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## **Beheading Aboard a Greyhound Bus: Security Politics, Bloodlust Justice, and the Mass Consumption of Criminalized Cannibalism<sup>1</sup>**

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### **Abstract**

The article provides a critical transdisciplinary theoretical framework for analyzing the July 2008 cannibalization case that occurred on a greyhound bus bound for Winnipeg Manitoba. The criminalized image of the monster as a political technology of neoliberalism is examined within the context of two contemporary social forces: psychopolitics or the pathological individualization characteristic of a culture dominated by ‘psy’ discourses that simultaneously depoliticize the political while capitalizing on the emotional, especially fear, resentment, paranoia, and anger; and, the post-911 fetishization of security. Rather than normalizing securitization and normativizing psychocentrism, the chapter provides a sociopolitical analysis of emotional practices of power productive of neoliberal subjectivities inextricably intertwined with the governance of populations under capitalism. As such, the article offers an understanding of ‘spectacular insecurity’ by analyzing the discourses and emotional politics intrinsic to maintaining the insecure society thus justifying the growth of security regimes. By critically interrogating the spectacle of the screen the essay demonstrates how the social production and consumption of fear and terror are central to dominant and dominating ‘law and order’ discourses that produce neoliberal insecurities.

### **Introduction**

The paper analyzes the social, cultural and political context and effects of the July 30, 2008 stabbing, beheading and cannibalization of Tim McLean that occurred on a Greyhound bus

bound for Winnipeg, Manitoba. Vince Weiguang Li stood trial for the stabbing, beheading and cannibalization of 22 year-old Tim McLean and was found not criminally responsible on account of a mental disorder (NCRMD) – specifically, a diagnosis of schizophrenia. The essay presents a critical theoretical framework to examine and analyze the cultural criminological significance of “the monstrous and the dead” (Neocleous 2008) in light of the claim that a “precautionary logic” based on the worst case scenario (Haggerty 2003; Boyle and Haggerty 2009) has come to characterize contemporary crime rationalities in the post-911 ‘security society.’ In particular, the article discusses several related themes: crime, carnivalization and cannibalization (c.f. Baudrillard 2010; Presdee 2000, 2003); the relationship between security and insecurity; and the spectacle of the screen seen in the mass-mediated communication and consumption of criminalized cannibalism. These elements are brought together to examine how spectacular insecurity emerges, operates and feeds the securitized society. The mass mediated representations of a grieving mother seeking legislative memorialisation and the spectacle of the screen as a political technology are likewise explored to examine the relationship of the living to the dead and the monstrous in what has been considered by some to be “the most gruesome crime in Canadian history.”

### **Consuming Cannibalism: Crime, Capitalism and Consumer Culture**

Many writers have commented on the monstrous nature of capitalist culture and society: Karl Marx used metaphors of the bloodsucking vampire or werewolf to represent the life-draining social relations of class domination and exploitation of capitalist society in *Das Kapital* (1867); Jean Baudrillard (2010) characterizes the postmodern triumph of the hegemony of stupidity as tied to and organized around carnivalization (mass-mediated spectacles) and cannibalization (hyper-consumption); Mark Neocleous (2005) has shown how the political functions of ‘the dead and the monstrous’ have been used to promote conservative and fascist ideologies and practices;

Jock Young (1999) has argued that patterns of social control in late modernity are cannibalistic and bulimic constituting a society which voraciously devours people and then steadfastly ejects them; and for Mike Presdee (2000; 2003) the “carnival of crime” characterizing contemporary Western society highlights the dynamics of the culture of mass crime consumption based upon mediated violence and public humiliation that blur emotional and material boundaries between the normal and the transgressive, and pleasure and pain. The article thus contributes to cultural criminological literature by offering a critical analysis of the cannibalization and carnivalization of crime witnessed in the 2008 Greyhound Bus case.

The myth of the dangerous individual has historically paraded as a gripping spectacle in the (de)moralizing theatre of mass-mediated ‘crime and deviance.’ Popular culture has an immense and insatiable appetite when it comes to consuming monstrous images and monsterized spectacles (c.f. Valverde 2006; Presdee 2003). Many forms, representations, symbols, practices, and discourses of cannibalism beyond ‘the monster model’ however can be said to operate in the history of Western culture and society: as a physical and/or symbolic act in the examples of survivalism, ritualism, human sacrifice, war practice; in the religious ritual of “Holy Communion” symbolizing the consumption of Jesus Christ’s body and blood or as a paranormal/spiritualist phenomenon seen in the Indigenous example of the windigo (also wetiko, wendigo) believed to be a superhuman force that possesses and compels its victim to commit heinous acts of violence and murder; in common law as a defence of necessity based on a lottery in life or death emergencies (shipwreck or plane-crash scenario); in science as *anthropophagy* defined in terms of a pathology or natural human evolutionary trait; sexually, referred to as vorephilia, defined as the erotic fantasy to physically consume or be consumed by one’s lover or in sexual satire, as seen for example on a t-shirt slogan stating “support cannibalism: eat me”; historical Eurocentric representations of the colonized as savage, barbaric, uncivilized, and inhuman seen in both ‘natural law’ philosophical writings of Malthus, Rousseau, Montaigne,

and literature by Conrad, Melville, Poe, Dickens, Swift, and Twain; and, in multiple cultural forms: as “infotainment” (information/entertainment) (c.f. Kohm 2009; Peelo 2005) in “true crime stories” (e.g. Jeffrey Dalmer and Albert Fish) and traditional fairy tales such as the Brothers Grimm’s *Hansel and Gretel*; in popular cultural television shows (e.g. *South-park* and the human chili episode) and Hollywood movies (e.g. *Silence of the Lambs*, *Texas Chainsaw Massacre*, *Sweeney Todd and Soylent Green*). As such, the social production and productivity of cannibalism and cannibalization can be said to occupy many social sites, discourses, and imagery demonstrating its fundamental place in history and culture (cf. Rimke 2010a).

### **Dangerization, Risk, and Victimization**

Many have argued that risk has become the basic social guide for understanding our world in late modernity (Beck 1992, 2002; Douglas and Wildavsky 1982; Giddens 1990; Lianos and Douglas 2000). The idea of *dangerization* is useful to introduce the idea that feelings of threat and the perception of risk are built by cultural means (c.f. Lianos and Douglas 2000). As “prudential” neoliberal subjects (c.f. Rigakos 1979; O’Malley 1996) we are incited to continuously scan and assess public and private spaces especially in terms of potential threats by certain dangerized Others. *Dangerization* is thus the tendency to perceive and define the world and others through and according to socially scripted categories of menace and risk. It leads to a prevalence of negative, defensive perceptions over positive, optimistic ones and to the dominance of fear, paranoia and anxiety over solidarity, interconnectedness, and sociality in effect becoming the ears and eyes of the State necessary to the promotion of “snitch culture” (Redden 2000). Such public campaigns of vigilance that capitalize on fear, resentment and anger also exemplify how governance through uncertainty, suspicion, and risk may (re)produce a form of normativized citizenship while simultaneously encouraging the imaginary identification of threatening Others rather than explicit rejection of monstrous expenditures on “spectacular

security,” for example (Boyle and Haggerty 2009). This can also be witnessed in the spectacular cost of approximately one billion tax dollars for one weekend of elite security coupled with the spectacular insecurity of citizens who underwent mass arrest and other official abuses for exercising their so-called constitutional right to assemble and protest. The mass-mediated criminalization (and monsterization) of the recent anti-G20/G8 resistance in Toronto thus relied on both spectacular security (for authorities and corporations) and spectacular insecurity and high risks (for those protesting the Canadian Police State and corporate agenda).

Socially promoted, organized, and thus culturally and politically structured, perceptions of risk entail rule-governed interpretations of what is and is not important to see and note. Feelings and sensations of danger, risk, anxiety, and vulnerability are thus sharpened and directed through dominant social discourses of inevitability and unpredictability – thus socially prescribing and scripting expectations of social dangers encouraging citizens to see ‘enemies’ everywhere (Rothe and Muzzatti. 2004). The spectacle of ‘stranger danger’ can be seen most forcefully in the mass-mediated representations of the Greyhound case highlighting the political nature of multiply-contested truth claims that can be used to spectacularize, justify and rationalize anything – however rare – as ‘dangerous.’

Contemporary moral panics and discourses on dangerized souls or “folk devils” (Cohen 1973) are certainly not new. Images of the dangerous or monsterized persist, re-emerging and reconfigured within new discursive linkages and practices in the post-911 world. Today, psychocentric attitudes, perceptions, interpretations and so forth have thus come to dominate modern crime and criminality discourses and imagery (Rimke 2010c). Thinking of all human life in terms of ‘the normal’ and ‘the pathological’ is a major modern development based on what Foucault refers to as “normation” (2007) – the emergence of scientific norms as regulatory mechanisms for the official production of the ‘vicious’ or otherwise dangerous and de-

generate classes (Rimke and Hunt 2002; Rimke 2003, 2010a, 2010c). The compulsory ontology of pathology (Marsh 2010) or the dominating modern view of human life as either normal or abnormal, is now an inescapable presence in everyday life, especially in the delivery and spectacle of mass-mediated representations of criminality as monstrosity. Haggerty (2009) demonstrates that studies of serial killing have been dominated by narratives that construct and present an individualized focus on the aetiology and biography of the accused. As such, normative social science has tended to downplay the broader social, political, historical, and cultural context and effects of criminalized acts. Thus, psychopolitical representations of criminality are not only the opposite of sociopolitical analysis; it is antithetical to the classical promise of sociology which is to illuminate the social bases of the seemingly personal and private (Mills 1959; Rimke 2000, 2010b).

The asocial and ahistorical orientation of neoliberal crime images and discourses hinges upon some version of popularized and expert psychocentrism that naturalize and normalize the abnormal criminal as somehow subhuman or inhuman. In the current context, this form of popular dehumanization can be seen in claims that Vince Li is an animal<sup>2</sup>, a monstrous being, and thus categorically unworthy of compassion and disqualified from basic human rights and dignity. The proliferation of discourses on danger rationalizes the wider social policing of the Other. “Disorder” is emphasized to fabricate social order (Neocleous 2000) to ensure orderliness for capitalist social and economic relations. Categorizing the person in inferiorized terms, the abnormal individual provides the rationale for a style of governance that requires ‘monsters’ as the enemy or the scourge threatening Western ‘civilization’ (Rimke 2003). Neocleous notes that “monstering is a common motif” and the media frequently employs the “monstrous as a label for anything and everything it fails (though usually barely tries) to understand” (2005:4). For example, the process of monstering can be clearly seen with relation to media portrayals of the cannibal, the terrorist, the anarchist, and the sex offender.

Dividing practices categorize social groups into the moral and normal/immoral and abnormal divide (Rimke 2003; Rimke and Hunt 2002) thus depoliticizing the brutalizing, alienating, and dehumanizing affects and effects of modern science and social institutions. The production, absorption and capitalization of human pain and suffering based upon individualized and psychocentric models gave rise to the now enormously profitable crime and disease industries (Rimke 2010c). Consequently, and by extension, there emerged a contingent division between those at risk (presumed to be benevolent, safe and secure) versus those who endanger (property-owning) citizens. Social dividing practices also fuelled the fear of cities and ‘the strangers’ that inhabited them constituting notions of insider/outsider and inside/outside necessary to the rhetoric of enemies.

The March 2009 NCR court ruling sparked public demands for reinstating the death penalty and abolishing human rights for the mentally ill, the main lobbyist being the mother of the victim, Carol deDelley. Having taken center stage in the push for legislative memorialization of her son’s grisly death with the proposed (and shifting) “Tim’s Law,” she and her followers are demanding legislation that would essentially treat those determined to be suffering from an illness in the same manner as those found guilty of murder – either by execution or involuntary hospitalization for life without possibility of release, thus paralleling a criminal sentence of life without parole and ultimately wiping out over two hundred years of medical jurisprudence protecting the rights of those classified as mentally ill.

The social production of insecurity can also be witnessed in the multiple racist, xenophobic, and anti-immigrant discourses circulating in internet media comments, websites and blogs calling for Li’s expulsion from Canada, on the grounds that he is an “alien,” a foreigner, or “not one of us.” That popular vengeance against Li has been expressed in digital fora calling for his social expulsion through total institutionalization, extradition or execution should not be surprising given society’s swal-

lowing and ejecting aspects (Young 1999). “[M]odern societies are anthropoemic; they vomit out the deviant, keeping them outside of society or enclosing them in special institutions within their parameters” (Young 1999:388).

The bloodlust politics and emotionality surrounding the Greyhound Bus case can in part be witnessed by the growth of Facebook groups with tens of thousands of members literally calling for “an eye for an eye.” Also, at a public vigil in Winnipeg, Manitoba at the provincial legislature in July 2009, on the one-year anniversary, a man who suggested that perhaps Li, too, was a victim was met with collective rage. The fact that the first words uttered by Li in court were to “please kill me” complicates matters more and demonstrates the social and political complexity about the politics over the right to life and the right to death in neoliberal society (Rimke 2010a). The local and international mass-mediated spectacle of the Li case has resulted in at least three broad security concerns: 1) the fear of Li being released from hospital custody or ‘set free’ once prognosticated or declared mentally stable; 2) the public outcry that Li should not be permitted daily supervised walks, and that the Selkirk Mental Health Centre facilities, after operating in the community for over one hundred years, should now build a ‘security fence’ along the ground’s perimeter; and, 3) that inter-city bus travel must be securitized in the same fashion as the post-911 airport security fetish in North America.

### **Governing through Spectacular Insecurity**

A vast collection of critical scholarship has now amassed documenting the rise of profit-driven, consumer-oriented products and services in the field of security, especially the commodification of policing and surveillance technologies. The proliferation of for-profit policing apparatuses include the following: private policing, security firms, parasecurity forces, and rent-a-cops (Haggerty 2003; Neocleous 2000, 2008; Rigakos 2002; Sanders 2005; Shearing and Stenning 1983, 1987; Zedner 2009); for-profit correctional services (Lynch 2004); gated residential enclaves for the wealthy (Lynch 2001); publicly

accessible and privately secured properties like shopping malls (Hermer et al. 2005; Hutchinson and O'Connor 2005); night-clubs and "bouncers" (Rigakos 2008); and not least of all the growth of criminal sciences, such as criminal justice programs and security studies in the post-secondary education industry (Neocleous 2008). As many have shown, crime control and the growing security apparatuses are financially lucrative private industries (Christie 2000; Davis 2003; Garland 2001; Neocleous 2008; Rigakos 2002, 2008; Taylor 1999; Zedner 2009). It is within that context that the current 'war on terror' and its accompanying rhetoric of democracy, freedom, and security must be situated. The Canadian Security Certificate, like the US Patriot Act, relies upon the globalized spectacle of terrorism to maintain and reproduce a neoconservative global economy based on a permanent war industry of so called enemy combatants and patriots (c.f. Jackson 2005; Rothe and Muzzatti. 2004) resulting in the post 9-11 concomitant erosion of civil and constitutional rights (Pue 2003).

Most notable is the anti-security research provided by Mark Neocleous in the UK and George Rigakos in Canada who build upon one of Foucault's key insights, that the central thematic of liberalism is not Liberty, but Security showing how rather than resist the push to security in the name of liberty, liberalism in fact enacts another form of political rationality that sets in place mechanisms for a 'society of security' based on increased social policing (c.f. Neocleous 2000). Challenging the notion of a 'balance' between security and liberty, Neocleous (2007) argues that the idea of balance is a liberal myth that masks the fact that liberalism's key category is not liberty, but security. For example, one can go for days without reading in the newspapers about issues pertaining to equality, but one can barely turn a page (or a corner, for that matter) without coming up against the question of security. In seeking security, states need to constantly limit the liberties of citizens, and that the democratic society is one which has always aimed to strike the right 'balance' between liberty and security, a question that has received a new lease on life following the 911 World Trade Centre attacks and the subsequent 'war on terror' (Neocleous

2007:131-132). Indeed, contemporary western society is more deeply divided than ever on principles of security-seeking and the sources of our insecurities. Yet, studies of the public's perception of crime show a deeply held sense of insecurity and vulnerability in the population despite the lack of empirical findings to support such fears and anxieties (c.f. Ferraro 1995; Roche 1993; Roberts 2001) with criminal victimization often being the most important concern in contemporary society (Hough 1995). Representations and images of crime can be divided into fear-provoking and non-fear-provoking, the former operating in the Greyhound case, particularly in terms of emotional practices of power encouraging citizens to identify with the grief and pain of a mother mourning the shocking and tragic loss of a child to murder and cannibalism.

The figure of the inhuman or monstrous criminal as 'a permanent threat' provides images that increase the probability of fear of victimization, trumpeting populist calls for more police, more security measures, harsher criminal laws and more criminalization through 'new and improved' legislation. Multidimensional social systems and tactics are incited and promoted on the bases of social suspicion and distrust of Others. Practices of insecurity produce rearrangements of the population not only on the basis of secure and non-secure areas; coupled with the image of dangerous or risky individuals citizens are encouraged police the environment, themselves and others. Furthermore, modern subjects are compelled to understand their insecurities as either rooted in their 'psychology or biology' or produced by dangerized strangers in their midst. Psychopolitics operates when individual insecurities are explained as either rooted in one's own flawed being or due to the presence of a dangerous Other. Fear, anger, resentment, repulsion, and anxiety are affective states incited and promoted by spectacular visual images and narratives of dangerous strangers. Thus, rather than view insecurity ontologically (Laing 1960; Giddens 1990; Young 1999), as part of the human condition, or as the effects of the current organization of social arrangements based upon unequal social relations, dominant discourses deflect attention from the social,

political and economic order to the disordered, 'monstrous criminal.' Neoliberal governmentalities thus produce emotional subjectivities of insecurity necessary to the organizing and ordering of fears and anxieties modern neoliberal subjects are *expected and incited* to experience. When the social production and politics of emotions are taken seriously as a form of human experience and communication, rather than as an expression of abnormality, disorder or uncivil conduct, a practical and critical dialogue about the social affects and effects of the dominant social and political order becomes not only possible but necessary.

The benefit of taking the social production, ordering and mediation of emotional subjectivities seriously is that it opens up a space to critically interrogate the emotional practices of power, such as those mobilized by grieving mothers seeking revenge for a slain child or the spectacular representations peddled by corporate media outlets seeking to increase profits from 'if it bleeds, it leads' crime stories. The persistent mass-mediated stories of Li's cannibalization in the local papers since July 2008 highlight the on-going commentary contributing to the political effects of dangerization, insecurity, and risk discourses. Spectacular insecurities here embody the social fear that Vince Li will walk free in the public realm placing all at risk of murder and cannibalization. States of insecurity produced by the Greyhound Bus case, such as fear, distrust, repulsion, and suspicion, are produced and mobilized by multiple social media in news and entertainment. In particular, the failure to save the life of Timothy McLean who was openly stabbed, decapitated, defiled, and cannibalized in front of approximately 30 witnesses highlights the spectacle of ontological insecurity. That murder and cannibalization occurred semi-publicly, and despite a police presence surrounding the bus which contained Li who defiled and consumed parts of McLean's corpse for over 3 hours further emphasizes the social production of insecurity. Carol deDelley has stressed in multiple print, television, internet and radio media that the conscious decision of the police to not act immediately to secure the integrity of her son's corpse allowed for the corporeal desecration to take place. The

spectacularized insecurity of the Greyhound Bus case was thus recuperated and reconfigured as evidence in favour of growing apparatuses and practices of securitization. The effects of emotional practices of power contribute to public fears of ‘monsters amongst us’ thus masking revenge against the monsterized as ‘seeking justice’ through vengeance, seen in the growing penal populist cry for a return to the barbarous spectacle of punishment of previous eras (Foucault 1979). Not least of all the social failure to save a life legitimates the expansionary logic of the post-911 security-industrial complex.

The history of government is replete with examples of human rights abuses in the name of conformity with the governing laws and modes of normation thus legitimating and animating the popular penal imagination. Instead of asking questions or providing terms of reference to promote means for overcoming fears of Otherness and difference in contemporary society, the xenophobia underlying dominant contemporary Canadian crime discourses feeds upon projections of risk, danger, and security thus maintaining and reproducing masked in the rhetoric of citizenship, nationality, nationalism and nation (“us” versus “them”). This encourages citizens to perceive, define and dread criminalized Others as monstrosities of nature, unfit for human society and undeserving of human compassion. The social productivity of modern spectacles of monstrosity produces insecure subjects while securing growing regulatory powers of the state and industry to what has today amounted to a perpetual war against insecurity – a war that appears to be anything but winnable in a neoliberal society that secures individual responsibility for socially and historically produced crises. The productivity of spectacularized insecurities normativizes and naturalizes the fear of danger, calculating risks and acting according to a precautionary logic in modern society. “Everywhere you see this stimulation of the fear of danger which is...the condition, the internal psychological and cultural correlative of liberalism. There is no liberalism without a culture of danger” (Foucault 2008:66-67).

Modern insecurity and security are mutually constitutive. Socially produced states of insecurity thus shape and are shaped by the security industrial complex. Popular cultural representations and images of crime can be divided into fear-provoking and non-fear-provoking, the former operating in the Greyhound case. The Canadian culture of in/security thus provides a context for analyzing the effects of the Greyhound case. The public's growing fear of violent crime, whether or not crime rates are up, reproduces the now entrenched stereotype of the monstrously dangerous criminal who deserves to be punished regardless of the circumstances of the act. The popular emphasis on seeking 'justice' for the dead by sacrificing the living through a revival of State execution in Canada coupled with the celebratory narratives of the fallen and innocent victim into populist penal discourses exalts the individual victim in neoliberal terms. The slain is marshalled to represent each and all members of society contributing to the idea that crime is normal and can happen to anyone, and where the voice of the victim must be heard as it cries out for more retributive punishments (Garland 2001: 10-11). Tied into the misconception that violent individual crime is a normative phenomenon that can strike anyone, anywhere, at anytime, is the notion that the public must be protected at any cost, even if that cost is civil liberties and constitutional rights (c.f. Pue 2003). The result of this idea can be seen in policies of incapacitation which are designed to remove the dangerous offender from society for long periods of time (Garland 2001: 12) but this still remains to be seen in the Greyhound case. Nonetheless, the sense of perpetual crisis that has invaded the criminal justice system and the public's perception of it seems to have resulted not only in a lack of faith in the formal legal system and the multiple experts who advise it; most concerning, perhaps, is the rise of popular demand for medieval revenge and retribution rather than modern restitution, reconciliation and restorative justice.

## **Conclusion**

As many have shown, the political economics of the globalized industries of war, terror, and security profit from the very enemies Officials and their experts claim to combat, and “‘protect’ us from. The so-called ‘criminal justice’ system ensures its continuation by not working or delivering its promises to solve ‘the crime problem.’ The crime control industry or prison industrial complex is no small part sustained by the spectacularly represented criminalities producing subjectivities desiring more laws, harsher laws, more security practices and increased “para-militarization” (Rigakos 2002) of the social world, as the Greyhound Bus case demonstrates. The usefulness of the notion of psychocentrism is that it provides an entry point for analyzing the production of emotional subjectivities without falling into the individualized political trappings of psychocentrism that maintain and reproduce the bloodlust revenge characterizing conservative criminal justice policies and discourses that resurrect the dead in the name of increasing social control. As such an emphasis on the cultural politics of emotions and the emotions of crime analyzes individualized states of in/security as always already tied to the sociopolitics of life and living in the carnivalesque and cannibalistic society, a society of the spectacle of the screen that simultaneously serves to entertain and consume members of society.

Fear is the very lifeblood of conservative thinking and so *needs* monsters to generate and embody the anxieties on which conservatism thrives. By mobilizing fear for its own politics of order and disorder conservative discourses portray anything or anyone who threatens, challenges or undermines the dominant social order as monsters because without the fear of such spectacular productions “there can be no rule” (Neocleous 2005:29). The current emotional practices of power feeding the fears and anxieties underpinning the Western security fetish has made Robert Castel remark that we “live undoubtedly in some of the most secure societies that ever existed, and yet, contrary to the objective evidence we, the most cosseted and pampered people of all – feel more threatened, insecure and

frightened, more inclined to panic, and more passionate about everything related to security and safety than the people of most other societies on record” (cited in Bauman 2007:101).

The psychopolitical affects and effects of neoliberal in/securityization and popular dehumanization seen in the proliferating spectacles of the screen serves to not only ‘make-up’ and ‘disorder’ monsterized subjects through a matrix of discourses and imagery; the politics of criminalized spectacles also reinforces normative security discourses, practices and regulations as desirable and unavoidable. Rather than normalizing or reproducing the longstanding tendency to anti-emotionalism or positivism in the history of the criminal sciences, a genealogy of cannibalism and cannibalization examines the emotional relations of power in order to critically interrogate the spectacles contributing to neoliberal discourses and practices of in/security. A critical analysis of the Greyhound case, thus questions and problematizes, rather than contributes to growing movements to privatize, commodify, and sensationalize human life and human tragedy in the name of neoliberal security rather than social equality, human freedom or liberty, as Neocleous (2007) points out. Not least of all, the Greyhound Bus case provides an opportunity to reflect upon the sort of society we live in versus the kind of society we are moving towards with perhaps a clearer view to the type of world we want to co-create. Whereas an insecure society castigates itself for not having enough formal security, and crime control, a just society castigates itself that there is not enough social justice and human dignity for all.

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2. It is interesting to note that prior to capture, the RCMP chose to identify the assailant as “Badger.”