4 – Dysfunctional Fear

This chapter concerns four unrelated filmic road safety advertisements that convey a particularly potent aesthetic of fear. Using *criminological aesthetics* and the concept of excess as tools, it will be argued that the potency of the four texts, *Pram* (Australia), *Hurry* (Australia), *Mess* (Republic of Ireland) and *Shame* (Northern Ireland), can lead to a dysfunctional fear of crime. The chapter is named after this potential excess that has been traced across all four texts, each of which brings something unique to the discussion. The resultant fear is said to be dysfunctional because the images and concepts conveyed in each text carry a potential excess that can usurp meaning making in a way that interrupts the reception of the intended message. This chapter also utilises governmentality as a tool to explore how the texts *work* as a strategy to constitute and transform failed subjects. This exploration will further the overarching argument that late modern governments use the fear of crime as a strategy to transform both the ethical and failed subject. Lastly, the chapter will address the representation of the failed subject across the four texts in order to highlight the necessity for a less binary conceptualisation of the driving subject.

Pram

This Queensland (QLD)[1] based advertisement was part of a long standing speeding campaign, *Every K over is a Killer,* which was released in 2003 and ran until 2008 (wuzzlevideos, 2007). The campaign was developed in conjunction with *BCM Advertising* to dispel the myths that “a road tragedy will not happen to us” and that there are levels of “safe speeding”(BCM, 2012). The campaign consisted of billboard advertisements and “a series of hard-hitting commercials”(BCM, 2012). There were three versions of the *Pram* advertisement: a 60 second feature, *Pram 1*, which explored the lead up to a collision caused by speeding, as well as a staged collision with a pram; a 30 second narrated version, *Pram 2*, which explored the alternative realities of travelling below the speed limit and then when travelling at 76 km/h in a 60 km/h zone; and a 30 second version, *Pram 3*, which shows the same staged collision and textually narrates the futures of each character (Department of Transport and Main Roads (QLD), 2011). *Pram 3 (Pram)* has been chosen for analysis here because of its exploration of the notion of possible unwanted futures, which as discussed earlier, is the definition of fear that informs this work.

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[1] Australia.

Pram begins with a white sedan travelling at speed on a suburban street.[2] The white vehicle is driven by a middle aged male and there is a young boy in the front passenger seat. The vehicle changes lanes rapidly as the driver in a red sedan in front applies their brakes. The driver of the white sedan applies his brakes and the sound of a loud skid can be heard as the white sedan clips the rear left of the white sedan (Figure 4.1). A loud crash dominates the audio and the white sedan swerves and mounts the curb. The camera cuts to a close up of a young woman on the footpath noticing the collision on the road beside her (Figure 4.2). The camera cuts back to the road to show the white sedan mount the footpath and head toward the young woman who can now be seen to be pushing a pram (Figure 4.3). The young woman turns the pram away from the oncoming vehicle in an effort to protect the child inside (Figure 4.4) at the same time her loud scream is audible over the sound of the vehicle. The screen abruptly turns black while the audio continues to depict the sound of something hitting the bonnet of the white sedan.

Figure 4. 1

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[2] This description of *Pram 3* is adapted from the transcript of the advertisement that is publicly available on the Queensland Government website (Department of Transport and Main Roads (QLD), 2011).

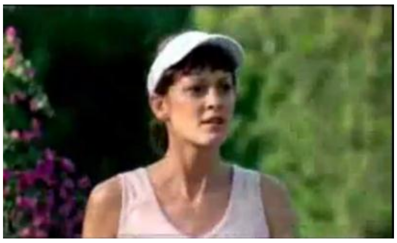
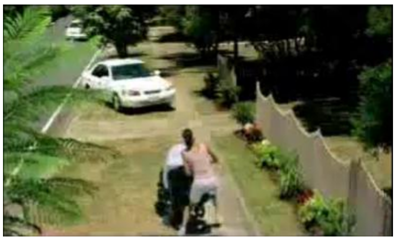


Figure 4. 2



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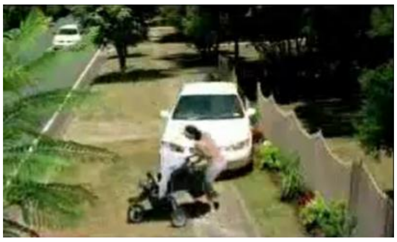


Figure 4. 4

A new frame depicts the young woman motionless on the ground, covered in blood, as the loud screams of the infant dominate the audio. The frame zooms in for a close up of her face, the frame freezes and the following text fades into view: “Amy Louise Oliver. Killed instantly” (Figure 4.5). The camera pans rapidly to the baby lying on the ground covered in blood and screaming. The frame freezes and the following text fades into view: “Hayley Jane Oliver. Will spend the rest of her life without her mother” (Figure 4.6). The frame cuts to the young boy in the passenger seat of the white sedan. As he looks outside of the window he cries and calls out “Daaaaddy”. The frame freezes and the following text fades into view: “Jack Michael Atwood. Undergoing trauma counselling” (Figure 4.7). The frame cuts to the driver who is outside of his vehicle holding the crying baby, his face clearly depicting torment. The frame freezes and the following text gradually fades into view: “Michael John Atwood. Charged with dangerous operation of a vehicle causing death. Facing up to 7 years imprisonment" (Figure 4.8). The screen fades to black and the campaign line: "Every K over is a Killer*"* is central to screen (Figure 4.9). The sound of the young male passenger crying out "Daaaaddy" is the only distinguishable audio feature as the screen changes to display the *Queensland Police Service* and *Queensland Transport* logos, then the scene ends.

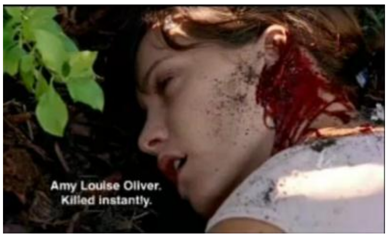

Amy Louise Oliver.
Killed instantly.

Figure 4. 5

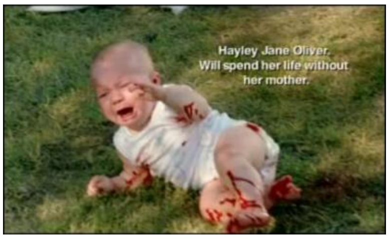

Hayley Jane Oliver.
Will spend her life without
her mother.

Figure 4. 6

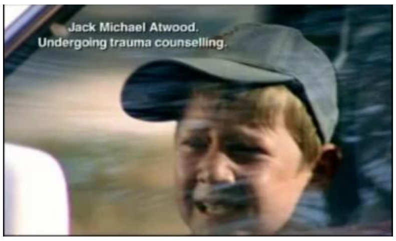

Jack Michael Atwood.
Undergoing trauma counselling.

Figure 4. 7

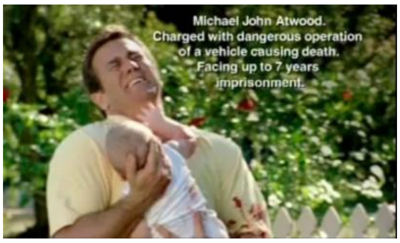

Michael John Atwood.
Charged with dangerous operation
of a vehicle causing death.
Facing up to 7 years
imprisonment.

Figure 4. 8

Every k over is a killer.

Figure 4. 9

Hurry

This speeding advertisement, *Mum in a Hurry*, was aired in 1995 by the Transport Accident Commission (TAC) of Victoria as part of their *Don't Fool Yourself, Speed Kills* campaign (TACVictoria, 2009a). The one minute feature depicts a staged collision with a child that is considered by TAC to be "one of the most graphic crashes ever shown"(TACVictoria, 2009a). The advertisement was an attempt to broaden the anti-speeding campaign to include mothers who speed due to time pressures, like school pick-up (TACVictoria, 2009a). The advertisement also appears to be steered towards a country audience, on account of the setting and the vehicles in the advertisement, as well as the tagline at the end of the feature: "Country people die on country roads" (Figure 4.21).

The scene begins with a woman rushing to place her child into a car seat in the rear of a 4WD. She can be heard saying to the child: "Quickly into the car. Help mummy get you in the seat". The mother has a conversation with a woman outside of the vehicle:

> *Woman: "Do you want me to call the kinder and let them know you will be late"*
>
> *Mother: "No it's fine".*
>
> *Woman: "Sure?"*
>
> *Mother: "See you soon".*

The mother starts the 4WD and reverses rapidly out of the drive way. She has a conversation with her child (Figure 4.10) who asks:

> *Child: "Why are you so angry Mummy?"*
>
> *Mother: "I'm sorry darling. I'm not really angry I'm just in a hurry to pick up Sam".*

As she speaks the frame changes to show her vehicle increase in speed to enter an intersection on amber lights (Figure 4.11). The audio of an accelerating engine can be discerned as she does this. The child asks another question:

> *Child: "Is Sammy waiting for us".*
>
> *Mother: "Yes he is".*

The mother turns off a main road into a suburban street. The conversation with the child continues as the frame displays the speed of the vehicle (76km/h) and the time (4.06) (Figure 4.12):

> *Child: "Where are we going?"*
>
> *Mother: "Just a different way darling, it's a bit quicker"*

The vehicle travels at a rapid speed through a roundabout, not giving way to a dark blue sedan entering the roundabout. The sound of skidding and the long suppression of a car horn dominate the audio. As the 4WD travels through the roundabout it mounts the curb (Figure 4.13) and the mother subtly verbalises her disapproval of the jolt it causes to the vehicle.

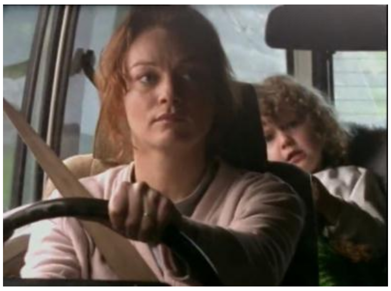


Figure 4. 10

Figure 4. 11

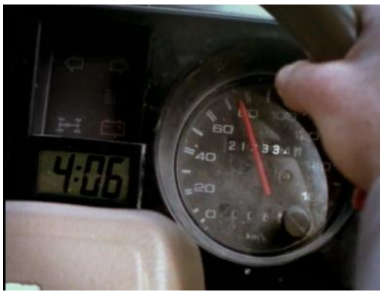


Figure 4. 12

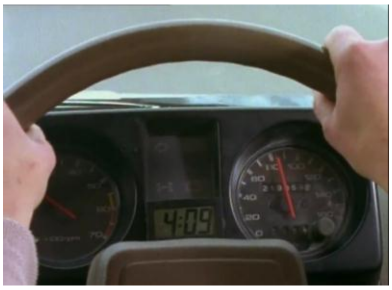
Figure 4. 13

The sounds of the vehicle then disappear as the frame cuts to a quiet scene where a young boy is playing with his dog, the sound of birds discernible in the background. The frame cuts back to inside the vehicle as the sounds of an accelerating engine can be heard, coinciding with a shot of the dash, depicting the vehicle speed (82km/h) and the time (4.09) (Figure 4.14). The conversation between the child and the mother continues as the dog and young boy start to run toward the road:

Child: "Are we nearly there yet?"

Mother: "Yes we are?"

The shot that follows depicts the driver's viewpoint. In the background is the Kindergarten and in the foreground the dog can be seen to run directly across the path of the vehicle (Figure 4.15). The mother abruptly steers towards the curb to avoid the dog and the vehicle collides with the child at high speed (Figure 4.16). The sound of skidding can be heard as the frame changes to depict a long shot of the vehicle, with the young boy rolling under the vehicle (Figure 4.17). In the background the boy's mother can be seen gardening. The driving mother can be heard screaming as she crashes through a fence and comes to a stop. The sound of the car colliding with the fence can be heard as the gardening mother turns toward the noise. The driving mother exits the vehicle in shock, with her hand to her mouth sobbing. A bystander yells: "get a doctor" as the driving mother and bystanders all run toward the boy's body. The gardening mother runs towards the fence and says: "Oh Scotty…SCOTTY" (Figure 4.18). The gardening mother runs toward the boy and the driving mother continues to place her hand over her mouth (Figure 4.19). She backs away saying "I'm Sorry, I'm Sorry". Indiscernible sobbing can be heard as the screen fades to black with white text: "Don't fool yourself, Speed kills" (Figure 4.20) and then fades back to a close up of the driving mother, crying and clearly distraught. The audio fades to silence and the screen fades to black with white text: "Country people die on country roads" with the TAC logo below before the scene ends (Figure 4.21).



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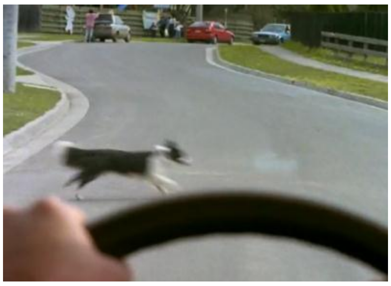

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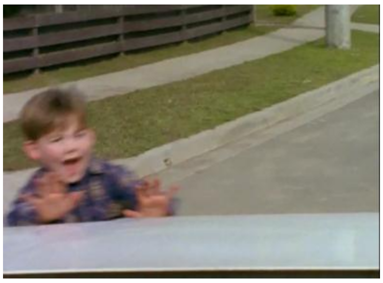

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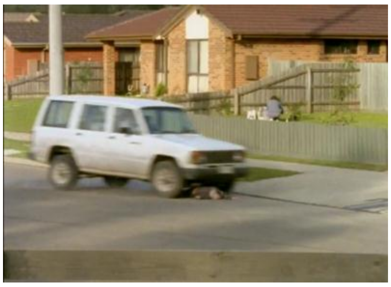

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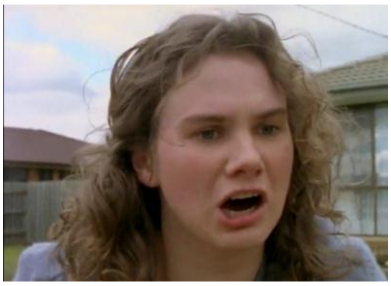

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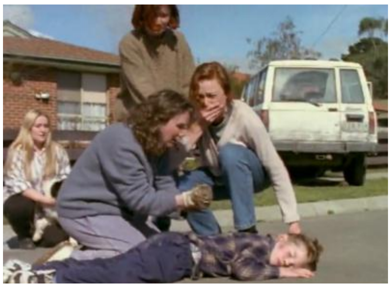

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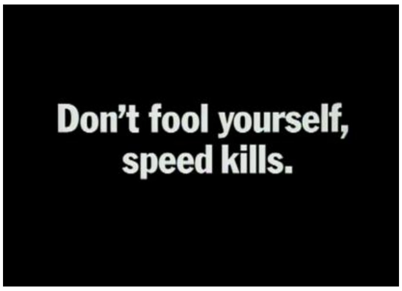
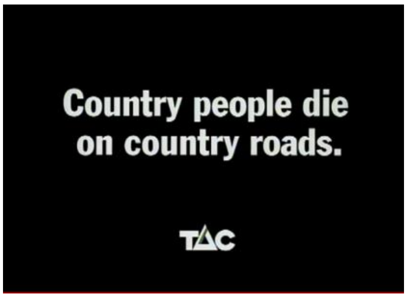


Don't fool yourself,
speed kills.

Figure 4. 20



Country people die
on country roads.

TAC

Figure 4. 21

Mess

This 60 second speeding advertisement was part of *The Faster the Speed, the Bigger the Mess* campaign from the Road Safety Authority of the Republic of Ireland (Culturepub, 2007). The campaign was created by *Lyle Bailie International* and aired in 2007. The advertisement aimed to emphasise the consequences and suffering of innocent third parties in road accidents to a target audience of 17 to 24 year old drivers (McNeilly, 2007). Moreover, it aimed to educate the public with the message: "Every time human error causes a road collision it is the speed of the vehicles which determines the outcome"(Road Safety Authority (Republic of Ireland), 2012). The advertisement was considered so graphic it could not be shown until after the 9pm watershed (McNeilly, 2007).

The scene begins with a young couple kissing on a stone wall in a typically Irish countryside setting. In the background is a man riding a horse with a farmhouse in the far distance (Figure 4.22). The soundtrack (Avrutin, 2007) repeats the words 'I can't take my eyes off you' for the duration of the track. The sound of the young woman quietly giggling is just decipherable over the soundtrack. The couple look lovingly into each other's eyes and then the camera abruptly cuts to the road showing a silver hatch losing control around a corner. A red sedan travelling behind the silver hatch crashes into its rear causing it to roll on its roof towards the edge of the road (Figure 4.23). The sound of breaking glass, twisting metal, skidding and a car horn drown out the soundtrack. The shot changes to a close up of the young woman on the wall who is watching the collision, a look of shock and surprise register on her face (Figure 4.24). The shot changes again to view the silver hatch skidding on its roof toward the couple and in the background the red sedan collides with a dark vehicle travelling in the other direction (Figure 4.25). The silver hatch collides with the young male's back (Figure 4.26) and the shot changes to show a close up of him vomiting as a result of the impact (Figure 4.27). The shot flicks to show the young couple trapped between the wall and the silver hatch; the male's body noticeably limp (Figure 4.28). The crash sounds subside and the song becomes more perceptible, mixed in with the sound of the young woman screaming and whimpering.

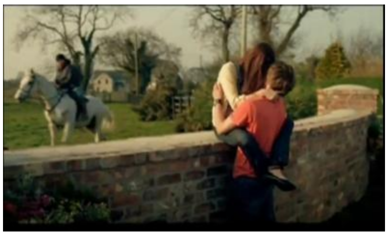


Figure 4. 22

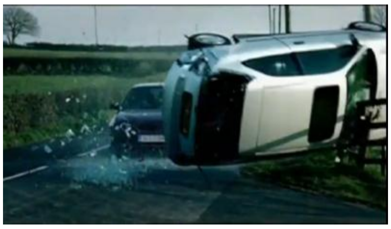


Figure 4. 23

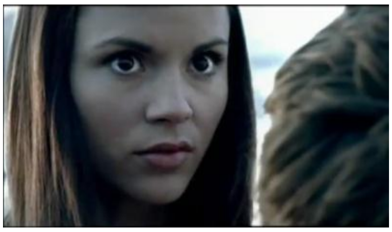


Figure 4. 24

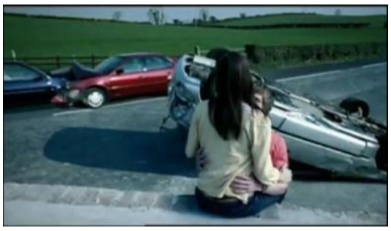
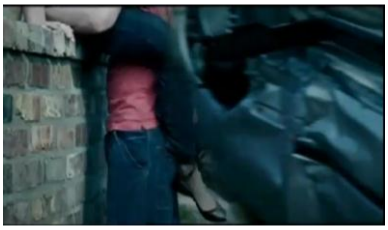


Figure 4. 25



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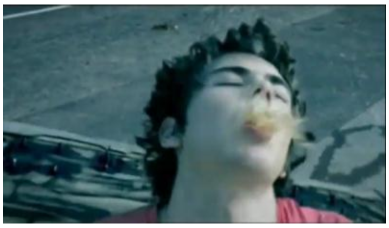

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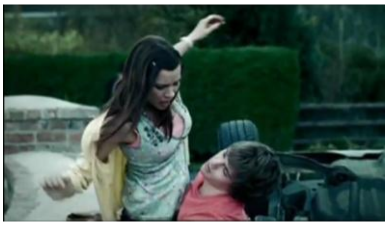

Figure 4. 28

The remaining shots feature a collection of perspectives of the accident scene. First, a lifeless and bloodied male passenger and a screaming female driver in the cabin of the dark vehicle (Figure 4.29). Secondly, a young child standing on the road side as her mother runs to her, picks her up and shields her face from the scene (Figure 4.30). Thirdly, the frame depicts an old man in a hat and scarf in the distance observing the couple on the wall. The frame abruptly changes to a close up of the old man, a look of horror registers on his face (Figure 4.31). The scene then jumps forward to when emergency services arrive on scene. As emergency service workers attend to the injured, the male driver of the silver hatch can be seen in the centre of the carnage (Figure 4.32). The camera spins around him as he turns around to view the outcome of his driving, as the audio is filled with screams and crying. A police officer grabs his arm and the shot abruptly changes to show a white sheet being placed over the male passenger in the dark vehicle, indicating he is deceased. The male driver turns to watch the white sheet as he is escorted away by the police officer (Figure 4.33). The shot changes to pan around the young couple as emergency services attempt to free them and then changes to an aerial view[3] as the girl screams loudly (Figure 4.34).

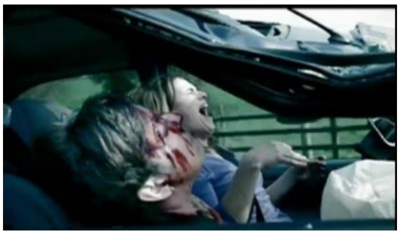

Figure 4. 29

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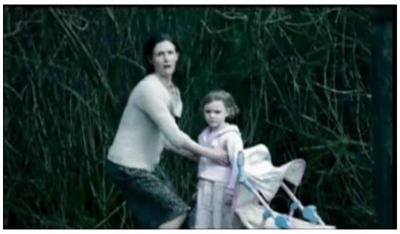
[3] Depicting a wide shot from above which serves to emphasise the drama.



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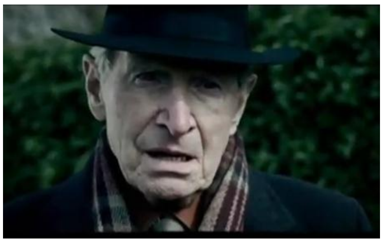

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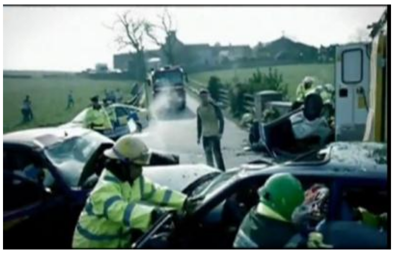

Figure 4. 32

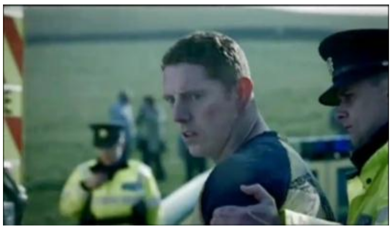

Figure 4. 33

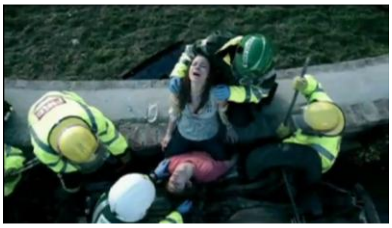

Figure 4. 34

The young woman's screaming ends as the scene changes to show her in surgery, an old married man's hands can be seen near her head, perhaps her father (Figure 4.35). The volume of the soundtrack increases as the scene changes to show the parents identifying the young male in a morgue, the mother sobs and reaches out for her son (Figure 4.36). The shot returns to the young woman in a hospital bed wearing a breathing mask, attended to by her crying parents. Her face morphs as the scene changes to show her seated in the gallery of a court room at some point in the future (Figure 4.37). She looks intently through the camera and then the reverse shot reveals that she is looking at the driver standing in the dock. He glances back at her with his head hung low and a look of shame on his face (Figure 4.38). As the camera pans around the court room the voice of an Irish male Judge can be heard saying: "It is quite clear that you were driving too fast to cope with the unexpected." The scene changes to show a flash back from the perspective of the driver. The shot shows the silver hatch overtaking the red sedan at speed when a dog runs onto the road. The scene flashes to reveal the driver through the front windscreen. A look of surprise is evident on his face as he swerves to miss the dog and his face navigates around the circumference of the frame, depicting the overturning of the vehicle. His face becomes upright and then morphs back to his face in the dock (Figure 4.39). The scene changes to show the young woman in a wheel chair looking mournful in a cemetery as the soundtrack fades out (Figure 4.40). A male narrator reads the text that appears at the bottom of the screen: "The faster the speed the bigger the mess" as the camera zooms out to show a long view of the young woman and another person in the cemetery (Figure 4.41). The text changes to show the Road Safety Authority logo, the campaign tag line *Speed Shame* and the Hibernian[4] Insurance logo. The narrator says: "From the Road Safety Authority, supported by Hibernian" as the scene blacks out.

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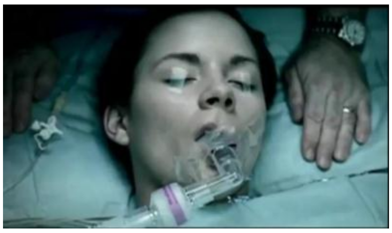
[4] The classical Latin name for the Island of Ireland.



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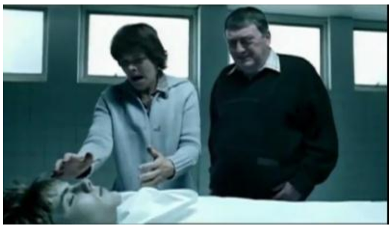

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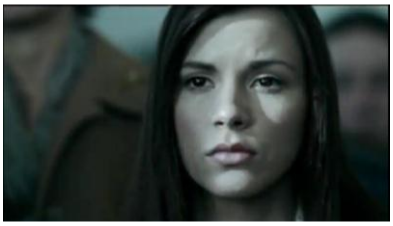

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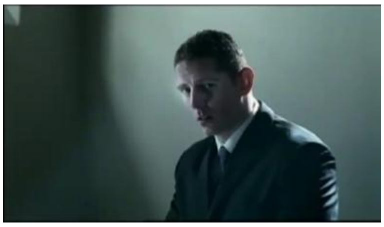

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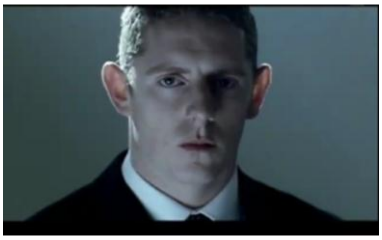

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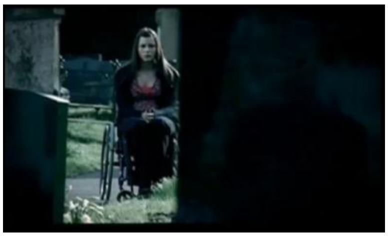

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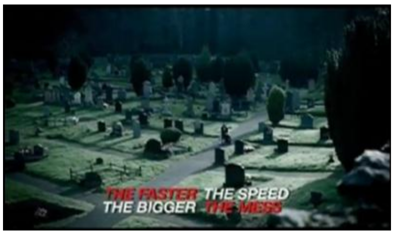

Figure 4. 41

Shame

The final advertisement is a 60 second advertisement created for the Department of Environment of Northern Ireland by *Lyle Bailey Belfast* (AdForum.com, 2002). It was launched in 2002 as part of their *Shame* drink driving campaign. The campaign ran for five years and won several effectiveness awards in 2002 including: Gold in the *IAPI Effectiveness Awards* in Dublin; Silver in the *IPA National Effectiveness Awards* in London; and Bronze in the *World AME Advertising/Marketing Effectiveness Awards* in New York (IAPI, 2011). The soundtrack of the advertisement features the first two verses of the song *A Man of the World* (Fleetwood Mac, 1969) and for most of the advertisement there is no other discernible audio.

The scene begins with a young boy in a yellow strip[5] and blue shorts posturing to a younger girl to get out of the way of his football[6] goals. The girl pushes her pram out of the way and the frame reveals a close up of the goals with a large teddy bear sitting within (Figure 4.42). The reverse shot then features from behind the goals, showing the young boy kicking a goal. The shot returns to the front of goal and shows the boy dancing in celebration (Figure 4.43). The scene jumps forward showing the boy's father joining him in celebration of the goal (Figure 4.44). The shots vary to show the young girl on a swing and the boy jumping through a sprinkler before a scene change. The new scene depicts a young man in a suit and tie exiting his vehicle at a local football match. He smiles to his team mates who greet him happily (Figure 4.45). The scene jumps forward to depict the young man in a yellow strip and blue shorts scoring a goal and dancing in celebration (Figure 4.46). The scene cuts to a pub where the young man celebrates with friends and is visibly seen to take a sip of beer (Figure 4.47).

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[5] A soccer jersey.

[6] Soccer.

Figure 4. 42

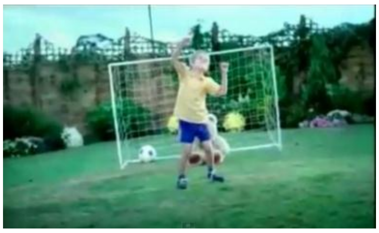

Figure 4. 43

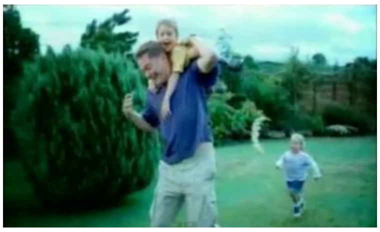

Figure 4. 44

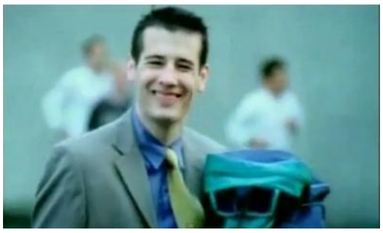

Figure 4. 45

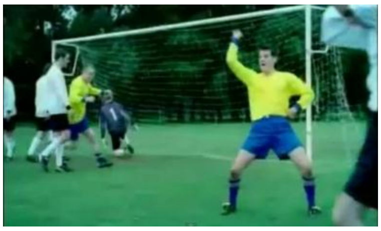

Figure 4. 46

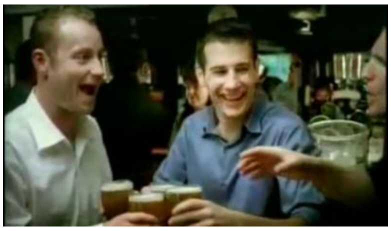

Figure 4. 47

The scene then changes to show the young man driving a vehicle, syncing in with the second last line of the first verse of *Man of the World*: "And there's no one I'd rather be" (Figure 4.48). He closes his eyes temporarily and smiles as he sings along with the audio track. The shot changes to show his wheel clipping the curb as he is singing (Figure 4.49). The sound of a horn and tyres skidding can be temporarily discerned over the soundtrack as the driver loses control of his vehicle and crashes into a white vehicle (Figure 4.50). As a result of the impact his vehicle rolls up the curb and onto its roof as it crashes through a suburban fence. The driver's scream can be heard over the soundtrack. The shot changes back to the boy playing football in his back yard. The young man's car crashes through the fence, into the back yard and towards the boy who is resting with his foot on top of the ball (Figure 4.51). At the point of supposed impact with the boy the shot quickly cuts to flowers being damaged by the vehicle (Figure 4.52) and then cuts back to the vehicle rolling over the lifeless boy underneath

(Figure 4.53), with a pram in the middle distance of the shot. The father exits the house and past his young daughter who screams loudly.

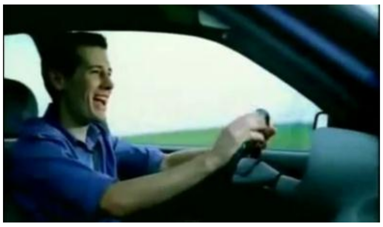

Figure 4. 48

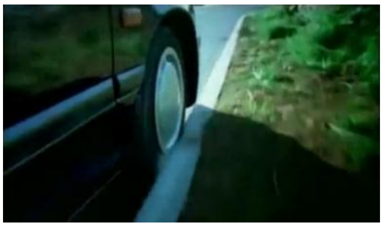

Figure 4. 49

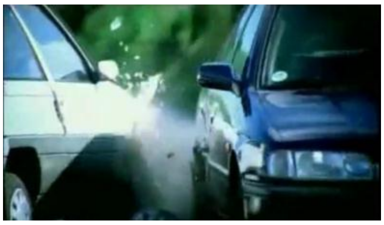

Figure 4. 50

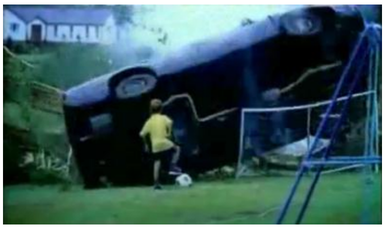

Figure 4. 51

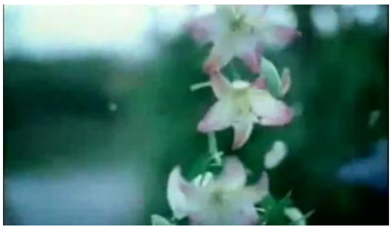

Figure 4. 52

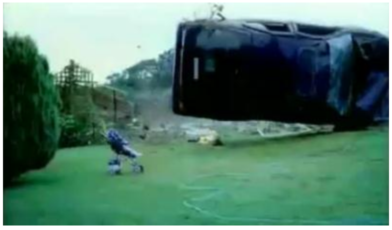

Figure 4. 53

As the vehicle rolls over the boy’s body it coincides with the last line of the second verse of *Man of the World:* “But I wish that I’d never been born”. The soundtrack continues as the driver exits his vehicle as the father runs past him and attends to his limp son (Figure 4.54). The shot changes to show the driver looking at the boy, with bystanders in the background. Text appears at the bottom of the screen: ‘NEVER EVER DRINK AND DRIVE’ (Figure 4.55) as a male narrates the text. The shot changes to show the father crying, both visually and audibly, as he picks up his lifeless son (Figure 4.56). The shot returns to a close up of the injured driver looking to camera with the following white text displayed and narrated: ‘Could you live with the shame*?*’ (Figure 4.57). The relevant logos emerge on the bottom of screen and the narrator says: “For DOE supported by AXA insurance” as the music and images fade out.

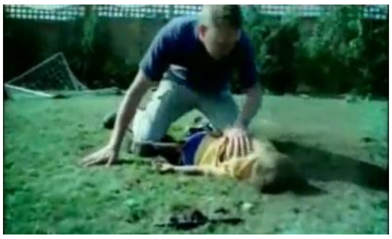

Figure 4. 54

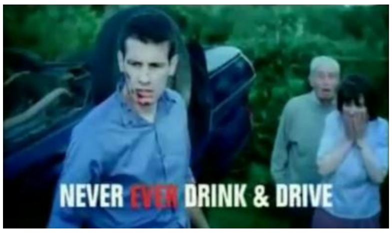

Figure 4. 55

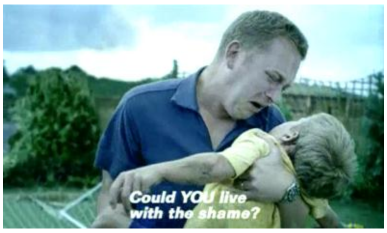

Figure 4. 56

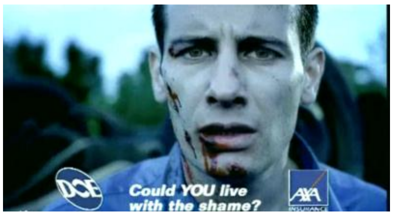

Figure 4. 57

Anguish, death and a life not lived

There are three key delimited statements to be discussed in relation to the texts just described. These truths are delimited because they are propositions that portend to capture the absolute essence of a thing (Halsey, 2001, 389). These propositions privilege one side of a binary couplet, requiring subscription to one side or the other. The presentation of this type of binary ordering of words is necessary in the process of constituting the convenient subjectivities of ethical s*elf* and failed o*ther*. The first categorical statement underpinning the texts is that the effects of dangerous driving will cause emotional pain. All four texts display multiple images of the emotional consequences and suffering of innocent (ethical) third parties. In *Pram* the baby cries, foremost from the shock and pain associated with the collision, but the tears also represent the future emotional pain associated with spending 'her life without her mother' (Figure 4.6). Similarly, in *Pram* the son of the driver clearly expresses fear and shock as he cries out 'Daaaaady' but also experiences future emotional anguish that requires counselling, as the textual narrative suggests (Figure 4.7). In *Hurry* the mother of the victim displays emotional anguish as she yells: 'Oh Scotty…SCOTTY' and cries over his lifeless body (Figure 4.19); the father mirroring these actions in *Shame* (Figure 4.56). In *Mess* the parents of the deceased young man outwardly grieve over his body in a morgue (Figure 4.36) and his paralysed girlfriend grieves over his grave in the cemetery (Figure 4.40). Additional to the anguish of the ethical bystander, the texts also explore the emotional pain experienced by the driver.

The delimiting features of the texts not only concern the emotional effects on third parties, but also extend to the emotional anguish experienced by the dangerous *other*. This proposition is particularly explored through imagery in *Mess* and textually in *Shame*. In *Mess* the dangerous *other* stands stooped and excluded in the middle of the debris (Figure 4.32). In the courtroom scene he is similarly excluded as the victim and third parties stare him down during his sentencing. The driver takes a shame filled glimpse at the female victim (Figure 4.38) as she looks at him straight on and confidently (Figure 4.37). As the ethical gallery stare at the dangerous *other*, the soundtrack repeats the lyric: “I can’t take my eyes off you”, enhancing this notion of shame. Similarly, *Shame* also explores this concept, but more overtly with the rhetorical question: ‘Could YOU live with the shame?’ (Figure 4.57). The caption is displayed over an image of the *other*, who appears sorrowful and even self-conscious. Similarly, the driver in *Pram*, expresses emotional anguish as he lifts the crying child from the ground (Figure 4.8); as does the driver kneeling beside the boy and his mother in *Hurry* (Figure 4.19). The subtext is: *If you speed or drink drive you will kill someone and have to live with shame and other undesirable emotions*. This discursive statement serves to create a binary divide between ethical and dangerous. A dangerous driver will be inflicted with these emotions and an ethical driver will not. This is a problematic proposition, however, because ethical drivers (travelling below the speed limit with no blood alcohol concentration in their blood) may still encounter a boy running onto the road without having time to stop. Similarly, another driver may collide with the ethical driver causing them to: mount a curb onto a footpath; slide into an occupied wall; or through a suburban fence. Moreover, shame and other undesirable emotions can emerge as a result of another event not associated with culpable driving. Clearly, categorical statements can be problematic because they cannot capture the complexity of a person or an event. Nonetheless they are an essential feature of governmental strategies that attempt to persuade populations toward desirable behaviour.

The second delimited statement proposes that non-compliance with speed limits and blood alcohol concentration thresholds will kill pedestrians, not just other drivers. The texts express that if you speed you may a kill a mother pushing a pram on the footpath (Figure 4.4), or a young boy running after his dog (Figure 4.19) or crush young lovers against a wall, causing death and paralysis (Figures 4.36, 4.40). Similarly although less plausible, if you drink drive you may roll your vehicle through a suburban fence and kill a child playing in their yard (Figure 4.53). This is reinforced with the tag line in two of the texts: 'Every K over is a Killer' (Figure 4.9) and 'Don't Fool Yourself, Speed Kills' (Figure 4.20). The taglines suggest that if the spectator travels even one kilometre over the speed limit it will kill someone because 'speed kills'. These truth statements highlight the discursive categories created by the text. The spectator is led to the conclusion that if they travel over the speed limit or drink drive they will kill pedestrians (and other motorists), and if they do not speed or drink drive then they will not be the cause of this unwanted possible future. This is equally as problematic as the first truth statement because pedestrians can still be killed, even when travelling below the speed limit and without the aggravation of alcohol consumption. As will be discussed in Chapter Six there are many factors and variables involved in a road traffic collision that it is unreservedly problematic to present them in such dualistic fashion. That being stated, however, the presentation of delimited categories like killer/victim or driver/pedestrian play an important role in the discursive processes that help to forge subjectivities.

The final truth statement worthy of discussion here is the idea that unexpected events occur on the road which lead to unpalatable consequences. This relates to the notion of a life not lived and enjoyed, or a *stolen life*. In *Hurry* and *Mess* the unexpected event is a dog running onto the road. In *Pram* and *Shame* the unexpected event is a small collision in a suburban area that leads to immense and unexpected consequence. The message for the spectator is that unexpected events happen and therefore you must drive slowly and without impediment to limit the consequences of unexpected events. This notion is narrated in the judge's sentencing remarks in *Mess*: 'it is quite clear that you were driving too fast to cope with the unexpected'. However, the texts go further to propose that these unexpected events can steal away loved ones. In *Pram* the mother is stolen from the crying baby (Figure 4.6) and in *Hurry* (Figure 4.19), *Mess* (Figure 4.36) and *Shame* (Figure 4.56) a child is stolen away from their parents. This is not to suggest that the truth statement supposes that the unexpected leads only to the death of a mother or a child, but rather that the unexpected can lead to an unpalatable event. As will be discussed below, the use of the notion of a *stolen life* is a particularly potent tool which is used in road traffic safety messages on account of its unpalatability. The spectator is left with the following binary distinction: *If I speed (or drink drive) something horrible will happen but if I drive slowly (or do not drink and drive) then when unexpected things happen on the road, I will not hurt anybody*. This proposition is problematic because it does not allow for those unexpected events that have caused unpalatable consequences, in spite of speeding and intoxication. Similarly, it does not account for the occasions when excessive speed and intoxication do not result in grim consequence. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, a spectator's personal experiences with the consequences of speeding and intoxication can serve to reinforce the undesirable behaviour, as it can create scepticism of the truth statement. Alternatively, personal experience also has the capacity to be discounted by more dominant truth statements like 'the faster the speed the bigger the mess' (Figure 4.41). This type of truth statement aims to rhetorically neutralise the sensible experiences of the spectator so that they draw the binary connection between speed (or alcohol) and mess (death and injury) (Halsey, 2001, 344). These discursive features of the texts create the juxtaposition of categories like dangerous/ethical, messy/orderly, and killer/victim; which are all integral to the process of constituting subjectivities.

The dangerous other

The presentation of categories like dangerous/ethical or killer/victim forces the spectator to recognise their place within a system of power. The categorical statements are presented in a way that privileges certain desirable scenarios and attempt to make invisible its oppositional alternative. For example, *Pram*, *Hurry*, *Mess* and *Shame* privilege culpable driving that leads to unpalatable consequences and make invisible the near misses, where carnage and tragedy are averted. This technique asks the spectator to contemplate their previous driving behaviour. If they can recall moments of speeding or drink driving then they are petitioned to align themselves with the binary category that is the source of these unpalatable consequences: the dangerous *other*. This is the mode of subjectivity that the four texts aim to constitute, in the hope that they might be transformed toward more ethical modes of subjectivity in the future. This is not to say that an ethical subject cannot be constituted by the discursive features of these texts, but rather that this is not the intended aim of the late modern governments behind them.

It would be an inefficient use of power and therefore inconsistent with current governmental strategy to attempt to address the ethical subject with these particular texts. For example, when a spectator is confronted with the categories of killer/victim when a young boy is killed in *Hurry* (Figure 4.16) or *Shame* (Figure 4.53) they may align themselves with the mother (Figure 4.19) or father (Figure 4.56) of the boy, instead of the driver of the vehicle. If this occurs then the text has the potential to discursively constitute an ethical but fearful subject; allowing the fear of crime to take effect. This mode of subjectivity could lead the fearful subject to stop their child from playing in the yard: out of fear that they may fall victim to the dangerous *other*. The deployment of the fear of crime as a strategy that leads to the removal of potential victims from suburban backyards, under the banner of road safety, is an inefficient use of power because it would provide very little benefit to the road toll. Instead, these resources are put to more efficient use by trying to motivate the source of this kind of victimhood, the driver. So while an ethical subject may be constituted through an affective encounter with these texts, it is suggested that these four road safety advertisements use the categorical killer/victim in order to address a spectator who has memories of previous speeding or drink driving; the failed subject.

Pram, *Hurry*, *Mess* and *Shame* all address the failed subject through camera placements which can create either objective or subjective shots. In all four texts the majority of shots are from an objective perspective, either viewing: primary victims (the injured); secondary victims (family and friends); or tertiary victims (emergency services personnel). This objective perspective helps to invoke the categories of killer/victim and dangerous/safe in order to create an inside and outside. Once this boundary is erected for the spectator the victims and safe drivers are designated to the inside and the dangerous killer is made an outcast. When addressed in this way the spectator is asked to divide their experience into moments of safe driving (sobriety and driving within the speed limit) and moments of dangerousness (intoxication and speeding) and through this sorting process a failed subject can be constituted. They are constituted so they might then be transformed toward more ethical subjectivities through fear. A failed subject may also be constituted through the subjective shots in the texts.

A failed subject can also be constituted through camera placements that make the dangerous *other* the subject of the text. In *Hurry* the camera position on two separate occasions depicts the speed of the vehicle from the perspective of the driver (Figures 4.12 and 4.14). On the first occasion she observes her speedometer, indicating she is travelling at 76 km/h and subsequently at 82 km/h, both times in a residential area.[7] This camera positioning makes visible the categories of intentional and risky and makes invisible their binary opposites (inadvertence[8] and safe). The presentation of these categories negates the idea that she was inadvertently travelling at speed because her gaze, and the gaze of the spectator, are privy to information concerning the speed of her vehicle. Thus she cannot be perceived by the spectator as a victim of circumstance (a dog and child running onto the road in front of the vehicle). Rather, she is risky and dangerous. This is depicted in two further subjective shots: when she swerves away from the dog (Figure 4.15) and into the boy (Figure 4.16). Her intentional and risky behaviour invites the spectator to use the same binary logic: *If I have ever knowingly driven over the speed limit then I am a risky driver*. Proceeded by the narrated tagline: 'Every K over is a Killer', the spectator is invited to stretch the label of 'risky' to 'killer' when they divide their collective experiences into moments of speeding and moments of compliance. If moments of speeding can be recalled then the imagery can resonate in a way that constitutes a failed subject.

While the objective perspective of a third party and the subjective perspective of the *other* serve to constitute a failed subject, subjective shots from the perspective of the victim can also serve this same purpose. As discussed in Chapter Two, the perspective of a victim and the *universal victim* (Young, 1996, 51) are customarily used to constitute the fearful but ethical subject. There are two shots from the perspective of a victim in *Mess* that could be considered to make the victim temporarily the subject of the text. In Figure 4.27 the shot of the vomiting victim against the wall appears to be from the perspective of the female victim. Similarly, in Figure 4.37 and 4.38 there is a crisscross of the gaze between the same victim and the *other* in the courtroom scene. It is suggested that these temporary subjective shots are not intended to discursively constitute an ethical subject. While it is a possibility, these two images on their own are unlikely to create a narrative that constitutes an ethical subject who then needs to be motivated to take action towards their own safety. Rather, these standalone shots can assist the constitution of failed subjectivities by enhancing the shamefulness of the dangerous behaviour. It can do this by translating the images into propositions like: *If I behave like this driver then I may be gazed upon in this way and I could not 'live with the shame'.* In this way all of the perspectives in the texts, created through camera placement, provide an environment whereby the spectator is asked to align themselves with the represented *other*; if they can then a failed subject is constituted.

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[7] 50km/h or 60km/h zones in Australia.

[8] Interestingly, while inadvertence is made invisible through images of intentional speeding, the law treats them both the same. Both the inadvertent speeding driver and the intentional speeding driver are failed subjects.

Once constituted, the failed subject is then faced with the dilemma of making sense of the undesirable images contained within the texts. The undesirable images portray *possible worlds* that may result from their behaviour. As explored in Chapter One, the notion of *possible worlds* reveals an unwanted consequence that 'might still be', rousing fear in the subject. The possible futures presented in all four texts relate to the unwanted possible worlds of death, injury and to a lesser degree, property damage. These possible futures are undesirable and can stimulate fear because the subject does not want the *possible world* to be realised. This fear assists the failed subject to make sense of the images in a way that can motivate them to manage their behaviour and reduce the prospect of that unwanted future. The aim is that this process will create future ethical modes of subjectivity on the road and thus more desirable driving behaviours in the spectator. In this way the possible worlds of death, injury and property damage represented in the texts can be a functional, or productive use of fear. However it is suggested that *Pram, Hurry, Mess* and *Shame* can go beyond this kind of productive fear, and facilitate a dysfunctional fear. This is the case because they present an unpalatable *possible world* through the notion of a *stolen life*.

A Stolen Life

The potent concept of a *stolen life* refers both to the perception of a life that is ended early and unable to be enjoyed and also a life stolen away from those who remain in the wake of the deceased. In *Pram* the spectator is faced with the idea that a young mother's life is no longer to be enjoyed (Figure 4.5), but also stolen away from 'Hayley Jane Oliver…[who] will spend the rest of her life without her mother' (Figure 4.6). Similarly, in *Hurry* the spectator is presented with the graphic image of a lifeless child being sucked underneath a 4WD (Figure 4.17) and the image of his grieving mother shaking over her dead boy's body (Figure 4.19). In *Mess* the spectator is faced with the notion of *a stolen life* as the boyfriend is identified by his parents in the morgue (Figure 4.36) and also in Figure 4.40 as it is revealed his attractive young girlfriend is confined to a wheelchair as she grieves over his grave. In *Shame* the notion of a *stolen life* is not only explored when the father grieves over his son's body in the final scene (Figure 4.56) but perhaps more potently in the initial scenes. The young boy fantasises in his backyard, unwittingly acting out his killer's day. They wear the same yellow strip and blue shorts, they both score goals, and they both dance in celebration of those goals (Figures 4.43 and 4.46). The spectator is left with the disarming notion that the child wanted to be just like his killer, but will never have the privilege. This concept is potent, not only because it is undesirable, but because of the affective processes at work in the text.

Affect and aesthetic

The affective processes proposed to be at work in the texts rely on the idea that affect is more than a mere synonym for passion, sentiment, mood, or emotion. As discussed in Chapter One, this work is informed by a post-Deleuzian conceptualisation of affect. From this perspective affect is an intensity that allows a body to connect with itself and with the world (Massumi, 2002a, 214). In this case sentiment, mood, and emotion are "qualified" affect; they are "intensity owned and recognized" (Massumi, 2002b, 28). This intensity is felt or registered (Young, 2010, 9) not "recognised or perceived through cognition" (Bennett, 2005, 7). As Pisters suggests, affect it is the way "the subject feels itself 'from the inside'" (Pisters, 2003, 70). As such spectatorship is more or less intensified as a result of the affective processes made available by a text. This affective encounter with a text (whether of heightened or moderate intensity) constitutes a subject who must then orientate and cope with its surroundings. The constituted subject does this through an aesthetic. Halsey suggests "an aesthetic is what occurs at the moment a body makes sense of the world" (Halsey, 2001, 387). In this way aesthetic can be understood as the residue that remains after the constitution of a subject. This residue assists the subject to orientate itself with its surroundings by making the event meaningful. This meaning-making is important, particularly in respect of road safety text spectatorship, because whether a text works depends upon the meaning making properties of the aesthetic (Halsey, 2001, 386). If the aesthetic disorientates rather than orientates the subject then the text may not transform the subject in the desired manner. In this context, affect and aesthetic play an integral part in the transformation of failed subjects who are constituted by road safety texts.

The potent affective processes at work in *Pram*, *Hurry, Mess* and *Shame* serve to intensify the event for the spectator. These texts, like all of the texts explored in this thesis, affect the spectator in a way that creates an aesthetic of fear. This residue of fear enables the subject to orientate themselves around the undesirable possible futures presented in the texts. The aesthetic of fear enables the subject to make sense of the images - which portray death, injury and loss - and this meaning making can be intensified to different degrees by the affective processes emergent in each text. In *Pram* for example, had there been an empty pram or shopping trolley on the path the intensity registered by the spectator would be much less than that registered when the car kills a young mother (Figure 4.5) and throws her baby from her pram (Figure 4.6). Similarly, in *Shame* the intensity registered when the spectator views the child being crushed by a vehicle (Figure 4.53) is much more than what would register if the car had only crushed the teddy bear in the goals (Figure 4.42). The affect resonates more strongly because of the heightened intensity of the image, which can in turn leave a stronger residue of fear when the subject is constituted. The aesthetic emerging from these four texts is a residue that conveys the unwanted possible futures that can emerge as a result of the undesirable behaviour. However, it is suggested that the affect in *Pram, Hurry, Mess* and *Shame* are of such great intensity that the aesthetic of fear may actually be replaced with the aesthetic of a *stolen life*. The aesthetic of *a stolen life* is far more potent than the fear of death, injury and loss, partly because it orientates the subject towards notions of injustice. As will be discussed below, this potent aesthetic can be problematic because it can disorientate the subject in way that is not compatible with the self-management aims of the text. This is not say that a functional aesthetic of fear is not at play in the texts, but rather that there is a more destructive aesthetic that could lead to dysfunctional meaning making.

A functional aesthetic of fear

When the aesthetic of fear is in play it can assist the discursively constituted failed subject to make sense of the images in a way that primes them to transform. The order words in the text educate the subject on how this transformation can be achieved. In *Shame* the spectator is informed that they can achieve this transformation if they 'never ever drink and drive' (Figure 4.55). The text directly connects *any* amount of drink driving with the undesirable futures presented in the text. The spectator is then asked the rhetorical question: 'could you live with the shame'*?* (Figure 4.56). Seemingly, if the failed subject assesses that they probably could not live with this kind of shame then they are ripe for transformation. The spectator is then open to draw a connection between shame and the undesirable behaviour and in doing so be motivated to 'never ever drink and drive*'* in the future. If this occurs then the text has achieved its goal of transforming the failed subject toward more ethical modes of subjectivity. In binary opposition to this desired response, if the failed subject could 'live with the shame' then they are the lost, inherently irredeemable *other*. The irredeemable *other*, made tenable by the intonation of the narrator on the word 'you', presumably can 'live with the shame'. As discussed earlier in Chapter Two these are the truly risky or dangerous subjects that are a "small subset… best left to the police" (Interview MAC, 23/11/10) and *"a police problem" (*Interview Clemenger BBDO, 17/11/10*)*. By invoking the fear of becoming the irredeemable *other* the narration in *Shame* can motivate the failed subject to stop their undesirable behaviour, not just to prevent the 'shame' but to prevent being associated with the irredeemable outcast.

In the remaining three texts the demands for conformity are far more subtle. In *Hurry* the discursively constituted failed subject is encouraged to transform through the order words: 'don't fool yourself' (Figure 4.20). The failed subject is told to stop being foolish and recognise that 'speed kills' (Figure 4.21). Presumably, foolish is an undesirable label but perhaps not as undesirable as its more explicit cousin, the "Bloody Idiot", regularly used in other campaigns by the creators of *Hurry* (Transport Accident Commission (VIC), 2012). In *Pram* the palpable message is 'every K over is a killer' (Figure 4.9). The failed subject is beckoned to make the following deduction: *I will be a killer if I travel even one km over the speed limit.* Additionally, the text also begs the spectator to make meaning of the textual narration in Figure 4.8 in a way that demands conformity through the fear of 'imprisonment'. In *Mess* the failed subject is instructed that 'the faster the speed the bigger the mess' (Figure 4.41). This logical feeds the proposition: *if I reduce my speed I can reduce the mess (emotionally and physically)*. The failed subject can use this proposition as a direction to guide them towards more 'orderly' behaviour on the road. In this way the aesthetic of fear that emerges from an encounter with the four texts can functionally motivate the failed subject to follow the plotted pathway toward more ethical modes of subjectivity in the future. This is of course the desired aim of *Pram, Hurry, Mess* and *Shame*. However, a subject may not necessarily respond in this desirable manner.

Rejection

An affective encounter with any of the four texts always carries the potential for non-compliance. For example, compliance may not emerge from *Shame* because the spectator is asked to draw a connection between *any* alcohol consumption and the undesirable possible world. The *other* in the text is observed to only consume a sip of beer (Figure 4.47) and does not appear in any way inebriated; except perhaps singing and smiling while he drives (Figure 4.48). Of course outward signs of intoxication are not necessary for a driver's faculties to be impaired. Nonetheless, the presentation of such light consumption carries the potential for a rejection of the truth statement, as this blog post in response to *Shame* indicates:

> *He wasn't drinking AND driving so this ad is wrong (ilovemesomechicken, 2009).*

Perhaps this rejection could occur because many spectators would have experience complying with the well-advertised recommendation of two standard drinks in the first hour, and one every hour after that.[9]

A spectator's previous compliance with the standard direction of staying under 0.5 blood alcohol concentration (BAC) (New South Wales Government, 2012) may have resulted in a lack of negative repercussions like death, injury or loss. This repetition of positive experiences can cement the idea that staying under 0.5 BAC is a low risk activity. The presentation of a new truth statement that denies any alcohol consumption could therefore lead to the rejection of the message because of the spectator's conflicting collection of positive experiences. The same applies for the notion of speeding presented in *Pram, Hurry* and *Mess*. The collective speeding experiences of the spectator may lead to the rejection of truth statements like: 'speed kills', 'the faster the speed the bigger the mess' and 'every K over is a killer'. The repetition of speeding without negative repercussions can serve to normalise this undesirable behaviour and thus lead to resistance of the truth statements contained in the texts. In such cases the aesthetic of fear resonating from the affective encounter does not create a pathway toward ethical subjectivity. Instead the undesirable behaviour is continued. This is not to say that positive reinforcement is the only source of rejection to these texts. A spectator is just as likely not to comply on the grounds of inconvenience, pleasure, feelings of invincibility or by some other resistant motivation. The point to be elucidated is that there are always lines of flight that can cause an affective encounter to emerge as resistance. Equally a line of flight could emerge as an aberration.

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[9] This applies to men. For women the recommendation is only one in the first hour. See eg. (Australian Federal Police, 2012; New South Wales Government, 2012)

Aberration

From the standpoint that a text can *do* something to a spectator, there is always the possibility that it *does* something other than was intended. While it is accepted that there may be many ways in which *Pram, Hurry, Mess* and *Shame* could lead to aberration, the line of flight that will be traced in this discussion relates to the aesthetic of a *stolen life*. This aesthetic can emerge from an affective encounter with the texts instead of the more functional aesthetic of fear. While the aesthetic of fear can lead to compliance, the aesthetic of a *stolen life* can be so traumatic to the spectator that it emerges as a dysfunctional fear that can leave a spectator unsure how to orientate themselves through the images. The potent aesthetic of a *stolen life* emerges in the texts particularly through the use of the images of dead children and grieving parents. These images are potent not only because they are intentionally graphic, but also through the audio choices that complement the texts. This is particularly the case with *Shame*, where the soundtrack narrates the image of the child's death and grieving parent (Figure 4.56) with the words: "but I wish that I'd never been born". This audio choice invites the spectator to view this narrative in one of two ways: either the father is contemplating suicide because of the death of his son; or the driver is because of his actions. Either way the soundtrack serves to intensify the image in a way that registers the unspeakable horror of willing one's own death. In this way all of the texts, particularly *Shame*, carry the potential to overwhelm the spectator through the notion of a *stolen life*.

The potency of the aesthetic of *a stolen life* can be overwhelming because it virtually touches the spectator, forcing an ephemeral experience of the parent's grief. This ephemeral experience can be demonstrated by an actual and noticeable response that can arise in the spectator as they try to make sense of the image. For example, the physical but unconscious response of covering ones mouth was observed in some spectators viewing *Hurry* and *Shame*.[10] Similarly, this was the represented response of two of the characters in the texts, the driver in *Hurry* (Figures 4.19) and a bystander in *Shame* (Figure 4.55). This observable gesture may be an attempt to suppress speech, a way of dealing with shock or some other involuntary response to the text. Either way, it is a manifestation that can emerge as a spectator attempts to reconcile or orientate their way through the image. Other reported physical responses were evident in blogs that relate to three of the texts:

> *goosebumps all over...(mitcho6612, 2009).*[11]
>
> *this gave me chills bad (09crf250dreamz, 2009).*[12]
>
> *i cried when i saw this :(who ever made this is really mest up(simpson, 2009).*[13]
>
> *goosbumps (Elisheval, 2009).*[14]

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[10] These observations relate to anecdotal observations made by the author when playing *Hurry* and *Shame* to audiences during presentations at: the Critical Criminology Conference in Sydney, 2010; the ANZSOC Conference in Geelong, 2011; and to three separate student groups in first year tutorials for *Introduction to Crime* at Griffith University in 2012. These student tutorials focused on the topic of crime control and did not relate to this research. This type of involuntary response was also the experience of the author on several occasions, before becoming somewhat desensitised.

[11] *Hurry.*

[12] *Hurry.*

[13] *Shame.*

[14] *Shame.*

> *Not crying... Not crying... OKAY I'M FUCKING CRYING (Xbattlereaper, 2009).*[15]
>
> *Oh my god, there's not one hair on my body that's not standing up. That's so depressing (EmmettDeNiro, 2009).*[16]
>
> *This ad gives me serious goosebumps (xxlonnyxx, 2010).*[17]
>
> *I cried after watching this! (Cougar Angel Eyes, 2010).*[18]

Clearly placing one's hands over one's mouth, goose bumps, chills, hair standing on end and crying are all ways that a spectator can physically respond when faced with this potent notion of a *stolen life*.

It is suggested that this physical response in spectators occurs because the aesthetic of *a stolen life* threatens to metaphorically touch the spectator (Young, 2000, 262) even though they know that it is only mere representation (Young, 2000, 264). Through the representation of a parent losing a child and a child not fully living out their lives (a *stolen life*) the spectator can actually register "the imagined sensation of a touch which has not taken place" (Young, 2000, 261). This virtual touch can cause the spectator to momentarily experience this grief, creating a "paralysis of movement" (Halsey, 2001, 414). While the paralysis is not physical it can be said that this paralysis occurs in the spectator's meaning making. The paralysis occurs because the graphic imagery used to create an aesthetic of a stolen life can manifest as trauma. Trauma studies scholarship suggests that the visual aesthetic of horrific events, such as the death of a child, allows the spectator to appreciate "the sublime horror of the spectacle and engage in a regime of awe" (Carrabine, 2011, 8). The imagery of this traumatic event has the capacity to register "something of the dynamic…of pain itself"

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[15] *Shame.*

[16] *Shame.*

[17] *Mess.*

[18] *Mess.*

(Bennett, 2005, 49-50 in Young, 2007, 34) but this can sometimes produce great change and sometimes have very little impact (Carrabine, 2011, 7). Ambivalence occurs because trauma can become an obstacle to meaning making. In this way the aesthetic corrupts the meaning of the text and can even create more meaning than was intended. In these texts the additional meaning making could be orientated around ordinary notions of justice and fairness. The concept of a parent losing a child (or a child losing a parent) is unspeakably unfair because of the notions of purity and innocence that the image of a young child can invoke. Moreover, particularly for spectators who have or have had children of their own, the notion virtually touches the spectator and forces them to reconcile that it is mere representation, while also experiencing the latent grief of their own potential loss. In this way the image of a grieving parent or a dead child can be so laden with affect that the spectator becomes consumed with the injustice of the consequences of the undesirable behaviour. In this manner the subsequent aesthetic of *a stolen life* becomes uncontrollable because it creates additional meaning and involuntary reactions in the subject. The spectator becomes torn between the virtual and the actual gap between themselves and the text which can cause a corruption while they try to orientate through the remaining images and make sense of them.

This corruption during meaning making can cause a dysfunctional fear of the trauma in the text because the aesthetic interferes with the reception of the entrenched transformative message. If a spectator is experiencing grief (albeit vicariously) they can be distracted from responding to the desired message that attempts to transform a failed subject. Similarly, some spectators may be forced to defensively avoid the images, as the following blogs indicate:

> *i wouldnt go near the tv after the first time watching this, its sick and twisted. I was casually watching X factor and then got scared shitless (SongCovers1337, 2009).*[19]

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[19] *Mess.*

> *I'm usually fine with these kinds of video's but this one's got me shaking. Thank god this isn't on TV here (Tonyshawnw, 2009).*[20]

These spectators appear to have attempted to inhibit their future exposure to the texts: one by avoiding the television and the second, merely thankful that that it is not televised in their region. For these spectators the only way to orientate their way through the text is to designate it as taboo (J. Fiske 1982 in Jewkes, 2004, 123) and turn away. This kind of dysfunctional response, which causes a spectator to turn away from an image, cannot be compatible with responsibilisation. The spectator needs to be watching the text in order to receive the transformative message. In this way the texts can obstruct the spectator's ability to accept (or even reject) the order words that are intended to promote transformation in the spectator. If a spectator involuntarily or actively recoils from these texts, they block reception of the governmental messages concerning the riskiness of speeding and drink driving. The message does not become inverted or hijacked, as was shown in Chapter Three, but rather becomes cancerous because the overabundance of affect eats away at the message from the inside. In such an event the *other* fails to transform into an active and ethical subject because they are disorientated by a dysfunctional fear of the trauma at play in the texts. This discussion will now turn toward the manner in which this *other* is represented in the four texts.

The other

The four texts central to this chapter represent the *other* and the ethical *self* in the same problematic way as the texts discussed in Chapters Two and Three. The *other* is represented as the undesirable and failed driver who puts people's children and their parent's happiness at risk. In binary opposition is the ethical *self* who does not drink and drive or travel in excess of the speed limit. Although the ethical driver is not outwardly represented in the texts, a pathway towards this desirable mode of subjectivity is created through a potent amalgam of images, truth statements and order words which demonise the failed subject. This demonisation of the *other* is problematic for road traffic offending because it fails to acknowledge that most drivers, at some point or another, have knowingly or unknowingly travelled in excess of the speed limit. Many will have also driven under the influence of alcohol. The binary conceptions of s*elf* and *other* in the texts are problematic because most spectators can align with both the ethical *self* and the *other* on these issues. This binary representation of the subject is inadequate because it fails to recognise that drivers are equally capable of driving ethically or dangerously at any point on the road. However, unlike this problematic depiction of subjectivity, the text to be explored in the next chapter depicts a more pliable conception of subjectivity.

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[20] *Hurry.*

This chapter discussed three main concepts relevant to the questions: How do these texts *work*?; and what can they *do*? First, the chapter showed how fear functions as a strategy that can transform the failed subject toward more ethical modes of subjectivity. By doing this the chapter supports the central argument that fear is a technology employed by late modern governments to manage the ethical *self* and the failed *other*. Secondly, the chapter explored dysfunctional fear as a potential line of flight that can emanate from an affective encounter with *Pram, Hurry, Mess* or *Shame*. This destructive aberration can occur because the images are so overladen with affect that the resultant aesthetic of *a stolen life* can emerge. It was argued that this aesthetic is so potent that it can disorientate meaning making and inhibit the transformational potential of the texts. This discussion reveals, once again, that governmental messages that attempt to promote safe and ethical behaviour cannot be completely controlled. Finally this chapter, along with Chapters Two and Three, highlighted that binary representations of the subject are inadequate when addressing the issue of driving. In Chapter Five, a final advertisement will be analysed which provides a novel representation of the subject that carries the potential to overcome these problematic categories of *self* and *other*. Nonetheless, this text (*Creepers I*) is still vulnerable to the transformative potential of a line of flight. The line of flight that will be explored in respect to *Creepers I* is surveillance.