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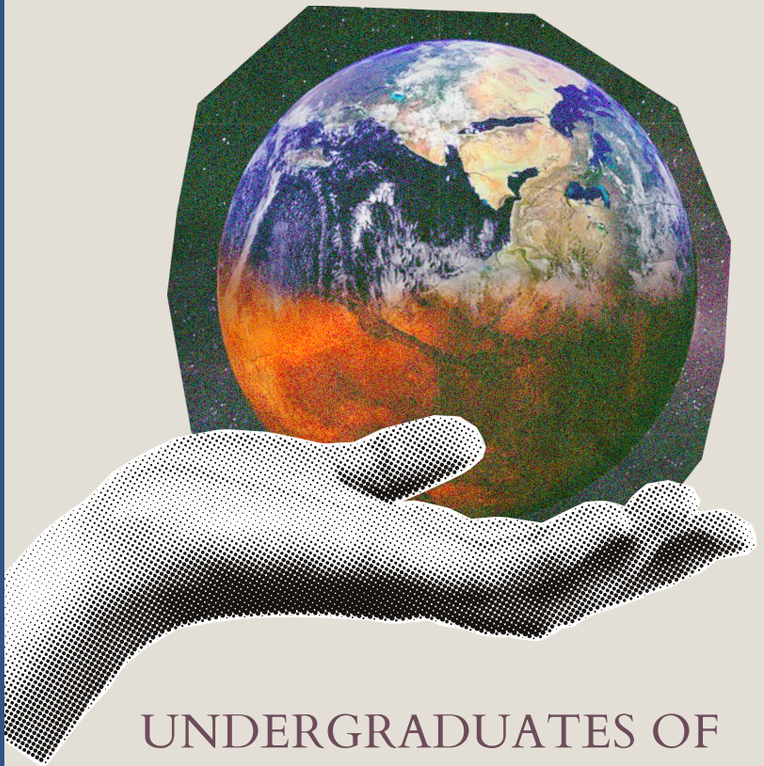

UNDERGRADUATES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

SPRING 2025

On Politics

The University of Victoria's
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I

The Journal

On Politics is a peer-reviewed academic journal published by the University of Victoria Undergraduates of Political Science. The journal aims to both encourage and facilitate undergraduate scholarship by providing students and recent graduates with a unique opportunity to have their work published in a formal medium. The editors of this journal are drawn from the undergraduate student body.

Submissions are welcomed from students during our call for papers each semester. *On Politics* strives to publish student writing from a variety of theoretical perspectives, both intra- and interdisciplinary, with a particular focus on uplifting marginalized voices and to showcase emerging undergraduate scholars at the University of Victoria. While published articles are typically found within the realm of political science, we welcome political work from all fields of study.

The *On Politics* Team especially encourages students from adjacent disciplines to submit work, acknowledging the existence of a vast body of political work that transcends the disciplinary boundaries of academia.

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Editorial Team

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Coco Cunningham
Coco is in her fourth year, majoring in Honours Political Science and minoring in History. Her primary research interests and honours thesis surround the relationship between feminist international relations and military history, with a specific focus on sexualized violence in conflict, past and present.

EDITORS

Lily Gaetz
Lily is an Honours Political Science student with a minor in Statistics. She recently completed her honours thesis analyzing and critiquing anti-trans policies in Alberta. Her research interests include political culture, political economy, and investigating claims framed as 'common sense.'

Marco Cioffi
Marco is in his fourth year at UVIC, majoring in Political Science. He is primarily interested in international relations research regarding the economic impacts of interstate conflict.

Mayuki Richter
Mayuki is a Political Science student in her final year of study. Her academic interests are human rights and civil disobedience, with a particular emphasis on the intersection of law and disability rights.

Raheem Uz Zaman
Raheem graduated from UVIC in May 2024 with a BA (Honours) in Political Science. His research interests include the comparative analysis of women's descriptive representation in parliaments and the securitization of migrants in the USA and

South Asia. He is also an aspiring graduate student in political science.

PROOFREADERS
Gracie Kennedy
Jordyn Kramer
Isabella Harmel
Kaya Dupuis
Grace MacMaster

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Letter from the Editor

Dear Reader,

It is my absolute pleasure to introduce the eighteenth volume of *On Politics*. This volume is not merely just a compilation of undergraduate scholarship but a display of critical analysis and conceptualization of pressing current and historical issues. Notable themes throughout this edition are prevalent in the global political environment. Therefore, the written work within this edition challenges long-standing understandings of certain issues and provides in-depth insight on prominent political topics.

To open the edition, we begin with Mia Wieler's discussion of civil resistance theory in relation to the Haida Nation's blockade to prevent timber company ITT Rayonier from inflicting further encroachments of sovereignty and destruction of land and culture. Wieler places notions of civil resistance theory in question in relation to discussions of colonialism and legitimacy.

Next, Kaitlyn Kirkpatrick invites readers to consider her analysis on contemporary backlash against queer solidarity in Palestine and investigating how this backlash seemingly legitimizes Israeli colonial violence. Further, Kirkpatrick discusses themes of sovereignty, queer identity, and colonialism within the piece and how they underpin the intersecting factors at play in the Israeli/ Palestinian conflict.

Then, Leila Purac familiarizes us with the Canada Child Tax Benefit alongside the structural pillars and specificities of neoliberalism and contrasts these with concepts of motherhood and the expectations that stem from it. Purac delves deeper into academic understandings

of neoliberalism and offers insightful analysis which works to challenge dominant narratives.

Afterwards, Emily Goodman analyzes the works of both Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill in regards to class relations, and constructs a theoretical conversation between the two surrounding the role of liberty. Goodman clearly demonstrates where the two diverge and offers insightful discussion pertaining to topics within political theory and in everyday life.

Following, Maci Clements discusses the current war in Ukraine and the role of social media as a legitimate weapon within international relations, and argues for its increased prioritization in the field. Clements analyzes the role social media plays in aiding states in ideologically weaponizing certain narratives and threatening democracy. This piece is prominent in a time where both the war and social media seemingly have no limits.

To close the edition, Raheem Uz Zaman presents a historical account of both the 1857 Indian Sepoy Mutiny and the 1919 Amritsar Massacre, in order to discuss larger themes of conceptualizing historical justices and injustices. Further, the piece analyzes effective accountability measures and how countries, globally, navigate confrontations with historical issues, violence, and resolution.

This was my first issue as Editor-in-Chief of *On Politics* and it has been wonderful. Possessing the opportunity to collaborate with talented authors, editors, professors, and proofreaders was invaluable and an experience I will always be grateful for. The amount I learned from the scholarship submitted, is immense. However, none of this would be possible without the support, dedication, patience, and talent from everyone involved.

This issue is filled with insightful discussions on topics found within every corner of political science. Most

notably, these themes of sovereignty, resistance, and injustice will remain reminders of the fact that colonial occupation and civil resistance most definitely still exist, whether we choose to acknowledge this reality or not. To close, please enjoy the eighteenth volume of *On Politics*.

Coco Cunningham
Editor-in-Chief
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HOLDING THE LINE AT ATHLII GWAII:
An Assertion of Haida Sovereignty

By MIA WIELER

Abstract

In the fall of 1985, members of the Haida Nation took a stand against the destructive industrial logging practices ravaging Haida Gwaii, organizing a blockade on Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island) to prevent timber company ITT Rayonier from accessing cut blocks. The blockade was not only meant to prevent unwanted logging but also to assert Haida title over Haida lands and resources. This paper will provide an overview of the events at Athlii Gwaii in relation to Erica Chenoweth's theory of civil resistance; ultimately, I argue that the 1985 blockade acted as an assertion of Haida sovereignty, refuting colonial claims of authority and jurisdiction over Haida lands and resources. When viewed as such, I contend that the framework of civil resistance theory as articulated by Chenoweth does not fully capture the complicated dynamics of conflicting legality and legitimacy at the heart of the conflict.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to Dr. Michael Carpenter for teaching the engaging seminar class 'The Politics of Civil Resistance' that this paper was originally written for. I would also like to thank Dr. Kelly Aguirre and Dr. Morgan Mowatt, whose insightful courses on Indigenous politics helped to inform and inspire this work. Many thanks to

Coco and the entire *On Politics* editorial team for your guidance and constructive feedback throughout this process, and for all the time, energy, and effort that has gone into creating this journal. Lastly, thank you to my family for all your support, always.

Self-Location

I presently study and live as an uninvited guest on the traditional territories of the WSANEC and Lekwungen peoples, and have spent most of my life living as an uninvited settler on the traditional and unceded territories (the S'ólh Téméxw) of the Ts'elxwéyeqw Tribe, whose relationships with the land continue to this day. As I engage with research about the Haida Nation and Indigenous peoples more broadly, I would like to acknowledge that my positionality as a settler has inherently informed and limited my worldview and perspectives and that omissions and limitations to my understanding of the following content may arise in my research as a result.

Introduction

In the fall of 1985, after other avenues of resistance failed, members of the Haida Nation organized a blockade to prevent unwanted logging on Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island). This paper begins by briefly situating the events at Athlii Gwaii within broader discourse contesting the legitimacy of Crown sovereignty over Indigenous peoples in Canada, particularly in British Columbia. Next, I discuss the failed legal avenues of resistance to logging that the Haida pursued in the years leading up to 1985, before exploring the events of the 1985 blockade. I then conclude with an analysis of the applicability of civil resistance theory to the

events at Athlii Gwaii. Ultimately, I argue that the 1985 blockade acted as an assertion of Haida sovereignty, refuting colonial claims of authority and jurisdiction over Haida lands and resources. When viewed as such, I contend that the framework of civil resistance theory does not fully capture the complicated dynamics of conflicting legality and legitimacy at the heart of the conflict.

Contested Jurisdiction and 'Sovereignty's Alchemy'

Although the legal origins of the Canadian state are complex, Indigenous legal scholar John Borrows' term 'sovereignty's alchemy' provides a useful metaphor to describe the way in which the Crown assumed jurisdictional authority over Indigenous peoples and territories in British Columbia–the vast majority of which was never conquered by force or ceded by treaty.[1] Indigenous peoples' rights and title to their traditional, unceded territories–stemming from thousands of years of continued use, occupation, and stewardship–have historically been framed by the Canadian Supreme Court as subject to the Crown's "underlying title," which is said to have been acquired when the Crown first asserted sovereignty over the lands and waters that are now considered Canada.[2] However, Borrows asks, "[h]ow can lands possessed by Aboriginal peoples for centuries be undermined by another nation's assertion of sovereignty? What alchemy transmutes the basis of Aboriginal possession into the golden bedrock of Crown title?"[3] This repudiation of colonial authority over Indigenous lands

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[1] See, John Borrows, "Sovereignty's Alchemy: An Analysis of Delgamuukw v. British Columbia," *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 37, no. 3 (1999): 558-563, https://doi.org/10.60082/2817-5069.1522.

[2] Ibid., 562.

[3] Ibid., 558.

heavily informed the Athlii Gwaii protests. Colin Richardson, son of Miles Richardson Sr., Hereditary Raven Chief of T'aanuu and a prominent Haida actor during the logging blockade, explains how the Athlii Gwaii protests were a "time to stand up as a Nation and exercise the authority we had never given up. No one has ever taken this land from us, no one has ever beat us in a war and we have never signed a treaty. These islands belong to the Haida Nation and that's just how it is."[4] Furthermore, Miles Richardson Sr. explains how an acceptance of responsibility for stewardship of Haida Gwaii and an understanding of interdependence with all of creation form the basis of Haida Hereditary Title, a title which "equates to sovereignty, ownership, and jurisdiction" in Western terms.[5]

Failed Legal Avenues of Resistance

Haida Gwaii, which translates to "Islands of the People," is an isolated archipelago off the west coast of British Columbia that has been home to the Haida Nation for more than 10,000 years.[6] The islands are incredibly biodiverse, sustaining dozens of rare flora and fauna found nowhere else on earth, and have been termed the "Galapagos of the North."[7] In turn, Haida culture is deeply

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[4] Jisgang Nika Collison, *Athlii Gwaii: Upholding Haida Law at Lyell Island* (Locarno Press, 2018), 51.

[5] Ibid., 13.

[6] Ian Gill, *All That We Say Is Ours: Guujaaw and the Reawakening of the Haida Nation* (Douglas & McIntyre, 2009), 19-21.

[7] Benjamin Isitt, "Standoffs at Meares and Lyell Islands: Protest, Injunctions, and the Indigenous Land Question in British Columbia, 1984-5," in *Canadian State Trials, Volume v: World War, Cold War, and Challenges to Sovereignty, 1939-1990*, eds. Barry Wright, Susan Binnie, and Eric Tucker (University of Toronto Press, 2022), 392, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctv31nzk4b.16.

rooted in a responsibility to the natural world; in the constitution of the Haida Nation, it is explained that Haida culture "is born of respect for and intimacy with the land and sea and the air around us…We owe our existence to Haida Gwaii."[8] However, industrial logging companies took a much different approach to the ecological abundance of Haida Gwaii; the ancient old-growth forests were seen as resources to be (over)exploited and extracted through timber licenses granted by the provincial government.[9] The mid-1970s saw the beginning of a movement to prevent clear-cut logging in a southern area of Haida Gwaii called Gwaii Haanas (which includes Athlii Gwaii), whose old-growth forests had largely remained intact up until this point.[10] In 1979, the license that granted timber company ITT Rayonier the rights to log Gwaii Haanas was set to be renewed by the Ministry of Forests, and a group of Haida activists petitioned the provincial courts to prevent the renewal. The activists argued that the license had been grossly mismanaged with no consideration of the resulting environmental devastation of bad logging practices, and therefore should not be renewed.[11] However, despite multiple appeals from the Haida, the license was ultimately renewed and logging continued–in large part because the provincial government was "totally allied to the industry" and benefited economically from the overlogging.[12]

Holding the Line at Athlii Gwaii

After failing to protect Gwaii Haanas through the Canadian legal system, the Haida turned to direct

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[8] Collison, *Athlii Gwaii*, viii.

[9] Gill, *All That We Say is Ours*, 121.

[10] Ibid., 121; Isitt, "Standoffs at Mearres and Lyell Islands," 393.

[11] Collison, *Athlii Gwaii*, 11; Gill, *All That We Say Is Ours*, 95.

[12] Gill, *All That We Say is Ours*, 72, 103.

nonviolent action to physically prevent unwanted logging on their territories. As Miles Richardson Jr. explains, "our fundamental premise had been to exhaust all due process with the province before putting our bodies on the line to defend Gwaii Haanas. Now we knew we had a responsibility to protect our lifesource by going to Athlii Gwaii and stopping the logging ourselves."[13] In October of 1985, days after new cut blocks covering 87 hectares of Athlii Gwaii were announced by the province, the Haida blockaded a logging road to prevent Western Forest Products (previously ITT Rayonier) and their contractor, Frank Beban Logging Company, from harvesting.[14] Importantly, it was made clear from the beginning that it was not the loggers themselves with whom the Haida took issue, but rather the provincial government's assertion of jurisdiction over Haida Gwaii and its forests–along with the destructive "methodology of logging" that this precipitated.[15] The broader Haida community quickly mobilized in support of the blockade, helping to organize food supplies, media coverage, and transportation to and from Athlii Gwaii. In response to the blockade, Beban's logging company and Western Forest Products applied for injunctions to bar the Haida from blocking logging operations–which the Supreme Court granted.[16]

The Haida did not back down, and continued to hold the line at Athlii Gwaii. In the words of Miles Richardson Jr., "we were not going to let an injunction stop us from honouring our responsibility to Haida Gwaii."[17] With this act, the Haida undermined one of the provincial

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[13] Collison, *Athlii Gwaii*, 16.

[14] Isitt, "Standoffs at Meares and Lyell Islands," 395.

[15] Collison, *Athlii Gwaii*, 63, 83.

[16] Ibid., 16, 19.

[17] Ibid., 19.

government's 'sources of power': the enforcement of obedience through the threat of punishment, in this case in the form of arrests.[18] On November 16th, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) began to enforce the injunction and three Haida elders–one of whom was eighty years old–decided to be arrested first. This symbolic move showcased the dignity, strength, and commitment of the Haida and further validated the movement.[19] In the weeks that followed, a total of 72 people were arrested for holding the line at Athlii Gwaii.[20] In the eyes of the Canadian state, the Haida had broken the law; in the eyes of the Haida, holding the line at Athlii Gwaii upheld Haida law, of which the state was the violator.

The nonviolent blockade continued into the winter and brought positive national attention to the Haida's fight for protection of Gwaii Haanas, garnering support from across Canada.[21] In the spring of 1986, the trans-national 'Save South Moresby Caravan' travelled via rail from St. John's, Newfoundland westward across Canada to raise media attention for the blockade on Athlii Gwaii.[22] The caravan ended in Vancouver, BC, where a rally of approximately two thousand people took place.[23] Pressure mounted on the provincial government to come to an agreement with the Haida over Gwaii Haanas, and in the

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[18] Hardy Merriman, "Theory and Dynamics of Nonviolent Action," in *Civilian Jihad*, ed. Maria J. Stephan (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2009), 20, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230101753_2.

[19] Collison, *Athlii Gwaii*, 44; Gill, *All That We Say Is Ours*, 131.

[20] Isitt, "Standoffs at Meares and Lyell Islands," 397.

[21] David A. Rossiter, "The Nature of a Blockade: Environmental Politics and the Haida Action on Lyell Island, British Columbia," in *Blockades or Breakthroughs? Aboriginal Peoples Confront the Canadian State*, ed. by Yale D. Belanger and P. Whitney Lackenbauer (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014). 80-82; Collison, *Athlii Gwaii*, 89.

[22] South Moresby is the English name for Gwaii Haanas.

[23] Gill, *All That We Say Is Ours*, 144.

summer of 1987, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the federal and provincial governments that imposed a permanent moratorium on logging in Gwaii Haanas.[24] Negotiations between the Haida and the Canadian government continued, and in 1993 the nation-to-nation Gwaii Haanas Agreement was signed, establishing the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site under the co-management of the Haida Nation and Canada.[25]

Athlii Gwaii and Civil Resistance Theory: An Inadequate Framing

Following Erica Chenoweth's definition of civil resistance as a nonviolent technique that "actively promotes conflict, creating disruption and amassing power to affect, alter, or transform the status quo," Athlii Gwaii can certainly be examined as a case study of civil resistance.[26] However, it is important to recognize that not all aspects of civil resistance theory are universally applicable to diverse forms of nonviolent action; as Chabot and Vinthagen point out, "a reduction of civil resistance to a singular grand narrative" is troublesome and should be avoided because it "denies the possibility of *many different stories* of civil resistance by subjugated groups."[27] The blockade at Athlii Gwaii is an example of a particular story of resistance, within a particular settler-colonial context–and therefore brings with it distinct considerations of sovereignty, legality, and legitimacy that deserve to be addressed by a

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[24] Isitt, "Standoffs at Meares and Lyell Islands," 403.

[25] Collison, *Athlii Gwaii*, 26.

[26] Erica Chenoweth, *Civil Resistance: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford University Press, 2021), 2.

[27] Sean Chabot and Stellan Vinthagen, "Decolonizing Civil Resistance," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (2015): 517, https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671x-20-4-517.

more specifically decolonial framework than civil resistance theory alone offers.

For example, perhaps one of the most important characteristics of civil resistance movements according to Chenoweth's particular articulation of civil resistance theory[28] is the use of deliberately disobedient "noninstitutional actions" that take place outside or in defiance of "existing institutions, laws, and larger systems."[29] Two things are troubling here in a colonial context: the notion of disobedience and of non-institutional actions. While the events of Athlii Gwaii were no doubt disobedient and non-institutional from the viewpoint of the Canadian settler-colonial legal system, this is not a legal system that has ever had legitimate jurisdiction over Haida Gwaii, considering how Canadian sovereignty came to be asserted over Indigenous territories. Rather, the blockade upheld the institution of Haida law and the central legal principle of *yahguudang* (respect).[30] In other words, "the boldness [of the blockade] was not that of defiance…the boldness was upholding Haida laws flowing from the land and sea."[31] In this way, the case of Athlii Gwaii was not just a matter of subverting existing institutions and building new ones, as is described in Chenoweth's articulation of civil resistance theory, but rather of asserting Haida authority through institutions that had existed thousands of years before the Canadian state came into being.[32] Taking this colonial context into account, it is more accurate and

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[28] This paper draws only on Chenoweth's articulation of civil resistance theory as a leading scholar in the field.

[29] Chenoweth, *Civil Resistance*, 3.

[30] Michaela McGuire, "Visons of Tll Yahda," *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* 12, no. 2 (2019): 21, https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcis.v12i1.1231.

[31] Collison, *Athlii Gwaii*, 139.

[32] McGuire, *Visions of Tll Yadha*," 28.

useful to frame Athlii Gwaii as an assertion of Indigenous sovereignty; framing the blockade purely through the lens of civil resistance theory does not give proper weight to the colonial dynamics and the conflicting legal orders underpinning the conflict.

Conclusion

This paper has presented an overview of the 1985 blockade at Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island), during which the Haida Nation rejected the provincial government's authority to control resource extraction on Haida Gwaii, asserting Haida sovereignty and upholding Haida law to protect the area from logging. Haida culture is fundamentally tied to land; as Guujaaw, former president of the Haida Nation explains, "[i]f they cut the trees down, we'll still be here. But then we won't be Haida anymore."[33] The blockade and the broader movement that it sparked ultimately stopped logging in Gwaii Haanas and led to the area's permanent protection in the form of the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site, the first co-management agreement of its kind. The blockade's success reverberated across British Columbia and inspired other Indigenous nations to assert their rights and obstruct access to unceded Indigenous territories and resources in the 1980s and 1990s.[34] However, the Haida Nation also had a secondary goal beyond the protection of Gwaii Haanas: to "gain other governments' respect for Haida title."[35] While the Gwaii Haanas agreement did not address the underlying question of Haida Title, it nonetheless set an important precedent (albeit within the problematic framework of recognition politics) by recognizing the Haida Nation on

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[33] Gill, *All That We Say Is Ours*, 112.

[34] Isitt, "Standoffs at Meares and Lyell Islands," 404.

[35] Collison, *Athlii Gwaii,* 16.

equal negotiating terms with the Canadian state.[36] This agreement was pivotal in the trajectory of the state's relationship with the Haida Nation–a trajectory that has led to the present political moment where, in April of 2024, the Gaayhllxid/Gíihlagalgang "Rising Tide" Haida Title Lands Agreement was signed. In the agreement, the BC government officially recognized Haida Aboriginal Title in Haida Gwaii, shifting land ownership and jurisdiction from the Crown to the Haida Nation and affirming under Canadian settler-colonial law what the Haida have always asserted—Haida title over Haida lands and waters.

[36] Glen Coulthard, "The Politics of Recognition in Colonial Contexts," in *Red Skin, White Masks* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

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MOTHER KNOWS BEST: *Neoliberal Governmentality and Motherhood*

By LEILA PURAC

Abstract

The study of neoliberalism in political science is commonly restricted to its economic policies such as market liberalization, fiscal austerity, and public asset privatization. However, what cannot be downplayed is the conditioning of the self and culture through neoliberal policies. Paying attention to the intersection of motherhood and neoliberalism is integral because it influences the production and condition of the next generation. By pulling back the curtain on core neoliberal tenets in Canadian childcare policy, the paper reveals the reconstitution of a woman's capacity to be a 'good' and productive citizen is strictly measured through her complicity to the dominant ideology of motherhood. This paper analyzes the structure of the Canada Child Tax Benefit (CCTB) to highlight how government family benefit policies function as forms of legal regulation that disciplines mothers who deviate from the dominant expectations of motherhood.

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Introduction

Motherhood is embroidered in the reproduction of society as a site where social and political tensions are expressed, constituted, and contested. The surveillance of mothering is not new to neoliberalism but is newly distinguishable in its bolstering of worthiness in an individual's participation in motherhood. Using a feminist post-structural approach, to what extent has the neoliberal illusion of individual freedom and choice reconstituted and reinstated women's capacity to be a 'good' citizen through her motherhood? Further, how does the structure of family benefit legislation like childcare policy in Canada function as a form of legal regulation, thereby disciplining mothers who deviate from dominant expectations of motherhood? In this paper, I argue that neoliberalism's deeply nestled roots have shaped and perpetuated a unique and dominant ideology of motherhood weaponized as a disciplinary power to subordinate women through their reproduction. Furthermore, this ideology creates a moralized dichotomy of the 'good' versus 'bad' mother where women are assigned the responsibility of ensuring the economic and social success of the family unit.

I will demonstrate this argument by first outlining a definition of neoliberalism, followed by the benefits of a

feminist post-structural perspective and how its understanding of governmentality is necessary to illuminate the multi-faceted and complex nature of neoliberalism. Then, I will break down the configuration of the dominant ideology of motherhood and its deviations under neoliberal governmentality. Finally, I will ground myself in the Canadian context by establishing how the Canada Child Tax Benefit (CCTB) reflects an overarching theme of Canadian family legislation privileging the nuclear family model, as well as constituted neoliberal rationalities of hyper-individualism and responsibility. Additionally, there must be an acknowledgement of a limitation of the language of this paper, as I will be using the term 'women' to describe individuals who have internalized the values and cultural roles associated with femininity. However, there must also be meaningful consideration towards the expectations of motherhood that are imposed onto all femme-presenting people, individuals assigned female at birth, and so on, who I cannot give justice to on this topic in the scope of this short paper.

The Concept of Neoliberalism

The term neoliberalism emerged from its critics— the political economists— who originally conceptualized it as a theory of political-economic practices that sought to maximize entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework.[1] This reconfiguration was characterized by the rise of a neoliberal policy checklist consisting of "public asset privatization, fiscal austerity [and] market liberalization."[2] Neoliberalism is associated with specific

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[1] David Harvey, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 610, no. 1 (2007): 22, https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716206296780.

[2] Heather Whiteside, *Canadian Political Economy* (University of Toronto Press, 2020), 7.

political projects and reigns such as Thatcherism and Reaganomics that heavily pursued and incorporated the aforementioned policies. Promoters of a neoliberal world order promised that markets are simply better equipped to organize economic activity because of their association with competition, economic efficiency and choice.[3] It is imperative to understand how these types of policies underline neoliberalism in pursuit of analyzing and disrupting it. However, just as political economists asserted the interconnectedness of political and economic life, we cannot discount how these policies work in conjunction with neoliberal governmentality.

Feminist Post-Structuralism: Understanding Neoliberalism Intricacy

This paper will utilize a feminist post-structuralist approach because its malleability reconfigures the strict policy and capitalist understanding of neoliberalism, which opens previously shrouded avenues of understanding neoliberal governmentality and subjectivity. A feminist post-structural framework best reveals and clarifies how gender determines and influences political relationships, structures of power and the continued social and economic reproduction of neoliberal philosophy.[4] While neoliberalism proclaims that small governments and individual liberty are the best means to ward off big governments and communism, neoliberalism does not manifest in reduced governance of the citizens and the self.[5] In reality, neoliberalism is not actually meant to

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[3] Wendy Larner, "Neo-liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality," *Studies in Political Economy* 63, no. 1 (2000): 5, https://doi.org/10.1080/19187033.2000.11675231.

[4] Whiteside, *Canadian Political Economy*, 4-5.

[5] Larner, "Neo-liberalism," 12.

advance all-encompassing liberatory freedom but solely an entrepreneurial one.[6] Derived from Foucauldian thought, 'governmentality' draws attention to the pervasive way of thinking and acting in attempts to "know and govern the wealth, health and happiness of people."[7] Neoliberal rationalities must be understood in its 'encouragement' — through both material and ideological regulation— of people to see themselves as hyper-individualized and active subjects responsible for enhancing and maintaining their own well-being.[8] Using this lens of neoliberal governance, post-structuralism illuminates that citizens are constrained to a regulated freedom that makes people not simply subjects of power but actors that play a part in its operations.[9] Through this feminist post-structuralist lens of governmentality, we can see that the neoliberal pedestals of individual liberty and personal autonomy are not the antithesis of power but a key cog in its imposition.

The foundational aspirations of liberty laid the way for a dichotomic system that positions failings solely onto the individual and their socio-political and economic choices instead of the intentionally unevenly developed system. Therefore, a post-structural approach that conceptualizes neoliberal governmentality in conjunction with a grounding and material feminist lens is crucial in understanding the contemporary disciplinary reconfiguration of the dominant ideology of motherhood. By theorizing neoliberalism not as a grand well-thought-out

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[6] Emma McKenna, "The Freedom to Choose: Neoliberalism, Feminism, and Childcare," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 37, no. 1 (2015): 42, https://doi.org/10.1080/10714413.2015.988529.

[7] Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Political Power Beyond the State: Problematics of Government," *The British Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (1992): 175, https://www.jstor.org/stable/591464.

[8] Larner, "Neo-liberalism," 13.

[9] Rose and Miller, "Political Power Beyond the State," 174.

scheme, but as a complex, multi-vocal and contradictory phenomenon producing unexpected and unintended outcomes, we can illuminate otherwise shrouded areas of connotations and contemporary struggles.[10]

Motherhood and Neoliberal Governmentality

The 'nuclear family' is one of the most widespread cultural ideals in Western society, structured as a mother and father living together and sharing responsibility for their children and each other. This heteronormative cultural model is characterized by a strict gendered distribution of responsibility, with an emphasis on normative moral standards and the inculcation of values and attitudes conducive to economic success and personal responsibility.[11] These aspects of the heteronormative family model are increasingly exacerbated in its contemporary consolidation with neoliberal capitalist expansions. The rise of neoliberal ideology upped the stakes in the nuclear family by accelerating the circulation of people, commodities and assimilative programming, with every aspect of social and personal life becoming commodified and capitalized.[12] Therefore, the illusion of choice that characterizes neoliberal governmentality finds a perfect fit with the heteronormative nuclear family model. Employing classical facades of liberal inclusivity and equality, as well as constraining agency for movements calling for real alternatives, create seemingly impenetrable barriers to the neoliberal ideology. The neoliberal agenda has stated a "privatization or 'home-ification' of care… relocating reproductive responsibility from the state" onto

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[10] Larner, "Neo-liberalism," 16, 21.

[11] Anne Robinou, *Queer Communal Kinship Now!* (Punctum Books, 2023), 35, https://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.2353823.

[12] Ibid., 40-41.

individual families to reduce government spending.[13] Despite the relative novelty of a nuclear family these days, the concept continues to constitute both the ideals which families are held to and a permeating system that governs familial relations.[14]

The dominant ideology of motherhood encapsulates "the constellation of ideas and images in Western capitalist societies that constitute the dominant ideals of motherhood against which women's lives are judged."[15] One of the central tenets of the ideology is that motherhood should be the desired and ultimate end goal for all 'normal' women. Motherhood is framed as the natural condition of biological gender difference and the expression of maternal instincts instead of an imposed institution.[16] This assumption automatically classifies women who do not have children– by their own choice or not— as inherently abnormal or deviant to the supposed 'natural' order. Compulsory motherhood is so naturalized and integrated into our way of thinking that women are unable to be viewed as mature, balanced and fulfilled adults until they are mothers.[17] Motherhood exists in a unique intersection with the dominant ideologies of womanhood and family, thus establishing the expectations and ideals that rule and constrain the lives of women.

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[13] Ibid., 41.

[14] Ibid., 39.

[15] Marlee Kline, "Complicating the Ideology of Motherhood: Child Welfare Law and First Nation Women," *Queen's Law Journal* 18, no 2 (1993): 310.

[16] Margot Challborn, "Autonomous Mothers and Social Policy: How the CCTB, UCCB, and Alberta Child Care Subsidies Govern Women's Autonomy in Motherhood" (Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 2016), 42, https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/93ea2228-1b15-4395-87e7-ef013acc16f9/view/c0015cca-e7b9-449f-ad5e-65b042e1fce1/Challborn_Margot_201601_MA.pdf.

[17] Kline, "Complicating the Ideology of Motherhood," 310.

Neoliberal logic reconfigures all aspects of being and worthiness according to values of self-sufficiency and individual responsibility.[18] Neoliberalism distinguishes between the 'good' and 'failing' citizens in terms of their production and success in the market. Therefore, motherhood intersects with neoliberalism because it is inextricably involved in the constitution and production of such 'good' citizens.[19] The governing and surveilling of mothering is not limited to pregnancy and birth; this ideology also spans across definitions of 'good' mothering. The binary of the 'good' versus 'bad' mother parallels the 'good' versus 'failing' citizen in that an individual's categorization is based on their conformity to dominant ideology and hegemony. Therefore, a woman's potential to adhere to tenants of 'good' citizenship is additionally calculated through her potential to be a 'good' mother.

The dominant ideology of motherhood not only creates an ideal for mothers to adhere to but also acts as an authoritative power to discipline women.[20] Mothers who deviate or subvert from these expectations are constructed as 'bad' mothers who must be kept in line through social and legal regulation. Single mothers are particularly denigrated for not abiding by this nuclear model of dependence. They are used as a scapegoat "responsible for nothing less than unruly and ill-educated children, rising crime, and a crisis in masculine identity."[21] Neoliberal rationalities of individual choice easily slot themselves into

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[18] Paula Hamilton, *Black Mothers and Attachment Parenting: A Black Feminist Analysis of Intensive Mothering in Britain and Canada* (Bristol University Press, 2021), 27, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv19cw9sf.

[19] Ibid., 23.

[20] Kline, "Complicating the Ideology of Motherhood," 311-312.

[21] Gil Jagger and Caroline Wright, *Changing Family Values: Difference, Diversity and the Decline of Male Order* (Routledge, 1999), 122; Challborn, "Autonomous Mothers and Social Policy," 41-42.

this context because whereas 'good' mothering is framed as natural and universal, any deviation from norms is considered unnatural and is the consequence of individual incompetence and irresponsibility. Insofar as children are framed as our collective futures, constructions and weaponization of 'bad' mothering are used to justify and legitimate a mother's social and legal regulation.[22] Therefore, while the expectation of motherhood is imposed on all women, the allowance and ease of mothering can also be conceptualized as a privilege rather than a right. This is a privilege that is withheld ideologically and in more material ways from individuals considered 'unfit'. The root of 'bad' mothering and the dominant ideology of motherhood, in general, is their existence within intersecting social relations of oppression such as race, class, sexuality and able-bondedness.[23] Thus, the dominant ideology of motherhood creates a means to produce viable neoliberal citizens as well as naturalize, legitimate and intensify the realities of systemic oppression.

The Nuclear Family System and Canada Child Tax Benefit

In such scenarios where governments might do a song and dance for equity initiatives despite their seeming contradictions to neoliberal tenets, it is only so far as the initiatives can contribute to economic growth, bolster class hierarchies or backhandedly reaffirm disciplinary power.[24] The state only cares about women and mothers to the extent that they are "contained within the structures of masculine capture – the couple, the family, the household, the retired

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[22] Kline, "Complicating the Ideology of Motherhood," 311-312.

[23] Ibid., 313.

[24] Hamilton, *Black Mothers and Attachment Parenting*, 23-24.

couple."[25] The Canadian context exists as a prime example because as the interests of the state pivoted to adapt to a neoliberal economy, concerns for equality in avenues like childcare collapsed under increasing desires for economic stimulation and a decrease in federal spending on social support.[26] The liberal democratic system that the Canadian state is premised on assumes complete and active participation in the market by all citizens.[27] Thus, the additional padding of neoliberal governmentality ties a moralized individual worthiness to citizen participation. Yet these assumptions fail to consider, or simply do not care, that women's participation in the labour market and citizenship is limited by a "lack of access to good jobs, a lack of access to childcare, and programs which define them as men's dependents," justifying and legitimating their social marginalization and regulation in the paid labour market.[28] The rise of Mulroney silenced demands for childcare as shouts for women's equality became inaudible in the new governing order.[29] Childcare or lack thereof is a class problem that imposes a serious threat to the quality of life and livability of poor and working-class families; the lack of childcare intensified the socioeconomic dependence and servitude of mothers to the nuclear family.

The Canada Child Tax Benefit (CCTB) was introduced in a 1999 budget speech by Finance Minister Paul Martin and as a federal initiative to assist low- and middle-income families with the expenses of raising

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[25] Challborn, "Autonomous Mothers and Social Policy," 16.
[26] McKenna, "The Freedom to Choose," 49.
[27] Challborn, "Autonomous Mothers and Social Policy," 52.
[28] McKenna, "The Freedom to Choose," 49.
[29] Ibid., 49-50.

children.[30] The federal government claimed the CCTB was consistent with the role of government "in promoting fairness and equity among individuals with different incomes and family circumstances."[31] While the CCTB has since been restructured in 2016, its examination offers an important and specific example of the privileging of the nuclear family structure and governance of mothering. The CCTB presented a mystifying image of a progressive policy in that it was not taxable, supplemented family income regardless of where the families lived, if they worked, and the benefit decreased as income increased.[32] The policy was made up of two non-taxable components.[33] First, a basic benefit targeted at low and middle-income families. Second, the National Child Benefit (NCB) supplement provides an additional supplement for low-income families specifically and was a nationwide initiative created to reduce child poverty.[34] The unveiling of the NCB in 1996 was meant to convey the Prime Minister and Premiers collaborating to "bring down barriers to employment and [improve] the lives of many families."[35] The federal government boasted that the NCB was the best way to remove children from welfare by "ensuring that families will always be better off as a result of working."[36] The government tied children to our collective future, one solely survivable via poverty reduction programs that increase employment and economic opportunity like the

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[30] The Government of Canada, *A Guide to Effective Business Continuity in Government: Year 2000 Strategy* (Ottawa: Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 1999), 2-3.

[31] Ibid., 2.

[32] Challborn, "Autonomous Mothers and Social Policy," 73-74.

[33] The Government of Canada, *A Guide to Effective Business Continuity in Government*, 3.

[34] Ibid., 8.

[35] Ibid., 9.

[36] McKenna, "The Freedom to Choose," 49.

NCB.[37] The benefit is based on family or household income rather than individual income, meaning that partnered mothers end up losing support faster and manufacture an increased dependency on the state.[38] The CCTB presumes a particular nuclear family and subsequently privileges it while also disenfranchising the mothers in these families. While it may be better to get some supplement rather than none, provisions provided in Canadian child benefits are a mere drop in the bucket compared to the amount that childcare costs annually.

Neoliberal theory asserts that "human well-being can be best advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, encumbered markets, and free trade" underlining its political economic practices.[39] The role of the state is to create and maintain the institutional framework required for such practices, which have slowly but surely whittled Canada's social services following the rise of neoliberalism. Therefore, while neoliberalists assert that it is a system premised on revitalizing the economy through marketization— which, in reality, has not been particularly successful— neoliberal policies and values have instead succeeded in a project of restoring and revitalizing disciplinarian hierarchies.[40] The general unhelpfulness of Canadian childcare policies like the CCTB sustains a legal regulation of parenthood, one of the ways that families are constrained, disciplined and deemed unfit.[41] Consequentially, this establishes and grows a culture where

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[37] Challborn, "Autonomous Mothers and Social Policy," 21.

[38] Ibid., 21-22.

[39] Harvey, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction," 22.

[40] Ibid., 29.

[41] McKenna, "The Freedom to Choose," 42.

the privilege to parent is a right only afforded to the wealthy. Further, the gender-neutral language of the CCTB does much more harm than good. Gender-neutral language, much like a colour-blind policy approach, does not dispel the different realities women have from men but simply functions to mask it.[42] Legislative approaches that ignore and refuse to acknowledge these different realities serve to govern and stigmatize families that do not conform and live by societal hegemony. Critiques of the CCTB reflect a greater examination of how the "state, market and law shape [and govern] the intimate lives of citizens."[43] Policies like the CCTB act as governmental technologies through which authorities seek to embody and give effect to governmental ambitions, thus making way for its citizenship, regulations and ideas to become tangible.[44]

Neoliberalism was built to make the market more efficient so that capital can flow more easily and free of state intervention. However, a market economy can only function in a market society. Therefore, the market continuously seeks to shape society in its own image.[45] Through our market and societal interaction, our individual selves are chiselled to reflect market and neoliberal logic. When analyzing the neoliberal influence in policies like the CCTB, we must consider who is benefiting from them and who they are constricting. Despite policies like the CCTB being framed as altruistic on behalf of the state, the part they play in the larger scheme of maintaining disciplinary and dominating power cannot be shrouded. These policies are premised on an individual level and thus reflect permeating neoliberal rationalities "of hyper-individualism,

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[42] Challborn, "Autonomous Mothers and Social Policy," 52.

[43] Ibid., 54.

[44] Rose and Miller, "Political Power Beyond the State," 175.

[45] Challborn, "Autonomous Mothers and Social Policy," 21.

privatization, and competition."[46] Rather than turning a new leaf and fostering collective structures of care and kinship, policies like the CCTB perpetuate the cycle of denigrating and disciplining women for refusing the nuclear family and its model of interdependent motherhood.[47] Additionally, family policies like the CCTB meant that men were emancipated with social citizenship while women were stifled as dependent citizens, therein "dependent on the individual men, family, or state-funded and delivered social welfare" that came with the condition often involving surveillance, social stigma and lower levels of compensation.[48] Therefore, I infer that the CCTB represents a puzzle piece in the larger picture of how these policies are not about ensuring economic growth or reducing family poverty, but of the reaffirmation of social values of family, partnership and who is allowed to mother.[49]

Conclusion

Neoliberal governmentality has stripped people down to be genderless, individually responsible, self-policing citizens. Yet mothers exist with a uniquely gendered responsibility for the success and education of the future generation and family unit. This contradiction is unsurprising considering the hypocritical and complex nature of neoliberalism. Whereby neoliberal ideology has aptly accommodated to preexisting struggles and reconfigured them to the disciplinary hierarchy, the

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[46] Ibid., 48.

[47] Ibid., 41-42.

[48] Jill Brodie, "We Are All Equal Now: Contemporary Gender Politics in Canada," *Feminist Theory* 9, no. 2 (2008): 151, https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700108090408.

[49] Challborn, "Autonomous Mothers and Social Policy," 72.

dominant ideology of motherhood acts as a prime example of how neoliberal ideology intertwines with a preexisting form of disciplinary power and creates added dimensions of self-governance.[50] The structure of family benefit policies like the CCTB sustains legal and social regulations of families by constraining those who do not conform to the ideal configuration. Further, these neoliberal family policies seek to intensify mothers' status as citizens dependent on their partners and the state with the added condition of surveillance and social stigma.[51] The presumption of a nuclear family therefore presumes a dominant ideal of motherhood. These dominant ideologies function to uphold and perpetuate a cycle of surveillance and policing of the production of future neoliberal citizens and future neoliberal society.

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[50] Larner, "Neo-liberalism," 16, 21.

[51] Brodie, "We Are All Equal Now," 151.

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DECONSTRUCTING "CHICKENS FOR KFC": *Israeli Pinkwashing, Homonationalism, and Contemporary Backlash Toward Queers for Palestine*

By KAITLYN KIRKPATRICK

Abstract

This paper seeks to problematize contemporary backlash against queer solidarity with Palestine. It scrutinizes current discourses that argue queerness and Palestinian liberation are incompatible. Drawing on the concepts of homonationalism and Orientalism, the paper argues these discourses are manifestations of Israeli pinkwashing and a reactivation of the "clash of civilizations" thesis. By boasting tolerance, Israel maintains a progressive international image while simultaneously portraying Palestinian society as homophobic and essentially regressive, thereby justifying Israeli colonial violence and occupation. At the same time, the essentialized Palestinian society (homophobic) and queer Palestinian subjects (victims of homophobia) diminish and neglect the social, cultural, and political complexity of Palestinian queerness. Thus, the paper challenges the idea that queer solidarity with Palestine is contradictory, pointing out its racist and Orientalist foundations and the potential for coexisting queer/Palestinian identities.

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Introduction

There is a popular idea that queer and Palestinian liberation are incompatible based on essentialized notions of sexual and gendered oppression in Arab and Muslim societies. Thus, groups like Queers for Palestine are said to incorporate supposedly self-evident contradictions, jokingly comparable to "chickens for KFC."[1] The logic is that since there is homophobia and LGBTQ+ persecution in the Arab world, queer activists aligning themselves with Palestine is irrational, contradictory, or misguided. This argument relies on a particular orientalist ideology that can be understood best as a manifestation of Israeli homonationalism, "a historical convergence of state practices, transnational circuits of queer commodity culture and human rights paradigms, and broader global

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[1] *Queers for Palestine = Chickens for KFC*, 2023, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKIZI2vjhxo.

phenomena such as the increasing entrenchment of Islamophobia."[2] Commonly known as pinkwashing, this discursive foregrounding of LGBT acceptance or tolerance serves to position Israel as a beacon of progressiveness in the Middle East, simultaneously 'washing away' its neocolonial brutality toward Palestinians.[3] Substantial literature in this area has shown how Israel has baked sexual diversity and tolerance into its national branding.[4] This works to legitimize Israeli civilization and culture as liberal, Western, and progressive, concomitantly characterizing Palestinian/Arab society as backward, regressive, or uncivilized for "lacking in this crucial criterion of 'tolerance of sexual diversity.'"[5]

In this paper, I demonstrate the usefulness of homonationalism for understanding contemporary backlash toward LGBTQ+ activism for Palestine. I seek to problematize contemporary political discourse that contends there are contradictions self-evident to pro-Palestinian queer activism. First, I explore the theory behind homonationalism and summarize some examples of Israeli pinkwashing, exposing how this practice serves to

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[2] Jasbir Puar, "Rethinking Homonationalism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45, no. 2 (2013): 337, https://doi.org/10.1017/S002074381300007X.

[3] Sarah Schulman and Karma Cháves R., "Israel/Palestine and the Queer International," *Journal of Civil and Human Rights*, Palestine on the Air, n.a, no. 5 (2013): 139-157, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jcivihumarigh.2019.0139.

[4] See, for example, Leila Farsakh, Rhoda Kanaaneh, and Sherene Seikaly, "Special Issue: Queering Palestine," *Journal for Palestine Studies* XLVII, no. 3 (2018): 1-6, https://doi.org/ttps://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2018.47.3.7.; Tommaso M. Milani and Erez Levon, "Sexing Diversity: Linguistic Landscapes of Homonationalism," *Language & Communication*, Discourses of Diversity, n.a, no. 51 (2016): 69-86, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2016.07.002.; Puar, "Rethinking Homonationalism."

[5] Milani and Levon "Sexing Diversity," 2.

obfuscate the potentially genocidal settler-colonial violence of Israeli occupation. I then demonstrate how contemporary backlash toward queer/Palestinian solidarity relies on a homonationalist ideology (of which pinkwashing is the public face) that is insufficient for understanding the complexity of sexual and colonial oppression and depends on the impossibility of coexisting queer Palestinian identities. The idea that queer solidarity with Palestine is self-contradictory is problematic because it employs orientalist sensibilities, serves to (re)produce Israeli settler-colonialism, and invisiblize queer Palestinians.

Homonationalism and Israeli Pinkwashing

In her 2006 article, Jasbir Puar introduced the concept of homonationalism, arguing that the "Orientalist invocation of the 'terrorist' is one discursive tactic that disaggregates US national gays and queers from racial and sexual 'others,' foregrounding a collusion between homosexuality and American nationalism."[6] Puar demonstrated how, in the years following September 11, 2001, the United States (US) bolstered its national image as a progressive, sexually liberal society.[7] Evidenced by the "eager proliferation of homophobic and racist images" of 'terrorists' following September 11, this served to redirect global attention from neocolonial US policy in Arab and Muslim countries while characterizing these societies as

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[6] Jasbir Puar, "Mapping US Homonormativities," Gender, Place & Culture 13, no. 1 (2006): 67, https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690500531014.

[7] Ibid., 67-88.

homophobic and regressive.[89] Linking sexual deviancy and perversion to bodies that were racially and culturally discernable from US national gays and lesbians helped form a 'terrorist' subject that was deserving of colonial violence without damaging the patriotic normalization of homosexuality within the US nationalist landscape. Thus, the US was able to carry out neo-colonial projects against Arab and Muslim 'others' while maintaining a progressive reputation by incorporating LGBTQ+ acceptance into its public image. Indeed, multicultural settler-colonial states like the US and Israel frequently justify 21st-century civilizing missions through discourses on sexuality, Arabophobia, and Islamophobia.[10]

Since Puar published her thesis on US homonationalism, a body of literature has emerged that applies this concept to the Israeli case.[11] For instance, Milani and Levon have examined how Israel has intentionally fostered queer friendly national image through

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[8] Ibid., 68.

[9] For example, in the weeks following September 11, midtown Manhattan was populated by posters of a turbaned caricature of Osama bin Laden being anally penetrated by the Empire State building. The captions read either "The Empire strikes back" or "So you like skyscrapers, huh, bitch?" These images along with racist and hypermasculine rhetoric from American officials and its public suggest that retaliation for the attack does not only aim to kill bin Laden but turn him into a queer. Jasbir Puar, "Towelheads, Diapers, and Faggots: Reviving the Turban," *City University of New York (CUNY) Academic Works*, 2001, 2.

[10] Jasbir Puar an Maya Mikdashi, "Pinkwatching And Pinkwashing: Interpenetration and Its Discontents," ezine, Jadaliyya - جدلية, August 9, 2012, para. 3, https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/26818.

[11] Milani and Levon, "Sexing Diversity," 69-86; Jasbir Puar, "Rethinking Homonationalism," 336-339; Sarah Schulman and Karma Chávez., "Israel/Palestine and the Queer International," 139-157; Puar and Mikdashi, "Pinkwatching and Pinkwashing."

the Brand Israel[12] campaign and by marketing Tel Aviv Pride.[13] As Puar and Mikdashi contend, this strategy cannot be separated from Israeli settler colonialism and the occupation of Palestine. If we recognize that "the quality of sovereignty is now evaluated by how a nation treats its homosexuals," Israeli pinkwashing can be perceived as a vehicle for both concealing and perpetuating settler colonialism in Palestine.[14] By portraying itself as a beacon of LGBTQ+ acceptance in the Middle East, Israel redirects international attention away from its illegal occupation of Palestine. Israel promotes an image of tolerance within its own society that is supposedly in contrast with Palestinian/Arab culture, enabling it to escape international scrutiny.

Pinkwashing Post October 7 and Backlash Toward Queer/Palestinian Solidarity

Israel's hostile bombardment of Gaza has inspired incredible popular protest across the world, including within Israeli-allied Western states like the US and Canada. LGBTQ+ resistance groups like Queers for Palestine—an international queer activist bloc supporting direct action for Palestine through Boycott, Divest, and Sanction (BDS)—have been consistently at the frontlines of these actions. Queer solidarity with Palestine is by no means a new phenomenon, as evidenced by the multiple queer Palestinian organizations that have been fighting for

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[12] The Brand Israel campaign was a marketing project launched in 2005 by the The Israeli Foreign Ministry, the Prime Minister's Office, and the Finance Ministry along with American marketing executives. The campaign sought to modernize the countries image. In A documentary guide to 'Brand Israel' and the art of pinkwashing Sarah Schulman illustrates how pinkwashing was explicitly and deliberately incorporated into this campaign.

[13] Milani and Levon, "Sexing Diversity," 10-22.

[14] Puar and Mikdashi, "Pinkwatching and Pinkwashing," para. 2.

liberation from Israeli apartheid for years.[15] However, many outlets in the US, Israel, and the West have argued queer people advocating for Palestinian liberation is contradictory. In November 2023, The Jerusalem Post even boldly printed that these groups represent "how stupid our society is."[16][17] This rhetoric is the logical conclusion of Israel's decades-long pinkwashing campaign and the orientalist logic underlying homonationalism.

The notion that queer/Palestinian solidarity is inherently contradictory depends on essentialized ideas of Palestinian/Arab culture and society, which in turn reinforce Israeli settler colonialism. In the months following October 7, 2023, much of the political discourse in the West has justified Israel's hostile bombardment of Gaza by aligning it with a supposedly culturally and socially superior "West." This reactivation of the *Clash of*

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[15] Civil society organizations/groups, like Aswat and alQaws, have been working to bring visibility to the LGBTQIA+ Palestinian community at the grassroots level since the early 2000s.

[16] Jerusalem Post Staff, "Ayaan Hirsi Ali: 'Queers for Palestine' Shows How Stupid Our Society Is," The *Jerusalem Post | JPost.Com*, November 29, 2023, https://www.jpost.com/j-spot/article-775631.

[17] For more examples of this rhetoric, see Billy Binion, "The Contradictions of 'Queers for Palestine,'" *Reason.Com* (blog), October 27, 2023, https://reason.com/2023/10/27/the-contradictions-of-queers-for-palestine/; Linda Dayan, "'The Biggest Irony Is With Queerness Itself': LGBTQ Israelis Shunned by Global Community After October 7," *Haaretz*, January 11, 2024, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2024-01-11/ty-article-magazine/.premium/lgbtq-israelis-describe-being-shunned-by-global-community-after-october-7/0000018c-f92a-dd94-a9cc-fbee4d680000; *Real Time With Bill Maher | S21:E16 | Episode 16 | Crave*, 2023, https://www.crave.ca/tv-shows/real-time-with-bill-maher/episode-16-s21e16.

Civilizations[18] thesis leans into Enlightenment-era philosophy designed to reconcile colonial violence with so-called "liberal values."[19] Although anticolonial scholars have highlighted the racist orientalism and "downright ignorance" involved with positioning the Western and Islamic worlds as fundamentally oppositional and combative, defenders of Israel have readily legitimized its potentially genocidal attack on Gaza based on the purported superiority of Israeli/Western society over Palestinian/Arab societies.[20]

For instance, these arguments hold that homophobia is omnipresent within Palestine, insisting that the 'queer Palestinian subject' (and, by extension, all Palestinians) would be safer under the supposedly tolerant Israeli occupation. Hence, Israeli pinkwashing becomes the myopic lens under which queer Palestinian existence is rendered discursively impossible, and the cultural complexity of Palestinian society is reduced to a simplistic West vs. East, "civilized" vs. "uncivilized" binary that entrenches settler-colonial power.

Further, the practice of pinkwashing attempts to internationalize homophobia in a way that forces queer

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[18] In his (in)famous 1996 book of the same name, American political scientist Samuel P. Huntington argued that post-Cold War era global politics would be defined by an ideological conflict between the global "East" (Indochina, parts of Eurasia and the Muslim world) and "West." Huntington argued that "Islamic civilization" was problematic and antithetical to the supposedly universal democratic Western values. Anticolonial scholars have critiqued his book for being fundamentally orientalist, reductive, and frankly ignorant in "presuming to speak for an entire religion or civilization."Edward W. Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," *The Nation*, October 4, 2001, https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/clash-ignorance/.

[19] Margaret Kohn and Kavita Reddy, "Colonialism," May 9, 2006, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/colonialism/.

[20] Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," para. 3.

Palestinians to appear in Israeli/Western terms.[21] However, neither homophobia, queerness, nor Palestinian struggle can be divorced from their historical, social, and geopolitical contexts. Forming an essentialized queer Palestinian subject that is the victim of the globally agreed upon violence 'homophobia' erases the nuance of lived Palestinian and queer Palestinian experience. A myriad of factors might privilege heterosexuality in a given cultural or social space, just as there are countless manners by which colonial and settler-colonial states are privileged over colonized or occupied peoples. Attempts to universalize the experiences of homophobia and colonization reduce this complexity, thereby upholding these interlocking systems of oppression. Thus, homonationalism relies on an orientalist ideology that is insufficient for understanding the intersections between queerness and colonialism in the Palestinian context.

Lastly, much of the backlash hurled towards pro-Palestinian queer activists relies on the idea that being queer in Palestine is undesirable, if not impossible. For example, gay, Jewish-American journalist James Kirschik has called *Queers for Palestine* "a level of masochism" he could not "comprehend."[22] One could argue these ideas stem from homosexuality being criminalized in Gaza, which is connected to an assumed systemic homophobia in Palestinian/Arab culture. However, the law criminalizing homosexuality in Gaza was written by the British and is a remnant of the colonial mandate system. There is little evidence of this law being enforced, save for one notable

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[21] Puar and Mikdashi, "Pinkwatching and Pinkwashing," para. 8.

[22] *Real Time With Bill Maher | S21:E16 | Episode 16* | Crave, 2023, https://www.crave.ca/tv-shows/real-time-with-bill-maher/episode-16-s21e16.

case in 2017.[23][24] As such, it is much more likely this idea stems from homonationalist discourses throughout the West that are perpetuated through Israeli pinkwashing.

Conclusion

As the siege on Gaza continues, queer people continue to organize in support of Palestinians. These groups and activists have been met with intense backlash centred around the idea that queer and Palestinian identities and liberation are incompatible. These arguments rely on an orientalist ideology that serves to further Israeli settler-colonial objectives through homonationalism. In this paper, I have highlighted the connection between Israeli pinkwashing and the contemporary discourse surrounding pro-Palestinian queer movements. By exploring the colonial functions of Israeli pinkwashing and breaking down the insufficiencies within homonationalism and orientalist reasoning, I have sought to problematize the idea that pro-Palestinian queer activism is self-contradictory. For, this notion assumes a universalized homophobia exists across Palestinian culture, creating a reductive, orientalist binary between Palestinian and Israeli society that helps secure Israeli colonial power and invisibilize queer Palestinian existence.

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[23] "Palestine," Human Dignity Trust, February 15, 2019, https://www.humandignitytrust.org./country-profile/palestine/.

[24] In 2017, author Abbad Yahya was prosecuted for publishing *Crimes in Ramallah*, a novel whose themes included politics and religion, which were explored through its homosexual protagonists.

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THE PURSUIT OF INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY:

A Critical Analysis of Class Division in the Works of Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill

By EMILY GOODMAN

Abstract

This paper examines the works of Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill and their respective accounts of class relations. While the authors' analytical frameworks differ, with Marx taking an economic focus on the capitalist mode of production and Mill focusing on the influence of the dominant class's sentiments, the paper demonstrates how both thinkers share a desire for society to turn away from class division. The paper analyzes imagined conversation between Marx and Mill when engaging with their critiques of class relations and the role of liberty. Through the analytical concept of individual sovereignty, the paper argues that Mill's conception of liberty and autonomy can expand Marx's analysis. Ultimately, we see that individual sovereignty can be a means for Marx to achieve his end goals for society.

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Introduction

The concept of class relations, particularly the division between classes, plays a critical role in the works of Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill. An examination of Marx's and Mill's respective works reveals that both thinkers critique the power and influence of the dominant class in society. However, the authors differ in their modes of analysis: Marx takes an economic focus on the capitalist mode of production, whereas Mill explores the influence of the dominant class's sentiments and morals. Despite these differences, both authors share the desire for society to develop away from the class divide. Ultimately, I argue that Mill's account can broaden Marx's analysis through showing how individual sovereignty can help achieve Marx's end goals for society.

I begin by examining Marx's analysis of class relations found in his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, where he presents his critique of the capitalist mode of production and alienated labour. To examine Mill's views, I explore his discussion of the dominant class's morals and sentiments in *On Liberty*.[1] Lastly, I employ the

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[1] I give specific attention to Mill's "Introductory" and "Applications" chapters of *On Liberty*; however, it is valuable to note that Mill presents further analysis of economic relations in his other works, which go beyond the scope of this paper.

concept of individual sovereignty to examine how the thinkers might engage in dialogue regarding class divisions, namely how Mill will utilize individual liberty to expand Marx's view. As an analytical concept, individual sovereignty borrows from Mill's conception of independence and liberty: when a person is free from the control of the dominant class and holds independence "over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."[2]

Karl Marx

Class struggle is a central theme for Marx throughout his manuscripts, where he critically analyzes the capitalist system. In the latter half of his passage on alienated labour, Marx delves into an extensive discussion regarding the class divide by examining the relationship among labour, the worker, and the capitalists.[3] Marx argues that the externalized, alienated labour of the worker is rooted in the capitalist mode of production, which is controlled by the capitalist or bourgeois class.[4] Under this system, the capitalist exerts control over the worker's labour and the commodities that the worker produces.[5] As a result, the worker's freedom is restricted, leading to alienation from his labour, from the commodities he creates, and from his species being.[6] Marx further emphasizes this point by stating that the worker "feels that he is acting freely only in his animal functions," suggesting that labour under capitalism is not voluntary, but rather

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[2] John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty, Utilitarianism, and Other Essays*, ed. Mark Philip and Frederick Rosen (Oxford University Press, 2015), 13.

[3] Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts," in *Selected Writings*, ed. Lawrence H. Simon (Hackett Publishing Company, 1966), 66.

[4] Ibid., 66.

[5] Ibid., 66.

[6] Ibid., 64.

coerced.[7] Consequently, the worker finds himself estranged from his overall humanity and, in return, perpetuates a sense of a meaningless and futile human existence.[8]

Private property, according to Marx, is the product of alienated labour and a "necessary consequence of externalized labour."[9] In a capitalist economy, private property is owned and controlled by the capitalists. They reap the benefits of capitalism by selling a product for profit, at the expense of the working class. The class divide is perpetuated by alienated labour, and as a direct result, ensures workers remain reliant on wages rather than benefiting from the products of their work. Marx argues that the alienation not only affects individuals at work but permeates all aspects of life. For Marx, true freedom and liberty cannot coincide with the capitalist structure, as any perceived freedom outside of work is rendered meaningless if the worker continues to produce "marvels for the wealthy" while simultaneously being deprived themselves.[10] Given that Marx understands society in the sense of the collective, the capitalists are able to claim collective wealth as their own only when ideology fosters class divisions – as exemplified in the case of private property. The capitalist mode of production, therefore, forms the foundation of Marx's analysis of class division, wherein the capitalist class is favoured and benefits, while the working class remains estranged.

John Stuart Mill

Although Mill does not overtly focus on economic dynamics, I argue that he would align with Marx's analysis

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[7] Ibid., 62.
[8] Ibid., 59.
[9] Ibid., 66.
[10] Ibid., 61.

and critique of how capitalists use their class status and associated privileges to wield power over the worker. This claim is supported by Mill's examination of the dominant class's influence over the morals and sentiments of society. Mill posits that a "large portion of the morality of the country emanates from its class interest," suggesting that societal morals and beliefs have been shaped by the interests of the ascendant class.[11] He further contextualizes this point by illustrating real-world class structures and relations: inter alia, nobles and roturiers, princes and subjects, and men and women.[12] Additionally, Mill observes that members of the dominant class have "occupied themselves … in inquiring what things society ought to like or dislike," rather than questioning whether such preferences should be imposed as law upon individuals.[13] Through this influence, the dominant class's sentiments are reflected in both law and social norms, shaping the broader societal structure.[14]

Through my interpretation of Mill's critique of class relations, I argue he would support Marx's analysis of alienated labour. As previously discussed, Marx contends that the bourgeois class maintains its influence by reinforcing the capitalist system, within which alienated labour is rooted. Similarly, Mill examines humankind's servility, meaning that people tend to be subservient to their "temporal masters," or in the context of Marx's work, the dominant class.[15] Due to the capitalists' preeminence in society, workers are confined to lower-class status with

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[11] Mill, On Liberty, 10.
[12] Ibid., 10.
[13] Ibid., 10.
[14] Ibid., 11.
[15] Ibid., 10.

little freedom or autonomy.[16] Notably, alongside Mill, Marx also critiques the "human servitude … involved in the relation of worker to production."[17] To challenge these entrenched class divides, Mill encourages individuals to question "likings and dislikings of society" rather than blindly following the dominant class.[18]

Mill's Account of Capitalism on the Grounds of Liberty

As a utilitarian, Mill rejects the notion that rights are pre-existing or inherent. Instead, he argues that rights and moral laws are contingent upon their context, and justified based on their ability to promote overall utility. Despite this view, Mill contends that it is beneficial to treat individuals as though they possess these rights, as doing so will result in the greatest overall utility. Notably, as seen in the harm principle, Mill argues that individual liberty can be limited: "the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others."[19]

Before examining how Mill may further Marx's account, it is important to highlight Mill's analysis of trade and competition, which are often taken to be his account of capitalism. In the capitalist economy, Mill argues, "an individual, in pursuing a legitimate object, necessarily and therefore legitimately causes pain or loss to others."[20] Mill suggests that harm is an inevitable byproduct of capitalist activity, as capitalism is woven with harm for those who

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[16] Ibid., 10.

[17] Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts," 67.

[18] Mill, *On Liberty*, 10.

[19] Ibid., 13.

[20] Ibid., 91.

are unsuccessful. Similar to individual rights, Mill asserts that it is more advantageous to treat individuals as if they have economic rights. This is grounded in his belief that free markets, as opposed to planned economies, will result in more utility and enable society to flourish. In this context, Mill argues that the "cheapness and the good quality of commodities" are most effectively provided "by leaving the producers and sellers perfectly free."[21] He then states that, when feasible, it is preferable to leave individuals to themselves, as opposed to "controlling them."[22]

While Mill is often regarded as a firm defender of free trade, which contrasts with Marx's views, I argue it is essential to recognize the nuances within Mill's argument, particularly his overt focus on achieving maximum overall utility. Throughout his writing, Mill assumes that a capitalist economy will result in the greatest utility for society. However, if it was proven that capitalism is not the prime method to promote utility, his argument would no longer stand, as he remains committed to the utilitarian assessment when choosing the best course of action. In such a case, I contend that Mill would agree with Marx in recognizing that reform to the capitalist economy is needed, on the basis that it produces more harm than benefit to society. Moreover, even if the capitalist system were to produce the greatest wealth of utility, I argue that Mill's analysis and seeming support of capitalism does not prevent an engagement with Marx. Instead, I point to how Mill, in alignment with his utilitarian view, notes that there is no absolute right that ensures pure economic, capitalist relations. As such, when required to prevent harm, Mill would support intervention and restrictions from

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[21] Ibid., 92.

[22] Ibid., 92.

government, such as those "to protect workpeople employed in dangerous occupations."[23] Therefore, the initial assumption that Mill is an unwavering proponent of individualism and capitalism is more nuanced than commonly perceived.

Individual Sovereignty

Through my interpretation of Mill's work, I argue his perception of the pursuit of liberty can help further Marx's conception of class relations. Mill asserts that for a society to be composed of sovereign individuals, it must demand "liberty of conscience … liberty of thought and feeling … absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects."[24] Mill further emphasizes that "individual spontaneity is entitled to free exercise" of autonomy, provided that the individual does not harm or infringe upon the rights of others.[25] Through this line of thought, I contend that Mill would argue that Marx's account of capitalism neglects to address the importance of pursuing individual expression and autonomy over one's own opinions and choices. I suggest that Mill would respond to Marx by highlighting how the pursuit of individual freedom can serve as a means to dismantle the class divide through

[23] Ibid., 92.
[24] Ibid., 15.
[25] Ibid., 75.

recognizing how individual sovereignty is a necessary tool in challenging the status quo.[26]

Although Marx may be skeptical of individualism, particularly when viewed through an economic lens, Mill's approach accounts for the resulting benefits of the sovereign individual. For instance, Mill argues that individual sovereignty – and by extension, the individual's opinions and interests – can serve as a means to challenge and dismantle the hegemonic influence of the dominant class. In response, Marx may reiterate his view that acting collectively through revolution is necessary to dismantle the class divide and achieve a communist society. I argue Mill would challenge this limited perspective, asserting that the sovereign individual can harness their own autonomy and liberty to enable the lower classes to challenge the dominant class. When Marx argues that communism promotes collective welfare and facilitates overcoming alienation to achieve a true resolution of conflict between the classes, I propose that Mill would contend that for such an outcome to materialize, individuals must be sovereign and free from the constraints of the capitalists. Furthermore, Marx presents a more narrow argument that people regain their human essence within communist societies where the means of production are collectively owned. I argue that, in response, Mill would extend Marx's

[26] It is important to note that Marx's analysis may cast doubt over the concept of individual liberty, given the fact that Marx views self-interest and competition as inherently individualistic tendencies that, in his view, are ultimately harmful to society. From the perspective of an orthodox Marxist framework, the pursuit of such liberty would likely exacerbate class divisions and perpetuate the exploitation of one individual by another, rather than promoting the collective good. While I recognize the importance of this general account of Marx, it does not undermine the value of examining how Mill may respond to Marx. A more nuanced exploration of Mill's ideas can shed light on how individual sovereignty could, in fact, contribute to achieving Marx's ultimate vision for society.

point by emphasizing that sovereign individuals will also have the ability to realize their full potential as humans. Most notably, in light of the preceding discussion, my analysis suggests the possibility that Mill would agree with Marx regarding the rights of the collective and the rejection of innate individual rights.

Additionally, through Marx's critique of alienation and the rejection of the capitalist system, he advocates for dismantling the structures that separate workers from the means of production and fostering a society where individuals can live freely outside of these constraints. Both Mill and Marx would argue that individuals should not be forced to conform to the capitalists' ideology; however, Mill would stress that individual sovereignty acts as a means for people to challenge the limitations of freedom set out by the dominant class. In this regard, Mill would connect Marx's conceptualization of class relations to individual sovereignty through demonstrating how collective ownership of the means of production is possible only if individuals have autonomy and sovereignty over their labour, commodities and lives. Thus, I argue Marx would, to a certain extent, agree with the pursuit of individual sovereignty as a means to achieve his desired ends of a collective-based, communist society. The worker would be able to reject the capitalist modes of production, while harnessing their newfound sovereignty to help move society towards a system where the class divide no longer prevails. In advocating for the liberation of the worker from the capitalist system, I contend that Marx's argument aligns with Mill's in the sense that, for a society to be free from class relations, individuals must be able to exercise greater autonomy over their lives.

Conclusion

Despite their contrasting theoretical frameworks, both Mill and Marx effectively express similar critiques of the dominant or capitalist class – especially with regard to the class's influence over society. While their approaches diverge, Mill is able to further Marx's analysis by demonstrating how the pursuit of individual sovereignty can serve as a means to dismantle the oppressive nature of class relations. Through analysis, it is evident that Mill's theoretical framework effectively illustrates how liberty can lead to erosion of the class divide. Consequently, Marx would likely align, to some extent, with the pursuit of individual sovereignty, even if his end goals for society differ. Ultimately, by recognizing where the authors converge and diverge in thought, this analysis creates space to explore how individual sovereignty can act as a method for achieving a society without the restraints and limitations of class relations.

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#FAKE NEWS:
An Analysis of the Effects of Social Media on Democratic International Relations

By MACI CLEMENTS

Abstract

The subject of international conflict and the strategies used in multinational disputes are frequently examined within the discipline of international relations. Much like existing debates related to the use of nukes or drones, social media is a weapon of international relations and should be analyzed as such. Using examples of Russian international relations and interference, I argue that states can ideologically weaponize social media to frame and position the narratives of issues in a way that is favourable to its goals, potentially threatening the functionality of democracy and the representative systems of targeted democratic states.

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Introduction

Social Media is an international relations tool that should not be overlooked. Much like the existing debates on the ethics of drones and nuclear weapons, social media should be considered a weapon of armed conflict and be analyzed as a political took with the potential to incite warfare.[1] Using examples of Russian international relations and interference, I argue that states can ideologically weaponize social media to frame and position the narratives of issues in a way that is favourable to its goals, potentially threatening the functionality of democracy and the representative systems of targeted democratic states. Moving forward, I will explain how social media poses a threat to the functionality of democracy using Russia's interference in foreign elections and the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict as evidence before finally discussing potential solutions to protect the representative systems of democratic nations.

Social Media: A Hinderance to Democracy

The ability of government representatives to make decisions that reflect the will of the citizens is the fundamental principle of democracy. In addition to simply

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[1] Omar Dumdum, "Social Media Has Entered the International Relations Chat," *New Media & Society* 23, no. 12 (2021): 3703; Yanti Dwi Astuti, Rahmah Attaymini, and Maya Sandra Rosita Dewi, "Digital Media and War: Social Media as a Propaganda Tool for the Russia-Ukraine Conflict in the Post-Truth Era," in *Proceedings of the Annual International Conference on Social Science and Humanities* (Atlantis Press, 2023), 20.

voting for and electing representatives, democracy also involves the functionality of the institutions and social conditions that make it possible for a "citizen-owned, citizen-controlled, and citizen-driven" state to be actualized.[2] The proliferation of propaganda makes it particularly difficult for citizens to establish the facts necessary to hold their leaders accountable and evaluate the permissibility of their representatives' decisions.[3] This pertains specifically to international relations. For any semblance of democracy within global decision-making, citizens must be informed and aware of how their nation is implicated in international affairs. As information about international events is not always easily accessible, citizens use the availability of international information on social media to inform them of international happenings.

The international use of propaganda tactics on the international stage is not new with the creation of the internet and social media. However, the sheer intensity and quantity of potentially false international information made available and algorithmically promoted online differ between historical and modern digital disinformation. Social media also enables propaganda to be framed in a

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[2] Spencer McKay and Chris Tenove, "Disinformation as a Threat to Deliberative Democracy," *Political Research Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (2021): 703; "Definition of Democracy," Democracy Watch, last modified 2011, https://democracywatch.ca/definition-of-democracy/.

[3] Matthew Baum and Phillip Potter, "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media," *The Journal of Politics* 81, no. 2 (2019): 748, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331543555_Media_Public_Opinion_and_Foreign_Policy_in_the_Age_of_Social_Media?enrichId=rgreq-c28f0426ffa9c322bb2ed4fa0fdf2792-XXX&enrichSource=Y292ZXJQYWdlOzMzMTU0MzU1NTtBUzo3MzU3MTU2NjMwMjAwMzJAMTU1MjQxOTY5MTA3MQ%3D%3D&el=1_x_2&_esc=publicationCoverPdf.

particularly poignant way. Functioning modern-day democracies such as Canada and the United States view the protection of freedom of speech and expression as an essential element of democratic proceedings, thus making it potentially more difficult to moderate and regulate what is posted on social media.[4] The endorsement of democratic free speech on online platforms paradoxically makes a nation's system of democracy weaker, as it augments the opportunity for foreign nations to expose citizens to persuasive propaganda about their home nation or the decisions of their representatives. Furthermore, with the rapid development of artificial intelligence technologies, international adversaries can "flood the cyberspace with misinformation on a faster and wider scale."[5] The capacity for artificial intelligence to create realistic, deepfake videos and other forms of dishonest reporting is so high that I argue it is not impossible to believe there is potential for it to harm the democratic foundations of a nation.

Not all propaganda on social media or any form of historical or contemporary media is guaranteed to be effective in pursuing a populace. The effectiveness of propaganda relies on how the message's narrative is indexed and framed.[6] How an issue is framed can effectively alter how one conceptualizes facts or events.[7] The human brain relies on "unconscious emotional

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[4] Dumdum, "Social Media Has Entered the International Relations Chat," 3704.

[5] Ibid., 3704.

[6] Zachery Kluver, Skye Cooley, Robert Hinck, and Asya Cooley, *Propaganda: Indexing and Framing the Tools of Disinformation* (Strategic Multilayer Assessment Integrating Information in Joint Operations, 2020), 1, https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Quick-Look_Propaganda-and-Disinformation-in-Networked-Societies_FINAL.pdf

[7] Ibid., 5.

associations to form our most basic responses and understandings of the world," otherwise known as schemas.[8] When issues on social media are framed in a way that targets an individual's cognitive beliefs and prejudices through schemas, it forms “underlying narratives outlining who we are and how we should act in a given circumstance.”[9] Consequently, it augments the likelihood that the proliferated propaganda will work to alter the thinking of whoever is internalizing it.[10]

Propaganda and the truth are also not always antonyms. Half-truths, which can be defined as “a specific type of deceptive statement, a sort of bridge between the world of facts and the world of speculation or even fiction,” are frequently incorporated into propaganda messaging as “post-truth” political messaging causes for the distinction between what is real and fake increasingly blurred.[11] When elements of the propaganda rely on selectively applied verifiable facts, the intended message of the propaganda is more likely to resonate and alter the consumer's thought process. Social media can amplify this blurring of fact as it is uniquely suited to target consumers' emotions in a way that encourages them to be more likely to act based on “gut feelings or resentments than verifiable facts.”[12] The most effective propaganda campaigns rely on “half-truths” to legitimize itself and saturate its way into civic discourse.

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[8] Ibid., 5.

[9] Ibid., 5.

[10] Ibid., 5.

[11] Noëmi Kern, “A Half-Truth is Often Believed,” interview by Uni Nova, *University of Basal*, January 2024, https://www.unibas.ch/en/News-Events/Uni-Nova/Uni-Nova-143/Uni-Nova-143-A-half-truth-is-often-believed.html.

[12] Ibid.

Scholars have noted four ways in which media polarization and disinformation campaigns complicate the creation of democratically sound foreign policy.[13] First, it makes it difficult to receive bipartisan support, and if that support is found, it may be based on false conceptions due to disinformation.[14] If the popular narrative endorsed by one party is grounded on non-negotiable media-based disinformation, it creates an impossible impasse resulting in either a stalemate in achieving government-wide unity or the opposing party eventually bending to the demands of the party informed by disinformation. Second, polarized disinformation regarding previous policy failures complicates a nation's ability to agree on adaptations and prospective plans.[15] Third, policy swings, potentially arising due to polarizing disinformation tactics, threaten relationships with international adversaries and allies.[16] Fourth and finally, as it has been demonstrated throughout this paper, political systems, particularly democratic ones, open themselves up to systemic vulnerabilities when the information being consumed by citizens about international relations is false.[17] Social media being manipulated to polarize citizens with disinformation campaigns and fake news is a political strategy that is here to stay. Left untouched, it threatens the foundations of what so-called free nations claim to make them free.

Case Studies: The 2016 USA Election Controversy and Russia-Ukraine Conflict

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[13] Astuti, Attayamini, and Dewi, "Digital Media and War," 21.
[14] Ibid., 21.
[15] Ibid., 21.
[16] Ibid., 21.
[17] Ibid., 21.

When framed and deployed correctly, messaging on social media is a battlefield tool, particularly concerning the possibility of international interference with democratic processes.[18] The breadth of social media makes propaganda proliferation possible in completely new ways, for example, Russian interference in the 2016 United States presidential election. Broad academic and state consensus has been reached that Russia did conduct a "wide-ranging, multi-year disinformation campaign in the United States."[19] It is estimated that intense alt-right messaging created by Russian entities was spread to "at least 126 million people on Facebook, over 20 million Instagram users, and 1.4 million Twitter users."[20] The effects of this campaign contributed greatly to the political discourse and electoral discussions in the months leading up to November 2016.

While it is not certain that the Russian interference directly contributed to Donald Trump's victory, the ideals and talking points pushed by the Russian propaganda invasion were the same ones taken into consideration by voters when deciding which candidate to vote for.[21] These sorts of ideals were particularly poignant in their efficiency as their goal was not always to spread disinformation in the form of outright fabrications of information but rather to implant half-truths that are framed in a way that sows the seeds of distrust within the citizenry in a manner that is

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[18] Ibid., 19.

[19] McKay and Tenove, "Disinformation as a Threat to Deliberative Democracy," 707.

[20] Ibid., 705, 707.

[21] Ibid. 707.

favourable to Trump's campaign.[22] Half-truth divisive messaging is particularly effective in times of crisis.[23] For example, the Russian company The Internet Agency was found to have purposely pushed divisive content relating to the black lives matter movement, immigration, gun rights, and hashtags such as "#Hillary4prison" and "#Trumptrain."[24] The framing of these sorts of messages, combined with the utilization of advanced algorithms that are specifically attentive to sub-group categorizations such as religion, political identification, and identity group indicators, cause the recipients of the messages to be, based on emotionally or ideologically grounded positions that are detectable within these algorithms, uniquely susceptible to the information they are consuming.[25]

For democracy to function properly, citizens must be able to think independently and engage in political discussions concerning their nation. In the ideal form of democracy, voters decide who they wish to elect by judging which candidate advocates issues relevant to them. Propaganda that affects voters' ability to think through these issues does not need to always take the form of "hard propaganda" with overtly nationalist and "emotionally-charged pro-government slogans that rely on biased pro-institutional media outlets."[26] Soft propaganda, such as

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[22] Abigail Abrams, "Here's What We Know So Far About Russia's 2016 Meddling," *Time Magazine*, April 18, 2019, https://time.com/5565991/russia-influence-2016-election/.

[23] Kern, interview.

[24] Abrams, "Here's What We Know."

[25] Massimo Calabresi, "Inside Russia's Social Media War on America," *Time Magazine*, May 18, 2017, https://time.com/4783932/inside-russia-social-media-war-america/.

[26] Kluver, Cooley, Hinck, and Cooley, *Propaganda*, 4.

divisive social media messaging, "is intended to guide exposed individuals into specific patterns of thought and associations."[27] When international powers, such as Russia, can deploy soft propaganda, plant discussions, and push narratives and talking points into the media streams of national politics, it will inevitably negatively affect the democratic output of the nation being attacked with propaganda. It is fair to conclude that the case of Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election demonstrates that social media is a substantial threat to democracy and something that can be weaponized as a tool in international relations.

The case of the 2016 election is not the only example of Russia weaponizing social media for a strategic advantage in international disputes, as pro-Russian social media forces played a dominating role in the 2014 forced annexation of the Crimean Peninsula.[28] For instance, the "false story of citizens with pro-Russian political views who were beaten and later burned alive by pro-Ukrainian forces" or the stories of a "pregnant woman killed by strangulation by pro-Ukrainian extremists."[29] This sort of rhetoric not only proliferates disinformation but also emotionally frames the disinformation, appealing to readers' pathos rather than logos. While the proliferation of disinformation was seldom the leading cause for the annexation, the powers of social media and online

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[27] Ibid., 4.

[28] Lavinui Bojor and Alin Cîrdei, "The Challenges of Social Media Platforms. Aspects of the Social Media War in Ukraine 2014-2022," *Land Forces Academy Review* 27, no. 4 (2022): 297, 10.2478/raft-2022-0037.

[29] Ibid., 298.

propaganda deployed by Russia certainly contributed to the ability to annex the Crimean Peninsula.

Russian powers continually deploy this tactic, which can be observed in Russia's current invasion of Ukraine.[30] Since the beginning of the attacks, Putin has been made out in popular Russian media as a strong, brutal, and masculine embodiment of leadership and power.[31] In contrast, Russian propaganda makes Zelenskyy out as an unserious comedian, unfit to lead a nation.[32] Disinformation campaigns immediately following the invasion declared that Zelenskyy had fled the nation of Ukraine.[33] It is with this sort of messaging that Russian powers can hegemonically enforce submission to Putin's arguably unjustified dictations and undermine any positions brought forward by Zelenskyy or the nation of Ukraine. Social media-based propaganda does not stop at garnering support for Russia either. Researchers have identified 15 "disinformation narratives" being pushed by partisan Russian groups immediately following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.[34] These narratives push provocative messaging such as the EU exploiting Ukrainians for low-wage labour, the US influencing Ukrainian media, activists, and politicians, and George Soros and the IMF seeking to

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[30] Astuti, Attaymini, and Dewi, "Digital Media and War," 20.

[31] Petru Loan Marian-arnat, "The Meme War - Propaganda and Resistance on Social Media," *International Journal of Social and Educational Innovation* 10, no. 20 (2023): 156, https://journals.aseiacademic.org/index.php/ijsei/article/view/301.

[32] Astuti, Attaymini, and Dewi, "Digital Media and War," 21.

[33] Ibid., 20.

[34] Lennart Maschmeyer, Alexei Abrahams, Peter Pomerantsev, and Volodymyr Yermolenko, "Donetsk Don't Tell - 'Hybrid War' in Ukraine and the Limits of Social Media Influence Operations," *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 22, no. 1 (2023): 7, https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2023.2211969.

exploit Ukrainian territories.[35] Surveys by the same researchers identifying these narratives demonstrate a clear statistical correlation between narrative exposure and international relations-related policy preferences.[36]

Similar to the case of the 2016 United States presidential election, these examples indicate the potential for state-infused social media-based propaganda to impede any sense of democracy in a nation. A war that the citizens support is more easily justifiable than one that the citizenry opposes. Commonly believed disinformation campaigns on social media have the potential to influence and polarize the masses, manipulating nations and international trading partners to serve the interests of those behind the campaign.[37] The interplay of political information and social media has altered the paradigm of being an informed citizen and civic participant. The responsibility of citizens is evolving from inputting information and outputting their political position in the form of a vote. It now involves deeper considerations of fact-checking information fully and deploying critical comprehension skills when consuming political information, particularly information sourced online through social media. This alteration is likely to be significant in terms of the functionality of democratic systems. It should consequently be a factor of much consideration concerning national affairs, particularly in international relations.

Social Media Attacks: Solutions to Protect Democracy

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[35] Ibid., 8.

[36] Ibid., 11.

[37] Bojor and Cîrdei, "The Challenges of Social Media Platforms," 300.

Solution-wise, there are many ways to approach the issue of online political disinformation. Many scholars and political figures have advocated for critical media literacy to be taught in schools.[38] In a world where the youngest generation is exposed to the internet and digital information, teaching critical media literacy as a fundamental educational skill may alleviate some of the future concerns of citizens consuming disinformation and politically motivated mental manipulation. Many citizens who participate in contemporary political and civic discourse are of the ages that their most formative years were when the internet didn't exist. This likely contributes to vulnerability as it pertains to disinformation consumed online.

Other scholars believe that nations have a responsibility to regulate the use of social media as a means to spread political information. It has been specifically suggested that governments should enforce laws that address intentional false claims made online.[39] Regulations of this nature need to formulate ways to "identify violations, decrease their circulation, and hold to account those who create or disseminate them."[40] This, however, may be easier said than done, as government regulation of any form of speech calls into question the democratic rights to free speech and expression. As is often seen in modern social discourse, the line between free speech and

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[38] Rhys Crilley, "International Relations in the Age of 'Post-Truth' Politics," *International Affairs* 92, no. 4 (2018): 423, http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiy038.

[39] McKay and Tenove, "Disinformation as a Threat to Deliberative Democracy," 711.

[40] Ibid., 711.

regulatable hate speech is often difficult to establish explicitly.

Conclusion

Many of the world's strongest, most powerful, and most successful nations pride themselves on their democratic foundations and functioning representative systems. The use of social media as a tool to frame propaganda for ideological warfare poses a significant threat and calls into question the democratic functionality of a nation. This paper sought to investigate the threat posed by social media in international relations, and using the examples of Russian international affairs and interference, it demonstrated the specific ways social media enables the framing and proliferation of propaganda tactics in a way that is uniquely powerful and may be weaponized and deployed as an ideological tool of international war. While, in theory, social media may be a tool for the free exchange of ideas and open discourse and should enrich a nation's democratic values, without proper oversight and regulation, social media can obstruct and erode the processes by which democratic functionality is possible. Further research should be done into normative solutions that can balance the democratic values of free speech and expression and the genuine need for regulatory oversight to prevent the spread of disinformation.

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ABROGATION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN COLONIAL INDIA:

The 1857 Indian Sepoy Mutiny, 1919 Amritsar Massacre, and Dearth of Effective Accountability Measures

By RAHEEM UZ ZAMAN

Abstract

One of the ways Great Britain executed their colonial project in India was by abrogating the sovereignty of the people. I classify the "abrogation of sovereignty" (a historical injustice) via the case studies of the 1857 Indian Sepoy Mutiny and the 1919 Amritsar Massacre. In addition to the absence of personal freedom, the most significant similarity of the former and latter event was the dearth of effective accountability measures. In this essay I endeavour to investigate the reasoning behind the 'accountability vacuum' created by Britain. Hence, the paper is structured into three different sections. The first section delves deeper into the specifics of the abrogation of sovereignty. The second section grapples with theoretical explanations of historical injustice, justice, and accountability. Section three indicates the accountability measures that seem to be absent associated with the Amritsar Massacre and Sepoy Mutiny and discusses the possible reasons behind the absence.

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Introduction

Colonialism has plagued the world for centuries.[1] Not surprisingly, the United Kingdom (UK), the most dominant political force before WWII, had the most colonial possessions, with 115 territories.[2] One of the most profitable colonies for the former global superpower was the Indian subcontinent. The East Indian Company (EIC), the private entity that ruled over India for a century, and later the British Raj (Crown rule in undivided India)

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[1] I acknowledge that colonialism is more than a phenomenon of the past; it continues to shape the contemporary social, economic, and political conditions of post-colonial and settler-colonial states. In the context of this essay, the 1857 Indian Sepoy Mutiny, 1919 Amritsar Massacre and the deficiency of effective accountability measures associated with these two historical events (inter alia) are significant reasons behind the present socio-economic and political conditions of the Indian Subcontinent.

[2] Niall McCarthy, "Europe's champions of colonisation," *Statista*, July 6, 2015, https://www.statista.com/chart/3615/europes-champions-of-colonisation/.

benefitted immensely at the expense of the local populace.[3] Before delving into the specific subcategories of colonialism, there is a need to define the broad concept. According to Kumar Jha, colonialism is a sophisticated concept with socio-economic and political dimensions.[4] Researchers commonly refer to it as the expansion of extreme capitalist intentions by a powerful actor or state, which involves absolute control over the "land, people, and resources."[5] Also, colonialism is a practice that entails the "subjugation of one people to another."[6]

Kumar Jha further states that Britain, until the early 20th century, was the flag-bearer of the colonial system of governance—no other imperial power came near their economic and military might.[7] This scholar also mentions that the colonizer's ruthless and iniquitous economic policies enabled them to create astronomical wealth for the empire. The imperialist perspective is closely related to colonialism; the former is a significant part of the latter's nature.[8] Kumar Jha also argues that from an economic perspective, imperialism is an "outlet for surplus."[9] However, non-economic explanations define imperialism as a political strategy—where the state desires "unlimited forcible expansion" to enlarge its sphere of influence.[10]

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[3] Niraj Kumar Jha, "Interpreting Colonialism and Nationalism," in *A History of Colonial India: 1757 to 1947*, ed. Himanshu Roy and Jawaid Alam (Routledge, 2022), 1; Deepshikha Shahi, "Contested Histories of 1857 and the (re) construction of the Indian Nation-State," in *A History of Colonial India: 1757 to 1947*, ed. Himanshu Roy and Jawaid Alam (Routledge, 2022), 57.

[4] Kumar Jha, "Interpreting Colonialism and Nationalism," 1-2.

[5] Ibid., 1.

[6] Margaret Kohn and Kavita Reddy, "Colonialism," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, May 9, 2006, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/.

[7] Kumar Jha, "Interpreting Colonialism and Nationalism," 2-3.

[8] Ibid., 3

[9] Ibid., 3.

[10] Ibid., 5.

Due to the vast array of historical injustices associated with colonialism (cultural imperialism, land theft and the seizure of cultural property), I have chosen to narrow down to the "abrogation of sovereignty" in colonial India. Specifically, what I mean by the abrogation of sovereignty is the inability of the Indian people during the colonial era to be autonomous actors. The 1857 Indian Sepoy Mutiny and the 1919 Amritsar Massacre are pertinent examples of this specific strand of historical injustice. The most significant similarity of these two cases of historical injustice is the dearth of effective accountability measures. I seek to probe why that is the case. Hence, this essay is divided into four sections. The first section delves deeper into the injustice under investigation. As for the second part, I grapple with some theoretical explanations of historical injustice/justice and accountability. Section three demonstrates the absence of effective accountability measures and discusses the possible reasons behind the absence. The last section provides a conclusion to summarize the argument.

Perpetrators of Historical Injustice: The EIC and the British Raj

From 1757 to 1947, self-governance for the Indian people ceased to exist. The directors of the EIC effectively ruled over the Indian subcontinent for a century—under a royal charter granted by the British Crown, which was

extended every 20 years.[11] After the 1857 Indian Sepoy Mutiny, the 1858 Government of India Act enforced the transfer of all colonial possessions and administrative powers from the EIC to the British Crown.[12] In other words, the Sepoy Mutiny triggered the transfer of power, as it challenged the presence of Great Britain in the Indian subcontinent.

A year before the end of the EIC's regime, new rifles were brought to India, which required the sepoys (local Indian soldiers) to bite cartridges made from cow and pig fat.[13] As cows are sacred in Hinduism and pigs are haram (forbidden) in Islam, this policy decision infuriated the Hindu and Muslim soldiers of the army.[14] Thus, as Shahi notes, these Indian soldiers lacked the freedom of choice, which caused them to rebel against their superiors. Dawn articulates that although thousands of British soldiers died amid the mutiny, there were also Indian casualties, not only during the rebellion but also in its aftermath.[15] Dawn further notes that evidence shows that the British Raj pursued a decade-long murderous campaign after the 1857 Indian Mutiny to stamp down political dissidents and

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[11] UK Parliament, "East India Company and Raj 1785-1858," 2023, https://onedrive.live.com/personal/00423dda7849d582/_layouts/15/doc.aspx?resid=80a63727-fb8c-464c-95ad-53ca2bed3b3b&cid=00423dda7849d582&ct=1743757183328&wdOrigin=OFFICECOM-WEB.START.EDGEWORTH&wdPreviousSessionSrc=HarmonyWeb&wdPreviousSession=6a8a43d7-b819-4d34-9432-05561219cae5.

[12] UK Parliament, "East India Company and Raj 1785-1858."

[13] "Millions Died After 1857 War of Independence: Historian," *Dawn* News, August 25, 2007, https://www.dawn.com/news/262820/millions-died-after-1857-war-of-independence-historian.; Shahi, "Contested Histories of 1857 and the (re)construction of the Indian Nation-State," 62.

[14] Shahi, "Contested Histories of 1857 and the (re)construction of the Indian Nation-State," 57.

[15] "Millions Died After 1857 War of Independence: Historian."

seditionaries. The mutiny on its own is an early indication of the Indian people desiring some form of sovereignty over their motherland.

Before tackling the specific injustice (Amritsar Massacre) that took place in British India, it is essential to examine the concept of Indian nationalism, one of the main reasons behind the repressive activities of the British colonizers. On the topic of Indian nationalism, Alam postulates that Gandhi's campaign politics in the early 20th century evoked a sense of national identity in the Indian community.[16] To challenge the imperial dominance of the British Raj, local Indian political actors "devised an ideology of Indian nationalism" to make the Indian people realize that they belong to the same motherland.[17] Creating a concrete national identity was a necessary step towards potential sovereignty for the Indian people.[18] Alam suggests that many political leaders, including the most charismatic individual of them all, Gandhi, accepted this fact about the local Indian populace.

After coming back to India from South Africa in 1915, on the advice of his mentor, Gokhale, Gandhi took a hiatus from politics to observe the political climate of that time.[19] Alam notes that less than a year after returning to India, Gandhi got involved in local political issues with his charismatic appeal—but a few years later, he moved onto the national stage. Alam further states that Gandhi had a unique way of conducting campaign politics, commonly

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[16] Jawaid Alam, "Gandhi and nationalist politics," in *A History of Colonial India: 1757 to 1947*, ed. Himanshu Roy and Jawaid Alam (Routledge, 2022), 130.

[17] Kumar Jha, "Interpreting Colonialism and Nationalism," 15.

[18] Alam, "Gandhi and Nationalist Politics," 130; Kumar Jha, "Interpreting Colonialism and Nationalism," 1.

[19] Alam, "Gandhi and Nationalist Politics," 130.

known as “satyagraha.” This concept means "holding onto truth" and addressing evil or oppressors through non-violent means.[20] Gandhi exercised this campaign method for the first time when the Indian imperial government made the repressive Rowlatt Act law in March 1919.[21]

Immediately after the Rowlatt Bills were enacted, thousands of Indians in colonial India gathered for public meetings and peacefully protested this arbitrary law.[22] Alam mentions that the Rowlatt Satyagraha, also referred to as a hartal in Hindi or Urdu, was utilized by the Indian people all over the country (from Chennai to Amritsar). However, he further notes that in Delhi, due to some form of miscommunication, there were violent clashes between the demonstrators and the police. Alam also states that Gandhi disapproved of this violence, as it did not align with the Satyagraha philosophical movement. Shortly after making this statement, Gandhi was arrested by colonial forces on 9 April—which led to further widespread political instability in British India.[23] Apart from Delhi, Alam notes that Punjab was the hotspot of violence between protesters and law enforcement, specifically the cities of Lahore and Amritsar. It is in the latter city where the worst human tragedy occurred during the British Raj.

On 13 April 1919, protestors of the Sikh religion, but also some Muslims and Hindus, had a public gathering in Jallianwala Bagh (Garden or Park), Amritsar, Punjab, to discuss the unjust Rowlatt Act implemented by the British

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[20] Dr. Anil Dutta Mishra, “Satyagrah,” *Indian National Congress*, March 6, 2021, https://inc.in/congress-sandesh/dandi-anniversary-march/satyagraha-1.

[21] Alam, “Gandhi and Nationalist Politics,” 132.

[22] Ibid., 132-134.

[23] Ibid., 133.

Raj.[24] Alam notes that as there was a mandatory curfew under this legislation, and mass demonstrations were also prohibited—permitting the British Army to take swift and inhumane action against the people gathered in the public park.[25] On the command of Brigadier-General Dyer, lower-ranking British soldiers opened fire at the protestors at Jallianwala Bagh—which resulted in 379 deaths and 1,270 injuries, according to official numbers.[26] However, the actual numbers are considerably higher.[27] Alam further postulates that General Dyer's decision to open fire was majorly influenced by racist thoughts towards the Indians.[28] This historic event is known as the Amritsar Massacre in intellectual and public circles and is widely considered a "black day in the annals of British India."[29]Although the Rowlatt Satyagraha did not achieve its objectives, it helped develop Indian nationalism and catapulted Gandhi to new political heights.[30]

Literature Review: Historical Injustice/Justice and Accountability

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[24] Ibid., 133; Clive Baldwin, "UK: A Century After the Amritsar Massacre, London Still Kicks Its Atrocities Under the Rug," *Human Rights Watch*, April 12, 2019, https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/04/12/uk-century-after-amritsar-massacre-london-still-kicks-its-atrocities-under-rug; Abhishyant Kidangoor, "A Century After a Massacre in India During British Colonial Rule, the U.K. Faces Demands for an Apology," *Time Magazine*, April 12, 2019, https://time.com/5566864/india-massacre-apology/.

[25] Alam "Gandhi and Nationalist Politics," 130.

[26] Ibid., 133.

[27] Kidangoor, "A Century After a Massacre in India During British Colonial Rule, the U.K. Faces Demands for an Apology."

[28] Alam, "Gandhi and Nationalist Politics," 133-134.

[29] Sir Valentine Chirol, *India Old and New* (MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1921), 183, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15586/15586-h/15586-h.htm#CHAPTER_IX.

[30] Alam, "Gandhi and Nationalist Politics," 134.

When referencing historical injustice and justice, memory plays a crucial role. Richard Terdiman argues that "memory is the past made present."[31] What Terdimen means by this quote is that although being affiliated with the past, memories are relevant in present times when specific segments of society discuss them frequently. On this topic, Neumann and Thompson postulate that injustices that fade away as time passes resurface in the public realm when the victims' family members remember the atrocities committed by past governments.[32] These scholars further emphasize that such memories are bolstered via depictions in film and literature. Regarding this specific point, Neumann and Thompson provide examples of Caroline Elkins' book *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* and David Anderson's work *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and End of Empire*, both of which were published in 2005. Both these publications commented on the British-led Kenyan detention camps outside Kenya, which influenced the Kenyan government and inspired them to demand an apology from the British government.[33] In the case of the Amritsar Massacre, Kim Wagner brought this historical injustice into the limelight by publishing his book— *Amritsar 1919: An Empire of Fear and the Making of a Massacre*.[34]

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[31] Klaus Neumann and Janna Thompson, "Introduction: Beyond the Legalist Paradigm," in *Historical Justice and Memory*, ed. Klaus Neumann and Janna Thompson (University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), 3.

[32] Ibid., 6.

[33] David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and End of Empire* (W.W. Norton, 2005), 9-181; Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (Henry Holt and Company, 2005).

[34] Kim Wagner, *Amritsar 1919: An Empire of Fear and the Making of a Massacre* (Yale University Press, 2019).

Neumann and Thompson further note that memories of certain injustices are captured through public memorials, commemorative statues, and special museum sections.[35] The Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Park in Amritsar, Punjab, before its "Disneyfication" in 2019, encapsulated memories of India's dark colonial history.[36] According to Suri and the BBC, Disneyfication is a term that critics have used to describe the revamped Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Park.[37] In other words, these commentators argue that the gaudy statues created by the contemporary Indian government in the new memorial park obfuscate the true meaning of the place, which is to pay respect to the victims and contemplate the dark colonial history of India. Connecting to the re-emergence of memory politics, all this remembering of historical injustices is related to the "memory boom" in the 1980s and 1990s, which led to the demand for redress and the development of memory studies.[38]

As for Rothberg, he critiques the "competitive memory" approach of other commentators or individuals.[39] These people erroneously compare different historical injustices by considering one more prominent than the

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[35] Neumann and Thompson, "Introduction: Beyond the Legalist Paradigm," 9.

[36]"Jallianwala Bagh: Indian Outrage over Revamp of Memorial," *BBC News*, August 31, 2021, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-58382434; Manveena Suri, "India Massacre Memorial's Lights-and-Lasers 'Makeover' Attracts Controversy," *CNN*, August 31, 2021, https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/amritsar-massacre-jallianwala-bagh-punjab-india-modi-intl-hnk/index.html.

[37] Suri, "India Massacre Memorial's Lights-and-Lasers 'Makeover' Attracts Controversy,"; *BBC News*, "Jallianwala Bagh: Indian Outrage over Revamp of Memorial."

[38] Neumann and Thompson, "Introduction: Beyond the Legalist Paradigm," 10.

[39] Michael Rothberg, "Introduction: Theorizing Multidirectional Memory in a Transnational Age," in *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford University Press, 2009), 1-29.

other, and they often overemphasize the role of identity in structuring one's perception.[40] Rothberg argues that instead of adopting such a divisive method, memory should be considered in terms of multidirectionality—where different memories interact with one another to create a "productive, intercultural dynamic."[41] Applying the theory of multi-directionality to the abrogation of sovereignty in India, memories such as the Amritsar Massacre and Indian Sepoy Mutiny can become a form of "multidirectional memory" by relating them to the Kenyan Mau Mau rebel mass murder committed by the British colonial administration.

Other authors critically evaluate the connection of redress with historical injustice. Henderson and Wakeham articulate that redress should mean remedying or compensating for a historical wrong or grievance, as certain past injustices have shaped contemporary state-society relations.[42] According to these scholars, particular attention should be given to how past events are interconnected to the present socio-political environment.[43] However, this specific template of redress, its meaning and function, is often ignored by today's settler-colonial and former colonial governments, as they primarily emphasize a "presentist" view of the historical wrong, thus undermining the prior historical events that influenced the modern world.[44] Henderson and Wakeham further critique that this rationale mirrors the current flawed approach adopted by settler-colonial and former colonial regimes, displaying "magnanimity" by providing political apologies without

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[40] Ibid., 3.

[41] Ibid., 3.

[42] Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, "Introduction," in *Reconciling Canada: Critical Perspectives on the Culture of Redress*, ed. Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham (University of Toronto Press, 2013), 3-27.

[43] Ibid., 3.

[44] Ibid., 4.

properly delving into the historical context.[45] To analyze historical injustice in this essay, the abrogation of sovereignty in British India (illustrated via the 1857 Indian Mutiny and the 1919 Amritsar Massacre) must be associated with accountability.

There is a breadth of scholarship on accountability. Recently, there has been a proliferation of the word "accountability" in the realm of world politics and academic scholarship—so much so that the term is regarded as the "Über-concept" of the new century.[46] Bovens et al. state that "concepts of accountability" have been a significant source of discussion in academia of different disciplines.[47] These scholars further note that although there are a lot of similarities or commonalities in disciplines' perspectives concerning accountability mechanisms, they are oblivious to this fact and therefore do not embrace each other's rationale. Thus, due to fragmentation and contention created by different viewpoints in social science, business studies, and law, Bovens et al. postulate that an emphasis should be given to unifying all these perspectives on the concept of accountability. In the following paragraphs, I delve deeper into the differing definitions of accountability, as stated by political scientists, social psychologists, public administration scholars, international relations experts, lawyers, and business administration professionals. However, before doing that, there is a need to discuss the historical roots of accountability.

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[45] Ibid., 7.

[46] Mark Bovens, Thomas Schillemans, and Robert Goodin, "Public Accountability," *The Oxford Handbook of Public Accountability*, (Oxford University Press, 2014), 1-20, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199641253.013.0012.

[47] Ibid., 2.

Although the "concept" of accountability is relatively recent, its practices have existed for centuries.[48] Bovens et al. suggest that in ancient times, accountability was regarded as keeping an account of all the assets and liabilities of states and actors.[49] However, these scholars also note that in medieval times, accountability had a relational element—where an individual or group of people was required to be accountable to someone higher up in the socio-political hierarchy. Not surprisingly, this explanation of accountability mirrors that of social psychologists.[50] Also, Bovens et al. note, on the other hand, that in contrast to social psychology's significant emphasis on individualism, the field of public administration focuses on the "public character of formal accountability."[51] In other words, these intellectuals postulate that public administration professionals stress the structural elements of accountability concerning the public service.

As for political scientists, they see accountability as something related to the concept of power.[52] Bovens et al. state that intellectuals examine the intricate relationship between politicians, civil servants, and the electorate in this discipline. Bovens et al. further note that, unlike social psychologists, political scientists emphasize punishment in accountability. In other words, "Accountability=Punishment" permeates the political science literature.[53] Furthermore, these scholars also suggest that in International Relations (IR), which is

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[48] Ibid., 2.
[49] Ibid., 3.
[50] Ibid., 4.
[51] Ibid., 5.
[52] Ibid., 5.
[53] Ibid., 5.

closely related to the field of political science, there is an internationalization of the relationship between accountability and historical injustice. To be more specific, Bovens et al. mention that, contrary to the research in political science, IR scholars stress rights and interest-based analysis of accountability.[54] In addition to the IR perspective, constitutional law experts emphasize an empirical and normative view of political accountability: what norms/values/customs do or ought to shape political accountability?[55] To combat the fragmented approaches of accountability in many disciplines, these scholars note that the core of accountability is similar in each academic field stated above. Before describing Stranger-Ross and James's argument on social accountability, I will thoroughly explain accountability as a virtue and mechanism.

Bovens et al. postulate that accountability is first used as a virtue.[56] In this argument, affect/emotion is attached to accountability.[57] These scholars note that state governments and other entities use it as a tool in their professions. Moreover, rather than solely focusing on "institutional mechanisms," accountability as a virtue emphasizes "defining and preventing undesirable behaviour."[58] According to Bovens et al., in addition to the information mentioned above, government officials must meet a specific or defined standard; if they do not, they must be held accountable for their actions. On the other hand, institutions and other entities utilize accountability as a socio-political mechanism more so than accountability as

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[54] Ibid., 4-5.
[55] Ibid., 6.
[56] Ibid., 8.
[57] Ibid., 8.
[58] Ibid., 8.

a virtue.[59] Bovens et al. describe this type of accountability as the institutional mechanisms—parliamentary question period, organizational audits, and board meetings—that certified individuals can use to keep checks and balances on certain people.

Towards the end of the 20th century, the then Prime Minister of Canada, Brian Mulroney, apologized to the Japanese Canadians regarding the past injustices committed against them by former Canadian governments.[60] Stanger-Ross and James note that in this formal political apology, Mulroney was explicitly referring to the internment of Japanese Canadians during WWII, the placelessness that these people had to face due to the dispossession of their properties by the state, and the subsequent sale of Japanese Canadian possessions without consent. On top of a formal political apology, reparations were also offered to affected Japanese Canadians—which included individual compensation worth $21,000, a sum of $12 million granted to the Japanese Canadian community as a whole, and pardoning those convicted under the War Measures Act.[61] Stanger-Ross and James do not downplay the significance of the redress package and the political apology but rather argue about the "impermanence of political apologies," as it fails to historicize the specific historical injustice properly and does not delve into its social context.[62]

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[59] Ibid., 9.

[60] Jordan Stanger-Ross and Matt James, "Social Accountability after Political Apologies," in *Landscapes of Injustice: A New Perspective on the Internment and Dispossession of Japanese Canadians*, ed. Jordan Stanger-Ross (McGill—Queen's University Press, 2020), 454.

[61] Roy Miki, *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice* (Raincoast Books, 2005), 9.

[62] Stanger-Ross and James, "Social Accountability after Political Apologies," 455.

Stanger-Ross and James stress three aspects of social accountability to combat the flaws associated with political apologies. First, they emphasize the need to focus on the racist structures that imbued Canadian society.[63] According to these scholars, what this means is that specific laws enacted by the government racialized Japanese Canadians, and the Cunningham v. Homma judicial decision, which went against the Japanese Canadian (Homma), constitutionalized racism. Second, Stanger-Ross and James (2020) note the salience of path-dependent analysis, a series of choices taken by governmental actors that led to the historical injustice that Japanese Canadians faced.[64]

Finally, the role that the public played in promoting and lobbying for racist activities and acts concerning Japanese Canadians goes under the radar in formal political apologies.[65] These intellectuals also state that White Canadians who advocated selling Japanese Canadian properties bought these possessions themselves, thus creating generational wealth that can still be seen in affluent areas such as downtown Vancouver. In a thorough and sophisticated manner, the next section of this essay will connect some of the historical injustice/justice and accountability literature to the cases of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny and the Amritsar Massacre (which allude to the abrogation of sovereignty in British India). It would do that by stating some of the minor accountability measures taken, the unfortunate absence of most kinds of accountability, and the reasons behind this absence.

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[63] Ibid., 461-463.

[64] Ibid., 463-469.

[65] Ibid., 470.

The Absence of Accountability: Exploring Possible Reasons

Almost no action has been taken by the British government to address the atrocities of Amritsar and the Sepoy Mutiny. General Dyer (the army officer who authorized the firing order in Amritsar), after a public inquiry, was only relieved of his duties and sent back to the U.K.—where the British media and the public declared him a "hero," not the Butcher of Amritsar.[66] This accountability measure initiated by the British colonial government reflects the "accountability=punishment" perspective that political scientists emphasize, which has been described in Bovens et al.'s journal article.[67] Nevertheless, this response is not sufficient, as it was only taken in the immediate aftermath of the massacre. The contemporary British government "deeply regrets" the incident; however, they have not given any formal political apology— which is the first step for one reckoning with its dark past.[68] In 1997, Queen Elizabeth II visited the Amritsar Massacre memorial —and then David Cameroon, the former PM of the U.K., made the same journey in 2013.[69] However, neither of them apologized for the historical wrong. As for the theorized decade-long massacre that succeeded the Indian-Sepoy Mutiny and the killings of Indian soldiers that also happened during this rebellion, not much accountability progress has been made on that front.

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[66] Baldwin, "UK," 4-5.

[67] Bovens, Schillemans and Goodin, "Public Accountability," 1-20.

[68] Baldwin, "UK," 4-5; Kidangoor, "A Century After a Massacre in India During British Colonial Rule, the U.K. Faces Demands for an Apology"; Wagner, "Viewpoint: Should Britain apologise for Amritsar Massacre?"

[69] Wagner,"Viewpoint: Should Britain apologise for Amritsar Massacre?" 11-12.

Concerning the historical injustice under investigation, many kinds of accountability have no presence for distinct reasons. There is a lack of social accountability both as a virtue and a mechanism in the above-mentioned historical wrongs. Political apologies, which is the bare minimum form of accountability and what is the basis of Stanger-Ross and James' critique as it lacks social accountability mechanisms, are invisible for both the Amritsar Massacre and the Indian Sepoy Mutiny. Once the U.K. government provides a formal political apology, only then can we determine what aspects of social accountability (structural racism, individual/institutional agency, and public responsibility) are absent from it.

As for accountability as a virtue and mechanism, it ceases to exist when referencing the cases above. However, one may say that the 2019 statement made by Theresa May, former PM of the U.K., regarding the Amritsar Massacre during a parliamentary session alludes to a form of both accountability as a virtue and mechanism.[70] Nevertheless, I would argue that this was a political decision made by May due to the incident's 100th anniversary, so there is an absence of accountability as a virtue and mechanism.

One plausible reason for the lack of accountability mechanisms to address the abrogation of sovereignty in British India could be the fear from the British government that a precedent might be set. In other words, there is a high possibility that other countries may demand accountability for the historical wrongs that happened to them. For instance, after providing a formal political apology and redress package to the Mau Mau rebels in Kenya, the British government warned other former colonial territories

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[70] Baldwin, "UK"; Kidangoor, "A Century After a Massacre in India During British Colonial Rule, the U.K. Faces Demands for an Apology," 7.

not to consider this a precedent.[71] This example displays precisely why the current U.K. regime is reluctant to pull the accountability trigger concerning the Amritsar Massacre and the Indian Sepoy Mutiny, as it may open a Pandora's box of problems for the British.

Conclusion

Abrogation of sovereignty, which is a subcategory of colonialism, is a historical injustice that the Indian subcontinent faced that has still not been fully addressed with proper accountability measures. Scholars emphasize how historical injustices shape contemporary state-society relations.[72] In the case of British India, the scars and trauma associated with the Indian Sepoy Mutiny and Amritsar Massacre have now been passed down to the descendants of victims and the decolonized government; these are the people who still desire accountability. Unless a change in government occurs, it is unlikely that Great Britain will provide a formal political apology. If it does happen, the apology should entail social accountability mechanisms and virtuous discourse/policies, as it would bring closure to the victims' family members and partitioned India.

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[71] Neumann and Thompson, "Introduction," 4.

[72] Henderson and Wakeham, "Introduction," 3-27.

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