thesis after the thesis has been completed, as will Lund municipality, the NGO Miljöbron, and anyone else who could be interested in reading more about it. The thesis will be freely available to all, so that it can be read by those interested in traffic safety, governance campaigns, semiotics, ephemeral selves, or anything else that is contained within this text. This open access approach is a conscious ethical consideration, because in my personal opinion, without intersubjectivity between academia and society, the science has no value, and therefore I think that the research has to be Open Access.

This chapter has presented how the mixed-methods approach was applied, and the ethical considerations tied to the methods. The coming chapter will present what findings the methods have been able to come up with, together with analyses made from those findings. After the analyses have been dealt with, comes the chapter with the meaning of the results of the analyses.

4 Empirical data and analysis

4.1 Questionnaire findings

When asked the question "Have you ever worn this helmet on a regular basis?", 57.8% of the respondents answered Yes. That is a 7.8% statistical difference from 50%. 50% is the expected mean value in a yes-or-no scenario. When testing the statistical significance of this statistical difference, the software SPSS presented a very high significance value, which means that there is very low probability that the 7.8% difference is due to chance (See Appendix V). Therefore, it is possible to say with certainty that 57.8% of the population – and the "population" in this case are all of the 830 of the helmet-recipients in 2014 – 57.8% of them have worn the helmet on a regular basis.

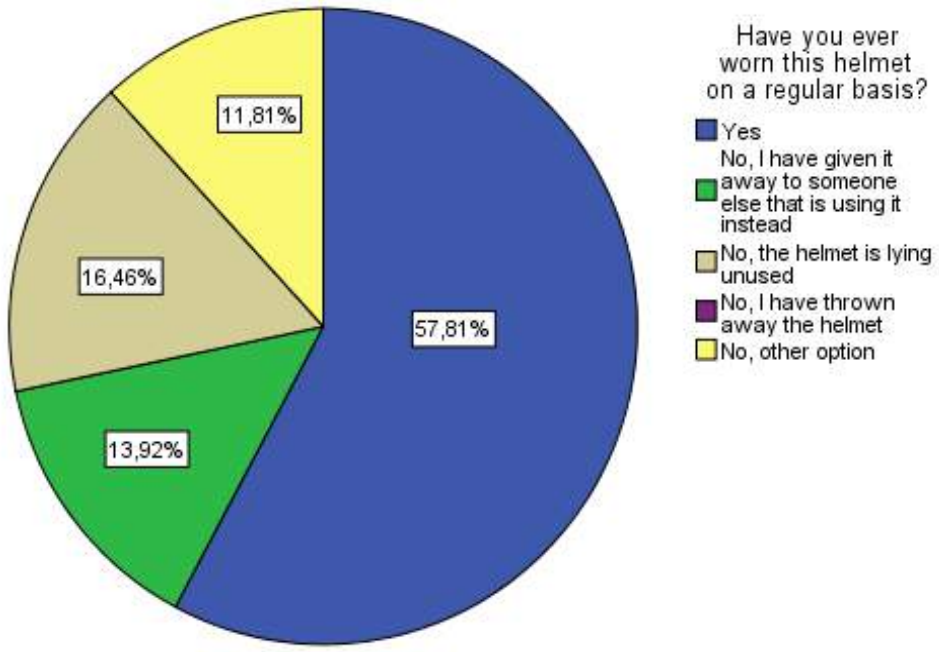


Diagram 1: 58% of the respondents have used the helmet regularly (n=474)

It is at this stage noteworthy to mention that no respondent has reported throwing the helmet away, indicating that it is still a very real possibility that every single one of the helmets could in the future be used by someone. This is a deductive inference, from the fact that if any helmet had been thrown away, then that helmet would not be possible to be used by anyone. I think that this is noteworthy because the first research question relates to how well the cam-

paign worked, and it might be interesting for anyone who wants to know more about this particular research question, how many of the 830 helmets ceased being possible to use for protection.

As can be seen from Diagram 1, one of the possible answers that the respondents could answer to the question “Have you ever worn this helmet on a regular basis?” is “No, I have given the helmet to someone else that is using it instead”. Because it could be interesting to know whether the helmet has been used, regardless of who has used it, I combine this answer with the simple “Yes”, and test that difference and significance. In Diagram 2 it is seen that 71.7% of the respondents report that the helmet has been used by someone on a regular basis at some point in time. There is less than 0.01% probability that this figure is due to chance (see Appendix V), making it possible to say with high certainty that 71.7% of the population, the helmet-recipients, report that their helmets have either been used directly by the recipient itself or have been given away to someone else that is using it instead

While this result is promising, it needs to be developed further. Maybe someone used the helmet for a short while and stopped using it, or maybe those that did not use the helmet at the time of this evaluation gave their helmets away after a while, or maybe those that used the helmet recently would have used another helmet anyway, or other alternatives that are too many to exhaustively describe here.

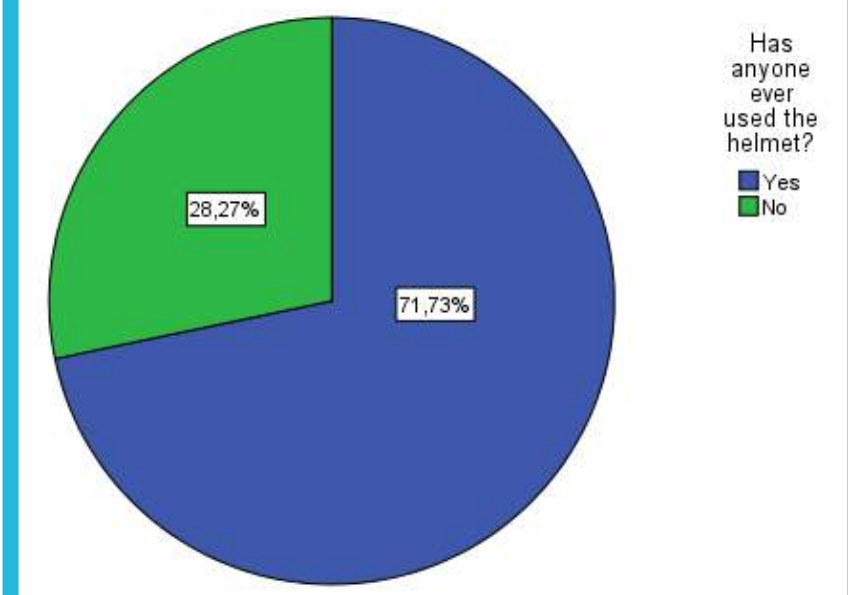


Diagram 2: 71% of the helmets have been regularly used (n=474)

To actually do develop further upon the results mentioned in relation to Diagram 2, it is necessary to find out whether the respondents have increased or decreased their helmet usage. In order to find this out, I compared the reported helmet usage of the month leading up to the one whereby the respondents answered the questionnaire, with the reported helmet usage of the first month from that they received the helmet. These two instances describe a time span between which helmet usage can be compared. Doing this, one can first of all see that there is a very high probability of statistical significance. There is less than a 0.001% probability that the association between the recent helmet usage and the initial helmet usage is one that does not exist in the population. It can also be seen that there is a very strong relationship between the recent helmet usage and the initial helmet usage[2]. Specifically, it is found that 49% out of those that cycled without helmet the last month, they did not cycle with helmet the first month either, and 88.5% out of those that cycled with helmet every time the last month, they also cycled with helmet every time in the first month. (See Appendix VI)

The most pertinent to this thesis concerning the association of recent and initial helmet usage, is the finding that 51% of the respondents that report having cycled without the helmet in the last month, they did cycle with the helmet in the first month. In other words, these respondents started out using the helmet, and then eventually stopped using it completely.

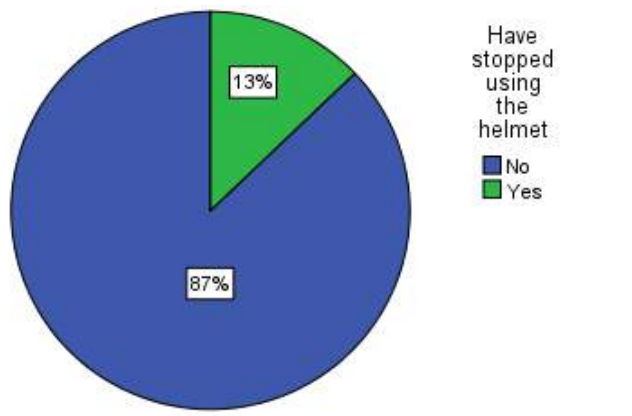


Diagram 3: 13% of the respondents stopped using the helmet (n=481)

To exclude the possibility that those respondents that stopped using helmet might have stopped using helmet because they had given their helmet to someone else, I controlled for the third variable of having given the helmet away, and it was revealed that out of those that stopped cycling with helmet, only 13% gave it to someone else. This also means that out of the respondents that stopped using helmet when they cycle, 87% did so without having given their helmets away. These are the respondents that can here be said to have stopped using the helmet, because when one looks at the data from these respondents, it pertains to cases where

[2] As seen in Appendix VI, the Cramer V value is as high as 0.631, out of a 1 as a maximum. (N=467)

the helmet ceased to be in use. (see Appendix VII for significance values). In comparison to the entire population, these respondents comprise 13% of the total population. Only 13% started out using the helmet and then stopped using it.

Out of those that used the helmet in the last month up to them receiving the questionnaire, 61% (195 out of 320) state that they would have used a different helmet instead if they had not received this one (See Appendix VIII). This means that if one is interested in seeing not just how many who have used the helmet at one point or another, but also how many more active helmet users there are in Lund now because of this particular campaign, then one has to exclude those respondents that would have worn a helmet anyway.

Those that said that they would not have worn a different helmet anyway, and also said that they have used the helmet in the last month, and also said that they have either used the helmet themselves or that they have given it to someone else that is using it instead, those respondents are the ones that can here be said to have continued using the helmet, because when one looks at the data from those respondents, it pertains to cases where the helmet is still in active use by someone, the year after the campaign was conducted.

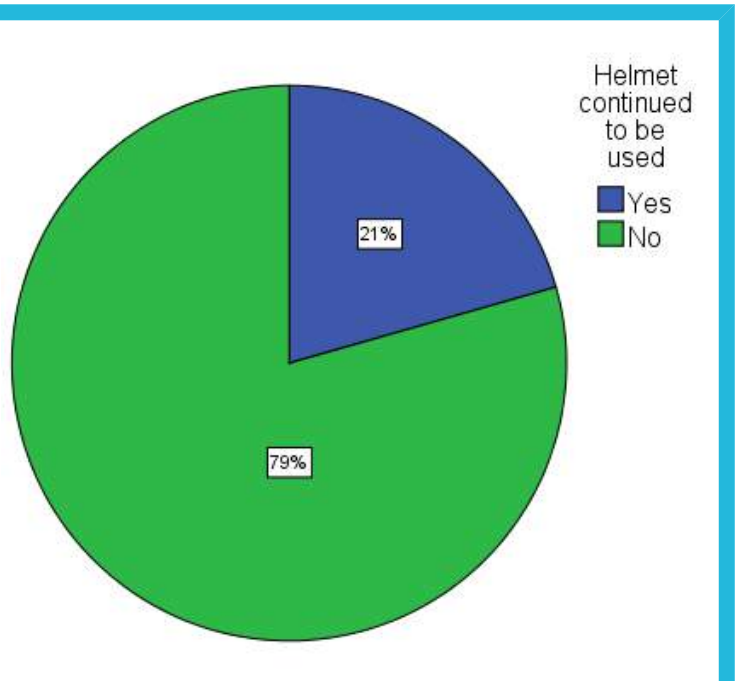


Diagram 4: 21% of the helmets resulted in new continuous helmet usage (n=481)

4.1.1 About the control group

As was briefly mentioned before in this thesis, I also designed a separate questionnaire for a control group, with the intention of checking whether the quantities in the helmet-receiving population were any different from the quantities in the Lund city population as a whole. The thought being that if the helmet-receiving population had more helmet-wearers than the Lund population, it would spell success for the campaign.

The control group questionnaire was designed to be as similar as possible to the helmet-receiving questionnaire, with the main exception being that the control group had not actually received any helmets. I sent out 300 questionnaires, 7 pages each, and after having sent out reminders, I got a little over a 100 responses, which was deemed as a high response rate.

There was one interesting difference between the control group responses and the helmet-receiver responses. While 62% of the control group respondents reported having worn their current helmet regularly at one point or another, 58% of the helmet-receivers reported having used their helmet regularly at one point or another. This could be construed as a failure of the campaign, having less helmet-usage than people who have not even received helmets for free, but such a construing would be a mistake, for two reasons:

First, it was not feasible to ask the control group whether they had given their helmet away, as that would just be a normal gift, and not something they received for free from the municipality. Therefore, adding that figure to the amount of helmet-receivers, taking the amount of respondents that stated having worn the helmet regularly and adding the amount of respondents that stated having given their helmet away to someone else that is using it instead, then figure go up to 71%, which is considerably larger than the 62% of the helmet-wearers in control group. This enables us to say that the continued helmet-wearing is higher in the population of helmet-receivers than in the population of Lund as a whole.

Second, it does not actually matter what the control group says, because the aim of this evaluation is not to say anything about the people who were not a part of the campaign. The non-helmet-receivers in Lund municipality could be handicapped or otherwise unable to ride a bicycle at all, or they might not own a bicycle, or they might have any of an infinite amount of reasons for not even owning a bicycle helmet to begin with. 100% of the helmet-receivers have owned a helmet, and 100% of the helmet-receivers were on a bicycle when they received their helmets, which makes this into a whole different kind of survey, than if the aim had been to study the entire population of Lund municipality. Again, the aim of this thesis is not to study the impact of the campaign upon the Lund population, or anything like that. There is therefore no reason to even check a control group. The SPSS software is enough to check the statistical significance of the sample to the population, and the population in this case study is no the entirety of Lund, but only the helmet-receivers in Lund during 2014. This has already been mentioned in the delineation chapter of this thesis, but it is here mentioned

again to be transparent about the effort put into the control group, which in the end yielded no real valuable information for the aim of this thesis.

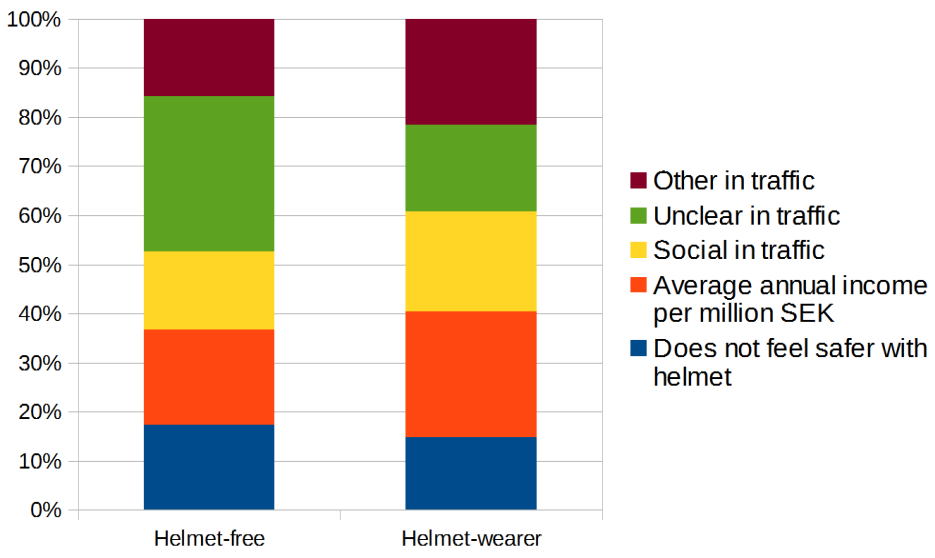
4.1.2 Correlations found with the helmet-free cyclists

This section describes the criteria for who to interview about not using the helmet. It does this by describing which variables from my questionnaire that could be affecting people to cease wearing their helmets. It is a section that begins to create an image of who the non helmet wearers are. I will not describe them as non helmet wearers from this point on, because they are a group in their own right. First of all, negative definitions put the power to define in the hands of the group of helmet wearers, and secondly, I am not going to assume that the non helmet wearers choice to not wear their helmets is in any way related to the choice that the helmet wearers make when they wear their helmets. Therefore, I will from this point on refer to the non helmet wearers as helmet-free cyclists instead. This term enables their agency and gives them a voice of their own.

In order see what could have affected 13% of the helmets to cease to be worn, a wide net was used and a variety of different types of questions were asked (See Appendix II for a list of all the variables that I asked the respondents about). Listed below are the correlations that were found, which I also deemed had acceptable significance values. According to this list, this is what can be said about those 13% that chose to be helmet-free cyclists:

- Income: The more they earn, the more likely they are to stop using the helmet (P: -0.086, Sig: 0.099)
- Feeling safer: While it cannot be said that they feel unsafe with the helmet on, they do report that they do not feel more safe with the helmet on (P: 0.109, Sig: 0.019)
- Traffic personality: There is a tendency among those that chose to be helmet-free, to not categorise oneself as a *social* in traffic (P: -0.114, Sig: 0.071), nor as *other* in traffic (P: -0.165, Sig: 0.029), but a whole third of them would categorise themselves as *unclear* in traffic (P: 0.141, Sig: 0.069)

I made Visualisation 2 to better facilitate the understanding of the composition of the variables in the group of helmet-free cyclists, in comparison to the helmet-wearers. The observation that sticks out the most, seems to be that the helmet-free earn less and to a greater extent do not feel safer wearing the helmet, what could be more interesting to take note of, however,



Visualisation 2: Significant correlations found with the helmet-free cyclists

is that the three categories representing their individual personality in traffic, together defines the helmet-free group to a much larger degree.

There were not many correlations with high enough significance values, so from a statistical point of view there is not that much more that can be said about the helmet-free cyclists. The only statistically significant correlations with the ceasing to wearing the helmet, were income, feeling of safety, and a few personality traits. This is also a result, because it is interesting to note, in this context, that there was no correlation found with either gender, age, risk taking, sports cycling, or bicycle commuting. None of those variables influence whether a person will cease being a helmet-wearer or not. Man or woman, old or young, risk taker or safety first, sports cyclist or amateur cyclist, commuter or not, none of those are indicators of whether a person is more or less likely to cease being a helmet-wearer. This is also something that could be important to keep in mind when designing future campaigns. There could be assumptions about young men, who are more risk taking, and sports cyclists, and not commuters, that they would be more prone to cease being helmet-wearers, but this has not been shown in this study. In this study, some of those that ceased being helmet wearers, were older, or female, or amateur cyclists, or commuters, so it would be dangerous to make any assumptions either way, as it could inadvertently leave large chunks of the market excluded from targeted campaigns. For instance, targeting young men with a campaign to continue being helmet-wearers, would not catch the older females that choose to be helmet-free.

Those were the correlations for those that chose to be helmet-free cyclists, next I will present the correlations for the continued helmet-wearing.

4.1.3 Correlations found with helmet-wearers

As with how the correlations found with helmet-free cyclists gave me the criteria for who to interview regarding the ceasing to wear the helmet, the correlations found with the helmet wearing cyclists present the criteria for which interviewees I chose to interview regarding the continuing to wear the helmet.

This section also starts to paint a picture of who the helmet wearing cyclists are, and so in order to not deny this group of people any agency given to the helmet-free cyclists, I will from this point on refer to this group as helmet-wearers. This should also set them apart from the group of helmet-free cyclists, instead of polarising the two groups against each other.

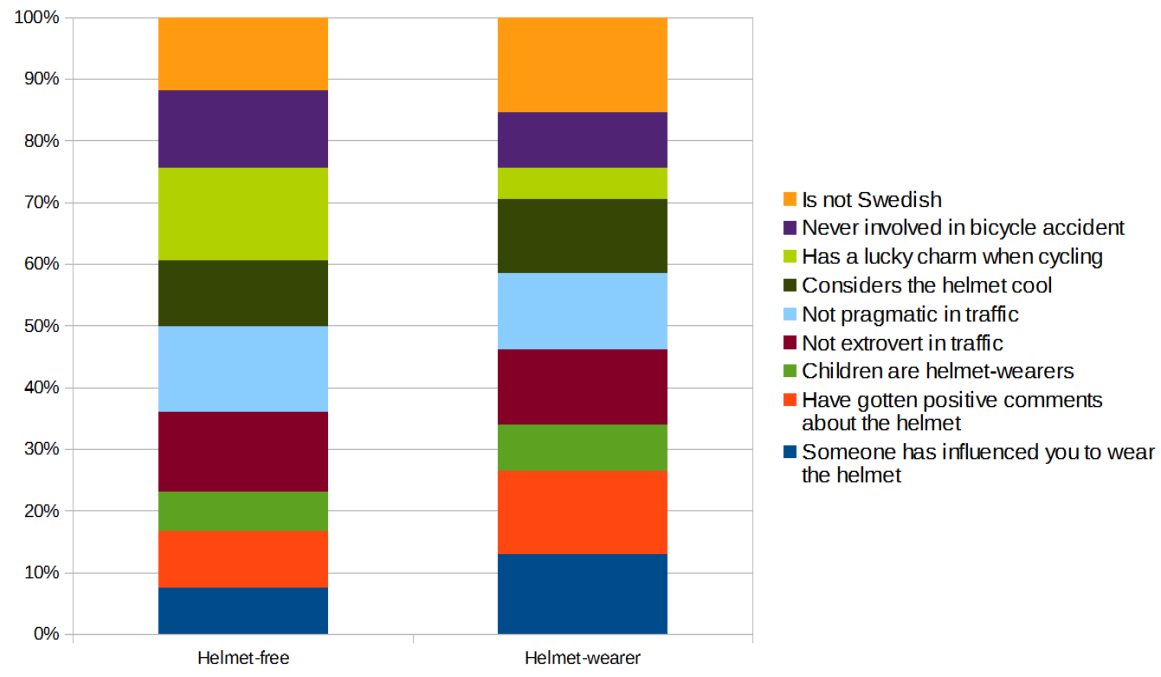
As has been previously demonstrated, a fifth of the helmets in the campaign continue being in use, in order to find out what could have affected this, the same broad net of variables was cast (See Appendix II for a list of all the variables that I asked the respondents about). These were the correlations found when analysing the data acquired from the questionnaires:

- Not Swedish: There is a strong tendency among those that continued wearing the helmet to identify as anything but Swedish
  (Pearson Correlation: -0.159, Significance value: 0.000)
- Influenced by others: 63% of these respondents state that their helmet-wearing comes out of someone influencing them to at least some degree.
  (P: -0.143, Sig: 0.002)
- Positive affirmation: 60% of these respondents say that they have received positive comments about their helmet-wearing (P: -0.214, Sig: 0.000)
- Fossil fuel transport: Before they received the helmet, they did not choose to cycle instead of going on a transport dependent upon fossil fuels (P: -0.107, Sig: 0.020)
- Parenthood: 32% of these respondents have helmet-wearing children under 16 years old (P: 0.103, Sig: 0.084)
- Cool factor: 44% think that the helmet is cool (P: -0.11, Sig: 0.017), and there is also a tendency to think that the colour (P: -0.11, Sig: 0.094) and the shape of the helmet is cool (P: -0.115, Sig: 0.013)

- Pragmatically oriented: There is a tendency amongst these respondents to have abstained from the helmet at least once because of practical reasons (P: -0.102, Sig: 0.012)
- Feeling of unsafety: While 89% report feeling safer with the helmet on, there is a tendency amongst these respondents to feel unsafe many times when out cycling (P: 0.107, Sig: 0.022)
- Do not believe in luck: Only 12% wear good luck charms when cycling (P: -0.138, Sig: 0.002)
- Traffic personality: There are tendencies amongst these respondents to not see oneself as an extrovert in traffic (P: -0.177, Sig: 0.015), nor as a pragmatic person (P: -0.138, Sig: 0.040)

Also interesting to note, is that there were no correlations found with age, income, risk taking, sports cycling, accidents, or commuting. Those variables have no effect upon the continued helmet-wearing. The helmet-recipients that choose to continue to be helmet-wearers can be old or young, rich or poor, risk takers or safety first, sports cyclists or amateur cyclists, involved in accidents or not, commuters or not. None of those variables can be used as an indicator over whether a helmet-recipient is more or less likely to continue being a helmet-wearer.

I made Visualisation 3 in order to help facilitate understanding of the internal composition of the variables statistically significant to the group of helmet-wearing cyclists, in comparison to the helmet-free cyclists. The biggest differences between helmet-wearers and helmet-free might be seen in the lack of good luck charms, the higher degree of positive affirmation, and the higher degree of external influence. For future campaign designers the two latter variables might seem more approachable, but it could be a worthwhile strategy as well, to look closer at the desire for control that is represented by the lack of a belief in luck.



Visualisation 3: Significant correlations found with the helmet-wearing cyclists

With this, the quantitative data has been presented and analysed, and two groups, the helmet-wearers and the helmet-free cyclists, have to an extent been described. It is at this state possible to at least partially hint at an answer about whether the campaign worked or not, because it is now clear how many of the helmet-recipients continued to wear the helmet and how many helmet-recipients ceased to wear the helmet. It is not clear, however, why a helmet-wearer would choose to be a helmet-wearer, or why a helmet-free cyclist would choose to be a helmet-free cyclist. Therefore, in order to find an answer for the second research question, it is soon time to move on to the qualitative data, and see if it is possible to give a satisfactory answer as to why some of the helmet-recipients choose to continue to be helmet-wearers and why some of them choose to be helmet-free.

4.2 Interview findings

This section is comprised of analyses of three in-depth interviews, with the interviewees chosen because of how they responded to the questionnaire, as can be seen from the presentation of each interviewee. Each analysis was performed by the coding of interview quotes.

Coding is the process whereby the empirical data is categorized and segmented, and it is often used when the purpose is to form a theory rather than test it (Bulmer M., 2006:30).

Because at least part of the the purpose of this thesis is to form the theory of ephemeral selves, the choice to code the interview data seems significantly justified.

The coding means that quotes from the interviews were selected by their pragmatic fit to the semiotic theory of C.S. Peirce. Tables are used in this thesis to visually present the coding of the quotes, so that the reader can decide for itself whether or not each quote has been suitably coded. Each analysis is represented by one table. I performed the coding by reading and rereading through each interview, while looking at the different trichotomies of signs as Peirce categorised them, and as I found quotes that I thought suited a particular category, I placed them in the table by that category. As the coding was conducted, each table was filled with quotes, and the quotes that did not yield any information regarding the subject matter of helmet-wearing were intentionally left out. It is not deemed pragmatically viable to present the entire interviews in this thesis, as transcriptions from one hour interviews are too long. What is presented using these tables, is hopefully the essence of each interview, regarding helmet-wearing and helmet-freeness, in the culture of Lund. This means that each table is both the methodology used as well as the analysis itself. Each table is then also accompanied by an explanatory text of the consequences of the coding, so that the reader is presented with some more context, aside from that which has already been introduced via the quantitative analysis. More details on how the coding was conducted, can be seen in the text accompanying interview1, where I describe more in-depth the coding process behind each one of the quotes.

Context is crucial in order to grasp the meaning of quotes in general, and signs in particular, according to the theory of pragmatics (Mey, 1993). Pragmatics is not the same as pragmaticism, and pragmatics is not necessary for the theoretical framework of this thesis. I only use pragmatics here as a justification for the presentation of the context of the interviewees in this thesis. I do this because pragmatics is the specialised sub-discipline within linguistics that focuses on context in order to understand the intended meaning of another speaker, something which is also known as the pragmatic competence (Koike, 1989). This context is hopefully achieved in this thesis via the background information presented in section 1.1, the literature reviews in section 1.7, the text that accompanies the interview tables in the sub-sections 4.2.*, and the subsequent meaning of the results in chapter 5.

Each in-depth interview was one hour long, and took between 6 to 9 hours to transcribe. The transcribed material was turned into quotes, and then grouped based on whether they

were qualisigns, legisigns, or sinsigns. After that ordering the quotes were ordered again, within their respective representamen groupings, based on whether the objects were indexes, symbols, or icons. Lastly, a third ordering was made based on whether the interpretants were rhematic, dicentic, or arguments. Out of these groups, quotes were chosen to go into the tables, based on how well they represented the views of the interviewees.

The table presented in the next section is the result of the coding of quotes from a 1 hour long interview. This interview was conducted with a person that chose to receive the helmet because he felt that he had been lucky to not have injured his head in an accident, so he took a helmet because wanted to use the helmet for those occasions that he felt that he needed it. He is, at the time of the writing of this thesis, a 27 year old male university student that commutes between Lund and Malmö, and he is also a professional sports cyclist that competes in cycling. The interviewee started out using the helmet on those occasions that he knew that he was going to cycle to a larger city such as Malmö or Copenhagen, or out on the countryside, or wherever he felt that it was a bit more unsafe. He wore the helmet when he was going to places that he thought was more dangerous.

In Lund, the interviewee told me, it feels more safe than Malmö, because Lund has bike lanes almost everywhere. As he continued cycling throughout the months of wearing the helmet, he learned about the best bike lanes between Lund and Malmö. As he became more used to the paths and more confident with the route, he eventually stopped using the helmet completely, because he felt safe enough to not need the helmet any longer. In the end he gave the helmet to a friend that he knew wanted a helmet, so the helmet is, at the time of the writing of this thesis, still in use.

He was chosen to be interviewed because of his fit to the list of variables correlated with the helmet-recipients that chose to become helmet-free cyclists, as these variables were found in the statistical tendencies from the initial web-survey. It also happens that he does not fit to the list of variables correlated with the helmet-recipients that continued to be helmet-wearers, further substantiating my choosing him as an interviewee. These tendencies were: He earns more than other people in his age-group, and he told me that he does not feel safer with or without a helmet on. He does not identify with being social in traffic, in fact, he had seen people being too social while cycling. He once saw a could holding hands while cycling, looking at each other, and eventually crashing into a wall. Furthermore, he thinks it is rude when cyclists cycle two in a row, and that people should not be talking or holding hands

when they are cycling, especially not when they are cycling in traffic with cars, and definitely not on a bike path. The two interviewees presented after this one, were chosen because of their fit to the list of variables correlated with the helmet-recipients that continued to helmet-wearers. This will hopefully be made apparent by their added contextualising texts, following their tables of coded quotes.

On the next page is the first of the three tables, the table belonging to the interviewee that this section has presented, the higher-earning young male that cycles between Malmö and Lund. The table does not have to be read in any particular way. It is only presented in order to give further transparency into the coding- and analysis-process. If the reader does not want to deal with the terminology of semiotics in detail, it is possible to merely read the quotes from each interviewee. It was by looking at these tables, that I could interpret the sign-values that the helmet-wearing and the helmet-free cyclists represent. These interpretations are presented by the texts directly before and after the tables.

4.2.1 Table 1: Analysis of interviewee who ceased to be a helmet-wearer

Level of interpretation	Interpretant Object Representamen	Description
1)	rhematic iconic qualisign	"I feel less safe with helmet on. I cycle faster with helmet."
2)	rhematic iconic sinsign	"I decide whether I want to use a helmet. It is important that it is self-determined."
3)	rhematic indexical sinsign	"Some places are more dangerous than others. Lund has many good bike lanes so it is difficult to find. NovaLund might not be perfect, but there are bike lanes. But if one goes to Västra Hamnen in Malmö, there are no bike lanes there, and there are big trucks that drive fast. Same in Copenhagen, and on country roads."
4)	dicent indexical sinsign	"I had a lot of luck. I was involved in many accidents and never injured my head. Very lucky."
5)	rhematic iconic legisign	"The car door was bent from my collision *Crash*"
6)	rhematic indexical legisign	"The helmet fit me well, but they didn't check it properly.""
7)	dicent indexical legisign	"It's like when people cycle without lights at night. That is more stupid. To wear the helmet is something you've decided personally. But having lights, that is a form of respect that you show your fellow road-users."
8)	rhematic symbolic legisign	"As personally decided, I don't think it's wrong to wear a helmet." "One feels more safe with a helmet" "One falls with or without a helmet"
9)	dicent symbolic legisign	"I know that I can fall without a helmet as well." "The helmet do not protect arms and legs."
10)	argument symbolic legisign	"When it comes to professional competing cyclists on an elite level, then the helmet makes a difference that matters when it comes to balance. They have to wear a helmet, but that doesn't mean they like to wear a helmet."

The whole of the table on the previous page shows what helmet-wearing signifies for this interviewee. As can be seen from the quotes, this interviewee told me that he wears the helmet when he is going to a place that he thinks is less safe and more dangerous, a place where the speeds are higher, where he drivers do not see the cyclists, and where one has to cycle out in the traffic with the drivers.

As can be seen in quote number 1 in table above, the informant says that he "feels" safer with a helmet on. This does actually not correlate with the survey, as it is the helmet-wearers that feel safe with the helmet on, not the helmet-free cyclists. However, what he says is about what the helmet-wearing cyclist signifies to him. So, by stating that he feels safer with a helmet on, he substantiates the sign of helmet-wearers as signifying of feeling safer with helmets on. The theory here being that he chose to abstain from the helmet because he would rather be associated with what helmet-freeness signifies, than what helmet-wearing signifies.

In order to explain the coding of quote number 1 as a qualisign, I will reiterate the theory of Peirce's semiotics. Out of the three parts of the first trichotomy, the representamen, which is what the sign represents, this quote relates more to the qualisign than to the sinsign or the legisign. This is so because qualisigns are explicitly about qualities, such as a feeling, while the sinsign is about something tangible and the legisign is something abstract. Applying an inductive reasoning then, the first trichotomy of this quote can be said to be dominated by the qualisign, because the informant is talking about the feeling of helmet wearing. Following the order of the hierarchy of the model of Peirce's theory of semiotics, this feeling of helmet wearing is among the first things that enters the mind of interviewee, concerning helmet wearing. According to this interviewee, that which represents something else, in this part of the interview, is the feeling of helmet wearing.

Out of the parts of the second trichotomy, which is the object, quote number 1 is coded as an icon. The object is what the sign represents. What the feeling of helmet helmet wearing represents. I chose to code this quote as an icon because an icon has some form of resemblance to the previously affirmed representamen. Feeling safe, as an object, resembles the feeling of helmet wearing. Also, abductively speaking; the feeling of helmet wearing itself, is less of an index, because it does not directly affect the feeling of safety. It's not like a flag waving in the wind, where the wind directly affects the flag. Furthermore, the feeling of helmet wearing is less of symbol, because it is not like a law or some other form of cultural convention.

Therefore, I infer that the best fit for this quote, is to be coded as an icon. In short, that which the feeling of helmet wearing represents, is feeling safe.

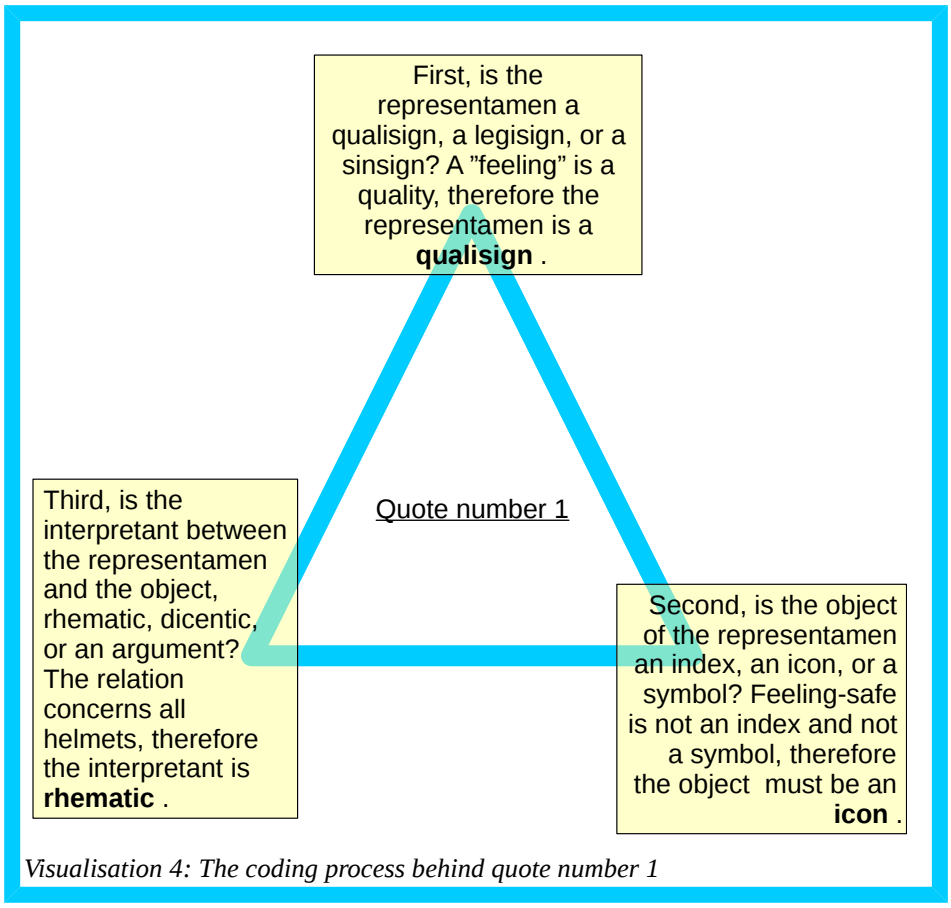
Out of the parts of the third trichotomy, which is the interpretant, I have chosen to code quote number 1 as more concerning the rhematic aspects of the sign. This is so because the feeling of helmet wearing is more specific, while the feeling safe is more general. Also, it is less dicentic because it is not about something specific saying something about something specific. Neither is it an argument, because it does not state a culturally constructed cause&effect-relationship between two specifics. Therefore, I infer that, the way the feeling of helmet wearing is connected to feeling safe, is by a rhematic connection. In short, the specific feeling of helmet wearing, is connected to a general feeling of safeness.

All these motivations for coding quote number 1 in this particular way can be criticised and argued against. I know it is not perfect. It could easily be coded in a different way. I chose to code it in this way because it was one of few quotes related to any kind of feeling. It is the only quote by this informant that can be said to be a qualisign. According to Peirce's theory of semiotics, qualisigns cannot be anything but rhematic and iconic, and therefore the fit of this quote as rhematic and iconic might be a little bit artificial. Nevertheless, I chose this particular quote because it is related to a feeling, and can therefore be nothing but a qualisign.

In quote number 1, the qualisign feeling connected with the wearing of the helmet is followed by a subsequent statement about cycling at higher speeds. During the unstructured interview situation I prompted the interviewee go more in-depth on the aspect of cycling at higher speeds, I asked him whether he saw a connection between cycling faster and a higher risk of getting injured, and that is how he and I came to quote number 4 and quote number 5, where he mentions that he cycled right into a car door that was opening into the street. Having coded quote number 5 at a higher level than quote number 1, meaning that what quote 5 signifies, depends on what quote 1 signifies, one takeaway from this analysis is that cycling at higher speeds is associated with more danger, because higher speeds signifies a higher risk of getting seriously injured, especially when oneself is cycling faster.

Because each level in Peirce's theory of semiotics depend on each of the previous levels, it can here be seen how the feeling of safeness by the helmet wearing is a direct cause to the perceived increased risk of cycling into an opening car door. Quote 1 follows by quote 5. I interpret that this signifying is not as much present when others are going faster, it is mostly when oneself is cycling faster, because one can not feel the wearing of a helmet when it is

others that are wearing their helmets. Similarly, the wearing of a helmet is also signified with cycling closer to cars, as can be seen in quote number 3, and cycling closer to cars is signified with an increased risk of getting one's head injured, because the danger that quote number 5 signifies is dependent upon not only the wearing of the helmet that quote 1 signifies, but also the cycling closer to cars that quote number 3 signifies. When one sees it this way, that the wearing of a helmet increases the risk of cycling into a car door in a car-denser area, then maybe it is easier leave the helmet at home instead.



Visualisation 4: The coding process behind quote number 1

As can be seen from Visualisation 4, which I made myself using the free and open-source software package called LibreOffice, each quote was derived at using a similar process; First all the quotes from each interview were sorted according to their representamen, then they were sorted according to their objects, and lastly they were sorted according to their interpretants. After all the transcribed quotes went through this sorting process, one quote from each coded category was placed in its respective place in the table. Each quote in the table represents one thing that the sign signifies, one thing that the (non)-helmet-wearing signifies

to the interviewee. Together, all the quotes in each table represent one sign, which is the sign of the (non)-helmet-wearing, to this one interviewee.

Following the hierarchy of the order of the significations, as laid out in the semiotic theory of pragmaticism, the highest level, which is quote number 10, is the level where the interpretant, which is how the perceiver interprets the connection between the object and the representamen, is an argument sign rather than a rhematic or dicentic sign. In short, the highest level of abstraction is always an argument. This means that arguments depend upon all the other previously mentioned signs and antecedent quotes. In the coding of this unstructured interview, the argument that was chosen is quote number 10: “When it comes to professional competing cyclists on an elite level, then the helmet makes a difference that matters when it comes to balance. They have to wear a helmet, but that doesn’t mean they like to wear a helmet.”. This quote is an argument sign because it states that people who cycle in professional competitions are forced by cultural convention to wear a bicycle helmet, or they will not be allowed to compete. Following this interviewee’s previous quotes on how helmets create a false sense of safety, and how helmets are associated with cycling in more dangerous car-dense areas, I infer that the interviewee would prefer to not wear a helmet during competitions as well. It has been established that to wear a helmet, is associated with less actual safety, despite the increased feeling of safeness. To not wear a helmet then, would to this informant increase his competency and skills.

In short, wearing a helmet signifies, according to the previously presented table, that the helmet wearing cyclist is not as competent a cyclist. This is also seen in how the interviewee tells me, as can be seen in quote number 10, that for a professional cyclist, the helmet changes the balance too much. It reduces the competency and the skills of the cyclist. It is further implied, also in conjunction with quote number 10, that for this informant, one is not a high-level professional cyclist if one does not experience a loss of balance by the wearing of a bicycle helmet. It follows then, that leaving the helmet at home signifies a higher competency and skill at cycling. That is what the argument in quote number 10 signifies. To not wear a helmet, signifies higher competency and skill.

If the reader chooses to only read parts of the table, it should be taken into account that the higher levels of interpretation includes the lower levels of interpretation. This means that to this helmet-free cyclist, whether helmet wearing signifies less competency or less professional a cyclist, might not on its own have a large impact on him as a cyclist in order for him

to leave the helmet at home, because the signification of less competency includes the sending of the message that wearing a helmet provides a false sense of security, it includes sending the message that one feels that the place is dangerous, and it includes the sending of the message that one has chosen for oneself to wear the helmet. All these things weigh in together, to increase the incentive for this cyclist to leave the helmet at home. It follows then, that according to this helmet-free cyclist, a cyclist that does not need to look like a competent professional elite-level cyclist, or a cyclist that does not have to look confident about where it is going, or a cyclist that does not care about looking like a self-determined individual, might not have as much a reason to leave the helmet at home.

Conversely, the interviewee seems to see bike lights as a sign of respect towards other road users. In his view, using bike lights is not something that one does out of one's own sake, but it is something that one does for the sake of others. It is a question of deference towards others (See Goffman, 1956), when it comes to the bike lights, but not when it comes to the helmet. For this informant the helmet is not ladened with connotations of obligations. On the contrary, helmet-free cycling is perceived of as a sign of being free of obligations.

This was the first of the three interviewee analyses, which detailed how a helmet-free cyclist views helmet-wearers and helmet-free cyclists. In all three interviews I have tried to avoid using proper pronouns, because the gender of the helmet-free and helmet-wearing cyclists was not statistically significant. Unfortunately I have been forced to sometimes present them as 'him' and 'her', in order to make the reading a little easier. I do not yet speak of selves, because they are the results of these analyses, which will be elaborated upon in chapter 5, but the selves that are now slowly being illuminated, are the helmet-free and the helmet-wearing cyclists that these interviewees are describing by their interpretations of the helmet-wearing and the helmet-free cyclists as signs. These qualitative analyses will all be further elaborated in chapter 5, where the meaning of the results are presented. The next page will present the second table, belonging to an interviewee who instead chose to continue to wear the helmet.

4.2.2 Table 2: Analysis of an interviewee who continued to be a helmet-wearer

Level of interpretation	Interpretant Object Representamen	Description
1)	rhematic iconic qualisign	"I received a helmet that is yellow and black. It is horribly hideous. But helmets are always hideous so that doesn't matter."
2)	rhematic iconic sinsign	"Children are adorable in helmets, they look like little mushrooms."
3)	rhematic indexical sinsign	"I see children on kick bikes who are not wearing helmets, and it baffles me. It is more dangerous. They go fast. And a small movement, and they're out in the traffic."
4)	dicent indexical sinsign	"Now my children are so old that they remind me if I have forgotten the helmet"
5)	rhematic iconic legisign	"What really grinds my gears is when people ridicule the helmet, or rant about it. Then the children think that it is OK to cycle without a helmet."
6)	rhematic indexical legisign	"More accustomed cyclists wear helmets. Those that commute from Malmö. For them it is a given to wear a helmet."
7)	dicent indexical legisign	"That one is built to be aerodynamic. It is a little ridiculous. It looks as if I am going to cycle the Tour De France. If there had been a more rounder helmet, I would have rather taken that one."
8)	rhematic symbolic legisign	"I cannot control everything in traffic. I don't know who will hit me or how they will hit me."
9)	dicent symbolic legisign	"Those with helmets probably cycle a lot, because they have thought that a helmet is a pretty good thing to have. If one is going to cycle to the store, it might not be as important to get a helmet."
10)	argument symbolic legisign	"Have you reflected upon what would happen to your children if you were to be hit. You'd never forgive yourself."

When I asked the interviewee behind the quotes in the table above, how it would describe itself, the answer was “a highly ordinary boring civil servant”. The author would like to add, for the sake of the context, that the civil servant is a female in her fourties, and a mother of two children. The fact that she is a mother in her fourties correlates with the statistical tendencies from the web-survey, which was the basis for choosing this person as an interviewee. She says that her children wear helmets when they ride their bikes, because they are under 15 years old. She herself did not wear a helmet before she received one from the campaign workers, and she was often told by both her children and her husband to put on a helmet. That also correlates with the survey, as helmet-wearers report being influenced by others to wear their helmets. Even when she did receive this helmet, she often forgot to wear it. She now keeps the helmet in the basket on the bike. That way she cannot forget the helmet when she jumps up on her bike and rides off.

This interviewee does not seems to communicate a very strong assertiveness concerning her helmet-wearing. For example, in quote number 1 she strongly expresses not liking the way the helmet looks, and in quote number 7 she says that she does not identify with the message of sports-cycling that she associates with the shape of the helmet. In between telling me those things, she laughed loudly and told me that she cycles fast, according to what others have told her, yet, according to quote number 7, she does not want send a message of cycling a cycling competition like Tour De France. She exhibits such a deep-rooted aversion to this specific helmet that she abhors even the colours of it. Of all the colour combinations she can imagine, black and yellow is the worst one. She repeated quote number 1 to me several times, and according to Peirce's theory of semiotics, feelings are the primary associations, the primary representamen, that people have towards signs, so it makes sense. Similarly to how the previously presented interviewee reacted first to how the helmet made him feel, this second interviewee reacted first to how the appearance of the helmet makes her feel.

The interviewee says these negative things about the helmet, such as quotes 1 and 7 for example, yet as can be seen from quotes 10, 5, and 3, she still sees that bicycle helmets signify a material function of safety in case of an accident. As it pertains to children, she values the material function of bicycle helmets, but as it pertains to herself, other values trump those of mere function. I think that maybe Baudrillard's theory of four levels of value can help us understand things a little bit better. The interviewee says in quote number 7, “That one is built to be aerodynamic. It is a little ridiculous. It looks as if I am going to cycle the Tour De

France. If there had been a more rounder helmet, I would have rather taken that one". The material function of it, being aerodynamic, is less important to her than what it makes her look like in the eyes of others, looking like a sports-cyclist. The values of social prestige or status, for her, trumps the values of function and materiality, just like Baudrillard says in his theory of four levels of value (Baudrillard & Levin, 1981:113). This example also helps us illuminate the importance of looking at bicycle helmet wearing as a semiotic sign, because it can be seen how bicycle helmet wearing as a sign can be an important deciding factor in why people choose to abstain from wearing the helmets they received for free.

Despite disliking the helmet so much, she did answer in her questionnaire that she still wears the helmet daily, and that she enjoys how her children have internalised positive values concerning helmet-wearers. Despite showing and saying that she herself has not internalised any positive values surrounding the helmet. She still wears it, and the reason that she wears it, she says, is because her husband and her children tells her to. If they had not told her to wear a helmet, she would not have continued to be a helmet-wearer. This is interesting because it shows that there might be levels of value that trump even those presented by Baudrillard. In this particular case, the values that in the end motivates the interviewee to wear the helmet, are values relating to the obligations connected with her relative social position as a mother. This is a value that trumps both the value related to the material function of the helmet, as well as the value related to the prestige and status of wearing the helmet.

In short then, what this interviewee being a helmet-wearer signifies is, according to herself; her showing respect to others, her responding to familial obligation, and her performing a kind of self-sacrifice. The respect, as indicated by her survey answers, in that she listens and concedes to her family's wishes for her well-being; the obligation, as indicated by quote number 4, in that her family has coerced her into wearing the bicycle helmet; self-sacrifice, as indicated by the answers to the entire mixed-method of survey and in-depth interview, in that she makes a clear point out of how she overcomes her own strong dislikes about colour and shape of the helmet, and wears it anyway, even though she does not like it.

Whether the sacrifice creates an imbalance in the reciprocal relationships between the individuals in the family, and whether the sacrifice readies the scene for martyrdom, is not something that can be inferred from any of the data provided by the interviewee. The sacrifice might, however, be the resolution of the paradox between the personal disliking of the helmet and social obliging of the family.

Respect, obligation, and sacrifice are main themes in the sign that this interviewee constitutes as a helmet-wearer. The daily praxis of wearing a helmet, is something that is for others, and not something that is for oneself. The helmet-wearer, according to this interviewee, signifies the opposite of egocentrism. The helmet-wearer is not a selfish person. It is a person that cares for others, a person with compassion. A gentle person, a kind person. Someone that one can depend upon. Someone that one can look to for assistance. A rock in the wind. A pillar of support, at least for the immediate family.[3]

At the same time, according to helmet-wearing interviewee's statements that I am now analysing using the table above, the helmet-wearing seems to be a sign of social bondage, because of different obligations and duties that the helmet-wearing cyclist is bound by. The helmet-wearer is not free to do whatever it wants. The helmet-wearer has to adhere to social conventions. As a helmet-wearer, there is always the risk of negative sanction. If a cyclist wears the helmet, then it will seen as a person worthy of praise and accolades, because it was listening and being kind to others. If this cyclist would not wear the helmet, then she thinks that she would lose social stature, lose face, or lose something in the role that she has in relation to her loved ones. The image of being a mother, a spouse, a boss at the work place, it is an image that depends in some degree to living up to the obligations of others. What a cyclist signifies when it is out cycling, reflects and interacts with what it signifies when it is in proximity to those that have the expectations that it should wear a helmet. It is a moral issue. The helmet-wearer is good. In short, it seems to me that to this helmet-wearing cyclist, the sign of a helmet-wearing cyclist signifies goodness, and morality.

Conversely, helmet-free cyclists, the interviewee informs me, signify at least one personal choice. To have the opportunity to be a helmet-wearer, yet choose not to be, is not something that is instigated by others. It comes from within. The helmet-free cyclist responds to its personal likes and dislikes. In some regard, the helmet-wearer signifies being strong enough to overcome personal desires and urges, while the helmet-free cyclist signifies doing what it wants no matter if it may be because of biological instinct or deliberate consideration, either way the helmet-free cyclist signifies a free individual. Freedom, personal choice, unbound by

[3] If the reader knows Swedish; The Swedish term "duktig", which is impossible to translate into English, could be what this paragraph conveys that helmet-wearing signifies to this interviewee. "Duktig" is a kind of do-goodery, but with positive connotations. To be "duktig" in the eyes of others, is important enough to motivate wearing the helmet, no matter how ugly the helmet may seem. For the sake of consistency in the English text, however, I will not introduce non-Swedish readers to a term that they might be unfamiliar with.

social convention, no self-sacrifice, and individualism in general, seems to be the key themes of what the helmet-free cyclist signifies according to this helmet-wearing cyclist.

These cultural key terms and themes will be further presented in chapter 5, but first, the final and last table will be presented, the table belonging to another helmet-wearing cyclist.

4.2.3 Table 3: Analysis of a 2nd interviewee who continued to be a helmet-wearer

Level of interpretation	Interpretant Object Representamen	Description
1)	rhematic iconic qualisign	"I feel safer when I am wearing the helmet"
2)	rhematic iconic sinsign	"A person without a helmet might have lacked a role-model. When the children ask 'why aren't you wearing a helmet' they have no good answer"
3)	rhematic indexical sinsign	"Sometimes there is an empty feeling on the top of my head, then I know I've forgotten the helmet"
4)	dicent indexical sinsign	"When I was 8-9yo the police came by and showed us the 'egg trick', with a helmet on the egg. Those campaigns are really good"
5)	rhematic iconic legisign	"Those with helmet think about protecting their heads, plus being a role-model for the younger."
6)	rhematic indexical legisign	"It could be a matter of cost. There are those with poor finances"
7)	dicent indexical legisign	"The head does not get any less fragile just because one has turned 15yo"
8)	rhematic symbolic legisign	"If they're over 15yo, it is their choice"
9)	dicent symbolic legisign	"The police told me about what could happen, using an example of a girl that had not been wearing her helmet"
10)	argument symbolic legisign	"If children see older people wearing helmets, they'll start wearing helmets as well"

The table above is the result of an analysis of a person describing itself as a 35 year old girl. At the time of the interview she has two children, one that is 3 years old and another that is 6 years old. The fact that she is a 35 year old mother correlates with the tendencies found in the initial web-survey, justifying my choosing this person for an in-depth interview. She told me that her smaller child indicates when it has no helmet on, by pointing with both hands towards its head. The older child refuses to ride a bicycle without a helmet. If the interviewee forgets her own helmet, she will go back for it, no matter how long it takes or how far she has to go. She seems to truly believe in the importance of wearing a helmet when cycling. To wear a helmet, seems to be a value that she has internalised, and not something she does merely because others tells her to, distinguishing her from the previous interviewee, potentially adding to the thick data of helmet-wearing cyclists.

For her children, the interviewee refers to the law that all children under 15 years old are required to wear a helmet when they are riding a bicycle. Indicated partly by quotes 9 and 7, anyone who looks like they might be under 15 on a bicycle, projects associations of the law to her, which I interpret as that helmet-wearers signify law-abidence to this interviewee. The police coming by when she was a child had a big impression upon her, and ever since then she believes the law is sacred, which is indicated by quotes 9 and 4. She told me about one time that she saw a parent that was cycling with a helmet-free child, and she informed the parent about the law, to which the parent said “Thank you” back to her, further cementing her seeing helmet-wearers as signifying of role-models. She also thinks that maybe immigrants do not know about the helmet-wearing law for cyclists under 15 years old, and that that might be the reason for why some of their children cycle without helmets. She says that she thinks that it would be a good idea to have directed campaigns for immigrants especially, to inform them about the helmet law for children. This exemplifies that she sees helmet-wearers as signifying responsibility towards society, which can be indicated from quotes 10 and 5. Conversely then, helmet-free cyclists under 15 years old, or parents with helmet-free children under 15 years old, are seen as either ignorant or unaware, of the law. During the interview I probed about the notion that helmet-free cyclists could have no regard for laws or responsibility for others, and it did not seem to be anything that have ever crossed her mind. This is also something which can be seen in quotes 2 and 8, where she says that cyclists without helmets might be victims of the social structure, and that she sees cyclists without helmets as signifying of free choice. “If they’re over 15yo, it is their choice”, as it says in quote number 8. Hel-

met-free cyclists signify, in part, the freedom to have made a choice, and to be a person that prioritises said choice. Choice is a matter of agency, free will, and individual freedom. Individualism.

Her focus on her own and others' children, is also reflected in her desire to be a role-model. She points out in quote number 2 and quote number 5, that while she wears the helmet to protect her head, she also wears it in order to be a role-model for younger people. Maybe if the younger people see older people wear helmets, they will more easily start to wear helmets themselves[4]. This is something that is also reflected in her perception of helmet-wearing and helmet-free cyclists. She explicitly says that cyclists with helmets both think about protecting their heads as well as to be role models for the younger, and she explicitly says that when she sees cyclists without helmets that she thinks of the accident that could happen to them. To her, cyclists without helmets signify lack of thinking about the future, as can be seen from quotes number 2 and 9. There is a clear future-orientation in her perception of helmet-wearing cyclists as well, as can be seen in quotes number 10 and 5. Helmet-wearers are seen as people who think of the future; helmet-wearers think about what would become of their children and loved ones if something were to happen, and they think about what could happen to their heads. What could happen, in the future, if one did not wear a helmet.

Her previous helmet, she received from her husband, and this helmet that she was given by the campaign workers, she was told by the campaign workers that she should wear. While she always wears a helmet when she rides a bicycle, she has certainly been influenced by others to wear these helmets in particular. She says that she is grateful for this helmet, and that one should wear a helmet if one receives it for free. Her view of having received a helmet, is that she is obligated to wear it. An obligation to the municipality who handed out the helmets, and an obligation to the children. "A person without a helmet might have lacked a role-model. When the children ask 'why aren't you wearing a helmet' they have no good answer", as she says in quote number 2. It is a debt that she thinks has to be reciprocated. If she were to not wear the helmet that she received, she would still owe the helmet-givers something. In her mind, she expects helmet-receivers to wear their helmets, for otherwise it would negate the

[4] One study confirms that seeing peers and adults as helmet-wearers does increase the chance of children aged 5-14 years old to start wearing helmets as well. It also showed that seeing peers and adults as helmet-free cyclists decreased the chance of the children becoming helmet-wearers themselves (Khambalia, MacArthur, & Parkin, 2005).

action of having accepted the gift in the first place. Wearing the helmet is a sign that you live up to this obligation, as an adult, as a role-model.

Last but not least, as quote number 1 shows, she feels safer wearing the helmet. Around this quote she told me that wearing the helmet is like a security, a cheap life insurance. This is how I and her arrived at quote number 7, where she describes how easily the head can break. But it is also a matter of habit, she says. If one wears the helmet often, one will eventually feel safer wearing it. “Sometimes there is an empty feeling on the top of my head, then I know I’ve forgotten the helmet”, she says in quote number 3. Protection is the common theme here. The head is protected, the care-giver of one’s loved-ones is protected, and one’s own and one’s loved-ones’ futures are protected. The future of the children is safe and secure. The future is safe and secure.

4.2.4 Trailing analysis of the unstructured interviews

Now that the three more in-depth analyses have been presented, it should be clearer why these interviewees in particular were chosen. The first helmet-free cyclist describes helmet-wearing in a way that is analogous to the statistical correlations that were found in conjunction with ceasing to wear the helmet. The two other interviewees describe helmet-wearing in ways that together is analogous to the statistical correlations that were found in conjunction with continuing to wear the helmet. While none of these interview analyses are statistically representable of the helmet-wearers and helmet-free cyclists in the population writ large, that is not the purpose of employing this kind of qualitative method.

The purpose with these in-depth interviews have to been to answer the qualitative research question; The purpose of the interviews have been to find out why some helmet-receivers would choose to continue to wear the helmet, and why some helmet-receivers would choose to cease to wear the helmet. To this end, these interview analyses have been useful; The interview analyses present a nuanced view of what helmet-wearing and helmet-free cyclists signify to the helmet-recipients, which will be useful not only to answer the research questions at hand, but the nuanced view will also be useful in order to problematise the research topic of helmet-wearing, giving deeper insight into what helmet-wearing can mean to cyclists and other road users.

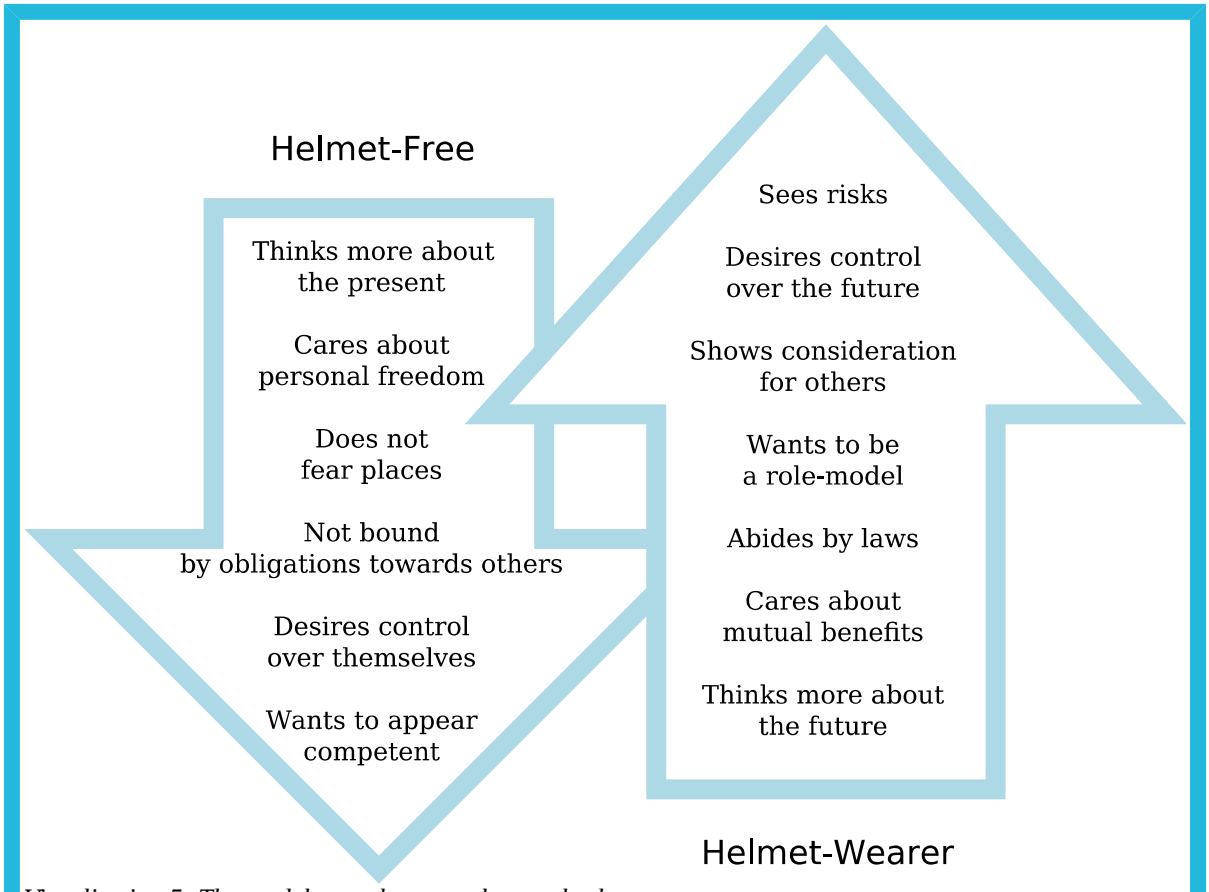
These views of helmet-wearing and helmet-free cyclists will be further elaborated in the coming chapter of this thesis, showing that being a helmet-wearing or a helmet-free cyclist

are two signs themselves, signs of what kind of self the cyclist is perceived to be by the rest of society. They are temporary selves, or ephemeral selves, only manifest for as long as an individual is near a bicycle in Lund. I determine that I have now presented enough analysis of the empirical data for me to be able to present the concept of ephemeral selves. The thesis has now reached a point where the beginnings of a scientific theory has been created, which is what I said in chapter 3 that I would do, when I justified the choice of theoretical sampling by its fit to the creation of new scientific theories (Flick, 2006:125-126; Hoonaard, 2008), and when I justified the choice of unstructured interviews with reference to the purpose of this thesis (Firmin, 2008:907-908), the purpose of this thesis which is to present the novel idea of a short-lived kind of self, the ephemeral self. Similar to Cumming's ceremonial dresses (Cumming, 2004:87), the wearing of the bicycle helmet affects how others treat oneself, during the short period of time that one wears the bicycle helmet, and this, it is discussed in chapters 5 and 6, in turn affects why people choose to wear or not wear the bicycle helmets.

The reason for why these Lund cyclists choose to wear or not wear the bicycle helmets, is connected to what the ephemeral selves of helmet-free and helmet-wearers signify to others in the culture of Lund. This can be seen this especially in the second in-depth interview; the survey could not say why the second interviewee chose to wear her helmet, only that she did wear her helmet. If I had assumed that all who wear their helmets want to wear their helmets, I would not have understood why they wear their helmets. By performing the in-depth interview with the second interviewee, it was elucidated that she does not like wearing the helmet at all, and that she primarily wears her helmet out of a sense of obligation to her close family, in order to project to others that she is a person that respects and cares about others. Had it not been in Sweden, this reason for wearing the helmet might not have been present among the helmet-wearers. Maybe not to the same extent anyway. It is cultural. Different cultures will have different signs for what helmet-wearing means. In south of Sweden, in a bicycle dense city like Lund, in the year(s) 2014-2015, the results of the cultural analysis of helmet-wearing in this thesis are are culturally specific to Lund in 2014-2015. This cultural specificity, is a point which will be further established in chapters 5 and 6.

Visualisation 5, seen further below, is a graphic I made in order to summarise the qualitative analysis of what being a helmet-wearer or a helmet-free cyclist signifies to the helmet-receiving interviewees from Lund. Reality is of course more complex, and true understanding is reached by grasping the nuances of the complexity, which is better conveyed by the previous

chapter, rather than the simplistic reductions provided by models, such as this one, but as a pragmatic aid in presenting the results of the analysis, this model serves its purpose.



Visualisation 5: The model over the two ephemeral selves

What Visualisation 5 presents, is what the helmet-free and the helmet-wearers communicate to others, via their choice in material attire. In other words, following Goffman's definition of the self as action-oriented (Goffman, 1969:25-26), the selves of helmet-free and helmet-wearers are constructed by the action of presenting oneself in public with or without a helmet on, and following Peirce's view of the self as a communicable sign (Singer, 1984), choosing to communicate either set of these meanings to the people in the situation of the traffic space.

Here, I hope anyway, it is also further elucidated how ephemeral selves are also like metaphorical onions (Miller, 2010), because if one was to, hypothetically, remove the meanings inside the arrows in Visualisation 5, the action of wearing and not wearing a helmet in public would have no meaning, and the signs of the helmet-free and the helmet-wearing cyclists

would cease to exist. In other words, a sign is the aggregated meanings that it is comprised of, and the signs of ephemeral selves constitute no exception.

When I take all of the aforementioned into consideration, I can see that the necessary conditions for the existence of selves, are also present in the ephemeral social situation such as that of merely cycling for a few minutes with a helmet on. The case for this abductive reasoning, is one that I hope is made further apparent to the reader, as chapters 5 and 6 are presented.

As for the symbology of the arrows in Visualisation 5, they are not meant to signify any greater meaning than that the helmet-free cyclists have symbolically put their helmets down while helmet-wearers have put their helmets up on top of their heads.

5 The meaning of the results

First off, it has to be stated that it is somewhat interesting to see that none of the interviewees or respondents make any indications of associating the ephemeral self of helmet-wearing with childishness or immaturity. It is not seen explicitly in the qualitative analysis because when I asked the interviewees they just said no and moved on to other topics, there was nothing more to say about that. The helmet-free cyclist did not seem to look down upon the helmet-wearers, as he did not mention seeing helmet-wearers as childish or nerdy or dorky or anything negative at all. I did ask him about this outright during the interview as well, but it is not included in the analysis because it is not a part of the signs of the helmet-wearers or the helmet-free cyclists. For the helmet-free cyclist, it was instead the personal choice of the helmet-wearers that said something that signified the sign of a helmet-wearer. For the helmet-wearers as well, it can be seen that they did not look down upon the helmet-free, not only because I asked them, but also because they did not see them as dangerous risks in traffic, they did not see them as egotistical or selfish or anything like that. Similarly here, my questioning them whether they looked down upon helmet-free was not included in the analysis because it was not a part of the signs of helmet-wearing or helmet-free cyclists. What was signifying of helmet-free cyclists instead, for the helmet-wearers as well, was the personal choice[5] of not wearing the helmet. People over 15 years old can do what they want, is how both groups perceive each other. There is no apparent animosity between the two groups.

At the same time, the responsibility and adulthood that Markus Idvall found in his discourse analysis of Swedish children's books, such a responsibility and adulthood was in part corroborated by my informants as well. Helmet-wearing does seem to signify a sense of responsibility, for one's own close family first and foremost, but also to others in the traffic space. The focus on skill and accustomisation in the signification of the helmet-free cyclists, also somewhat follows the same conclusion that Idvall drew in his discourse analysis. This is interesting for this thesis, because it shows that helmet-free cyclists are not the opposite of helmet-wearing cyclists. Helmet-wearers can be seen as adult and responsible, without helmet-free cyclists being seen as childish and irresponsible. Conversely, helmet-free cyclists

[5] Even though the informants speak of "personal choices", this does not mean that this thesis is about personality or personhood or anything similar. The statements of the informants are to be interpreted as descriptions of the signs that constitute the selves of helmet-wearers and helmet-free cyclists.

can be seen as skilful and accustomed, without helmet-wearers being seen as unskilled and unaccustomed. This relative unrelatedness of the two presented ephemeral selves, is a driving point of the result of the analysis of this thesis, and it will be further elaborated until the end of this chapter.

The results from the quantitative analysis showed that helmet-free in general earn more money, do not feel safer with the helmet on, and categorise their cycling style as unclear. While these are material facts, it has also been shown that it is not something that the interviewees associate with the sign of helmet-free cyclists, and that is a distinction that can be important to keep in mind.

The results of the quantitative analysis also showed that helmet-wearers were influenced by others to wear the helmet, a large portion of the helmet-wearers are parents, and the helmet-wearers have a tendency to not categorise themselves as pragmatic in traffic. These material facts of helmet-wearing, in contrast to the material facts of the helmet-free, are part of what the interviewees associate with helmet-wearing cyclists as a sign. So, the sign of helmet-free is disconnected from the material facts correlated with helmet-free cyclists, while the sign of helmet-wearing is connected to the material facts correlated with helmet-wearing cyclists. While I do not think that this difference between the two signs in itself says anything useful pertaining to the purpose of this thesis, I do believe that it is important to mention this difference, in order to further elucidate how signs are metaphysical constructions, and not determined by their material conditions. Signs affect people's actions, but signs do not have to have any basis in any measurable materality.

Following the train of thought of metaphysics, it can be seen from the results of the in-depth interviews that both helmet-wearers and helmet-free cyclists signify both positive and negative connotations. There is no value judgement of either, in this thesis. It cannot be objectively said that it is better to be one or the other. From the subjective viewpoint of the singular helmet-wearer, on the other hand, what it signifies to a helmet-wearing cyclist, invariably trumps what it would mean to signify a helmet-free cyclist. Vice versa, for the helmet-free cyclist the significations of the helmet-freeness trumps the significations of the helmet-wearing. It is not a matter of quantity, but rather a question of quality. One cannot simply make a list of pros and cons and go for whichever gets more pros than cons. For example, when one of the helmet-wearing interviewees mentions her obliging her husband by wearing the helmet, then that trumps an almost infinite amount of points regarding her personal free-

dom as a potential helmet-free cyclist, as can be seen from her overcoming different very negative associations with helmet-wearing. From the subjective viewpoint of the helmet-free cyclist it is a different matter, because the helmet-free cyclist favours instead to be viewed as a helmet-free cyclist. It is important to remember the helmet-free perspective. Some individuals might choose to be helmet-wearers because of what being a helmet-wearer signifies, but other individuals might choose to be helmet-wearer because of what helmet-free cyclists signify. These two signs are two sides of the same coin. They are not binary oppositions, they are only two signs in a system of infinite amount of signs, two ephemeral selves out of an infinite amount of ephemeral selves. The signs have an internal relationship which also determines their meaning, to some extent. It is impossible to account for all, as they are infinite. There is no upper limit to how many different kinds of signs that can be constructed, because signs can be constructed to take on any meaning.

The important part to remember here, if one is a stakeholder in whether or not people choose to wear bicycle helmets, is to not pick sides between different signs. Any helmet-wearer could take offence to what is said about helmet-free, for instance. While one might choose to wear a helmet, that does not mean that one would not prefer to not wear a helmet. Like the helmet-free interviewee informed me, sports-cyclists do not have a choice during competitions, so they might not be wearing their helmets because they want to. It could be similar with the non-sports-helmet-wearers as well. Like the first helmet-wearing interviewee explained, she does not like the helmet at all, she wears it because her husband and children told her to. If a campaign would pick a side, and focus on the negatives of being helmet-free, it could backfire, and helmet-wearers could start to become helmet-free cyclists.

Instead, campaign makers and policy makers and academics and other interested in ephemeral selves or bicycle safety, should see the signs of helmet-wearing and helmet-freeness as part of a totality. It is a whole system of signs, of which these two are but a part. Therefore, both signs could be included in a governance campaign, for instance, focusing on what could make a helmet-free cyclist begin to wear the helmet, while not dismissing what the helmet-freeness signifies. Exactly how that would go, is up to marketers and the like, I am just exemplifying how to interpret the results of this study. ‘Wear a helmet, not because someone told you, but because you want to’, or maybe ‘If you want to wear a helmet, we have a wide selection for you to choose from’. This is something that was also substantiated by Cajoma Con-

sulting's Magnus Andersson, and his attempt at increasing the helmet-wearers in his own family, as was shown in section 1.7 of this thesis.

Helmet-free cyclists, seem to epitomise the signification of individualism more than helmet-wearers. Helmet-free cyclists seem to embody the very prototype of the free and independent cyclist. This is why, I infer from my analysed material, that one very plausible explanation for why some helmet-free cyclists choose to actively abstain from being seen as helmet-wearers, is that they are in fact the kind of person that the helmet-freeness signify. While they can be very dependable and oblige others, they value their own personal freedom so highly that others cannot make them do anything they do not want to. Even if they are told about the risks of being involved in a bicycle accident without a helmet, even if they know how much the helmet protects the head statistically, they will not wear the helmet unless they themselves choose to.

Then it has to be said, that while there are helmet-free cyclists that present themselves in this fashion, there are also helmet-free cyclists that do not. I would not become an individualist just because I accidentally forgot my helmet at home. One point though, with the semiotic approach, is that others will see a helmet-free cyclist as signifying these messages, no matter if the cyclist itself intended to or not. This is one of the informal social conventions that social beings have to relate to in one way or another. One person cannot just up and decide that swastikas are no longer signifying of Nazism, and then go around wearing a t-shirt with a swastika on it, believing that others will somehow know and understand the message that this person wants to send. That is not how semiotics work, that is not how cultures work, that is not how people work. The signification is there already, and people have to choose how to relate to it. If I forgot my helmet at home and I wish to signify a responsible adult that thinks of others, I should go back home and get my helmet. If I am fine with being seen as a helmet-free cyclist, then there is no conflict of identity that needs to be resolved, and I can continue pedalling. Even if one would not think consciously about the choice, and maybe just act on habit or routine, it is not possible cycle with or without a helmet. The choice has to be made, and in making either choice, the chosen ephemeral self actively reifies the social structure that maintains the significations, completing the circle that connects the individual agency with the social structure.

To compare and understand these results, I looked just a little bit at the culture in Britain/London. I think that such a comparison is necessary, because it gives a deeper understanding of how these signs are particular to different cultures.

Within the sign of helmet-wearing, there is an infinite amount of particular ways of signifying one's self as a cyclist in traffic. Looking closer at the British/Londonian culture, for example, one might find these signs of self in the traffic space:

> Well, there is "courier-dude" on a track bike without brakes. And "messenger-wannabe", indistinguishable except for having brakes. Then there's "campaigner-commuter", usually riding a well-travelled touring bike covered in stickers. Behind is "sit-up-and-beggar", pedalling in inappropriate footwear the same bike they had when they were students (basket optional). And not forgetting "mountainbike-macho", the guy (invariably male) who will always overtake you again if you get in front.
>
> It's easy to get offended by such reductive labels. But it's not just blind prejudice; we use them to predict driver behaviour. For example, Q: what is the likelihood of this vehicle ahead of me at the lights turning left without indicating? A: taxi 10%, white van 40%, SUV man talking on his mobile 90%, etc. And I suspect motorists are watching cyclists and doing the maths. Stereotypes? Don't knock 'em. They keep us alive. (Seaton, 2009:49)

Here is a good example of how Lund's culture is different than the British/Londonian culture. If the author of the quote above would go to Lund then he might see many "sit-up-and-beggar" everywhere in Lund's traffic space, because in Lund there are many cyclists who cycle in their regular shoes, on bicycles with baskets. For the cyclists themselves, however, in the culture of Lund, footwear-wearing might signify only sports-cycling specifically, seeing as almost everyone but sports-cyclists never change shoes just because they get on a bicycle. I would say, that in Lund, and in Denmark, Netherlands and Germany (See Pucher & Buehler, 2008), cyclists see no reason to wear anything different just because they get on a bicycle. This is why the semiotics of helmet-wearing cannot be studied solely from an objective outsider-perspective, or an ETIC perspective as it is sometimes called within the fields of linguistics and semiotics (Thomas N. Headland, 2004). An ETIC perspective might lend itself suitable for studies on helmet durability or other objectively measurable phenomena, but see-

ing as signs are constructed from cultures' particular histories, an EMIC perspective is needed (Thomas N. Headland, 2004), that is, an insider's perspective is needed. In Lund, a cyclist without specific cycling footwear, on an old bicycle with a basket, is from the EMIC perspective not seen as a "sit-up-and-beggar", because in Lund there is no particular cultural history of cyclists wearing specific cycling footwear. The meaning of the sign, the entire existence of the sign, changes depending on the cultural and historical context in which the sign is found. For example, seeing helmet-wearing as a sign of being less vulnerable and more competent, can change one's behaviour towards helmet-wearers. In Bath, Britain, a researcher found that motorists drive almost a whole decimetre closer to helmet-wearers, than they do to helmet-free cyclists (Seaton, 2009:57).

Following what has been presented by the quantitative analysis in this thesis, that a third of the helmet-free respondents report that they feel that they are 'unclear' in traffic, it can be inductively inferred that this is a similarity between the British/Bathian culture and the culture in Lund, unless something drastically has changed in the five years between the publishing of Mr Seaton's book and the evaluation of the bicycle helmet that I performed for Lund Municipality. This similarity is further substantiated by the qualitative analysis in this thesis, where the helmet-free cyclist says that he perceives the helmet-wearing of professional competing cyclists to be signifying of competency and skill. That is, both in Lund and in Bath, helmet-free cyclists seems to signify competency and skill.

In regards to traffic safety, the distance between cyclists and motorists could be seen as a crucial aspect, and one could then wish to draw the conclusion that it is desirable to see more cyclists without helmets in traffic. This would be a mistake for at least three reasons. Firstly, as have been demonstrated by the analyses in this thesis, each sign has to be taken as a whole. Only looking at one intentionality projected from the helmet-free cyclist is not enough to understand the whole message being sent by the helmet-free cyclist. Secondly, a negative value associated with helmet-wearing is not the same as a positive value associated with helmet-freeness. Thirdly, being a helmet-wearer is not the only sign that one communicates in the traffic space. For example, by going into the flow of the traffic, rather than away from it, one is sending the message that one's self is not that of a done-down victim, increasing one's safety in traffic, potentially so even if one is a helmet-wearer as well:

> I've been riding in the gutter and not looking behind enough. "As a rule of thumb," David [instructor at Cycle Training UK] explains, "cars will leave the same amount of space as they pass you as there is between you and kerb." But won't it piss off motorists unnecessarily if I'm in the middle of the lane? Not if you're checking behind frequently – that way, drivers can see you're not oblivious. "The key is that you are communicating to other road users," says David. "You need to realise that you can manipulate the traffic." This was my eureka moment. It's not about being mindlessly assertive; it's about making yourself safe by being part of the traffic stream rather than hiding in the margins. I hadn't understood how my behaviour was subtly reinforcing my cyclist sense of self as a done-down victim. (Seaton, 2009:65-66)

Helmet-free cyclists, people who choose to stop being seen as helmet-wearers, would have more of an incentive to quit cycling if helmet-wearing was made compulsory, because they put a much higher value on individuality and freedom of choice, but in the culture of Lund 2014, the amount of helmet-wearers is so much larger than the amount of helmet-free cyclists, that the frequency of reduced accidents due to helmet-wearing would be considerably higher than the frequency of reduced cyclists. This might be completely different in other cultures. In a generalised British culture, for example, making helmet-wearing compulsory might do more harm than benefit. In 2005, the British Medical Association decided to change their policy, and started campaigning in favour of making helmet-wearing compulsory. The CTC, Britain's largest and oldest cycling organisation, made themselves heard in protest against BMA's policy change:

> Their key objection was that making helmets compulsory would act as a deterrent to many who already do, or who might in future, ride a bicycle. A lack of physical exercise, leading to the present obesity epidemic, is a far greater health problem, they argued, than the relatively small number of head and facial injuries that might be prevented or mitigated by wearing a helmet. (Seaton, 2009:185)

This short chapter has presented what it means to see helmet-wearing and helmet-freeness as ephemeral selves, and how to interpret the results of the analyses from a cultural analytical perspective. The following two chapters will recapitulate some of the key-findings in this thesis, and then conclude with the academic and applied significance of those key-findings.

6 Recapitulation and suggestions for further research

The purpose of this thesis has been to look at why some helmet-recipients choose to wear their free helmets, and why other helmet-recipients choose to abstain from wearing their free helmets, in order to be able to conceptualise an expansion of existing theories of the self, into the ephemeral. In other words, the purpose of this thesis has been to use the evaluation of a governance campaign as an empirical case study of the ephemerality of the self. In order to accomplish this, two research questions were posed, and hopefully also answered.

Looking at the results of the quantitative analysis, it might be seen that the first posed question can be answered; *Did the campaign of handing out helmets work, do people wear the helmets they received?* Close to 58% answer a clear-cut Yes to whether they are using the helmets that they received. If the respondents that gave their helmet to someone else are combined with those that said Yes to having worn the helmet, then it can be seen that over 71% of the helmets have been used by someone. Whether this is a successful result or not, of the governance of the campaign itself, can only be judged by the persons directly responsible for such campaigns. After my analysis was completed I asked Anders Söderberg at the municipality, what result would constitute a successful campaign, and he said that if the helmet-receivers increase their helmet-usage by 50% it is good. Therefore, considering that this evaluation showed that the helmet-usage was up to 71%, it can be said that the governance of the campaign was indeed a success.

If I may speculate further as to what could make a campaign successful, one could bring up the issue about the real economic cost of the helmets in relation to their usage percentage; If cost is an issue, then it could be seen as if each helmet actually cost twice as much, because only half of them were used. In other words, the campaign maker would be getting back the same amount on the investment, if less cyclists wore cheaper helmets, than if more people wore more expensive helmets. This, however, would create a whole philosophical discussion on whether lives can be quantified, which there is no room to do here. That could be an interesting idea for a paper though.

Another angle for what makes the campaign successful, can be to look at how many helmets that are still in circulation, meaning that they can still be used by someone in the future. As the questionnaire results showed, not a single respondent answered Yes to having thrown

the helmet away, meaning that it is still possible that each and every helmet handed out, can in the future come to be used by someone. If a person in charge of campaign resources prioritises the number of helmets that can be used by someone, no matter if it is the person who received it, then this statistical result could be be seen as quite promising.

If the success of the campaign is looked at from the perspective of the users, the users were given the opportunity to wear a helmet and could choose for themselves whether or not they would use the helmets; As the first interview indicated, agency and subsequent self-determination are important qualities to cyclists in general. Cycling is foremost an individualist activity. So from that perspective, to have been given the choice to wear a helmet, regardless of cost or other obstacles, is in itself a success. Furthermore, looking back again at the questionnaires, and adding the information gained from the interview with the helmet-free cyclist, an educated guess could be that helmet-free cyclists in particular, put individualist values high on their list of priorities. To know this, ought to be of great interest not just for future campaign designers, but also for future research into cycling behaviour.

As a final observation on the questionnaire results, it is maybe necessary to point out that only 13% of the respondents actively chose to not wear their helmets any longer. This could be seen as a quite low number, and campaign managers might not deem it necessary to put more energy and resources into the helmet-free cyclists as a market segment. However, if a campaign manager would wish to increase the number of people continuing to wear their helmets, increasing the market share of helmet-wearers, then the results of the qualitative in-depth interviews could come in handy, to understand why some of these 13% chose to abstain from wearing their helmets.

Looking at the qualitative analysis, it would seem that the attempt to answer the second posed research question might also have been answered; W*hy do some bicyclists in Lund choose to (not) wear the helmet that they received for free?* Presenting that the helmet-wearing or non-wearing signifies who the cyclist is in relation to others in the traffic space, that the wearing of the helmet signify the self of the cyclist, I have attempted to map some of the culturally shared significations of helmet-wearing as reasons for why a Lund cyclist might choose to (not) wear the helmet they have received during this campaign. The result of this mapping is that some cyclists choose to not wear the helmet because it would make themselves even temporarily signify primarily an incompetency of cycling, a fear of places, a lack of confidence in the skills of drivers, and a fear of high speeds. Based on this I conclude that

it is not so much a choice of wanting to be seen as a helmet-free cyclist, as it is a choice to want to not be seen as a helmet-wearing cyclist. I make this conclusion mainly based on the fact that the analyses of helmet-freeness as a sign indicates that while there are some pros in favour of being seen as a helmet-free cyclist, those pros are all still negatively defined in relation to the connotations associated with the sign of helmet-wearing: Not-bound-by-responsibility, not-afraid, not-incompetent, et cetera.

On the other side there are the helmet-wearers; For some of the cyclists that choose to wear the helmet, whether or not they signal incompetency or fear is not as important as whether or not they signify that they have done all they can to increase their feeling of control in traffic. That is what they wish to communicate by wearing the helmet, that they are selves that choose the safest way. Judging by their actions and the analyses, helmet-wearers seem to wish to signify being responsible role-models, to children as well as to other road-users. They seem to wish to signify dependability, safety, but also security. If one would attempt to appeal to their priorities, talking about freedom and individuality would presumably be a waste of time. The helmet-wearers, instead, seem to be more interested in signifying collectivity, family, friends, responsibility, obligations, duties, and other forms of bonds between people, even if it is for just a very brief moment of time that they would signify any of this.

I here refer back to Visualisation 5 and its surrounding explanations, on page 72, for anyone who wishes to review the summary of the ephemeral signs of helmet-free and helmet-wearing cyclists.

I have in this thesis been trying to speak of “some” cyclists in this thesis, because I do not presume there to be just one consensus on what a helmet-wearing-cyclist signifies; There are always many different culturally constructed ideas on what different things can signify. They are akin to social fields, which within each one there are competing ideas on what different things signify. This is so, not just for the delineation of Lund municipality, and not just for cyclists in this municipality, and not just helmet-wearing-cyclists within this municipality. This is how it is for all signs, according to the abductive reasoning I have applied in this thesis. Everyone does not have the same connotations when looking at a flag, everyone does not think the same thing when they see a specific word, everyone does not read same thing into an event or an action, but there are tendencies, and these can be traced using cultural analysis. The tendencies can be said to exist, because if there would be no tendencies, cooperation would be impossible, because cooperation requires communication, and communication

requires signs. Because cooperation does occur, this means that there are similarities in how the different signs are interpreted.

This thesis has presented a slice of similarities in how two ephemeral signs are interpreted, according to the empirical case of Lund municipality; This thesis has fulfilled its purpose by showing how some cyclists in Lund municipality perceive the ephemeral selves of helmet-wearers and helmet-free cyclists.

The findings in this theses can be said to be important for several reasons; First, they are important from an applied standpoint. For future campaigns, it is possible to say that in one previous campaign over 71% of the helmets had come to be used, actively increasing the overall helmet usage in the traffic space. Knowing why some cyclists choose to (not) wear the helmet can aid in better targeting future governance campaigns. Maybe campaigns with slogans and branding focusing on boosting the feeling of safety that some of the helmet wearers desire to signify, or with imagery and logos focusing on boosting the fearlessness and competency that some of the potential helmet-free cyclists desire to signify.

A second reason why the the research findings in this thesis are important, arises from a more academic standpoint. Looking back at the aforementioned lack of short-lived selves in Goffman's examples of situations where people project something to others (Goffman, 1969:25-26), it may be said that this thesis helps fill a knowledge gap as it pertains to the study of selves. Goffman seemed to imply that selves, as defined semiotically, are by their nature more long-lived. For this thesis to have presented the concept of ephemeral selves then, shows that the semiotic theory of selves can be extended to include more short-lived selves. The same applies to Peirce’s semiotic understanding of the self, to some degree it also applies to Miller’s description of temporally worn material garments, and to a large degree it also applies to Singer’s interpretation of the self as a sign. To have expanded on this set of already existing research by having presented the concept of an ephemeral self, opens up for a whole range of various new questions to be questioned and answered, as the following section elaborates more upon.

To suggest some future research questions for applied cultural analysis, based on the results of this thesis, I would like to first and foremost point towards exploring other signs of ephemeral selves, those ephemeral selves that might not seem so obvious at a first glance. So, what I would suggest, would be to look at and question at least the following three characteristics, characteristics that might indicate the existence of other unexplored ephemeral selves:

First, it would be interesting to look at whether or not seemingly *necessary* materialities such as umbrellas are chosen for what they signify to non-umbrella-users, because, like the bicycle helmet, even though people might say that such objects are necessary, there are people who are able to opt out of their usage. Shoe covers at the doctor's office, computer mouses at the work station, towels in the sauna, et cetera.

Second, it would be interesting to look at whether seemingly *arbitrary* choices such as walking on the left hand side of the road instead of the right could not also be signifying something about the person, because, like the helmet-free cyclists, the context of their choice makes it less arbitrary and more systematic. Taking the cold cuts first at the smörgåsbord, waving Hello with the left hand instead of the right, clicking 'Like' before commenting, et cetera.

Third, it would be interesting to look at whether descriptions of seemingly *natural* phenomena are actually not chosen for what they signify. Choosing to describe sexuality as natural, choosing to describe human rights as natural, choosing to describe nature as natural, et cetera.

It might be argued that the three aforementioned suggestions for further research is exactly what cultural analysts do in fact study already, and I would agree. These kind of choices, these kind of research topics, is the forte of the cultural analyst. However, as has been shown with this thesis, when one uses ephemeral selves as an analytic category, new windows of insight open up. For example, looking at the previous paragraphs listing the seemingly necessary, the seemingly natural, and the seemingly arbitrary, the following question can be answered: What kind of ephemeral selves do these choices signify, if any, in different particular cultures, and what does the existence of specific ephemeral selves say about these cultures writ large? It is this acknowledgement of ephemeral selves as a culturally analytical tool, that I would suggest that applied cultural analysts can choose to use in their future research, as it can not only expand the understanding of why people do what they do, but it can also aid in answering very hands-on questions for real-world clients, such as why some helmet-recipients choose to abstain from wearing a free helmet that they themselves accepted to receive.

Less general, and more specific to the applied research topic of this thesis, I personally would also like to come back to this case with the bicycle helmets, and make another survey, using the qualitative responses as a foundation for the questionnaires; I would like to perform another survey, just to really cement the concept of the ephemeral selves. In this survey I

would ask the respondents more questions about the significations surrounding the signs of helmet-wearing cyclists and helmet-free cyclists, that I now know exist as part of the traffic culture in Lund municipality, and then I would compare those responses with the percentage of the helmet-wearers that are aware of what message they are communicating, and what percentage of the helmet-free cyclists abstained from helmets because of what helmet-wearing signifies, and so on. The reason that I would like to do this, is so that I could go deeper and explore how situational ephemeral selves can be.

I would claim that this thesis has affirmed the existence of two ephemeral selves, two ephemeral selves that at least exist in the particular culture exhibited in the traffic space of Lund municipality. Ephemeral selves as a concept is presented by this thesis as being different from other selves in the sense that ephemeral selves are more short-lived, which coupled with the longevity of culturally disseminated signs, increases their adaptability to changing conditions, which in turn enables a higher degree of agency than other selves might enable. This comparison between ephemeral selves and other selves, however, is something that might need more studies to be fully understood.

In terms of the materiality that ephemeral selves seem to be connected to, I think that it would be interesting to study this connection further. A bicycle helmet comes on and off easily enough, but this is not the same for all material artefacts. It might be possible, if I may speculate, to distinguish between different types of ephemeral selves based on the relative longevity in the presentation of the materiality that the selves are projected by; A bicycle helmet could be more ephemeral than workwear uniforms, uniforms could be more ephemeral than easily changed hairstyles, tattoos even less ephemeral than hairstyles, and body shape and skin colour close to being the least ephemeral type of self. Presented like this, it can also be seen how the distinction between ephemeral and non-ephemeral selves is arbitrary, and possibly subject to itself being a cultural construction. Categories are seldom universal, and the category of ephemeral selves seem to be no exception.

Looking back, I think that this thesis has fulfilled its purpose, as the research questions seem to have been answered, and the concept of ephemeral selves has been outlined with the two examples of helmet-wearing and helmet-free cyclists. With this in mind, I would say that the scientific rationale of the thesis has been met. To go even further still, the next and concluding chapter will touch upon the scientific significance of the thesis.

7 Conclusion

Using semiotics as a tool of applied cultural analysis to illuminate ephemeral selves can provide vital insights into intersubjective meaning making, which in turn increases emic understanding for the behaviour of groups of people that are only seemingly bonded to each other by circumstance. From an etic perspective it is easy to dismiss helmet wearing as a desire to be safe, and that those that do not wear helmets just do not desire to be safe. Such an etic perspective, it can be shown via this applied cultural analysis approach, mutes these groups of people, and robs them of their agency in academic texts. Only by acknowledging their wills and desires in forming their selves in relation to others, can their behaviours be truly understood.

Furthermore, acknowledging that ephemeral selves rely on culturally disseminated significations is imperative in understanding the process whereby these selves are created. An individual is not perceived as a helmet-wearing-cyclist just because it puts on a helmet and sits on a bicycle, instead, a person becomes a helmet-wearing-cyclist by accepting and reifying the connotations associated with the image of a helmet-wearing person upon a bicycle in traffic. Only by investigating what these signs can mean to people in the context of a particular culture, can it be understood how and why that particular culture creates these connotations associated with these signs. Such things are important to social beings; It is how they create themselves. Not as subcultural identities, but as selves. This is something that becomes even more apparent with bicycle helmets, because the wearing of a bicycle helmet already implies the owning and mounting of a bicycle. It is a very specific kind of self, the helmet-wearing-cyclist, which makes it a very good case for explicating upon the importance of the acknowledging of culturally disseminated signs in relation to the creation of ephemeral selves.

This thesis has shown, that the signs with which different kinds of cyclists can opt to present themselves as, is a self-creation process with which agency in the public sphere might be engendered, and that this engendering is one with which cyclists might create positions of power in the traffic space. The helmet-free cyclists in this case study use their agency to signify a sort of anti-thesis to what the helmet-wearing cyclists use their agency to signify. It is not a conflict between the two groups, but merely a question of representing their selves. By taking this into account, governance campaigns can be better designed to target both of these

groups, without in any way excluding on or the other. Studies on not only traffic safety and cycling in particular, but also studies on identity, self-hood, control, rationality, and agency in general, can benefit from considering applying a perspective of semiotics and ephemerality to their applied cultural analysis.

As the study of ephemeral selves seems to be a relatively unexplored field, especially from a semiotic and rationality standpoint, this thesis gives many new openings for further study. It also covers a somewhat large knowledge gap in applied cultural analysis and European ethnology. With this, the scientific significance of the thesis has been affirmed.

8 Summering på Svenska – Summary in Swedish

> "Jag tog en hjälm för att jag tänkte använda den själv. Jag använde den några veckor då jag cyklade genom områden som jag uppfattade som farligare. Sedan använde jag hjälmen mindre och mindre, till slut låg den oanvänd på hatthyllan"
>
> //Hjälmmottagare

1 LUND, CYKELHJÄLMAR , OCH TECKEN

1.1 Målet med studien

Denna studie ämnar att se närmare på varför vissa cyklister väljer att (inte) bära en hjälm som de fått gratis, för att få en djupare förståelse kring efemära själv.

1.2 Om Lunds kommun och cykelhjälmskampanjen

2014 delades 830 cykelhjälmar ut gratis, till cyklister utan hjälm, vid populära cykelstråk runtom i Lund stad. Det var en del av en trafiksäkerhetskampanj vid Gatu- och Trafikkontoret på Lunds Kommun. Det har gjorts flertalet dylika kampanjer i Lund, i andra kommuner, och i resten utav världen, ändå har aldrig någon utvärdering utav en cykelhjälmskampanj gjorts, berättade Anders Söderberg för mig. Detta blir första gången som en studie görs på detta ämne, vilket den tidigare forskningen också pekar på.

Jag blev presenterad för projektet genom organisationen Miljöbron, som arbetar med att koppla samman näringsliv och akademia. Miljöbron berättade för mig att Lunds Kommun ville ha sin cykelhjälmskampanj utvärderad. Anders Söderberg – Trafikmiljösamordnare och enhetschef på Gatu- och Trafikkontoret på Lunds Kommun – berättade för mig att projektet gick ut på att ta reda på om cykelhjälmskampanjen fungerade överhuvudtaget.

Jag gick med på att utföra utvärderingen, på villkoret att jag fick utrymme att ställa en kulturanalytisk följdfråga. Orsaken till att jag ville ställa en följdfråga är, att ha enkom frågat hur många som använder hjälmen, hade inte givit den vetenskapliga signifikansen som krävs inom akademia. Dessutom anser jag min expertis vara inom kulturanalys.

1.3 Frågeställningarna

För att kunna säga huruvida kampanjen var lyckad, ställs den mer tillämpade frågan:
Fungerade kampanjen, använder folk hjälmarna som de blivit tilldelade?

Som en mer kulturanalytisk följdfråga ställs:
Varför väljer vissa cyklister att bära hjälmen gratis, och varför väljer andra att inte bära hjälmen som de fått gratis?

Båda frågorna i studien berör enbart de cyklister som fått cykelhjälmar tilldelade under 2014. Detta i sin tur begränsar det geografiska området till Lunds Kommun. Det vill säga att de fallspecifika resultaten är begränsade i tid och rum till år 2014 och Lunds Kommun. Meningen av resultaten däremot, kan ha generaliserbara konceptualiseringar, vilket visas i senare kapitel med diskussioner kring efemära själv.

1.4 Presentation av den blandade metodologin

Det är god vetenskap att låta frågan bestämma metoden. Denna studie kräver två frågeställningar, och för att kunna besvara de två frågeställningarna krävs två olika metoder, en kvantitativ en och kvalitativ; En kvantitativ enkätundersökning för att ta reda på hur många som använder hjälmen, och flera kvalitativa djupintervjuer för att ta reda på vad det kan betyda att (inte) bära hjälmen.

1.5 Presentation av kultur och Peirces semiotik

I denna studie definieras en kultur som ett system av tecken. Att vara en del utav en kultur innebär en förståelse av hur olika tecken ska tolkas. För att kunna ta reda på vad hjälmbärande och hjälmfrihet kan betyda i en kultur, krävs helt enkelt en teori som kan hjälpa att analysera kulturellt delade tecken.

C.S. Peirce skapade en teori som kallas för semiotik, som går ut på att just analysera tecken som kulturellt delade. Eftersom Peirce's semiotik går hand i hand med både kulturdefinitionen och frågeställningen, passar det bra att den teorin används i denna studie.

1.6 Tidigare forskning på ämnet om cykelhjälmskampanjer

Det har gjorts flertalet studier kring trafiksäkerhetskampanjer, och fåtalet studier kring cykelhjälmskampanjer, men inga studier som faktiskt visar huruvida folk faktiskt använder hjälmarna som de blir tilldelade, och inga studier som försöker berätta varför vissa väljer att inte bära sina hjälmar. Detta är vad två utav de tidigare studierna kommit fram till:

Cajoma Consultings rapport från 2014 har visat att, mellan 2007 och 2012, i Sverige, så dog 153 cyklister, och mer än 56000 skadade sig själva så svårt att de krävde sjukvård. Av de skadade cyklisterna, så var 10788 svårt skadade och 1421 väldigt svårt skadade. Huvudskador utgjorde en av tio av de mest svårt skadade, och fyra av tio av de mycket svåra skadade.

Hjälmanvändande har potentialen att sänka andelen döda cyklister med upp till 25 procent, och att reducera antalet svårt skadade med upp till tio procent.

En svensk studie från 1997 av Ekman, Schelp, Welander, & Svanström, visar att kommuner med cykelhjälmskampanjer har väldigt många färre skadade cyklister jämfört med kommuner som inte har några cykelhjälmskampanjer. Detta kan tyvärr inte ses som en effekt utav hjälmanvändande, då kampanjer ofta delar ut information om hur bör bete sig i trafiken, och annan mjuk kunskap som kan hjälpa att sänka andelen olyckor.

2 OM SJÄLV OCH PEIRCES GENERELLA TEORI OM TECKEN

Peirce visar att all mening kommuniceras genom olika sorters tecken. Det som är mest relevant för denna studie är hur en cyklist kan utgöra ett tecken. När en person ser en cyklist bärandes en hjälm, så väcker det andra uppfattningar om cyklisten, än om personen ser cyklisten fri från en hjälm. Cyklister måste alltså ta någon form av ståndpunkt gentemot det faktum att det finns kulturellt delade uppfattningar om hjälmbärande och hjälmfria cyklister, och därför kan det vara så att vad tecknen hjälmbärande och hjälmfrihet betyder för cyklister i Lund, påverkar huruvida en cyklist väljer att (inte) bära sin hjälm.

Daniel Miller, en antropolog som studerar materialitet, visar hur val kring plaggbärande kan förändra hur en persons sociala själva konstitueras. Han skriver till exempel om hur en indisk kvinna vet hur hennes saribärande uppfattas, så att hon kan välja att bära sin sari på olika sätt, för att förändra hur hon ska uppfattas utav andra, beroende på var och när hon går ut. Detta, tillsammans med Milton Singers påbyggnad av Peirces teori, används som argument för att visa hur valet att (inte) bära hjälm ger cyklisterna möjligheten att påverka hur deras själv ska konstitueras. Dessa själv ses här som efemära, det vill säga, väldigt kortvariga. Alla själv är mer eller mindre impermanenta, men dessa efemära själv är flyktigare än andra. Det finns en kvalitativ skillnad på att ses som en far, eller en lärarinna, jämfört med att ses som en hjälmbärande cyklist, vilket manifesteras i kortheten av materialiteten som bärandet av cykelhjälm innebär. Samtidigt är det viktigt att påpeka att kulturen bär på associationerna, eller tecknen, som hjälmbärande och hjälmfrihet representerar, långt innan en specifik person sätter på sig hjälmen, och långt efter att personen tagit av sig hjälmen. Detta är nyckeln till att förstå nyttan utav att applicera konceptet efemära själv på denna fallstudie. Kortheten kopplad till materialiteten, tillsammans med segheten hos en kultur, möjliggör en annan form av agens, som andra tecken inte kan möjliggöra till samma grad.

3 BESKRIVNING OCH BERÄTTIGANDE AV METODOLOGIN

3.1 Att använda en blandad metodologi

För att besvara frågan hur många som använder hjälmen, valdes en enkätundersökning som bäst lämpade metod. Denna enkätundersökning genomfördes med frågeformulär som ställde olika frågor relaterade till respondenternas cykling och attityd gentemot ett brett omfång temata. Allt för att fånga in så många relevanta korrelationer som möjligt. Dessa korrelationer användes i sin tur för att hitta representanter att
djupintervjua. För att besvara frågan varför de (inte) använder hjälmen, utfördes 3 djupintervjuer. En med en person som valt att bli hjälmfri, och två med personer som valt att fortsätta att vara hjälmbärare.

En kvantitativ metod såsom enkätundersökningar kan inte besvara ’varför’ någon väljer att fortsätta bära sin hjälm, en kvalitativ metod såsom djupintervjuer kan inte besvara ’hur många’ som väljer att fortsätta bära sin hjälm. Genom att applicera en blandad metodologi så övervinns svagheterna hos båda metoderna, och det blir möjligt att nå målet med studien.

3.2 Hur frågeformulären formgavs och tillämpades

Pappersenkäten på 7 sidor skickades ut till 830 hjälmmottagare. Svarsfrekvensen var lite över 300 respondenter. En internetenkät med exakt samma frågor och sidindelning skickades ut till samma 830 hjälmmottagare. Svarsfrekvensen på denna var något över 200 respondenter. Totalt blev det alltså över 500 respondenter, på 830 utskick. Långt över 50% i svarsfrekvens är riktigt bra, och bör motverka samplingsbias.

Kostnaden för utskrivningarna och utskicken, inkluderat påminnelser och kontrollgrupp, bekostades utav Lunds kommun. Allt formgavs av mig, utan inverkan ifrån Lunds kommun. Kontrollgruppsenkäten formgavs i syfte att vara så lik hjälmmottagarnas enkät som möjligt, och skickades ut till 300 slumpvist utvalda Lundabor. Etiska överväganden var här viktiga. KommunInvånarRegistret användes för att hitta dessa slumpvist utvalda Lundabor. Eftersom dessa personer, till skillnad från hjälmmottagarna, inte godkänt att dela ut sina adresser att för att komma att användas i en sådan här undersökning, var sekretessen så hög att efter att jag och Anders skickat ut påminnelserna, så togs alla namn bort från alla filer. Det kan garanteras att ingen utom jag och Anders sett dessa namn eller adresser, och vi har inte lagt dessa på minnet. Hjälmmottagarnas svar är förstås också anonyma, men övervägandet där var mindre etiskt eftersom de hade godkänt att dela med sig av sina personuppgifter vid mottagandet av hjälmen.

3.3 Hur intervjuerna formgavs och genomfördes

Efter att svaren kom in för internetenkäten, så kunde jag finna statistiska tendenser. Dessa tendenser användes för att finna personer att kontakta för djupintervjuer. 3 djupintervjuer genomfördes. 5 var målet, men då det tog sådan tid att få in materialet, kunde inte detta hållas. Det visade sig att 3 skulle komma att räcka, för att nå teoretisk saturering.

Varje intervju tog 1 timme. Frågorna som ställdes utgick först ifrån deras svar på frågeformulären, och gick sedan snabbt in på djupet beroende på vad de svarade under intervjun. Jag skulle kategorisera detta som ostrukturerade intervjuer. Ostrukturerade intervjuer används när målet att skapa nya koncept, eller för att nå förståelse kring meningsskapande, och eftersom båda dessa kriterium var målet i denna studie, så passade ostrukturerade intervjuer väldigt bra. Andra sorters intervjutekniker hade inte kunnat nå dessa kriterium.

4 EMPIRISKT MATERIAL OCH ANALYS

4.1 Fynd genom frågeformulären

Alla resultat har bedömts som statistiskt signifikanta, med cirka 95% säkerhet att sambandet kan spåras till hela populationen.

4.1.1 Korrelationer funna med hjälmfria cyklister

58% av respondenterna säger att de någon gång burit hjälmen regelbundet. Tillsammans med de som givit bort hjälmen till någon annan som använder den istället, så ger det att 71% av de utdelade hjälmarna har burits regelbundet. 13% av de som använde hjälmen regelbundet under den första månaden, säger att de inte använt hjälmen alls under den senaste månaden, och ingen utav dessa hade givit hjälmen till någon annan. 21% av de som använde hjälmen första månaden, har också använt hjälmen den senaste månaden, de är fortsatta hjälmbärare.

Desto mer hjälmmottagarna tjänar, desto mer sannolikt är det att de ska tillhöra samma grupp som slutar bära hjälmen efter ett tag. De som slutar bära hjälmen känner sig inte säkrare med hjälm på. De skulle inte kategorisera sig själva som sociala i trafiken. En hel tredjedel utav dem skulle kategorisera sig själva som otydliga i trafiken. Det finns en tendens bland dessa respondenter att bära med sig turmaskotar när de är ute och cyklar. Det är intressant att det inte finns några korrelationer mellan hjälmfria och kön, ålder, risktagande, sportcyklande, eller cykelpendling, då detta betyder att dessa variabler inte har någon inverkan på huruvida någon väljer att (inte) bära hjälmen.

4.1.2 Korrelationer funna med hjälmbärare

De som fortsätter att bära hjälmen har en stark tendens att inte se sig själva som svenska. 63% av dessa respondenter säger att de blivit påverkade utav andra att bära hjälmen. 60% säger att de fått positiva kommentarer om sitt hjälmbärande. 32% har hjälmbärande barn under 16år. 44% tycker att själva hjälmen är cool, med formen och färgen och allt. Det finns en tendens inom denna grupp att ha avstått hjälmen någon gång, på grund utav praktiska anledningar. Medan 89% säger att de känner sig säkrare med hjälmen på, så finns det en tendens bland dessa respondenter att oftare känna sig osäker ute i trafiken. Det finns en tendens inom denna grupp av respondenter att inte bära med sig turmaskotar när de är ute och cyklar. De ser sig inte som extroverta, och ej heller som pragmatiska.

4.2 Intervjufynd

4.2.1 Analys av intervjuad som valde att bli hjälmfri

För den första intervjuade, en ung man som slutade att använda hjälmen, så fanns det två saker som stod ut mest. Först, att hjälmbärande betecknar ett snabbt cyklande. Man behöver inte hjälm om man cyklar långsamt. Sedan, att hjälmbärande betecknar att platsen som cyklisten befinner sig på är farlig. Man behöver inte hjälm i Lund, men i Västra Hamnen i Malmö så behöver man hjälm. Sedan så slutade han att använda hjälmen när han blev mer van, men även detta pekar på platsen. När han blev van vid att cykla i Lund, så slutade han att använda hjälmen. Det känns så säkert där. Förutom hastigheten och platsen, så påpekar han även att hjälmbärande betecknar mindre kompetens eller mindre professionell hos cyklisten. Elitcyklister använder hjälm, kompetenta och professionella cyklister använder hjälm. Sedan avslutar han med att säga att medan cykelljus är något man använder för andras skull, så är hjälmen något man använder för sin egen skull. Det finns ingen anledning att bära hjälmen för andras skull, är hans resonemang. Individuell frihet, individuell kompetens, och individuell vana, är alla ledmotiv i denna intervjuades tolkning utav hjälmfrihet. Dessa ledmotiv är viktiga för denna hjälmfria cyklist. Allt detta väger in i hans bild av hjälmfrihet, och påverkade hans beslut om att inte bära hjälmen.

Citat ifrån intervjun med den hjälmfria cyklisten:

- "Jag tog en hjälm för att jag tänkte använda den själv. Jag använde den några veckor då jag cyklade genom områden som jag uppfattade som farligare. Sedan använde jag hjälmen mindre och mindre, till slut låg den oanvänd på hatthyllan.”

- ”Vissa platser är farligare än andra. Köpenhamn, Västra Hamnen, landsvägar. Ska jag till en sån plats så bär jag hjälm. Där kör bilar och lastbilar fort. Men i Lund känner jag mig säker. Mycket cykelvägar.”
- ”Jag vet att jag kan falla utan hjälmen också.” ”Hjälmen skyddar inte armar och ben.”
- ”Jag cyklar fortare när jag bär hjälm. Den ger mig en falsk känsla av säkerhet.”
- ”Jag hade mycket tur. Jag var inblandad i flera olyckor och skadade aldrig mitt huvud.”
- ”Jag bestämde att jag ville ha en hjälm. Det är viktigt att man får bestämma det själv.” ”Som något personligt bestämt, tycker jag inte att det är fel att andra bär hjälm.” ”Att bära hjälm är något man bestämt själv, men att cykla utan cykelljus är mer dumt. Att ha ljus på cykel är en form av respekt gentemot andra medtrafikanter.”

4.2.2 Analys av 2 intervjuade som valde att fortsätta vara hjälmbärare

Intervjuerna med de två som fortsatte att bära hjälmen kan slås ihop, då de representerar liknande tolkningar av tecknen hjälmbärare och hjälmfria cyklister. De är mammor i fyrtioårsåldern. Deras barn och makar bär hjälm när dem cyklar. Den ena intervjuade säger att hon blev tillsagd av sin man och sina barn att bära hjälm, hon tycker inte om färgen eller formen på hjälmen, men bär den ändå, utav respekt för hennes familj. Den andra intervjuade säger att polisen gjorde stort intryck på henne när hon var ung, polisen berättade för henne om en tjej som hade dött för att hon inte hade haft hjälm på sig, därför tänker den intervjuade nu att det är väldigt viktigt att tänka på vad som kan hända om man inte har hjälm på sig, och vad som skulle hända med hennes efterlevande om hon själv dog, och att hjälmfria inte verkar tänka på andra i samma utsträckning. Respekt för andra, skyldigheter inför andra, och uppoffring inför andra, är ledmotiv hos dessa två intervjuades tolkningar av hjälmbärande. Dessa ledmotiv är viktiga för dessa hjälmbärare. Allt detta väger in i deras bild av hjälmbärande, och påverkade deras beslut att fortsätta bära hjälmen.

Citat ifrån intervjuerna med de två hjälmbärande cyklisterna:

- ”Det är mer vana cyklister som bär hjälm. De som pendlar till och från Malmö. För de är det självklart att bära en hjälm.” ”De som bär hjälm cyklar förmodligen ofta, för de har tänkt att en hjälm är en bra sak att ha. Om man bara ska cykla till affären, så är det kanske inte lika viktigt att skaffa en hjälm”
- ”När jag var liten så kom polisen och berättade om en olycka med en tjej som inte hade haft hjälm. Polisen berättade vad som kan hända om man inte bär hjälm.” ”Jag

kan inte kontrollera allt i trafiken. Jag vet inte vem som kommer att köra på mig eller hur det kommer att köra på mig”

- ”Alla kan göra som de vill, men jag tänker, varför inte ta tillfället att ha hjälm på dig du också. Har du reflekterat över vad som skulle hända dina barn, om du blev påkörd”
- ”Anledningen till att jag bär hjälm är dels för att skydda huvudet och dels för att vara en förebild för de som inte fyllt 15. Huvudet blir ju inte mindre ömtåligt bara för att man fyllt 15. Man vill ju vara kvar ”

5 MENINGEN BAKOM RESULTATEN

Hjälmbärare och hjälmfria verkar ha liknande tolkningar av hjälmbärande och hjälmfrihet, men för hjälmfria ter det sig högre värderat att signalera det som hjälmfrihet betecknar, medan för hjälmbärare ter det sig högre värderat att signalera det som hjälmbärande betecknar. Det är viktigt att formulera det på det här sättet, eftersom dessa två tecken inte är de enda tecknen som cyklister i denna kultur kan välja att signalera. Det finns ett oändligt antal möjliga tecken som en cyklist kan välja att signalera. Hjälmbärande och hjälmfrihet är inte binära oppositioner, de är bara två vanliga tecken i denna specifika kultur. Till exempel, både hjälmbärare och hjälmfria är ju även hattfria, och kepsfria, och så vidare. Även om det är så, såvitt jag har kunnat bedöma, att informanterna i denna studie har valt att signalera att de är hjälmfria och hjälmbärande, snarare än något annat tecken, så är det viktigt att tänka på, när man applicerar konceptet efemära själv på ett sammanhang, att vara öppen för vilka själv som informanterna än väljer att signalera.

Med kulturanalytisk forskning så är det viktigt att inte överförenkla verkligheten. En av styrkorna med kulturanalys ligger i att kunna problematisera saker och ting som folk kan ta för givet. Jag nämner detta här för att när jag sammanfattar tolkningarna av hjälmfrihet och hjälmbärande, så bör läsaren betänka att det inte är en korrekt bild utav verkligheten, utan bara en simplifierad modell.

Med det sagt, så kan jag nu säga att bilden av sig själva som hjälmfria i Lund 2014 kan vilja signalera till andra är uppbyggd av dessa värderingar:

- Att de är nutidsorienterade
- Att de har agens
- Att de inte är rädda för platsen
- Att de inte är bundna av skyldigheter gentemot andra

- Att de har kontroll över sig själva
- Att de är kompetenta cyklister

Bilden som hjälmbärare i Lund 2014 kan vilja signalera till andra är istället uppbyggd utav följande värderingar:

- Att är riskmedvetna
- Att de har kontroll över framtiden
- Att de är hänsynsfulla gentemot andra
- Att de är förebilder gentemot andra
- Att de följer samhällets lagar och regler
- Att de bryr sig om social reciprocitet
- Att de är framtidsorienterade

Extremt sagt så kan det ses som att hjälmfria vill signalera att de är individualister, medan hjälmbärare vill signalera att de är kollektivister, på två ändar av ett brett spektrum, men verkligheten är förstås inte såhär extrem, detta är bara en modell för att förmedla hur valet att välja att (inte) bära en cykelhjälm ger människor möjligheten att signalera sina själv till andra.

6 REKAPITULERING OCH FÖRSLAG FÖR FORTSATT FORSKNING

Genom att titta på resultaten från den kvantitativa analysen så kan den första frågeställningen besvaras. Fungerade kampanjen, använder folk hjälmarna som de fick? Nära 58% säger Ja till frågan om de någonsin använt hjälmen. Om man räknar in de som givit bort sina hjälmar till någon annan som använder hjälmen istället, så går siffran upp till 71%. Det är 71% som inte bar hjälmar förut, som nu åtminstone har burit hjälm regelbundet. Efter att jag hittade dessa resultat, så frågade jag Anders Söderberg om detta var ett lyckat resultat för kampanjen, och han svarade att allt över 50% är bra, så att ett resultat på 71% är definitivt en lyckad kampanj.

Genom att titta på resultaten från den kvalitativa analysen så kan den andra frågeställningen besvaras. Varför bär vissa cyklister hjälmen, och varför bär andra inte hjälmen? Genom att se på hjälmbärande och hjälmfrihet som tecken, som signalerar till medtrafikanter vilka sorts själv som dessa cyklister betecknar, så presenteras en modell över vad hjälmbärarna och hjälmfria väljer att signalera med sitt (icke-)hjälmbärande. Hjälmfria cyklister vill hellre ses som starka självständiga individer som kan klara sig själva, medan

hjälmbärande cyklister heller vill ses som samarbetsvilliga delar av ett större samhälleligt sammanhang, väldigt enkelt sagt.

För vidare forskning om efemära själv, skulle jag rekommendera att se närmare på tre specifika karakteristika: Till synes nödvändiga materialiteter. Att bära ett paraply till exempel. Till synes godtyckliga val. Till exempel att klick på 'Gilla' istället för att kommentera. Till synes naturliga fenomen. Beskrivningar av sexualitet till exempel. Vad för sorts efemära själv signalerar dessa handlingar och val i sina respektive kulturer, om några överhuvudtaget?

7 KONKLUSION

Vad gäller den akademiska signifikansen så har denna uppsats öppnat upp för att forska vidare på andra efemära själv genom att applicera kulturanalys på till synes självklara val. Att på detta sätt se på efemära själv kan delge insikt om intersubjektivt meningsskapande, vilket i sin tur ger en emic förståelse av grupper av folk som annars skulle ses som bundna enkom av tillfälligheter. Detta ger dessa grupper en röst, en agens, inte bara i akademiska texter utan även inom offentliga diskurser. Bara genom att erkänna deras viljor och begär i deras skapande av sina själv i relation till andra, kan deras beteenden bli förstådda.

Vidare så är det bara genom att erkänna att efemära själv skapas genom kulturellt delade tecken är nödvändigt för att man ska kunna förstå processen genom vilken dessa själv skapas. Bara genom att forska på vad dessa tecken betyder för folk i en kultur, kan det förstås hur och varför en kultur upprätthåller konnotationerna som associeras med dessa tecken. Det är hur folk skapar sig själva, som sociala själv. Att ha tittat närmare på just cykelhjälmar har gjort detta extra klart, eftersom det är ett efemärt själv som många kan relatera till och förstå.

Detta relativt nya forskningsområde har öppnats upp genom denna uppsats. Uppsatsen har i och med detta täckt ett ganska stort kunskapshål inom inte bara tillämpad kulturanalys, utan även inom etnologi som sådant.

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10Appendices

Appendix I: Cover letter for the questionnaire to the sample

Hej <Namn>!

Förra året fick du en cykelhjälm av våra medarbetare, som en kampanj åt Tekniska Förvaltningen vid Lunds Kommun. I utbyte mot cykelhjälmen så angav du dina kontaktuppgifter, i syfte att komma att användas i en utvärdering av kampanjen.

Robin Öberg heter jag som utför utvärderingen. Jag studerar vid Lunds Universitet, på programmet Master of Applied Cultural Analysis. Utvärderingen utförs främst i samarbete med Tekniska Förvaltningen, vid Lunds Kommun, som stod bakom kampanjen med dem gratis cykelhjälmarna. Utöver det så har även den miljöengagerade och icke-vinstdrivande organisationen Miljöbron också ett intresse av att utvärderingen utförs.

Utvärderingen kommer att utföras nu under vårterminen 2015. Det är i första hand en statistisk undersökning, där ett varierande urval av korta frågor kommer att ställas. Det är frågor om hur ofta du använder hjälmen, några frågor om dina cykelvanor, och så lite om vem du är som person. Det spelar ingen roll om du använder hjälmen eller ej. Undersökningen tar cirka 10minuter av din tid, och dina svar kommer att behandlas som helt anonyma.

För var tionde person, av de som besvarar frågorna senast den 1ª April 2015,
så väntar en gratis(!) biobiljett som belöning.

Ditt samarbete i utvärderingen kommer att hjälpa framtida cyklister, med eventuellt fler gratis hjälmar, och med en ökad förståelse från omvärlden, och framförallt med räddade liv.
Tack för ditt samarbete!

MILJÖBRON

LUND

LUNDS UNIVERSITET

Appendix II: Questionnaire for the sample

A.	**Använder du hjälmen?**
	Dessa frågor berör hur huruvida du använder hjälmen, och i sådana fall, hur ofta. Välj ett alternativ på varje fråga.
A1.	**Har du fått en cykelhjälm?** Om nej, så tackar vi för din medverkan hittills, och du behöver inte fylla i mer i enkäten. Om ja, så är vi glada över att enkäten nått rätt person, och du får mer än gärna fortsätta fylla i dina svar. ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
A2.	**Skulle du ha använt en annan cykelhjälm istället, om du inte hade fått denna av oss?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
A3.	**Hur ofta cyklade du före du fick denna hjälm?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Mindre ofta än nuförtiden ☐3 Lika ofta som nu ☐4 Oftare än nu
A4.	**Har du någonsin burit denna cykelhjälm regelbundet?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej, jag har givit bort hjälmen till någon annan som använder den istället ☐3 Nej, hjälmen ligger oanvänd ☐4 Nej, hjälmen har kastats bort ☐5 Nej, annat alternativ.
A5.	**Om vi antar att du cyklade varje dag den <u>första månaden</u> som du hade denna cykelhjälm...** **Hur många dagar i månaden cyklade du med hjälm på huvudet?** **(De andra dagarna i månaden har du då cyklat utan hjälm)** ☐1 Jag cyklade utan hjälm den första månaden ☐2 Inte så ofta (1-10 dagar i månaden) ☐3 Ganska så ofta (11-20 dagar i månaden) ☐4 Väldigt ofta (21-30 dagar i månaden) ☐5 Jag använde hjälm varje gång jag cyklade (31 dagar i månaden)
A6.	**Om vi antar att du har cyklat varje dag den <u>senaste månaden</u>...** **Hur många dagar i månaden har du cyklat med hjälm på huvudet?** **(De andra dagarna i månaden har du då cyklat utan hjälm)** ☐1 Jag har inte använt hjälm senaste månaden ☐2 Inte så ofta (1-10 dagar i månaden) ☐3 Ganska så ofta (11-20 dagar i månaden) ☐4 Väldigt ofta (21-30 dagar i månaden) ☐5 Jag har alltid hjälmen på mig när jag cyklar (31 dagar i månaden)
A7.	**Innan du fick denna hjälm, bar du regelbundet en annan hjälm?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej

B.	**Gemenskap**
	Dessa frågor berör din uppfattning om existensen av social gemenskap i samband med cykelhjälmsanvändning. Tänk på vänner, familj, arbetskamrater, skolkamrater, och andra grupper av människor som du har i din närhet.
B1.	**Uppfattar du att dina närmaste vänner bär hjälm när de cyklar?** ☐1 Ja, flera utav dem ☐2 Ja, en utav dem ☐3 Nej, inga alls
B2.	**Uppfattar du att någon annan har påverkat dig till att bära hjälmen?** ☐1 Ja, till fullo ☐2 Ja, till viss del ☐3 Nej, inte alls
B3.	**Har du fått negativa kommentarer om hjälmen från dina närmaste vänner?** ☐1 Ja, flera ☐2 Ja, en ☐3 Nej, inte alls
B4.	**Har du fått positiva kommentarer om hjälmen från dina närmaste vänner?** ☐1 Ja, flera ☐2 Ja, en ☐3 Nej, inte alls
C.	**Miljö**
	Dessa frågor berör dina attityder gentemot olika miljöfaktorer. Tänk miljöförstöring, skogsskövling, nedskräpning utav vatten, smältande polarisar, och dylika skeenden.
C5.	**På en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 är inte alls viktig och 7 är viktigast, hur viktig anser du att frågan om global uppvärmning är?** Inte alls viktig ☐1 1 ☐2 2 ☐3 3 ☐4 4 ☐5 5 ☐6 6 ☐7 7 Den viktigaste frågan
C6.	**På en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 är inte alls övervägande och 7 är övervägande, hur mycket spelar tankar om miljön en roll när du köper matvaror?** Inte alls övervägande ☐1 1 ☐2 2 ☐3 3 ☐4 4 ☐5 5 ☐6 6 ☐7 7 Mest övervägande
C7.	**Innan du fick cykelhjälmen, hur ofta valde du att cykla istället för att använda dig utav fordon beroende av fossila bränslen?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Enstaka tillfällen ☐3 Ganska ofta ☐4 Ofta ☐5 Varje gång jag kunde
C8.	**Sedan du fått cykelhjälmen, hur ofta har du valt att cykla istället för att använda dig utav fordon beroende av fossila bränslen?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Enstaka tillfällen ☐3 Ganska ofta ☐4 Ofta ☐5 Varje gång jag kunnat

D.	**Mode och utseende**
	Dessa frågor berör hur viktiga du anser att utseendefaktorer är, i samband med hjälmanvändningen. Mät vikten av dessa faktorer i relation till andra faktorer som att du tänker dig kan påverka din hjälmanvändning.
D1.	**Hur viktigt tror du att det är att <u>andra</u> anser att du är snyggt klädd när du cyklar?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Lite viktigt är det nog ☐3 Det är väldigt viktigt ☐4 Det är det viktigaste
D2.	**Hur viktigt anser <u>du själv</u> att det är att du är snyggt klädd när du cyklar?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Lite viktigt är det nog ☐3 Det är väldigt viktigt ☐4 Det är det viktigaste
D3.	**Hur viktigt anser du att det är, att du har en snygg frisyr när du har cyklat dit du ska?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Lite viktigt är det nog ☐3 Det är väldigt viktigt ☐4 Det är det viktigaste
E.	**Typ av cyklist**
	Dessa frågor berör vilken typ av cyklist som du anser dig vara i trafiken. Tänk på din personlighet, ditt beteende, och din personliga stil.
E1.	**Pendlar du regelbundet med cykel?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
E2.	**Är du medlem i någon form av cykelklubb?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
E3.	**Har du barn under 16 år som regelbundet vistas på cyklar?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
E4.	**Om du svarade Ja på förra frågan,** **tror du att dina barn använder cykelhjälm när de cyklar?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Har inga barn/frågan ej applicerbar
E5.	**Hur skulle du kategorisera din egen personlighet som cyklist i trafiken?** Här är det möjligt att välja flera alternativ. ☐1 Introvert ☐2 Extrovert ☐3 Pragmatisk ☐4 Social ☐5 Stark ☐6 Svag ☐7 Tydlig ☐8 Otydlig ☐9 Unik ☐10 Vanlig ☐11 Livsnjutare ☐12 Annat

F.	**Hjälmen**
	Näst sista sidan. Dessa frågor berör din attityd som du har gentemot hjälmen. Gå på magkänslan.
F1.	**Anser du att hjälmen som du har fått är cool?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
F2.	**Anser du att hjälmen som du fått har en cool färg?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
F3.	**Anser du att hjälmen som du fått har en cool form?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
F4.	**Har du vid något tillfälle medvetet valt att cykla utan hjälmen på grund utav dess utseende?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
F5.	**Har du vid något tillfälle medvetet valt att cykla utan hjälmen på grund utav någon praktisk orsak?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
F6.	**Har du vid något tillfälle medvetet valt att cykla utan hjälmen på grund utav någon annan orsak?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
G.	**Tur**
	Denna sektion berör din syn på frågor som har att göra med tur eller otur.
G1.	**Tror du att dåliga saker kan hända goda människor?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej
G2.	**Tror du att bra saker kan hända onda människor?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej
G3.	**Om du tänker tillbaka på tiden innan du fick hjälmen av oss, känner du att du haft tur som inte varit med om en cykelolycka?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej
G4.	**Känns det som att något dåligt kan hända i trafiken om din rutin förändras?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej
G5.	**Har du någon turmaskot med dig när du är ute och cyklar?** Till exempel på nyckelringen. ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej

H.	**Säkerhet**
	Sista sidan. Dessa frågor berör din känsla av säkerhet på cykeln och/eller i trafiken. Det handlar med andra ord inte om trygghet, utan det handlar om säkerhet, så brett förstått som möjligt.
H1.	**Generellt sett, känner du dig säker när du cyklar?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
H2.	**På en vanlig dag, hur många gånger känner du dig osäker när du cyklar?** ☐1 Aldrig ☐2 En gång ☐3 Två gånger ☐4 Tre gånger ☐5 Fler än tre gånger
H3.	**När du cyklar, bär du vid någon tid på året, någon form av frivillig säkerhetsutrustning?** Till exempel reflexväst, dobbar på skorna, eller dubbdäck på cykeln, eller annat? ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
H4.	**Har du någonsin varit inblandad i en allvarligare cykelrelaterad olycka?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
H5.	**Känner du dig säkrare när du bär hjälmen?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
H6.	**Uppfattar du dig själv som mer risktagande när du bär hjälmen?** ☐1 Ja, lite ☐2 Ja, mycket ☐3 Nej, inte alls
I.	**Bakgrundsinformation**
	Och till sist, några snabba frågor om vem du är, för statistiska ändamål.
I1.	**Kön** ☐1 Kvinna ☐2 Man ☐3 Annat ☐4 Avböjer från att svara
I2.	**Ursprung** ☐1 Född i Sverige ☐2 Född utanför Sverige ☐3 Annat ☐4 Avböjer från att svara
I3.	**Medelårsinkomst före skatt** Ange antal _____ kr
I4.	**Huvudsakliga sysselsättning** ☐1 Arbetar ☐2 Arbetslös ☐3 Studerar ☐4 Pensionär ☐5 Annat/Avböjer från svar
I5.	**Ålder** Ange antal _____ år

Vi tackar så mycket för din medverkan!
Om du är en av de som vunnit en biobiljett
så meddelas du om detta via post/e-post.

Appendix III: Cover letter for the control group

Hej <Namn>!

Du har härmed blivit slumpvist utvald att delta i en undersökning gällande cykelhjälmsanvändning. Det spelar ingen roll om du använder hjälm eller ej, om du svarar och skickar in enkäten så har du en god chans att vinna en gratis biobiljett.

Robin Öberg heter jag som utför undersökningen. Jag studerar vid Lunds Universitet, på programmet Master of Applied Cultural Analysis. Undersökningen utförs i samarbete med Gatu- och Trafikkontoret på Tekniska Förvaltningen, som arbetar med frågor om trafiksäkerhet vid Lunds Kommun. Utöver det så har även den miljöengagerade och icke-vinstdrivande organisationen Miljöbron också ett intresse av att undersökningen utförs.

Utvärderingen kommer att utföras nu under vårterminen 2015. Det är i första hand en statistisk undersökning, där ett varierande urval av korta frågor kommer att ställas. Det är frågor om hur ofta du använder cykelhjälm, några frågor om dina cykelvanor, och så lite om vem du är som person.
Det tar cirka 10minuter av din tid, och dina svar kommer att behandlas som helt anonyma.

För var femte person, av de som besvarar frågorna senast den 8nde April 2015,
så väntar en gratis(!) biobiljett som belöning.

Ditt samarbete i utvärderingen kommer att hjälpa framtida cyklister, med förbättrade trafiksäkerhetsåtgärder, och med en ökad förståelse från omvärlden,
och framförallt med fler räddade liv.
Tack för ditt samarbete!

MILJÖBRON

LUND

LUNDS UNIVERSITET

Appendix IV: Questionnaire for control group

A.	**Använder du cykelhjälm?**
	Dessa frågor berör hur huruvida du använder hjälm, och i sådana fall, hur ofta. Välj ett alternativ på varje fråga.
A1.	**Om du hade fått en cykelhjälm av oss, tror du att du hade använt den?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
A2.	**Äger du en cykelhjälm?** ☐1 Ja (Fortsätt svara frågorna nedan) ☐2 Nej (Hoppa till fråga B1)
A3.	**Hur ofta cyklade du före du ägde din nuvarande hjälm?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Mindre ofta än nuförtiden ☐3 Lika ofta som nu ☐4 Oftare än nu
A4.	**Har du någonsin burit din nuvarande cykelhjälm regelbundet?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej, hjälmen ligger oanvänd ☐3 Nej, hjälmen har kastats bort ☐4 Nej, annat alternativ.
A5.	**Om vi antar att du cyklade varje dag den <u>första månaden</u> som du ägde din nuvarande cykelhjälm...** **Hur många dagar i månaden cyklade du med hjälm på huvudet? (De andra dagarna i månaden har du då cyklat utan hjälm)** ☐1 Jag cyklade utan hjälm den första månaden ☐2 Inte så ofta (1-10 dagar i månaden) ☐3 Ganska så ofta (11-20 dagar i månaden) ☐4 Väldigt ofta (21-30 dagar i månaden) ☐5 Jag använde hjälm varje gång jag cyklade (31 dagar i månaden)
A6.	**Om vi antar att du har cyklat varje dag den <u>senaste månaden</u>...** **Hur många dagar i månaden har du cyklat med hjälm på huvudet? (De andra dagarna i månaden har du då cyklat utan hjälm)** ☐1 Jag har inte använt hjälm senaste månaden ☐2 Inte så ofta (1-10 dagar i månaden) ☐3 Ganska så ofta (11-20 dagar i månaden) ☐4 Väldigt ofta (21-30 dagar i månaden) ☐5 Jag har alltid hjälmen på mig när jag cyklar (31 dagar i månaden)
A7.	**Innan du ägde din nuvarande hjälm, bar du regelbundet en annan hjälm?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej

B.	**Gemenskap**
	Dessa frågor berör din uppfattning om existensen av social gemenskap i samband med cykelhjälmsanvändning. Tänk på vänner, familj, arbetskamrater, skolkamrater, och andra grupper av människor som du har i din närhet.
B1.	**Uppfattar du att dina närmaste vänner bär hjälm när de cyklar?** ☐1 Ja, flera utav dem ☐2 Ja, en utav dem ☐3 Nej, inga alls
B2.	**Uppfattar du att någon annan har påverkat dig till att bära hjälm?** ☐1 Ja, till fullo ☐2 Ja, till viss del ☐3 Nej, inte alls
B3.	**Har du fått negativa kommentarer när du burit hjälm, från dina närmaste vänner?** ☐1 Ja, flera ☐2 Ja, en ☐3 Nej, inte alls
B4.	**Har du fått positiva kommentarer när du burit hjälm, från dina närmaste vänner?** ☐1 Ja, flera ☐2 Ja, en ☐3 Nej, inte alls
C.	**Miljö**
	Dessa frågor berör dina attityder gentemot olika miljöfaktorer. Tänk miljöförstöring, skogsskövling, nedskräpning utav vatten, smältande polarisar, och dylika skeenden.
C5.	**På en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 är inte alls viktig och 7 är viktigast, hur viktig anser du att frågan om global uppvärmning är?** Inte alls viktig ☐1 1 ☐2 2 ☐3 3 ☐4 4 ☐5 5 ☐6 6 ☐7 7 Den viktigaste frågan
C6.	**På en skala från 1 till 7, där 1 är inte alls övervägande och 7 är övervägande, hur mycket spelar tankar om miljön en roll när du köper matvaror?** Inte alls övervägande ☐1 1 ☐2 2 ☐3 3 ☐4 4 ☐5 5 ☐6 6 ☐7 7 Mest övervägande
C7.	**Hur ofta valde du att cykla istället för att använda dig utav fordon beroende av fossila bränslen, innan du ägde din senaste cykelhjälm?** Hoppa över frågan om du aldrig ägt någon hjälm. ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Enstaka tillfällen ☐3 Ganska ofta ☐4 Ofta ☐5 Varje gång jag kunde
C8.	**I och med att du införskaffade din senaste cykelhjälm, hur ofta har du valt att cykla istället för att använda dig utav fordon beroende av fossila bränslen?** Hoppa över frågan om du aldrig ägt någon hjälm. ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Enstaka tillfällen ☐3 Ganska ofta ☐4 Ofta ☐5 Varje gång jag kunnat

D.	**Mode och utseende**
	Dessa frågor berör hur viktiga du anser att utseendefaktorer är, i samband med hjälmanvändningen. Mät vikten av dessa faktorer i relation till andra faktorer som att du tänker dig kan påverka din hjälmanvändning.
D1.	**Hur viktigt tror du att det är att <u>andra</u> anser att du är snyggt klädd när du cyklar?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Lite viktigt är det nog ☐3 Det är väldigt viktigt ☐4 Det är det viktigaste
D2.	**Hur viktigt anser <u>du själv</u> att det är att du är snyggt klädd när du cyklar?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Lite viktigt är det nog ☐3 Det är väldigt viktigt ☐4 Det är det viktigaste
D3.	**Hur viktigt anser du att det är, att du har en snygg frisyr när du har cyklat dit du ska?** ☐1 Inte alls ☐2 Lite viktigt är det nog ☐3 Det är väldigt viktigt ☐4 Det är det viktigaste
E.	**Typ av cyklist**
	Dessa frågor berör vilken typ av cyklist som du anser dig vara i trafiken. Tänk på din personlighet, ditt beteende, och din personliga stil.
E1.	**Pendlar du regelbundet med cykel?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
E2.	**Är du medlem i någon form av cykelklubb?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
E3.	**Har du barn under 16 år som regelbundet vistas på cyklar?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
E4.	**Om du svarade Ja på förra frågan,** **tror du att dina barn använder cykelhjälm när de cyklar?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Har inga barn/frågan ej applicerbar
E5.	**Hur skulle du kategorisera din egen personlighet som cyklist i trafiken?** Här är det möjligt att välja flera alternativ. ☐1 Introvert ☐2 Extrovert ☐3 Pragmatisk ☐4 Social ☐5 Stark ☐6 Svag ☐7 Tydlig ☐8 Otydlig ☐9 Unik ☐10 Vanlig ☐11 Livsnjutare ☐12 Annat

F.	**Hjälmen**
	Näst sista sidan. Dessa frågor berör din attityd som du har gentemot hjälmen. Gå på magkänslan.
F1.	**Anser du att din hjälm är cool?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Har ingen hjälm
F2.	**Anser du att din hjälm har en cool färg?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Har ingen hjälm
F3.	**Anser du att din hjälm har en cool form?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Har ingen hjälm
F4.	**Har du vid något tillfälle medvetet valt att cykla utan en hjälm på grund utav dess utseende?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
F5.	**Har du vid något tillfälle medvetet valt att cykla utan en hjälm på grund utav någon praktisk orsak?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
F6.	**Har du vid något tillfälle medvetet valt att cykla utan en hjälm på grund utav någon annan orsak?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
G.	**Tur**
	Denna sektion berör din syn på frågor som har att göra med tur eller otur.
G1.	**Tror du att dåliga saker kan hända goda människor?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej
G2.	**Tror du att bra saker kan hända onda människor?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej
G3.	**Om du tänker på den tid då du inte ägt en hjälm, känner du att du haft tur som inte varit med om en cykelolycka?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej
G4.	**Känns det som att något dåligt kan hända i trafiken om din rutiner förändras?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej
G5.	**Har du någon tur-maskot med dig när du är ute och cyklar?** Till exempel på nyckelringen. ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Vet ej

H.	**Säkerhet**
	Sista sidan. Dessa frågor berör din känsla av säkerhet på cykeln och/eller i trafiken. Det handlar med andra ord inte om trygghet, utan det handlar om säkerhet, så brett förstått som möjligt.
H1.	**Generellt sett, känner du dig säker när du cyklar?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
H2.	**På en vanlig dag, hur många gånger känner du dig osäker när du cyklar?** ☐1 Aldrig ☐2 En gång ☐3 Två gånger ☐4 Tre gånger ☐5 Fler än tre gånger
H3.	**När du cyklar, bär du vid någon tid på året, någon form av frivillig säkerhetsutrustning?** Till exempel reflexväst, dobbar på skorna, eller dubbdäck på cykeln, eller annat? ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
H4.	**Har du någonsin varit inblandad i en allvarligare cykelrelaterad olycka?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej
H5.	**Känner du dig säkrare när du bär hjälm?** ☐1 Ja ☐2 Nej ☐3 Har aldrig burit hjälm
H6.	**Uppfattar du dig själv som mer risktagande när du bär hjälm?** ☐1 Ja, lite ☐2 Ja, mycket ☐3 Nej, inte alls ☐3 Har aldrig burit hjälm
I.	**Bakgrundsinformation**
	Och till sist, några snabba frågor om vem du är, för statistiska ändamål.
I1.	**Kön** ☐1 Kvinna ☐2 Man ☐3 Annat ☐4 Avböjer från att svara
I2.	**Ursprung** ☐1 Född i Sverige ☐2 Född utanför Sverige ☐3 Annat ☐4 Avböjer från att svara
I3.	**Medelårsinkomst före skatt** Ange antal _____ kr
I4.	**Huvudsakliga sysselsättning** ☐1 Arbetar ☐2 Arbetslös ☐3 Studerar ☐4 Pensionär ☐5 Annat/Avböjer från svar
I5.	**Ålder** Ange antal _____ år

Vi tackar så mycket för din medverkan!
Om du är en av de som vunnit en biobiljett
så meddelas du om detta via post/e-post.

Appendix V: Statistical significance of the helmet usage

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Have you ever used this helmet on a regular basis?	474	,5781	,49439	,02271

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 0.5					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
Have you ever used this helmet on a regular basis?	3,437	473	,001	,07806	,0334	,1227

One-Sample Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Has anyone ever worn this helmet on a regular basis?	474	,7173	,45079	,02071

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 0.5					
					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
Has anyone ever worn this helmet on a regular basis?	10,495	473	,000	,21730	,1766	,2580

Appendix VI: Crosstabulation of recent vs initial helmet usage

How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month? * How many days a month did you cycle with the helmet, the first month you had it? Crosstabulation

			How many days a month did you cycle with the helmet, the first month you had it?					
			I cycled without a helmet the first month	Not that often (1-10 days a month)	Quite often (11-20 days a month)	Very often (21-30 days a month)	I used helmet everytime I cycled (31 days a month)	Total
How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	I have not used helmet the last month	Count	70	53	11	6	3	143
		% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	49,0%	37,1%	7,7%	4,2%	2,1%	100,0%
	Not that often (1-10 days a month)	Count	4	46	20	4	4	78
		% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	5,1%	59,0%	25,6%	5,1%	5,1%	100,0%
	Quite often (11-20 days a month)	Count	0	10	37	5	2	54
		% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	0,0%	18,5%	68,5%	9,3%	3,7%	100,0%
	Very often (21-30 days a month)	Count	0	2	4	45	10	61
		% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	0,0%	3,3%	6,6%	73,8%	16,4%	100,0%
	I always wear the helmet when I cycle (31 days a month)	Count	4	2	1	8	116	131
		% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	3,1%	1,5%	0,8%	6,1%	88,5%	100,0%
Total		Count	78	113	73	68	135	467
		% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	16,7%	24,2%	15,6%	14,6%	28,9%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	743,425[a]	16	,000
Likelihood Ratio	645,722	16	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	322,115	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	467		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7,86.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	1,262	,000
	Cramer's V	,631	,000
N of Valid Cases		467	

Appendix VII: Recent vs initial helmet usage with 'given helmet away' dismissed

How many days a month did you cycle with the helmet, the first month you had it? * How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month? * Have you given the helmet to someone else that is using it? Crosstabulation

Have you given the helmet to someone else that is using it?				How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?					Total
				I have not used helmet the last month	Not that often (1-10 days a month)	Quite often (11-20 days a month)	Very often (21-30 days a month)	I always wear the helmet when I cycle (31 days a month)	
No	How many days a month did you cycle with the helmet, the first month you had it?	I cycled without a helmet the first month	Count	51	3	0	0	4	58
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	45,1%	4,2%	0,0%	0,0%	3,4%	14,4%
		Not that often (1-10 days a month)	Count	44	43	8	2	2	99
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	38,9%	60,6%	17,0%	3,6%	1,7%	24,5%
		Quite often (11-20 days a month)	Count	11	17	32	4	1	65
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	9,7%	23,9%	68,1%	7,1%	0,9%	16,1%
		Very often (21-30 days a month)	Count	5	4	5	42	6	62
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	4,4%	5,6%	10,6%	75,0%	5,1%	15,3%
		I used helmet everytime I cycled (31 days a month)	Count	2	4	2	8	104	120
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	1,8%	5,6%	4,3%	14,3%	88,9%	29,7%
	Total		Count	113	71	47	56	117	404
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Yes	How many days a month did you cycle with the helmet, the first month you had it?	I cycled without a helmet the first month	Count	19	1	0	0	0	20
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	63,3%	14,3%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	31,7%
		Not that often (1-10 days a month)	Count	9	3	2	0	0	14
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	30,0%	42,9%	28,6%	0,0%	0,0%	22,2%
		Quite often (11-20 days a month)	Count	0	3	5	0	0	8
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	0,0%	42,9%	71,4%	0,0%	0,0%	12,7%
		Very often (21-30 days a month)	Count	1	0	0	3	2	6
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	3,3%	0,0%	0,0%	60,0%	14,3%	9,5%
		I used helmet everytime I cycled (31 days a month)	Count	1	0	0	2	12	15
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	3,3%	0,0%	0,0%	40,0%	85,7%	23,8%
	Total		Count	30	7	7	5	14	63
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total	How many days a month did you cycle with the helmet, the first month you had it?	I cycled without a helmet the first month	Count	70	4	0	0	4	78
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	49,0%	5,1%	0,0%	0,0%	3,1%	16,7%
		Not that often (1-10 days a month)	Count	53	46	10	2	2	113
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	37,1%	59,0%	18,5%	3,3%	1,5%	24,2%
		Quite often (11-20 days a month)	Count	11	20	37	4	1	73
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	7,7%	25,6%	68,5%	6,6%	0,8%	15,6%
		Very often (21-30 days a month)	Count	6	4	5	45	8	68
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	4,2%	5,1%	9,3%	73,8%	6,1%	14,6%
		I used helmet everytime I cycled (31 days a month)	Count	3	4	2	10	116	135
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	2,1%	5,1%	3,7%	16,4%	88,5%	28,9%
	Total		Count	143	78	54	61	131	467
			% within How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Appendix VIII: Cross-tab of 'would have used helmet anyway' and recent helmet usage

How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month? * Would you have a used a different helmet instead, if you hadn't received this one from us? Crosstabulation

Count

		Would you have a used a different helmet instead, if you hadn't received this one from us?		
		Yes	No	Total
How many days a month have you cycled with the helmet, in the last month?	I have not used helmet the last month	27	116	143
	Not that often (1-10 days a month)	29	48	77
	Quite often (11-20 days a month)	26	27	53
	Very often (21-30 days a month)	43	17	60
	I always wear the helmet when I cycle (31 days a month)	97	33	130
Total		222	241	463

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	102,266[a]	4	,000
Likelihood Ratio	108,222	4	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	99,516	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	463		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 25,41.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,470	,000
	Cramer's V	,470	,000
N of Valid Cases		463	