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Anti-sociality in the street?
A video-based study of cyclists and cellphone 'distracted' pedestrians

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Abstract

Today many pedestrians move about in proximity to other road users with their cellphone at hand, or in use. There is a significant literature commenting on this, much of it expressing alarm at the supposedly addictive nature of cellphone use, particularly by young people with consequent loss of contact with their surroundings. Research in the field of transport safety does show that distraction by cellphones can lead to higher rates of injury causing collisions, however, much of this research remains relatively distant from the detail of interaction between cyclists and pedestrians using cellphones. Hence there is still a need for further empirical inquiry. This study uses naturalistic data from YouTube cycling videos to describe the heterogeneity of pedestrian cellphone use when cyclists are close, including within cycle-lanes. Erving Goffman's notion of 'intention display', and the ethnomethodological couplet of 'production/recognition', helps to understand why collisions between cyclists and 'distracted' pedestrians are relatively rare. On examination, distraction is a remarkably complex characterisation of what people are doing when they are seen using a cellphone close to mobile others. This realisation deepens our knowledge of how normal sociality in the street is produced.

Keywords: street interaction, cellphone, pedestrians, cyclists, intention display, video data

1. Introduction: the allure of a puzzle

Contemporary social scientists have quick access to a wide range of digital resources, making academic work, at one level, much easier. Long gone are the days of trawling through print copies of sociological abstracts, then trying to locate articles in bound journals. The downside of this, as David Silverman and Amir Marvasti note (2008: 114), is the risk of becoming trapped in a 'vicious circle of unending facts

and theories'. One way out of such a trap is to ask, 'What am I really trying to find out? More specifically, what puzzle am I trying to solve?' (ibidem). Theorisation can help in finding a puzzle, but more intense empirical research also seems very useful. By itself, however, the latter is no easy solution, as it is nowhere near a simple nor linear process. This is exemplified in the video-based research reported here into interactions between cyclists and pedestrians. It is shown that it takes a lot of work to formulate a good puzzle, and despite best efforts, the resolution may only be partial. Having compiled a data corpus of videos showing interaction between cyclists, drivers, and pedestrians, it was only through repeated viewing, comparative thinking, and some luck, that a distinct puzzle slowly emerged. It should also be noted the puzzle emerged without an extensive prior literature review, as a strong presumption was made that no one had subjected such video data to the kind of close scrutiny employed here. The best way to show the benefits of such scrutiny is to move immediately to a consideration of two fragments of video data on pedestrian-cyclist interaction. Taken together, the two fragments are used to form a tightly expressed puzzle for the remainder of the empirical analysis, which due to space constraints necessarily remains selective in coverage.

One important argument below is that for good interactional reasons, collisions between cyclists and pedestrians are relatively rare events, however, it is useful to start with an actual collision, since by seeing how things can go wrong we may show part of the dynamics of ordinary interaction itself (following the principle of Harold Garfinkel's (1967) famous breaching demonstrations). Consider Figure 1 which compiles seven screensnaps from a five second fragment of a lengthier 'everyday cycling' video (all videos analysed here are listed in an appendix).

Figure 1. Pedestrian-cyclist collision

The collision captured in this video occurs at a New York traffic light controlled intersection where the pedestrian crossings (four) are also signal controlled. The camera point of view is from a cyclist riding to the left and slightly behind the cyclist in pink who hits the pedestrian on the crossing (panel 6). The filming cyclist (hereafter FC) is on the left of the colliding cyclist (hereafter CC) because he has just passed another cyclist riding a few meters behind CC (this cyclist can be seen in panel 7). The screensnaps in the figure are cropped from the full video, which is filmed on a Garmin camera that gives a readout of the speed of travel. At the point of collision, the readout is 15 miles per hour (25 km/h), but even without knowing this it is clear that we are viewing a significant impact as it leaves both pedestrian and cyclist sprawled in the street.

Using figure 1, consider whether there is a puzzle in this event. Pictured in panel 1 is the view when FC and CC are just entering the intersection on an orange light. Ahead of them are four pedestrians, for convenience sake labelled from the left as P1 to P4. P1 is roughly at mid-point travelling left; P2 is travelling right only 2 meters or so from the pavement; P3 is travelling left and is three white bars into the crossing; whereas P4 is about to halt his progress onto the crossing. The camera view a micro-second after the collision shows the pedestrian signal light change from stop to go, which means that P1, 2 and 3 are all crossing on a red light, and this probably explains why P4 does not progress onto the crossing.

Panel 2 has green arrows added in an attempt to show CC's orientation to the intersection. Remember that he is crossing on an orange light, so it can be inferred that he does not want to slow down. Clearly, CC is projecting his line between P2 and P3 who are crossing in opposite directions, meaning that with time the gap between them opens up, in theory allowing him to pass between to safely finish his crossing on orange. However, as panels 3 to 5 show, there is a crucial change in P3's movement on the crossing: in panel 3 there is a distinct look across the street, then in panel 4 she raises her right hand to her chin – a gesture recognisable as 'changing one's mind' – followed immediately by a crucial step back (panel 5). This is only a one-step change in direction, nevertheless, it is highly consequential: P3 makes this

change during the time CC has proceeded forward at 16 miles per hour (26 km/h), still projecting his line on the basis of P3 moving forward. By the time CC sees P3's change of direction it is too late. Even though he slows by 1 mile per hour (1.5 km/h), and gives a warning 'woah, woah, woah', he is unable to avoid riding straight into P3. This is all recoverable from a slow and repeated viewing of the video, and as summarily shown in Figure 1.'

The key point to realise here is that there is little to puzzle over concerning how the collision happened. By careful consideration of the data, joint actions by both the pedestrian and cyclist can be identified as key factors in the unfortunate collision. Entering the intersection on orange, CC was going at a speed that gave him little ability to alter course when something unexpected happened; entering the crossing on red, P3 should not have changed direction. If this is accepted, the only puzzle that remains is why P3 changed her mind and stepped back. Guesses could be made about this, however, a definitive answer cannot be reached from the video data, consequently this puzzle is best left alone. Nevertheless, this example should be kept in mind when considering a second case, which will help in formulating an explicit puzzle for the subsequent empirical inquiry. Consider the fragment of video data presented in figure 2.

In contrast to the New York collision, this shows an uneventful interaction between cyclists and a driver leaving a car to become a pedestrian. To use this in puzzle formulation requires carrying over two things from the above example. First, there is the point that pedestrians can and do make quick and unpredictable changes in direction. Second, cyclists project their movement in relation to the variety of objects and people they find about them as they move in the street. Related to this, it can be suggested that experienced cyclists know about the unpredictability of pedestrians, but any adjustments by cyclists will always be relative to the full temporal and spatial dynamics of the moment. With this stated, the contextual background of the data sampled in Figure 2 can be provided.

Figure 2. Making the usual happen

The video is from a GoPro camera mounted on the author's helmet as he cycles as part of a group being taken on a tour of new cycling infrastructure in Christchurch, New Zealand. The tour leader – Glen – is the lead cyclist, with the author following close behind. Panel 1 shows a car door being opened about 10 meters ahead of Glen, but interestingly it takes about four seconds for the driver to begin emerging from the car (panel 2). The door movement itself is worth noting: it is a one-movement push of the door, as opposed to a cautious opening with the driver's head being evident looking back to check for oncoming cyclists. This may explain why upon seeing the door open Glen makes a small but perceptible movement to the right, that is, further away from the door zone. In panel 3, as the woman steps further out from the car, she is facing Glen's direction of approach, and it does seem that she is glancing at Glen. But, as evident in the remaining panels, there is no holding of such a glance, which would have turned it into a more significant 'gaze' (on the distinction between glance and gaze, see Sudnow, 1972). Here, a gaze could be thought of as the normatively preferred action, since the woman is opening the car door into 'cycling space', to become a pedestrian presumably going to move through that space (on traffic interaction, looking and normativity, see Liberman 2018; Merlino, Mondada, 2018). Instead, after the quick glance, the woman immediately looks downward to the cellphone[1] in her hand, something she seems very preoccupied with. By panel 5, Glen is safely past the woman, a good distance out from the car, and it can be inferred that here the woman can sense Glen passing even though she still does not look up from her cellphone.

With Glen past, the author follows in the same line riding past in an entirely unconcerned manner. Nothing untoward happens, but this is where the points carried over from the first example become crucial. From the New York collision it was seen that pedestrians can and do make unexpected movements right into the path of cyclists, and inferring that experienced cyclists are aware of this, the two cyclists here can at least be expected to be monitoring where next the woman will proceed.

[1] The term 'cellphone' is used throughout rather than smart phone or mobile device, simply because it is shorter and just as commonly used as the other terms.

Even though Glen may have seen the woman's glance toward him, as experienced cyclists, Glen and the author will also be aware of the absence of the preferred 'I see you' gaze. Through asking, 'what is it that makes this uneventful interaction possible', the puzzle can then be formulated. This initial question is a version of the general social science query, 'Given that X need not have happened as it did, why (or how) did it happen?' (see Becker 1998).

Attention to detail is required to answer this, but much like the first example, the answer is not hard to find. It can be seen in panel 5 that the woman's left leg is raised, but not as part of a move out from the car, instead it is part of a movement to close the car door: her leg is deployed because her hands are busy with the cellphone and car keys. The significant thing about this way of closing the car door is that her body moves *back* towards the car, away from the cyclists alongside the car. This leaning-back posture is most clearly seen in the contrasting body positions of panel 5 and 6. Most importantly, this is also being done while the woman's visible attention remains devoted to the cellphone – both hands hold it while her head is bent down towards it. Here, without reviewing the literature on cellphone distraction and traffic accidents (but see Motyka 2018, and discussion below), it can be reiterated that cellphone use in traffic can be dangerous. If accepted, this is what makes the interaction above so fascinating: given the leant-back body posture, it is precisely the attention to the cellphone that adequately assures the cyclists that the woman is *not* going to move towards them, hence they can ride past in an untroubled manner. The important point to emphasise from this is that the term 'distracted' is not the best characterisation of the woman's action. It is better to say that she is *focused* upon her cellphone rather than distracted by it, and for these moments it is exactly this focus that helps make her stationary, hence of no risk to the passing cyclists.

As yet no explicit theory has been deployed in the above descriptions of cyclist-pedestrian interaction, but there are some well known concepts from microsociology that provide useful abstractions that also help enable the tight formulation of a puzzle following from these first two examples. These are the 'production-recognition couplet' from Ethnomethodology, and Erving Goffman's concept of 'intention display'. The importance of both are clearly identified in Robin Smith's

(2017) relevant discussion of 'the practical organisation of space, interaction, and communication'. The first revolves around the notion of shared 'ethnomethods', that is,

> Members produce their conduct in such a way that it is recognisable for what it is, and there are methods for recognising what it is that is getting done by other parties. In this sense, arrival at any "public space" or commonplace scene – such as joining a freeway [Garfinkel 2002] – involves the work of orientation to participation in producing that scene's ongoing orderliness; that is "what is going on here?" and "what next?" … [R]ather than only noting that the social order of public space is visually available, we should proceed to an examination of *how* members both recognise "visual indications" *and* produce matters as visually available in the first instance as a "pair" which exhibits a "back and forth reflexive constitution" (Smith 2017: 5-6).

E. Goffman makes the same emphassis on the importance of recognisable conduct, in a slightly different way, in his concept of 'intention display', quoted by R. Smith as follows:

> in driving and walking the individual conducts himself – or rather his vehicular shell – so that the direction, rate, and resoluteness of his proposed course will be readable. In ethological terms, he provides an 'intention display'. By providing the gestural prefigurement and committing himself to what it foretells, the individual makes himself in to something that others can read and predict from [Goffman 1972: 31] (Smith 2017: 8).

It can be argued that intention displays can be found in both empirical examples above, but because of contingencies they result in different consequences. In the New York collision, P3's visible moment of hesitation is in effect a three-part intention display: first, with feet close together she moves her upper body forward while she looks across the street; second, she raises her right hand to her face in a clear expression of 'changing one's mind'; and third, there is the very consequential one-step back. A gloss of this might be, 'I have changed my mind about crossing on the red, and am now moving back'. Perhaps if CC had been travelling much slower, he could have picked up this intention display and altered his course; but his relatively high speed only allowed him to utter a warning 'woah' before colliding with the woman. In the second example, via the leant-back body position and the head-down concen-

trated focus on the cellphone, the woman's intention display can be glossed as 'I am busy on my cellphone and am not moving out from the car'. In this case, because the cyclists have seen the woman emerge from the car several seconds prior, and are travelling at a slower speed, they are well placed to recognise the produced intention display – a nice example of R. Smith's point about 'back and forth reflexive constitution'. That is, because the intention display is well produced and well recognised, both cyclists and pedestrian constitute there and then untroubled, ordinary interaction.

2. The puzzle for the empirical inquiry

The discussion above has been based on detailed description of embodied people in motion, using a variety of objects, in a norm and rule oriented space (the street). Through a basic comparison of two cases, we reached the important realisation that cellphone use in traffic does *not* have to be characterised as a distraction. Certainly, existing research is replete with statistics that show cellphone use while walking, driving, or cycling is a significant risk factor in accidents; this is accepted, but it should be noted that studies of cyclist-pedestrian collisions are less common and are prone to missing data and inaccuracies (Mwakalonge et al., 2015; Lennon et al., 2017; Stavrinos et al., 2018), not to mention methodological weaknesses (see Nevile 2012: 170). But as may be apparent, the aim here is not to pursue causal explanation on this topic, rather the aim is exactly similar to Maurice Nevile's (2012) study of 'interaction as distraction in driving', to quote

> This paper is not concerned with linking interaction to measures of driving performance, but instead with understanding what *interaction as distraction* actually looks like in practice, in the rich and meaningful details of drivers' and passengers' complex and temporally unfolding joint experience of real-life real-time car journeys (ibidem: 172).

So, grounded in the general principle of describing variety, the puzzle here is, 'in the fullness of interaction between cyclists and pedestrians in close proximity, what does pedestrian cellphone distraction actually look like in practice?' It can be expected to be a heterogenous phenomenon, and it simply remains, in the space available, to give a good description of this heterogeneity.

3. Data and ethics

The data corpus sampled below comprises 50 videos downloaded from the video hosting website YouTube. The corpus was built up by snowballing from the first viewed video, the criteria for inclusion being that the videos were a naturalistic record of cycling; thereafter, the aim was to get videos from a good variety of countries. Through viewing and re-viewing the videos a number of varied instances of interaction between cyclists and pedestrians using cellphones was built up, only five of which can be further analysed here (the appendix lists and describes the videos). As already seen above, the analysis proceeds by careful attention to the sequentiality of interaction as represented in 'graphic transcripts'[2] (Laurier 2014), that is, compilations of screensnaps, sometimes with inserted arrows, speech bubbles, circles and the like.

Obtaining ethical consent for the use of publicly available videos is not possible, nor is it needed following the principles of the International Visual Sociology Association's (IVSA) code of research ethics (Papademas and IVSA 2009). Theoretically, individuals shown in the graphic transcripts may be personally identifiable, but in practice this would be very difficult to accomplish, moreover such a risk is no greater than that already present because of the public accessibility of the YouTube videos.

4. Further analysis

Consideration of the next data fragment extends the introductory discussion of the production-recognition couplet and intention displays. It comes from a YouTube channel called One Cyclist in Lisbon', showing everyday cycling in Lisbon as shown in Figure 3.

[2] All videos were in colour, however, some of the figures appear in black and white because sometimes this improves the clarity of the images.

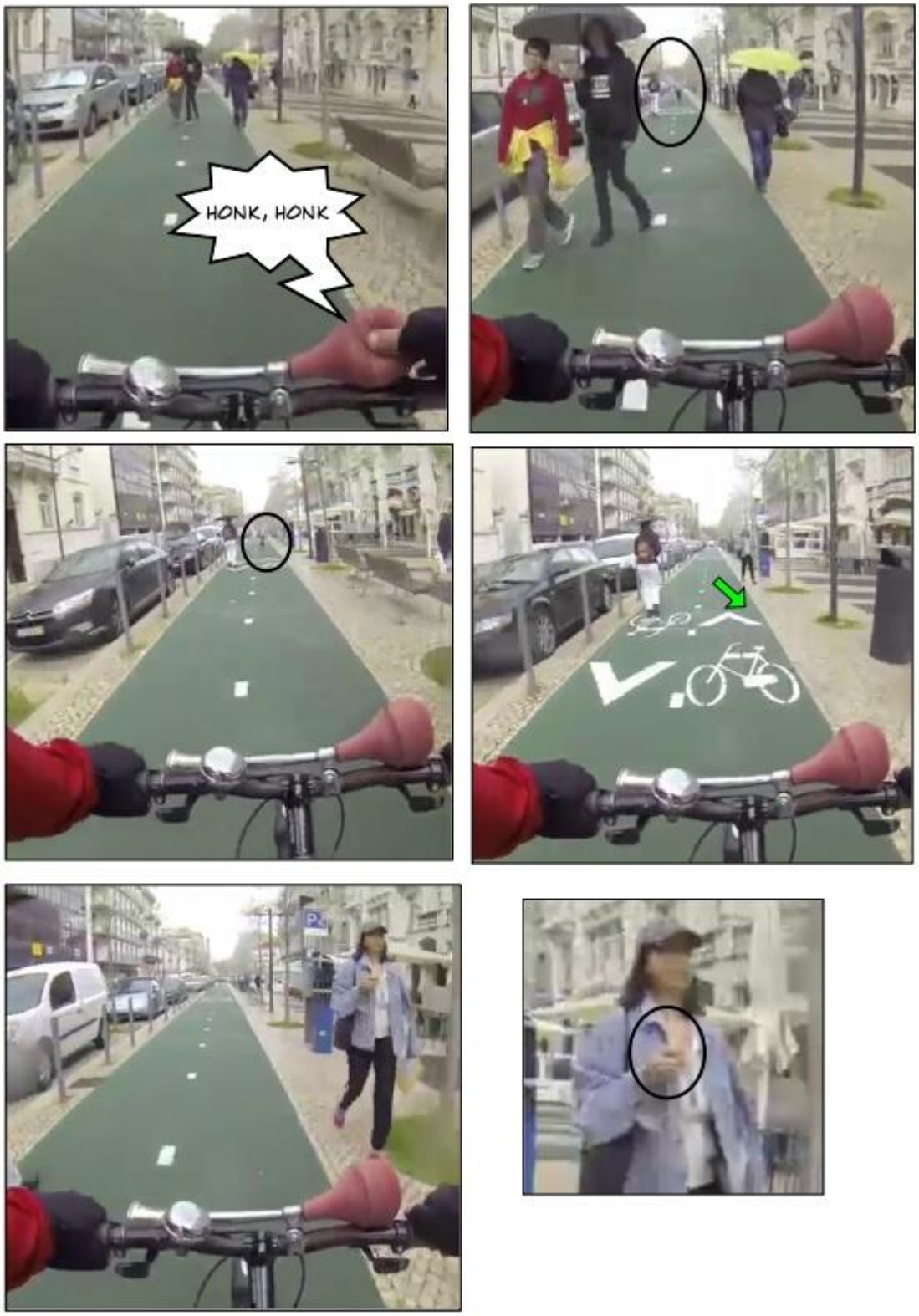

Figure 3. Cellphone and middle-distance gaze

As seen in panel 1, the two-way cycle lane is divided by dotted white lines, and despite the local road rules prohibiting pedestrian presence in the cycle-lane, several pedestrians are moving within its boundaries. This explains why the cyclist is honking on the good-sized horn he has on his bike (see panel 1): he wishes to move the two oncoming pedestrians, and the one going away, off the cycle-lane. As seen in panel 2, a space does open up, and further ahead – about 12 meters – there are two more pedestrians, again one oncoming and one going away. As seen in panels 3 and 4, as the cyclist clears the first group the woman circled in panels 2 and 3 moves off the cycle-lane. She may well have heard the honking by the cyclist, but now she has probably also seen the approaching cyclist. In panel 5, and the zoom image of panel 6, can be seen the most interesting aspect of this fragment. It is a very clear intention display, which if put into words might be, 'I have my cellphone in my hand and ready to use, but right now I am looking forwards showing my straight path off the cycle-lane'. Interestingly, the woman's look is into the middle distance, something Christian Heath (1986: 119) argues is 'a way of attending, but not be seen to be attending, of being engaged but not engaged, of delicately monitoring the world on the periphery'. Perhaps this adoption of the middle-distance gaze and the way it shows 'being engaged but not engaged' is because she knows that previously she was breaking the rules by walking in the cycle-lane. Either way, for the cyclist, what is now distinctly visible is a clear holding out of the cellphone but not looking at it; instead, the gaze is into the middle-distance. All of this must be reassuring for the cyclist, enabling him to proceed on his way in an untroubled manner. A contrast to this can be seen in the next data fragment.

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Figure 4. Obvious distraction

Figure 4, again taken from Lisbon, shows a relatively common form of pedestrian movement which directly contrasts with the non-distraction seen in Figure 3 (and indeed Figure 2). This time the interaction occurs at night, with the cyclist proceeding in the cycle-lane as a male pedestrian approaches with a cellphone extended in his right hand. This time his head is bent down towards the cellphone, enabling the characterisation of him as a 'distracted pedestrian'. Nevertheless, a collision does not eventuate, as a short distance from the cyclist, the pedestrian does look up and begins moving off the cycle-lane. It can also be seen (panel 2) that the cyclist is just about to brake, as indicated by the two index fingers moving above the brake levers; so in this case the cyclist and pedestrian come reasonably close to contact, but jointly manage to avoid it. In contrast to Figure 3 above, for the cyclist, this is a much less reassuring pedestrian action for it shows only late awareness of his approach.

The last two examples have involved pedestrians on cellphones oncoming to the approaching cyclist, which occurs quite commonly, but pedestrians can approach cyclists from all manner of directions, including starting and stopping. Figure 5 shows an example of this, which has an interesting connection with the case discussed in Figure 2.

Figure 5. Staunch pedestrian in the cycle-lane

The video is filmed in New York and shows the view from a cyclist riding in a cycle-lane. Panel 1 shows a woman stepping out onto a pedestrian crossing, when the cyclist is about 20 meters away. In panel 2, a little closer to the woman, the cyclist begins ringing a bell and continues ringing it right up until panel 5. As circled in panel 2, the traffic light is on green, meaning that the pedestrian crossing light is on red. This clearly helps explain why the woman stops, but it does not explain why she does not stop on the pavement, choosing instead to stop on the first white bar of the crossing, exactly where the cycle-lane intersects. Clearly visible from panel 3 onwards is her holding out of a cellphone, with some of her attention focused on it in panels 3 and 4. That said, it is not clear that her actions here should be characterised as 'distracted', as she employs a subtle 'body torque' (Schegloff 1998) movement, showing she is simultaneously attending to the cellphone *and* the ringing of the approaching cyclist (the persistent ringing can be seen as a summons on her attention). In panels 4 and 5 her splayed feet remain grounded in the same position, but her upper body twists towards the cyclist, and then in panel 5 her gaze is directed at the cyclist.

The intention display here could be described as a semi-aggressive 'Your bell-ringing is annoying, and I'm not getting out of your way'. This is confirmed a split second later by the 'fuck you' directed at the cyclist just after he passes her (a slight swerve is required to do so). This is clearly quite a different action to that seen in Figure 2 as discussed in the introduction. Interestingly, it does have a similar effect though, that is, it is clear for the cyclist that the woman is not going to move further into his path. However, in this case it is body stance itself that is central for the intention display. That is, the holding-out of the cellphone here almost seems purely habitual – a kind of waiting for use (see DiDomenico et al., 2018) – and as such does not indicate distraction, nor focused attention.

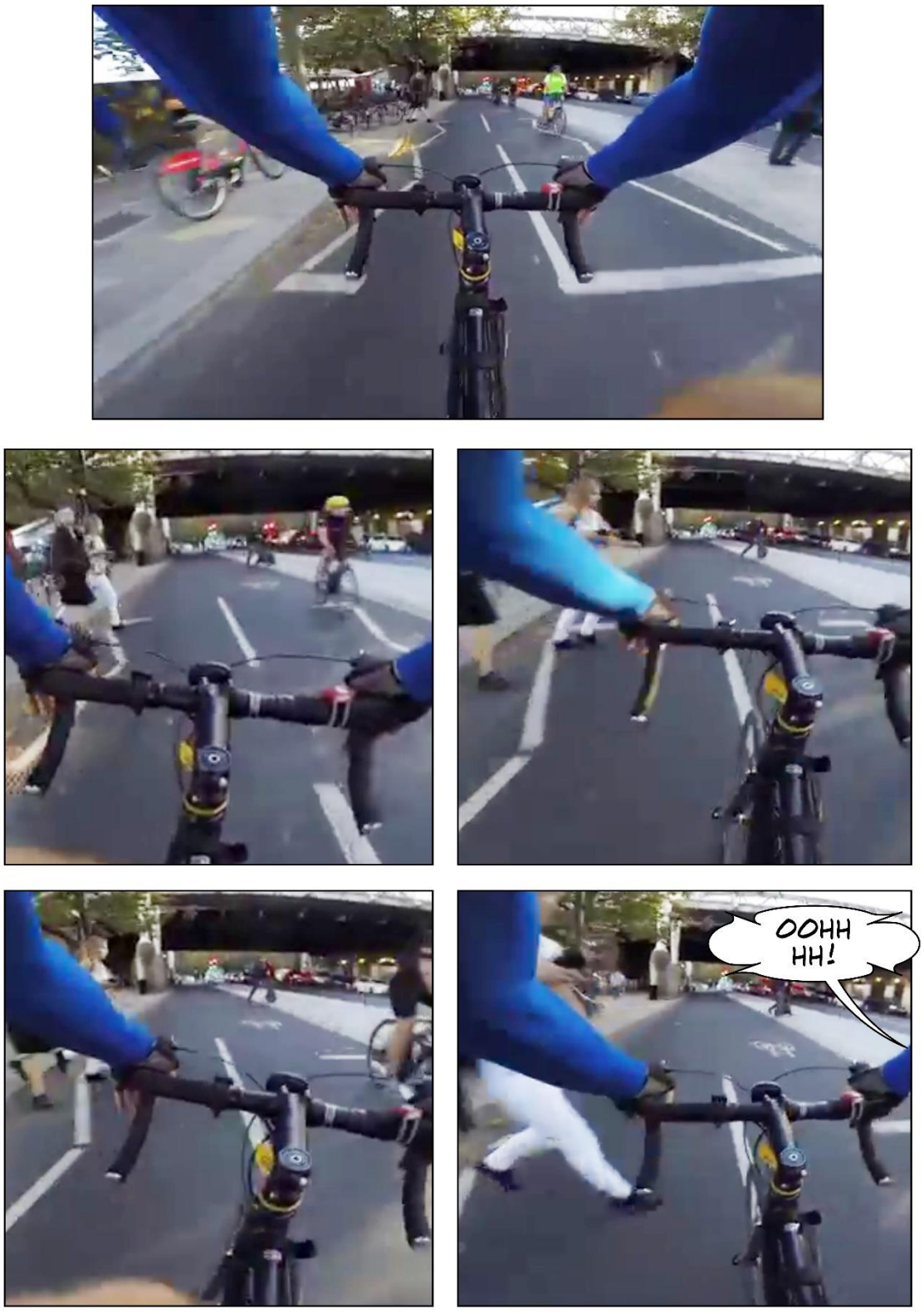

Figure 6. Worrying obliviousness

This habitual aspect of the action illustrated in Figure 5 might be dangerous though, especially when combined with more complex movement. Consider Figure 6 above taken from a cycling video filmed in the streets of London, appropriately titled 'London cycling near misses'.

This video is made by a male cyclist with a camera strapped to his chest, hence the slighter lower point of view showing more of his bike and arms. Panel 1 shows the cyclist in a two-way cycle lane approaching a bicycle parking area quite busy with pedestrian traffic. A couple can be seen ahead entering onto the jagged white lines of the cycle-lane. Already by panel 2 the cyclist sees this as a risk, and begins to swerve away from their projected path in front of him. The woman is holding a cellphone out in front of her, in a manner we have become familiar with from the examples above. It can be seen in panel 3 that the male of the duo has slowed his movement into the cycle-lane, perhaps because he has glanced in the cyclist's direction (maybe even as early as panel 1), however, the woman does not appear to have made such a glance as she does not break stride into the cycle-lane. Ultimately, by panel 5 even though the cyclist began a swerve quite early, he is forced to utter a loud warning 'Oohhh!' and only narrowly misses the woman who is still holding her cellphone in front of her.

This is an intriguing example, worth some thought. It has the similarity with the previous examples of showing the same out-in-front holding of the cellphone, but clearly there is no intention display as in Figure 3, no last minute seeing of the cyclist as in Figure 4, but also no aggressive element as in Figure 5. On the surface then it does seem to count as pedestrian distraction, but the key question to consider is the part of the cellphone in this distraction. A thought experiment is useful here: imagine if the cyclist and the woman holding the cellphone had indeed collided, and a police officer was called to make an incident report. It is quite possible that if either the woman, the cyclist, or other witnesses to the collision, were asked for details on what happened, the description 'she was holding/using a cellphone' would be given, perhaps by several of the witnesses. Imagine also that the cyclist gives the video record to the police officer. The former accounts by witnesses may lead to the characterisation of 'cellphone distraction', or at least the presence of the cellphone would

be noted, however, any careful consideration of the video by a police officer would realise that the cellphone was not actually in use, in the sense of requiring her gaze. That is, at no stage can it be seen that her head is bent down towards it. This raises the interesting question of whether just holding a cellphone while walking as a pedestrian is a significant 'risk factor' in accidents. Holding a cellphone out in front of oneself is indeed a kind of use, even though it does not easily lead to the characterisation of 'distraction'.

Not considered so far is a pedestrian in movement talking on a cellphone. There is a good example to consider as a final graphic transcript. Consider Figure 7, returning us full-circle to New York.

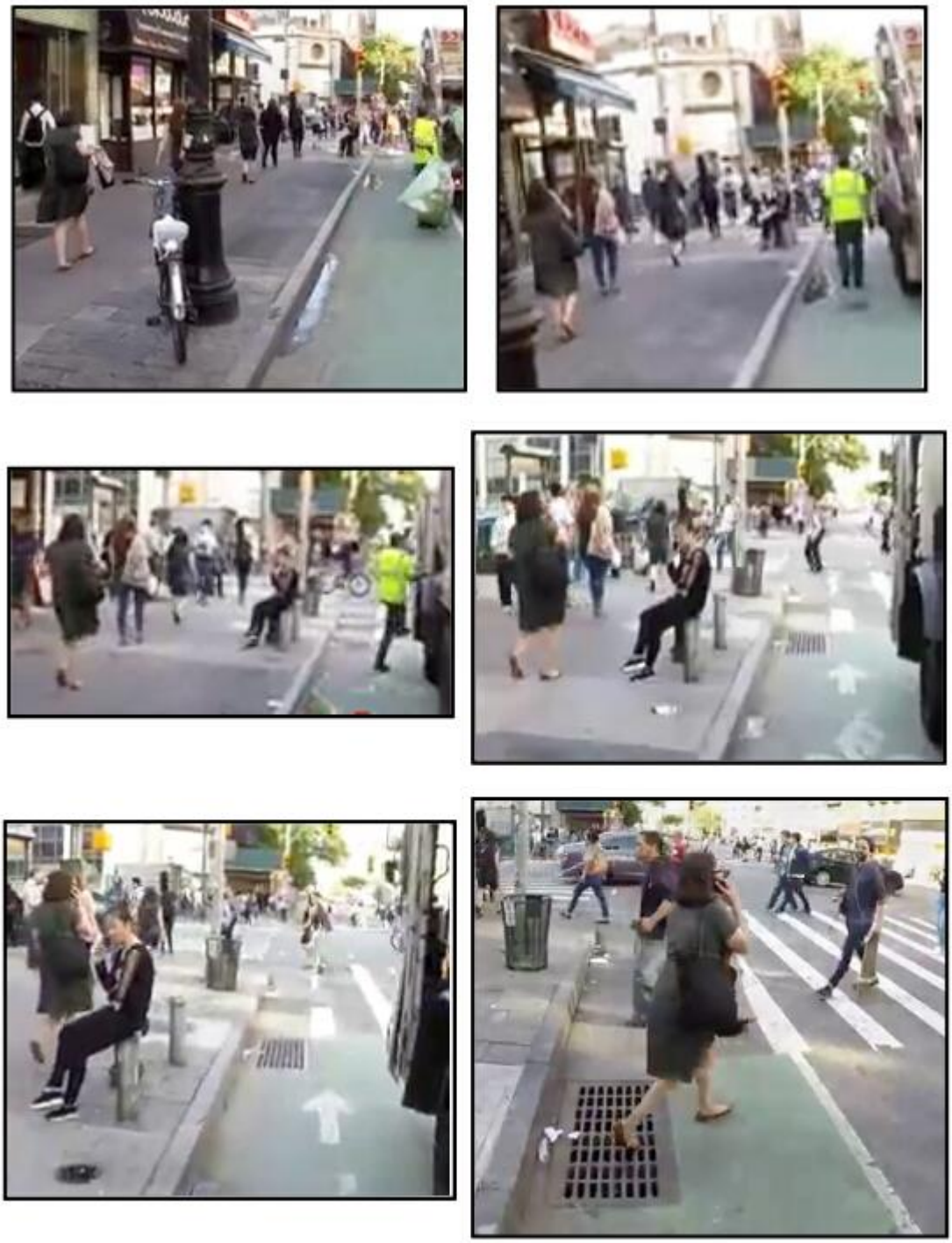

Figure 7. Walking-and-talking and cutting across

It can be seen in panel 1 that the filming cyclist is coming up to a traffic light intersection, busy with pedestrians. The cyclist sees the man from the garbage truck in the cycle-lane putting some bags in the back of the truck, so he slows and stops. The first woman visible on the pavement moving in the same direction, has been seen prior to this panel with a cellphone to her ear. In panel 1 she has brought the cellphone down and is attending to something in her handbag, but then immediately has the cellphone back to her ear, and continues on in this way, walking and talking as seen in panels 2 to 6. From panel 2, the woman begins an angled track towards the corner, and clearly seen in the last panel, she cuts across the cycle-lane having at no point glanced to her right and behind to see if any oncoming cyclists are in that space. It is not an egregious occupation of the cycle-lane, and of course the cyclist should be about to stop, nevertheless, it is a potentially risky movement.

This example, being replete with pedestrian movement, provides an excellent opportunity to probe the limits of the 'intention display' concept. Clearly, there are aspects on view in Figure 7 which do show its utility. For example, consider the young woman sitting on the bollard talking on a cellphone throughout all the panels. Much like the woman opening the car door in Figure 2, her body position is a very important part of the clear predictability she provides the cyclist. That is, whereas in theory her directed attention to her cellphone could be an indication of risk for the cyclist (she is near the cycle-lane), in practice she appears perfectly innocuous: her sitting posture and angle away from the cycle-lane leaves no doubt as to her intention (to remain sitting and talking). In contrast, the woman walking away and talking on her cellphone is not facing the cyclist, and she is taking a trajectory that does indeed lead to cutting across the cycle-lane. In considering this, the limits of the 'intention display' concept are reached, and some unfortunate baggage of it can be realised. Robin Smith (2017: 8) has been alert to this, and is worth quoting at length:

> Here, however, we find the rational strategic individual and, as is common across Goffman's work, the looming figures of competition and shame. … [P]eople might well "communicate" to others their intent, but they do so in highly specific ways that are embedded in and exhibit the context in which they are seen. Equally, Goffman

> was always quick to point out how any such trusting arrangement is apt for exploitation by those who seek to use the assumed arrangement of "normality" to their advantage. Certainly there are many instances where this gets done. Liberman's [2013] study of the crossing of Kincaid, for example, found pedestrians employing the method of "doing being oblivious" to cross a busy intersection. By stepping out in to the road without engaging in the kind of attention displays to the road traffic described below, pedestrians exploit the "trust" that drivers will not drive in to them in order to do crossing the road without being "invited" to do so. Yet, for the most part, participants in public scenes are not out to exploit, con, or get one over one another.

The notion of 'doing being oblivious' (noted also by others, see Lloyd 2019) seems easily applicable to our example. From several meters before the corner, the woman begins cutting across, all the while being on the phone, and as such she does seem to be 'doing being oblivious'.

Clearly, even though it is a minimal intrusion into the cycle-lane, a collision is only avoided here if the cyclist sees her and stops a meter or so back from the pedestrian crossing. The difficulty here is in inferring intention: has the woman intentionally done this, or as K. Liberman also allows, maybe she really was 'being oblivious', that is, because of her preoccupation with her cellphone conversation, she was simply impervious to the manner of her movement into the cycle-lane. Ultimately, with the available data, a clear choice on this matter cannot be made. It cannot be determined that this fits Erving Goffman's model of strategic interaction, and as such is 'anti-sociality' in the street, or if it is just someone being distracted and oblivious. What can be noted though, is that a collision is only avoided in this instance because the cyclist has (presumably) seen her trajectory into the cycle-lane and has taken the precaution of stopping before any imminent collision. In contrast to the speed of CC discussed in Figure 1, in this case he is travelling at a very low speed and is well placed to accommodate the minimal intrusion into cycle-lane space, thus helping maintain 'normality' in the street. As Rod Watson (2005) has argued, public space is usually an environment of normal appearances based upon a 'display-monitoring pair', thus it can be argued that any first person being oblivious weakens the display part, making the monitoring work of any second person much more crucial. Simply, collisions may happen when that monitoring work is insufficient or absent. As Justin

Spinney's (2008) and other work has shown, cyclists can indeed 'glaze' when riding in urban space, so the details of where and when that happens become crucial, but in this case the cyclist has clearly not been inattentive.

5. Conclusion

In some of the videos sampled and presented above, cyclists can be found using the term 'cellphone zombies' to refer to pedestrians using cellphones in or near cycle-lanes (also known by the neologism 'smombies' (Motyka 2018). Obviously this is a pejorative term, effectively meaning someone who is alive but really dead, that is, mindless. The cyclists posting these videos will probably continue using the term, but the implication of this study is that such a negative characterisation of cellphone users is unnecessary. Bracketing the term 'cellphone zombie', instead 'cellphone distraction' is preferable, albeit always requiring careful care in application, since as has been shown above, it is a heterogeneous phenomenon. From only a small number of closely examined examples, it has been seen that whereas pedestrians can indeed be unpredictable, the presence of a cellphone figures in varied 'intention displays', that do help maintain safe and orderly interactions in the street. With a leant-back body position, attention to a cellphone can show that the pedestrian will not be moving into cycle-lane space, or when the cellphone is held out in front, a middle-distance gaze clearly indicates ongoing progression in the 'proper' pedestrian space. Other times, the common head-down attention to the cellphone is readable as distraction, nonetheless, very few collisions seem to be evident. There is also the intriguing use of a cellphone as part of annoyance at the cyclist, as a signal of 'you don't need to be ringing your bell at me all the time, I'm not moving from your cycle-lane'. More worryingly, the cellphone can also be held out in front, but not attended to, with the pedestrian nevertheless making dangerous moves into a cycle-lane. Finally, was a view of a pedestrian walking and talking on a cellphone, cutting across the end of a cycle-lane, but in this case the characterisation 'oblivious' was more useful, albeit leaving open the question of whether this was an intentional 'doing' or an unintentional 'being' oblivious. After this investigation, the reasonable conclusion to make,

bringing us back to the article's title, is that cellphone use by pedestrians when close to cyclists is not commonly a form of 'anti-sociality in the street'.

In terms of the motivating puzzle, 'in the fullness of interaction between cyclists and pedestrians in close proximity, what does pedestrian cellphone distraction actually look like in practice', this article has provided a more complex picture of the phenomenon of interest. But perhaps as should be the case, there is another puzzle remaining. In particular, this derives from the consideration of Figure 6: is it the case that just holding a cellphone, even without looking downwards to it, is a type of significant distraction when cyclists and vehicle drivers are nearby? This will be hard to answer, nevertheless it seems a significant question worth serious pursuit. Limitations of the above analysis aside, fine-grained analysis of publicly available video data is one good way to pursue this puzzle in future research.

6. References

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Appendix: Summary of video data

Fig-ure	City filmed in	Run time	First screensnap at	URL (at the time of writing all YouTube videos remain posted)
1	New York	6.33	0.01	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sYWPHHo0fPU
2	Christchurch	0.19	12.00	Author's GoPro
3	Lisbon	5.13	4.40	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lrM3Pyxazuc
4	Lisbon	4.43	0.18	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OUZO1bwE5Ak
5	New York	1.35	0.02	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_a9UadQbVMY
6	London	4.20	0.23	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wusNHV2I-2A
7	New York	9.31	2.18	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sZ_BY69O7U0

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