

Critical Education

Volume 17 Number 3

August 18, 2026

ISSN 1920-4175

Empowered Resistance Explains the Relationship Between Historical Knowledge and Support for Palestine Among College Students

Richard Chang

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Minh Duc Pham

Columbia University

Gloria Wong-Padoongpatt

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Chang, R., Pham, M. D., Wong-Padoongpatt, G. (2026). Empowered resistance explains the relationship between historical knowledge and support for Palestine among college students.. <i>Critical Education</i> , 17(3), 192-212. https://doi.org/10.14288/ce.v17i3.187087

Abstract

College students' calls and demonstrations for Palestine Liberation in universities across the United States have increased exponentially after October 7, 2023. However, little is known about the dynamic relationship between historical knowledge and support for Palestine. We use critical consciousness theory to frame our study and hypothesize that students' knowledge of the history of occupied Palestine will predict college students' support for Palestine Liberation. In addition, this relationship between historical knowledge and support will be explained by college students' experiences of empowered resistance against oppression. Mediation analyses suggest that college students' ($N = 250$; $M_{age} = 20.45$, $SD = 4.07$) historical knowledge about the occupation and colonization of Palestine increased their empowerment and resistance, which increased their support for Palestine Liberation. We conclude with recommendations to support college students during times of crisis, fostering their education of Palestine, supporting other oppressed peoples, and resisting oppressive and racist systems.



Readers are free to copy, display, and distribute this article, as long as the work is attributed to the author(s) and **Critical Education**. More details of this Creative Commons license are available from <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>. **Critical Education** is published by the Institute for Critical Educational Studies and housed at the University of British Columbia.

From what I gather from those who have studied the history of genocide [...], there seems to be a pattern. Nation-states, governments seeking legitimacy and identity, seem able and determined to shape themselves by the destruction of a collective 'other'...Whether the targets were of different religions, races, cultures [...] reasons were found first to demonize then to expel or murder them. For an assumed safety, hegemony, or pure land grabs, foreigners were constructed as the sum total of the putative nation's ills. (Morrison, 2019, p. 20)

Toni Morrison's observation highlights the dehumanization, displacement, and ethnic cleansing of oppressed peoples (i.e., Palestinians) through various forms of rationalized violence. Since October 7, 2023, college students across the United States (U.S.) – and worldwide – have openly demonstrated their support for Palestine. History has witnessed college students being at the forefront of protesting wars and genocides, as demonstrated during the Viet Nam War (Kindig, 2008) and the invasion of Iraq (Pritt, 2008) and Afghanistan (Plomin, 2001). College students are a unique demographic at a critical stage of emerging adulthood (Long, 2012), where they are exposed to different political ideologies and perspectives. During this transitional life stage, young people continue to learn about historical contexts and deepen their understanding of current sociopolitical issues (see Keeton, 2002). In learning more about history, particularly oppressive histories, college students may be empowered to engage in various forms of political activism, such as protests, sit-ins/die-ins, boycotts, and rallies. For instance, learning about the four Black college students who sat down at a "whites-only" lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina on February 1, 1960, launched the peaceful nonviolent protest against racial segregation in public places known as the Greensboro Sit-ins. We align our work with liberation psychology (see Comas-Díaz & Rivera, 2020) and highlight the political activism of college students' support for Palestine. We highlight the importance of historical knowledge, specifically as a predictor for pro-Palestine support among college students. That is, does the knowledge of colonial history predict critical support for Palestine and its liberation? Moreover, we examine the reasons *why* this knowledge would predict critical action for Palestine, specifically examining empowerment and resistance, which we refer to as *empowered resistance*.

Palestine Liberation Struggle & Support for Palestine

Palestinians have continuously revolted with determination, courage, and creativity to demand self-determination. While visions among Palestinian people differ due to their varying experiences of oppression, demands for a free Palestine require the following at a minimum: lift the siege in the Gaza Strip, end the colonial state of Israeli colonization of **all** historic Palestine, freedom and equal rights for all Palestinians, and the right of return for all Palestinian refugees. Of note, according to international law, the Palestinian people, like any other occupied people, have the legitimate right as an occupied people to resist occupation by any means available to them. United Nations resolution 37/43: "*Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle.*"

Despite its long history of struggle for self-determination, Palestinian resistance efforts began to receive more mainstream attention worldwide in 2014. Much of Palestinian resistance has employed non-violent tactics, such as widespread civil disobedience and boycotts of the colonial state of Israeli products, services, and institutions. Following 75 years of the colonial state

of Israeli violent repression of Palestinian attempts to rise up against the colonial state of Israel, Hamas conducted Operation Al-Aqsa Flood against the colonial state of Israel on October 7, 2023. It was not until the shocking aftermath of October 7 that there was a united, global call for the immediate protection and liberation of the Palestinian people and to take action against the Zionist state of Israel. (For a more thorough review on the history of Palestine, we recommend works by Erakat, 2019; Khalidi, 2010, 2020; and Pappe, 2007.)

In the backdrop of the ongoing Israeli colonization and occupation of Palestine and the Palestinian people, psychology has been complicit in manufacturing and perpetuating the precarity of Palestinian people (e.g., Berger & Jabr, 2020; Hakim et al., 2023). Particularly, research on the colonization of Palestine has rarely named the Israeli occupation/apartheid and Zionism, nor examined Palestinian demands such as the right to return to historic Palestine (Hakim et al., 2023). Much research on support for Palestine focuses primarily on Jewish Israelis and very rarely on Palestinian people. That is, while some work has begun to examine support for Palestine and its liberation struggle from a third-party perspective (Hill et al., 2018), quantitative work is lacking to explore predictors of support for Palestine, particularly among U.S. college students. Therefore, one aim of this study is to understand U.S. college students' experiences of navigating higher education and activism during the ongoing genocide in Palestine. We argue that historical knowledge about the occupation and colonization of Palestine is a potential antecedent to supporting Palestine and Palestine Liberation.

Historical Knowledge & U.S. College Students' Development

As mentioned above, the history of Palestine and Palestine Liberation is extensive, complex, and filled with important and catastrophic events. Scholars (see Qaddoura et al., 2019) have argued that these events have been perpetuated and backed by Western interests and involvement. Specifically, the colonial state of Israel has received over \$310 billion from the U.S. since 1946 (Masters & Merrow, 2024). One can argue that with this large and continued aid, the long-withstanding colonization of Palestine *is* an American issue that should be in the American consciousness and will continue to be an issue for future generations.

One demographic that has historically influenced U.S. politics is college students, considered emerging adults between the ages of 18 and 24. For instance, during the 2024 general election cycle, it was projected that over 41 million Gen Z (born between 1997 and 2012) were eligible to vote and would ultimately shape future elections and policies (Medina & Suzuki, 2023). Most notably, college students are at a crucial stage of emerging adulthood and identity development. They may seek to understand more about themselves (Long, 2012), and knowledge of history can be a vehicle for introspection. Liu and Hilton (2005) provide a narrative framework for how history can shape individuals' identities, relationships with others, and knowledge of current issues. In addition, Berg (2019) found several themes in college students' perceptions of learning history, such as history providing lessons for understanding the present, promoting active and engaged citizenship, connecting to one's fields of study, facilitating growth, and providing entertainment. However, some students have questioned the importance and relevance of learning history to their fields of study and connections to the present. The theme most relevant to the current study is that history can serve as a vehicle for personal growth in understanding students' familial histories and current events. For instance, Yazbak Abu Ahmad et al. (2018) found that gender (cisgender male), the importance of Palestine, knowledge of Jewish history of oppression, having Jewish friends, and parents' pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel attitudes predicted Arab

American college students' interest in learning more about the colonization of Palestine. However, one can argue that simply learning history does not facilitate critical action or mobilization of students to take action or push back against oppression. Therefore, informed by liberation theories that aim to address marginalized communities' experiences with oppression and injustice, the current study hypothesizes that historical knowledge will be associated with students' critical consciousness development and will empower them to support Palestine (and oppose the colonial state of Israel).

Theoretical Frameworks

Palestine Liberation scholars have used several psychological theories to address the relationship between knowledge and engagement in critical activism. Freire's (1970) seminal scholarship on critical consciousness established a comprehensive framework for understanding the cause and effect of knowledge and critical activism. Freire proposed the Critical Consciousness Theory (CCT), which frames the process of understanding and transforming oppressive social conditions through education. CCT is commonly the starting point for unraveling the pathways towards active resistance. A centerpiece for this theory is the concept of "conscientização," also known as "consciousness-raising." This theory magnifies how the acquisition of critical knowledge provides a deep understanding of social inequities and further gives insight into the mechanisms to explain why critical knowledge can lead to critical action. For instance, Cavazzoni et al. (2023) interviewed 21 Palestinian and international Palestinian feminist activists and researchers and found that CCT was generally accepted among these participants and can be applied to Palestine and its struggle for liberation. As one participant stated, "Palestinians are aware that the system is about erasing them. Only by raising consciousness people can survive atrocities" (Cavazzoni et al., 2023, p. 457).

Recent scholars have provided theoretical evidence detailing the specific processes for critical consciousness development. Pillen et al., (2020) conducted an extensive systematic review and found six themes of critical consciousness development. The first theme is the priming of critical reflection, the process or stage in which individuals are exposed to historically oppressive events, adopt belief systems that are aware of social injustices, and have unmet psychological needs. For instance, a classroom discussion on the history of settler-colonialism in Palestine might prompt students to reflect on the colonization and genocide of Palestine and Palestinians. The second theme is information creating disequilibrium, which reflects how information, encompassing both cognitive and emotional experiences received through distinct events, can provoke uncomfortable thoughts, feelings, or emotions. For example, a lesson that juxtaposes the traditional narrative of Zionist history with perspectives from the Indigenous Palestinians can create cognitive dissonance and disrupt students' preconceived notions and encourage deeper questioning of historical "truths." The third theme is introspection, which occurs when individuals examine and reflect on their thoughts and emotions in response to the disequilibrium. For instance, asking students to journal about their own experiences with privilege or oppression can foster a deeper understanding of their positionality of the colonization of Palestine. The fourth theme is revising frames of reference, which are cognitive models that are used to analyze and explain social relationships and how these might change following a critical examination of the assumptions underlying these relationships. For example, a student who learns about the processes of apartheid states may start to humanize the experiences of the oppressed and recognize patterns of treatment that were previously overlooked. The fifth theme is developing agency for change, which is an

individual's capacity to effectively carry out actions based on insights gained from a revised frame of reference. For instance, training in activism work can help individuals feel more capable of challenging and criticizing the occupying nation of Israel. The last theme is acting against oppression which can occur at the individual or group level by working together to take action. An example might be a group of students who, after learning about the injustices committed against the Palestinian people, organize a rally to draw attention to the ongoing colonization and genocide in Palestine.

Guided by critical consciousness theory and development, we focus on how college students' historical knowledge of the colonization of Palestine is predictive of critical action for Palestine Liberation. As mentioned earlier, many college students are at a crucial stage of emerging adulthood, particularly around their identity development. We suggest that the strengthening of critical consciousness through the historical knowledge of the colonization of Palestine will predict more support for Palestine. We further suggest that empowered resistance against oppression would be mechanisms for this relationship. That is, empowered resistance will serve as reasons why historical knowledge of the colonization of Palestine would be predictive of critical action for Palestine Liberation.

Empowered Resistance

Critical action scholarship on Palestine Liberation and other social activism must further understand the underlying engagement mechanisms. That is, we need to search for *why* people support a particular cause. Why are people supporting and committing to justice in Palestine and for the liberation of the Palestinian people? As mentioned, several theories have framed the critical processes by which individuals commit to action against oppression for themselves and as allies. Research, especially liberation research, has parsed out empowerment and resistance as key factors for engagement in critical action.

Social justice scholars have highlighted empowerment as critical for taking action for a social cause. For instance, Angela Davis, a Civil Rights activist, abolitionist, professor, and vocal activist for Palestine Liberation, has critically spoken, written, and critiqued how the Black Liberation Movement, the prison-industrial complex, South African apartheid, and the colonization of Palestine are interconnected through white supremacy, colonization, and imperialism (see Davis, 2016). In general, empowerment is understood as the process of gaining the knowledge, skills, and resources necessary to gain control over one's life and to advocate effectively for one's rights. Therefore, the more empowered an individual feels, the more capacity they would have to make decisions and achieve positive outcomes. It should be noted that empowerment consists of both personal and collective dimensions. Empowerment to support a social cause involves experiencing a sense of agency, confidence, and commitment to advocating for the rights of a community. Resistance is generally defined as actions, behaviors, and attitudes people or groups use to oppose systems of oppression and champion for equity. Engaging in resistance involves taking action or adopting attitudes that challenge an ongoing injustice and systemic inequities. Empowerment and resistance are closely interconnected, particularly in the contexts of social justice and human rights. For example, empowerment involves developing a sense of agency and control over social circumstances. This sense of agency is crucial for resistance, particularly for individuals and groups who feel empowered and are more likely to take critical action against injustices (i.e., support for Palestine Liberation) and challenge oppressive systems (i.e., critique the colonial state of Israel).

As we have witnessed, students and scholars who feel empowered to resist and protest the genocide of Palestinians committed by the colonial state of Israel have faced retaliation from universities (e.g., Colombia University and University of Texas at Austin), such as silencing (i.e., cannot speak about Palestine), expulsion (i.e., students cannot graduate, forced to leave their programs, and faculty are placed on academic leave) and police brutality (Fúnoz-Flores, 2024). In early 2025, Umaymah Mohammad (2025), a Palestinian American medical student suspended from Emory University, shared in her op-ed,

For my advocacy, I have been repeatedly targeted by medical students, faculty, and deans in the past year for questioning Emory's legitimization and perpetuation of genocide...At Emory School of Medicine, they ask us to be upstanders in the face of violence. But when we do exactly this, they fire, intimidate, harass, or punish us.

In the last year, Emory School of Medicine's administrators have targeted students, including myself, for their support for Palestine; ranging from their speech to their private social media posts. In order to silence us, we have been asked to apologize and promise not to speak on Palestine in order to keep our positions in medical school. This violence is not just extended to students, but to Emory's own faculty. In October of 2023, Emory Healthcare fired a Palestinian hematologist/oncologist based on false accusations of antisemitism.

Mohammad's experience reflects institutional retaliation, where advocacy on Palestine is framed as grounds for punishment and illustrates how power operates within academic and professional settings, through intimidation, threats to career/education, and enforced silence. Similarly, in the summer of 2025, four adjunct faculty members at the City University of New York were fired for supporting Palestine (Mansoor, 2025),

We're filling in the blanks because they've told us nothing...The only reason we know it's related to Palestine is because that's the only thing we have in common...The decision made by our departments was to hire us. The decision made by the Administration was to fire us.

This faculty suggests a strong belief that advocacy for Palestine is the underlying reason for punitive actions, pointing to a pattern of retaliation, highlighting the multi-layered nature of power in academic institutions, and conveying distrust and alienation from institutional leadership. Furthermore, this illustrates how structural power enforces silence through strategic ambiguity by withholding reasons and reinforces fears of vulnerability (i.e., job loss) among faculty. Given this interconnectedness of power and oppression within academic institutions, our study conceptualizes empowerment and resistance together as *empowered resistance*, as they form a powerful dynamic that can drive social movements and radical changes.

The Current Study

The current study contributes to the literature on college students' political engagement and activism during the ongoing genocide in Palestine in two ways. First, we examined historical knowledge of the colonization of Palestine as a potential predictor for college students' support for Palestine and lack of support for (i.e., opposition to) the colonial state of Israel. Second, we applied critical consciousness theory to test empowered resistance against racism as a possible mediator

to understand how knowledge can transform college students' support (or lack thereof) for Palestine and the colonial state of Israel.

Hypothesis 1: Knowledge of the colonization of Palestine will predict more support for Palestine and less support for the colonial state of Israel.

Hypothesis 2: Empowered resistance will mediate the relationship between knowledge of the colonization of Palestine and support for Palestine and the colonial state of Israel.

Method

Author Positionalities

In the words of the late Palestinian writer and poet, Refaat Alareer (2023), who was murdered by an Israeli airstrike, “If I must die/let it bring hope, /let it be a story. We, the authors, want to make explicit that in doing this work, we believe that liberation for all people involves camaraderie and honoring the memory and lives taken by the colonial state of Israel. We engage in this work as co-conspirators (see Ekpe & Toutant, 2022) for the Global South’s struggle for liberation against white supremacy, capitalism, and imperialism. Furthermore, we understand the risks of publishing this study, such as accusations of being “antisemitic,” as we have witnessed the violence and harm against our colleagues, scholars, and academics since October 7, 2023 (Oron, 2023). However, as scholars who engage and conduct research with a social justice lens, we cannot idly sit by and stay silent, as silence is complicity.

The first author (RC) is a queer, gender-nonconforming, second-generation Hmong American (descendant of Southeast Asian refugees). RC has conducted research on race/racism, intergenerational and racial trauma, and marginalized (i.e., Southeast Asian American) college students’ experiences of navigating higher education. The second author MDP identifies as an abolitionist scholar-activist racialized as Asian in the U.S. MDP is cisgender, gay, and a first-generation immigrant from Vietnam. MDP conducts research on oppression, activism, and solidarity through a critical lens, and organizes with collectives on the ground on issues of policing and Palestine. The senior author (GWP) is a second-generation East Asian American cisgender woman. Her parents are of Cantonese Chinese heritage and immigrated to the U.S. during the 1970s. GWP is an activist scholar and uses her training in social psychology to understand the stressful effects of oppressive systems.

Participants and Procedure

Data collection for the current study was between November 2023 and May 2024. Participants were recruited from an undergraduate psychology research pool from a minority-serving institution in the southwest region of the U.S. They were compensated with one research credit for their participation. The sample comprised 250 college students ($M_{age} = 20.45$, $SD = 4.07$; see Table 1 for a summary of participants’ demographics). Interested participants were directed to the online survey. They were informed about the study’s objectives, the potential risks and benefits, and the right to withdraw at any time throughout the study. The researchers obtained informed consent from all participants. Those who did not consent were not allowed to participate. To increase the quality of data collection, the authors required participants to complete a ReCAPTCHA verification to avoid bots or spam that could compromise the study. Participants

took approximately 30 minutes to complete. After completing the survey, participants were debriefed and provided with resources for local mental health services.

Table 1

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants (N=250)

Variable	<i>n</i>	%
<i>Race¹</i>		
white	86	34.4%
Hispanic/Latino/a/e/x	90	36%
Black	36	14.4%
Asian	58	23.2%
American Indian / Alaskan Native	4	1.6%
Southwest Asia / North African	10	4.0%
Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	5	2.0%
Other / Not Listed	9	3.6%
<i>Gender¹</i>		
Cis male	78	31.2%
Cis female	135	54.0%
Gender expansive	17	6.8%
Not listed or prefer not to disclose	25	10.0%
<i>Nativity</i>		
U.S. born	214	85.6%
Non-U.S. born	36	14.4%
<i>Socioeconomic Status</i>		
Lower/working class	36	14.4%
Lower/working middle class	69	27.6%
Middle Class	105	42.0%
Upper-middle class	37	14.8%
Upper class	3	1.2%
<i>Class Standing</i>		
First year	122	48.8%
Second year	66	26.4%
Third year	33	13.2%
Fourth year	19	7.6%
Fifth year and above	10	4.0%
<i>Political Affiliation</i>		
Republicans	23	9.2%
Democrat	79	31.2%
Independent	59	23.6%
Other (not listed)	11	4.4%
No preference	79	31.6%
<i>Note.</i> ¹ Percentages do not equal 100 because participants could choose more than one option.		

Measures

Historical knowledge on the colonization of Palestine. Participants were asked, “How knowledgeable are you about the historical context of the Israel-Palestine conflict?”¹ and were provided the following options: 1 (*Not knowledgeable at all*) to 5 (*Extremely knowledgeable*). Higher scores represent more knowledge about the colonization of Palestine.

Empowered resistance. The 26-item Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism (REAR; Suyemoto et al., 2022) measured participants’ empowered resistance against racism. REAR consisted of four subscales: 1) awareness and relational resistance (16 items; e.g., “I educate myself about how being from my racial group interacts with experiences of privilege and oppression in other areas to affect my life”), 2) participation in resistance activities and organizations (3 items; e.g., “I participate in activities or organizations that aim to reduce or resist racial discrimination”), 3) interpersonal confrontation (3 items; e.g., “I point it out to people when they say something that stereotypes or racially discriminates”), and 4) leadership for resistance (4 items; e.g., “I create or lead activities or organizations that aim to reduce or resist racial discrimination”). Participants scored items using a 5-point Likert scale: 1 (rarely) to 5 (almost always). Suyemoto et al. (2022) recommend scoring REAR items as a total and per their respective subscales. Therefore, scores were totaled, with higher scores representing more empowered resistance against racism. The internal reliability ranged between excellent and good: the total scale ($\alpha = .951$), awareness and relational resistance ($\alpha = .936$), participation in resistance activities and organizations ($\alpha = .894$), interpersonal confrontation ($\alpha = .877$), and leadership for resistance ($\alpha = .837$).

Support for Palestine/the colonial state of Israel. Support for Palestine and the colonial state of Israel was measured using a modified feeling thermometer (American National Election Studies, 2022, p. 91) on a sliding scale from 0 to 100. Participants were asked the following question, “If support could be described with a thermometer with a scale from 0 (extremely unsupportive) to 100 (extremely supportive), how would you describe your own support toward each country/state listed below?” Higher scores represent more support for either country/nation state.

Demographics. Participants provided information about their age, race/ethnicity, gender, nativity, socioeconomic status, class standing, and political affiliation (see Table 1 for a summary of participants’ demographics). Specifically, participants entered their age in a text entry box with numerical content validation. Participants were allowed to choose multiple options for race/ethnicity and gender and fill in the blank if their identities were not listed. Nativity was a multiple-choice option that included the following question, “Were you born in the United States?” with the following multiple choices: “Yes,” “No,” or “I don’t know.” If participants chose “No,” they were redirected to another question that asked their country of birth. Socioeconomic status was measured with the following options: “Lower/working class” to “Upper class.” Political

¹ At the time of the survey creation, we used the phrase “2023 Israel-Palestine War” as it was being referred to on news outlets and to minimize desirability bias. However, we acknowledge that, as presented throughout the manuscript, the relationship between Israel and Palestine is not a conflict and has never been a conflict. Since the founding of Israel, Israel has been enacting settler-colonialism, occupation, apartheid, and genocide on the Palestinian people (e.g., Amnesty International, 2024; Pappé, 2006).

affiliation was measured with the following options: “Republican,” “Democrat,” Independent,” “No preference,” and a text entry option for a political affiliation that was not listed.

Planned Analyses

Correlation analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between the variables of interest (see Table 2). Mediation analysis assumptions were checked following the guidelines proposed by Verma and Verma (2023). The first assumption is that all predictor and outcome variables should be measured on a continuous scale which is assumed. The second assumption was linearity, which was assumed based on scatterplots. There was a linear relationship between historical knowledge and support for Palestine and the colonial state of Israel, historical knowledge and REAR, and REAR and support for Palestine and the colonial state of Israel. The third assumption was non-multicollinearity, which was assumed based on correlation analyses, as all correlations were below 0.80, unless they were a subscale of a measure (see Table 2), and all variance inflation factor (VIF) scores were below 10. Next, the normality of residuals was assessed with a P-P plot, which showed that the residuals followed a normal distribution. For the last assumption of no spurious outliers, we used Mahalanobis Distance to screen for outliers and found no case with a p-value less than .001. All the analyses were performed with IBM SPSS Statistics (Version 29.0).

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, & Correlations of Variables

variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Historical knowledge of the colonization of Palestine	2.54	0.99	-							
2. REAR - Total	69.32	22.11	.24**	-						
3. REAR - ARR	48.51	15.23	.23**	.97**	-					
4. REAR - RAO	5.49	3.34	.23**	.73**	.61**	-				
5. REAR - IC	9.85	3.66	.10	.82**	.80**	.45**	-			
6. REAR - LR	5.46	2.92	.19**	.60**	.46**	.67**	.28**	-		
7. Support for Palestine	62.31	31.77	.18**	.37**	.37**	.26**	.24**	.24**	-	
8. Support for the colonial state of Israel	26.32	29.66	-.18**	-.25**	-.26**	-.16*	-.17**	-.11	-.39**	-

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. ARR = Awareness and relational resistance. RAO = Participation in resistance activities and organizations. IC = Interpersonal confrontation. LR = Leadership for resistance.

Results

Knowledge Predicting Support

Two linear regressions were conducted to test our first hypothesis. For the first linear regression analysis, knowledge of the colonization of Palestine was entered as the predictor variable, and support for Palestine was entered as the outcome variable. Knowledge of the colonization of Palestine explained 3.4% of the variance in college students' support for Palestine, $R^2 = .034$, $F(1, 248) = 8.851$, $p = .003$. The linear regressions suggest that knowledge about the socio-political history of the ongoing colonization and genocide of Palestine and Palestinians positively and significantly predicted more support for Palestine, $B = 5.908$, $SE = 1.986$, $t(248) = 2.975$, $p = .003$, 95% CI [1.997, 9.819]. For one unit increase in historical knowledge, support for Palestine increased by 6.013 units.

For the second linear regression analysis, knowledge of the colonization of Palestine was entered as the predictor, and support for the colonial state of Israel was entered as the outcome variable. Historical knowledge explained 3.2% of the variance in college students' support for the colonial state of Israel, $R^2 = .03$, $F(1, 248) = 8.196$, $p = .005$. The linear regression suggests that knowledge of the ongoing colonization and genocide of Palestine negatively and significantly predicted less support for the colonial state of Israel, $B = -5.314$, $SE = 1.856$, $t(248) = -2.863$, $p = .005$, 95% CI [-8.970, -1.658]. For one unit increase in historical knowledge, support for the colonial state of Israel decreased by 5.501 units.

These findings support hypothesis 1 in that knowledge of the ongoing colonization and genocide of Palestine significantly predicts support for Palestine and negatively predicts support for the colonial state of Israel. This suggests that knowledge about the socio-political history of colonization and genocide may play a role in predicting U.S. college students' support (or lack thereof) for injustices abroad.

Mediation Analysis for Palestine

A mediation analysis was conducted using Hayes PROCESS Macro (Model 4) to test our second hypothesis. Knowledge about the colonization of Palestine was the predictor variable, support for Palestine was the outcome variable, and empowered resistance was the mediator. The model explained 14.58% of the variance in support for Palestine, $R^2 = .146$, $F(2, 247) = 21.084$, $p < .0001$. Knowledge of the colonization of Palestine significantly predicted empowered resistance, $b = 5.315$, $SE = 1.365$, $t(248) = 3.892$, $p < .0001$, 95% CI [2.625, 8.000], indicating that more knowledge was associated with more empowered resistance against racism. Empowered resistance significantly predicted support for Palestine, $b = 0.494$, $SE = 0.087$, $t(247) = 5.675$, $p < .0001$, 95% CI [0.323, 0.665], indicating that more empowered resistance against racism was associated with more support for Palestine. The direct effect of knowledge of the colonization of Palestine on support for Palestine was not significant, $b = 3.283$, $SE = 1.928$, $t(248) = 1.703$, $p = .08$, 95% CI [-0.515, 7.079] when controlling for REAR. The total effect of knowledge about the colonization of Palestine on support for Palestine was significant, $b = 5.907$, $SE = 1.986$, $t(248) = 2.975$, $p = .003$, 95% CI [1.997, 9.819], indicating that knowledge about the colonization of Palestine is positively associated with support for Palestine. The indirect effect of knowledge about the colonization of Palestine on support for Palestine through empowered resistance was significant, $b = 2.625$, $SE = 0.828$, 95% CI [1.143, 4.351]. When empowered resistance was entered as a

mediator, knowledge of the colonization of Palestine was no longer a significant predictor for support for Palestine, suggesting that empowered resistance fully mediated the relationship between knowledge of the colonization and support for Palestine (see Figure 1).

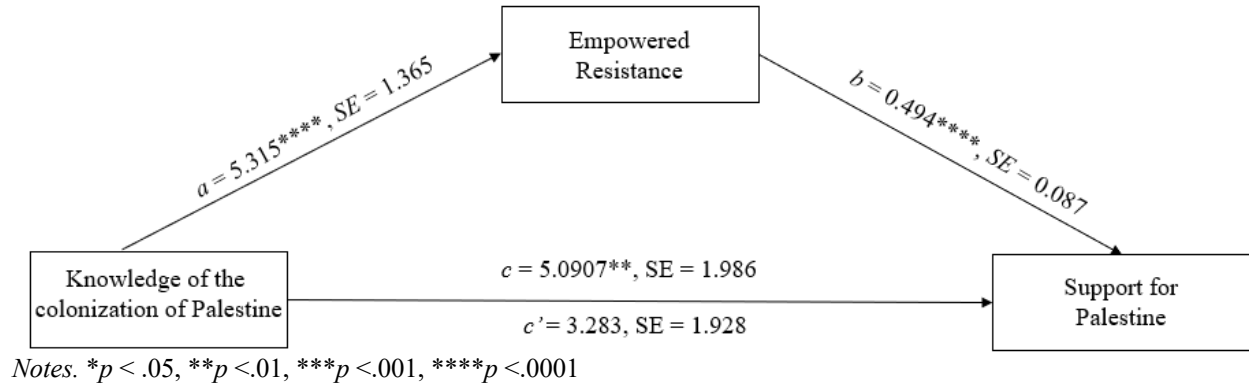


Figure 1. Mediation analysis for college studies' support for Palestine

Mediation Analysis for the Colonial State of Israel

A second mediation analysis was conducted using Hayes PROCESS Macro (Model 4). Knowledge about the colonization of Palestine was the predictor variable, support for the colonial state of Israel was the outcome variable, and empowered resistance against racism was the mediator. The model explained 7.76% of the variance in support for the colonial state of Israel, $R^2 = .0776$, $F(2, 247) = 10.395$, $p < .0001$. Similar to the previous mediation, knowledge of the colonization of Palestine significantly predicted empowered resistance, $b = 5.315$, $SE = 1.365$, $t(248) = 3.892$, $p < .0001$, 95% $CI [2.625, 8.000]$, indicating that more knowledge was associated with more empowered resistance against racism. Empowered resistance was a significant predictor of support for the colonial state of Israel, $b = -0.950$, $SE = 0.084$, $t(247) = -3.496$, $p = .0006$, 95% $CI [-0.462, -0.128]$, indicating that more empowered resistance against racism was associated with less support for the colonial state of Israel. The direct effect of knowledge about the colonization of Palestine on support for the colonial state of Israel was significant, $b = -3.745$, $SE = 1.870$, $t(248) = -2.002$, $p = .04$, 95% $CI [-7.429, -0.061]$, indicating that more knowledge about the colonization of Palestine is associated with less support for the colonial state of Israel when controlling for empowered resistance. The total effect of knowledge about the colonization of Palestine on support for the colonial state of Israel was significant, $b = -5.314$, $SE = 1.856$, $t(248)$, $p = .004$, 95% $CI [-8.970, -1.658]$, indicating that knowledge about the colonization of Palestine is negatively associated with support for the colonial state of Israel. The indirect effect of knowledge about the colonization of Palestine on support for the colonial state of Israel through empowered resistance was significant, $b = -1.569$, $SE = 0.653$, 95% $CI [-3.013, -0.433]$. Because the direct and total effects remained significant, empowered resistance partially mediated the relationship between knowledge of the colonization of Palestine and support for the colonial state of Israel (see Figure 2).

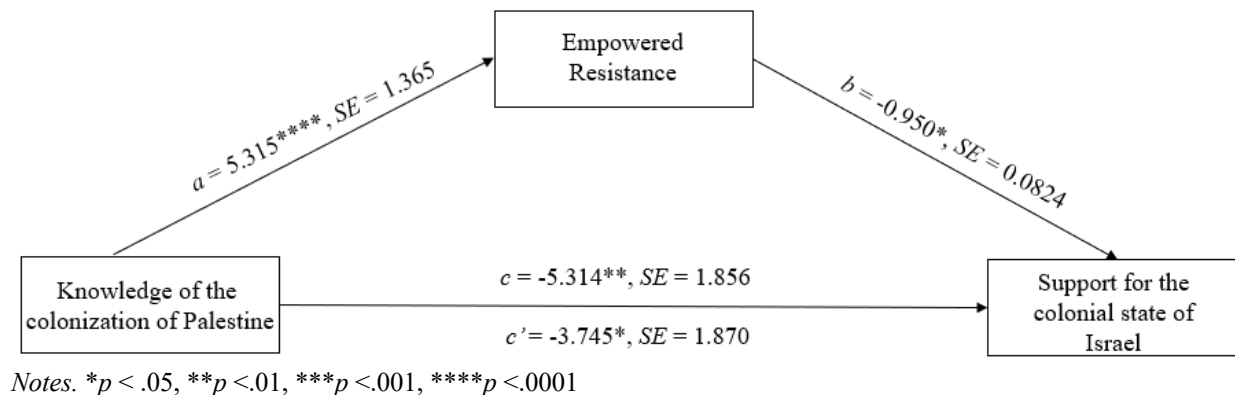


Figure 2. Mediation analysis for college students' support for the colonial state of Israel

Discussion

All knowledge that is about human society, and not about the natural world, is historical knowledge, and therefore rests upon judgment and interpretation. This is not to say that facts or data are nonexistent, but that facts get their importance from what is made of them in interpretation...For interpretations depend very much on who the interpreter is, who he or she is addressing, what his or her purpose is, at what historical moment the interpretation takes place. (Said, 1981, p.154)

In reflecting on the quote above by Edward Said, we acknowledge the systematic silencing, invisibility, and erasure of the history and colonization of Palestine. Our findings suggest that knowledge of the colonization of Palestine was linked to U.S. college students' support for Palestine and decreased support for the colonial state of Israel. Although the mean score of the participants' historical knowledge of the colonization of Palestine was 2.54 (which falls between item anchors 2, "Slightly knowledgeable" and 3, "Moderately knowledgeable"), this reflects the invisibility of Palestine and Palestinian education in higher education. Similarly, this reflects the creation of new words describing the atrocities being committed, such as *scholasticide*, coined by Professor Karma Nabulsi (Scholars Against War, 2024) for the "systematic destruction of Palestinian education by Israel." Knowledge is a powerful tool for liberation and liberating ourselves; thus, the systematic destruction of knowledge is the violent erasure of our understanding of the struggle for Palestine Liberation. Contexts of injustices (i.e., colonization, war, genocide) is the starting point of liberation.

The two mediation analyses suggest that empowered resistance significantly mediated the relationship between knowledge of the colonization of Palestine and support (or lack thereof) for Palestine and the colonial state of Israel. In learning more about socio-political history, college students may develop a deeper critical understanding and awareness of oppressive systems that have continued to harm the Palestinian people. With their increased understanding and awareness, college students may feel empowered and be activated to mobilize and demonstrate their support for Palestine and their opposition to the colonial state of Israel. After empowered resistance was entered as a mediator, knowledge of the colonization of Palestine was no longer a significant predictor for support for Palestine, suggesting that knowing about the historical context may not be enough and requires critical thinking, reflection, and awareness of injustices that may empower

college students to support Palestine. On the other hand, empowered resistance partially mediated the relationship between knowledge and support for the colonial state of Israel, suggesting that knowledge of the colonization of Palestine still directly influences opposition to the colonial state of Israel.

Implications for Research and Theory

The current study is one of the first to quantify college students' support for Palestine and the lack thereof for the colonial state of Israel. Most of the current literature on the colonization of Palestine has primarily focused on Arab and Jewish Americans' experiences (e.g., Yazbak Abu Ahmad et al., 2018). Palestinian scholars and activists have documented the long-term racial discrimination Palestinians face under the colonial state of Israel, including systematic displacement, segregation, and unequal treatment under the law (Pappé, 2006; Masalha, 2012). However, as the U.S. continues to abet the colonial state of Israeli military campaigns in the Middle East, these global issues *are* American issues and will continue to impact Americans. Furthermore, the findings suggest that knowledge of injustices predicted college students' support for Palestine, indicating the importance of historical context in understanding current issues.

Our findings align with those of critical consciousness development. Most importantly, knowledge can serve as a vehicle for critical reflection, awareness, and action. For instance, Hamas' resistance on October 7, 2023 may have sparked students' interest in learning more about Palestine and the oppression of Palestinians by the colonial state of Israel through militarized violence, settlement expansion, and the restriction of freedom of movement across checkpoints, Gaza, and the West Bank. In seeking that knowledge, students may have developed a more critical understanding of the colonization and genocide of the Palestinian people. It is important to emphasize that this systemic oppression is not a religious conflict; Palestinians of all faiths (Muslim, Christian, or secular) are subjected to these conditions because of settler colonialism and racialized state violence. With this newfound understanding of the socio-political context, students may feel empowered to support Palestine and oppose the colonial state of Israel. However, critical consciousness, as measured by REAR, partially explained the relationship between historical knowledge and support (or lack thereof) for Palestine and the colonial state of Israel. It could be that because REAR only measures one dimension of oppression (racism), students may understand this injustice as it intersects with other forms of oppression and violence, such as religious oppression, settler colonialism, and imperialism, as they relate to the displacement of Palestinians.

Implications for Education

Furthermore, our findings suggest that knowledge about the historical context of the ongoing colonization and genocide of Palestine predicts students' support for Palestine. Students need to understand the complexity of history from different perspectives and viewpoints, specifically from those who have been made invisible and silenced (i.e., Palestinians), to develop their own awareness and understanding of wars and genocide. However, education on Palestine is limited and often made invisible within the classroom. This invisibility has been found to be negatively linked to college students' development (e.g., see Tucker et al., 2016) and career trajectory (e.g., Suh et al., 2024). In addition, faculty who openly support Palestinians and critique the colonial state of Israel (and Zionism) are often not protected under the pretense of "academic freedom," are accused of being "antisemitic," and unjustly placed on academic leave (Fúnez-

Flores, 2024). Therefore, education on Palestine and the Palestine Liberation struggle should be protected and included in course curricula as supported by extant literature on the importance of ethnic studies in college students' identity development and academic success (e.g., de Novais, & Spencer, 2019). Similarly, universities should fund ethnic studies, and curricula on Palestine should be developed through a liberation and social justice lens.

In addition, higher education is often seen as a vehicle for social mobility and opportunities but continues to be a system that reproduces harm and oppression toward students from marginalized backgrounds and identities. We hope the study's findings contribute to college students' understanding of how their critical consciousness contributes to their support of Palestine and others' struggles for liberation (see Shatara, 2022, 2023). Similarly, we hope that the study's findings shed light on how higher education, though oppressive, can serve as an environment to foster students' understanding of global issues and empower them to serve as agents of change to dismantle systems of oppression (see Tran, 2023).

Limitations

The current study is not without limitations. The first limitation is that the sample consisted of college students, who tend to be more liberal-leaning, which goes hand-in-hand with how our support for Palestine and the colonial state of Israel question was worded. Specifically, our recruitment method through a psychology undergraduate research pool provided more responses from first year college students, thus limiting responses from more senior students. It could be speculated that, perhaps, older status college students may have more exposure to understanding, critiquing, and experiences of navigating higher education during times of crisis which may increase samples' average of historical knowledge and critical consciousness.

In addition, we did not measure participants' support for political leaders like Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu or groups like the colonial state of the Israeli Defense Force or Hamas. However, our sample demographics and research findings align with those from the Poll Research Center (Silver et al., 2024), which found that U.S. adults between the ages of 18 and 29 are more likely to express favorable views of Palestinians (60%) than the colonial state of Israel (46%). Furthermore, this age group had a 24% favorable view of the Israeli government. Because of this variability in support for different groups and institutions, future studies should examine how each is associated with college students' critical consciousness development and support (or lack thereof) for Palestine and the colonial state of Israel.

Another limitation is the wording of the historical knowledge of the colonization of Palestine which consisted of only one item with Likert-type anchors for measuring knowledge. History is not as black-and-white or objective as historians have made it out to be. Take, for example, the history lessons that American school children learn in K-12, which have largely been crafted with the perspective of glorifying (white) American supremacy and imperialism that silences the alternative/counternarratives and histories (oppression, massacre/genocide, and enslavement) of Black, Indigenous, and other people of color (see Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States*, 2015). Therefore, we acknowledge that there are contested beginnings of the colonization and genocide of Palestine and Palestinians, and the importance of *who* is interpreting history as Palestinians and scholars emphasize that the events of October 7, 2023, were not the beginning. Palestinians have and continue to go through an ongoing Nakba perpetuated by Israel (Awad, 2020). Future studies should utilize qualitative research methods to shed light on

college students' understanding of the socio-political history of the ongoing colonization and genocide in Palestine by investigating *where* (social media, family and friends, and college courses), *how* (conversations, lectures, workshops), and *what* types of resources (primary vs. secondary vs. tertiary) are linked to students' knowledge obtainment and (re)production.

In addition, REAR is a measurement of racism and does not measure the different types and intersections of oppression. There seems to be a general and oversimplified misunderstanding that the colonization of Palestine is a religious issue when it has been extensively documented that Palestinians have experienced numerous forms of oppression from Israelis and the colonial state of Israel, such as racial discrimination (Herzog et al., 2008; Shoshana, 2016), cultural and religious oppression, freedom of movement (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2024) and genocide (International Court of Justice, 2024). Perhaps new scales should be developed to examine empowerment and resistance against intersecting forms of oppression, and future research should examine how lay people understand and take action against atrocities committed by their government. Furthermore, the empowerment and resistance against racism scale was developed using a Black, Indigenous, and other people of color sample. Our sample consisted of both white and participants of color, which may have influenced the scale's psychometric properties. Nonetheless, the reliability of the REAR for our sample was excellent, with an alpha of .951, suggesting that the REAR scale may be an appropriate measure for examining white participants' experiences of resisting and pushing back against racism. However, more research is needed to examine the psychometric properties of the REAR scale with a white sample. Nevertheless, others have theorized and argued that liberation efforts should be a collective, involving those with and without privileged identities (see Stoudt et al., 2012). For instance, tenured faculty can use their positions to protect and shield non-tenured faculty and students from retaliation, expulsion, and academic leave by organizing pro-Palestine Liberation protests and defending non-tenured faculty and students' rights to speech and protest. Future studies should examine how different (beyond race/racial identity) and intersecting forms of oppression and privilege may play a role in college students' support for Palestine (and lack thereof for the colonial state of Israel). Extant literature has theorized solidarity with others through commonality or a shared struggle for liberation (see Burson & Godfrey, 2020) through which different groups may build a coalition to dismantle oppression. However, intersectionality complicates these theories by examining the interaction between power/privilege and oppression/marginality and may provide a more nuanced understanding of college students' experiences in supporting Palestine.

Conclusion

College students are at the forefront of dismantling oppressive systems. Through this study, we highlight how knowledge of the ongoing colonization and genocide in Palestine predicted college students' support for Palestine and (lack thereof) for the colonial state of Israel. The results suggest that this relationship was mediated by empowered resistance against racism, suggesting that critical consciousness development continues to play a crucial role in college students' understanding and awareness of global issues and taking action by supporting Palestine. With these findings, we hope to continue supporting students and their development as future leaders and work as co-conspirators with the Palestinian people in their struggle for liberation. Our study can inform educators, scholars, and policymakers about empowering students' resistance to oppression and guide efforts toward a more just world, one student at a time.

References

- Alareer, R. (2023). *If I must die*. <https://ifimustdie.net/>
- American National Election Studies. 2021. ANES 2020 Time Series Study Full Release: User Guide and Codebook. www.electionstudies.org
- Amnesty International. (2024, December 5). *Amnesty International investigation concludes Israel is committing genocide against Palestinians in Gaza*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/12/amnesty-international-concludes-israel-is-committing-genocide-against-palestinians-in-gaza/>
- Awad, S. (Ed.). (2020). *Palestine: A Socialist Introduction*. Haymarket Books.
- Berg, C. W. (2019). Why study history? An examination of undergraduate students' notions and perceptions about history. *Historical Encounters*, 6(1), 54-71. <http://dx.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.27068.90248/1>
- Berger, E., & Jabr, S. (2019). Silencing Palestine: Limitations on free speech within mental health organizations. *Int Journal of Applied Psychoanalysis Studies*, 17(2), 193-207. <https://doi.org/10.1002/aps.1630>
- Burson, E., & Godfrey, E. B. (2020). Intraminority solidarity: The role of critical consciousness. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 50(6), 1362-1377. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1002/ejsp.2679>
- Cavazzoni, F., Veronese, G., Sousa, C., Ayoub, H., & Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (2023). Critical consciousness from a Palestinian feminist, decolonial perspective: A collective exploratory inquiry. *Feminism & Psychology*, 33(4), 451-470. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09593535231181760>
- Comas-Díaz, L., & Rivera, E. T. (Eds.). (2020). *Liberation Psychology: Theory, Method, Practice, and Social Justice*. American Psychological Association.
- Davis, A. Y. (2016). *Freedom is a constant struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the foundations of a movement*. Haymarket Books.
- de Novais, J., & Spencer, G. (2019). Learning race to unlearn racism: The effects of ethnic studies course-taking. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 90(6), 860-883. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2018.1545498>
- Ekpe, L., & Toutant, S. (2022). Moving beyond performative allyship: A conceptual framework for anti-racist co-conspirators. In *Developing anti-racist practices in the helping professions: Inclusive theory, pedagogy, and application* (pp. 67-91). Cham: Springer International Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-95451-2_5
- Erakat, N. (2019). *Justice for some: law and the question of Palestine*. Stanford University Press.
- Fúnez-Flores, J. I. (2024). The coloniality of academic freedom and the Palestine exception. *Middle East Critique*, 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2024.2375918>
- Hakim, N., Abi-Ghannam, G., Saab, R., Albzour, M., Zebian, Y., & Adams, G. (2023). Turning the lens in the study of precarity: On experimental social psychology's acquiescence to

- the settler-colonial status quo in historic Palestine. *The British journal of Social Psychology*, 62 Suppl 1(Suppl 1), 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12595>
- Hill, S., Ben Hagai, E., & Zurbruggen, E. L. (2018). Intersecting alliances: Non-Palestinian activists in support of Palestine. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 11(3), 239. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000070>
- Hill, M. L., & Plitnick, M. (2021). *Except for Palestine: the limits of progressive politics*. The New Press.
- Herzog, H., Sharon, S., & Leykin, I. (2008). Racism and the politics of signification: Israeli public discourse on racism towards Palestinian citizens. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(6), 1091–1109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701692583>
- International Court of Justice. (2024, January). *Case 192: Application of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel)*. <https://www.icj-cij.org/node/203454>
- Keeton, R. G. (2002). *Reframing identities for justice: Honoring multiple identities* (Publication No.3046803) [Doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate University]. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.
- Khalidi, R. (2010, April 15). Bad faith in the holy city: How the colonial state of Israel's Jerusalem policy imperils the peace process. Foreign Affairs. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2010-04-15/bad-faith...>
- Khalidi, R. (2020). *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917–2017*. Metropolitan Books.
- Kindig, J. (2008). *Vietnam War era: Anti-war protests*. Antiwar and Radical History Project. https://depts.washington.edu/antiwar/vietnam_student.shtml
- Liu, J. H., & Hilton, D. J. (2005). How the past weighs on the present: Social representations of history and their role in identity politics. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44(4), 537–556. <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466605X27162>
- Long, D. (2012). Theories and models of student development. In Hinchliffe & M. A. Wong (Eds.), *Environments for student growth and development: Librarians and student affairs in collaboration* (pp. 41–55). Chicago: Association of College & Research Libraries.
- Masters, J., & Merrow, W. (2024, May 31). *U.S. aid to the colonial state of Israel in four charts*. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/article/us-aid-the-colonial-state-of-Israel-four-charts#:~:text=How%20much%20U.S.%20aid%20does,total%20economic%20and%20military%20assistance>.
- Medina, A. and Suzuki, S. (2023, October 18). *41 million members of Gen Z will be eligible to vote in 2024*. Circle at Tufts. <https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/41-million-members-gen-z-will-be-eligible-vote-2024>.
- Mohammad, U. (2025, January 21). *I was suspended from Emory over my Palestine activism. I will not let it stop me*. Mondoweiss. <https://mondoweiss.net/2025/01/i-was-suspended-from-emory-over-my-palestine-activism-i-will-not-let-it-stop-me/>

- Mansoor, S. (2025, July 15). *Four CUNY professors say they were fired for supporting Palestine*. The Intercept_. <https://theintercept.com/2025/07/15/cuny-professors-fired-palestine/>
- Masalha, N. (2012). *The Palestine Nakba. Decolonising history, narrating the sabalturn, reclaiming memory*. London: Zed Books.
- Morrison, T. (2020). *The source of self-regard: Selected essays, speeches, and meditations*. Vintage.
- Pappe, I. (2007). *The ethnic cleansing of Palestine*. Simon and Schuster.
- Pillen, H., McNaughton, D., & Ward, P. R. (2020). Critical consciousness development: A systematic review of empirical studies. *Health Promotion International*, 35(6), 1519-1530. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/daz125>
- Plomin, J., (2001, October 8). *US students march against war*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2001/oct/08/internationaleducationnews.highereducation>
- Pritt, A., E. (2008, March 20). *Students protest Iraq War*. The Harvard Crimson. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2008/3/20/students-protest-iraq-war-with-rainboots/>
- Oron, G., (2023, December 13). *Students, faculty and activists report harassment and doxxing due to support for Palestine*. Real Change News. <https://www.realchangenews.org/news/2023/12/13/students-faculty-and-activists-report-harassment-and-doxxing-due-support-palestine>
- Qaddoura, R. M. I., Othman, Z. B., & Majid, M. B. A. (2019). U.S. Interests and the The colonial state of Israel-Palestine Conflict: A Review [Review of *Fateful Triangle: The United States, The colonial state of Israel, and the Palestinians; Brokers of Deceit: How the US Has Undermined Peace in the Middle East; The colonial state of Israel's Colonial Project in Palestine: Brutal Pursuit; The Search for Peace in the Arab-The colonial state of Israeli Conflict: A Compendium of Documents and Analysis; Obstacle to Peace: The US Role in the The colonial state of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, by N. Chomsky, R. Khalidi, E. Zureik, T. Rød-Larsen, N. Laiq, F. Aidan, & J. R. Hammond]. *Insight Turkey*, 21(4), 217–225. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26842785>
- Said, E. W. (1981). *Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world* (1st ed.). Pantheon Books.
- Said, E. W (1992). *The question of Palestine*. Vintage.
- Scholars Against War. (2024). *SAWP actions against scholasticide toolkit*. Scholars Against War. <https://scholarsagainstawar.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/SAWP-Actions-Against-Scholasticide-Toolkit.pdf>
- Shatara, H. (2022). “Existence is Resistance”: Palestine and Palestinians in social studies education. In *Insurgent Social Studies: Scholar-Educators disrupting erasure & marginality*. Myers Education Press. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2024.2357068>
- Shatara, H. (2023). Critical political consciousness within nepantla as transformative: The experiences and pedagogy of a Palestinian world history teacher. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 53(1), 28-48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2022.2123214>

- Shoshana, A. (2015). The language of everyday racism and microaggression in the workplace: Palestinian professionals in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(6), 1052–1069. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1081965>
- Silver, L., Alper, B. A., Keeter, S., Lippert, J., & Mohamed, B. (2024, March 21). Majority in U.S. say the colonial state of Israel has valid reasons for fighting; fewer say the same about Hamas. *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/2024/03/21/majority-in-u-s-say-the-colonial-state-of-Israel-has-valid-reasons-for-fighting-fewer-say-the-same-about-hamas/>
- Stoudt, B. G., Fox, M., & Fine, M. (2012). Contesting privilege with critical participatory action research. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), 178–193. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2011.01743.x>
- Suh, H. N., Flores, L. Y., Johanson-Murray, R., Park, S., & Lee, F. Y. (2024). Invisibility and negative career outcome expectations among racially and ethnically diverse college students at a predominantly White institution. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 32(1), 63–78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10690727231173729>
- Suyemoto, K. L., Abdullah, T., Godon-Decoteau, D., Tahirkheli, N. N., Arbid, N., & Frye, A. A. (2022). Development of the Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism (REAR) scale. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 28(1), 58. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000353>
- Tran, N. (2023). From imposter phenomenon to infiltrator experience: Decolonizing the mind to claim space and reclaim self. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 29(2), 184–193. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000674>
- Tucker, R. P., Wingate, L. R., & O'Keefe, V. M. (2016). Historical loss thinking and symptoms of depression are influenced by ethnic experience in American Indian college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 22(3), 350. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/cdp0000055>
- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2024, September 25). *Fact sheet: Movement and access in the West Bank, September 2024*. <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/fact-sheet-movement-and-access-west-bank-august-2024>
- Verma, J. P., & Verma, P. (2023). Introduction to the Mediation Model. In *Understanding Structural Equation Modeling: A Manual for Researchers* (pp. 69–90). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-32673-8_4
- Yazbak Abu Ahmad, M., Dessel, A. B., & Ali, N. (2018). Arab American college students: What predicts their engagement with the colonial state of Israeli/Palestinian Conflict?. *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 25(2), 1. <https://doi.org/10.46743/1082-7307/2018.1470>
- Zinn, H. (2015). *A people's history of the United States: 1492-present*. Routledge.

Authors

Richard Chang is an American Psychological Association and American Psychological Foundation's Springfield LGBTQIA+ Congressional Fellow whose scholarship is deeply informed by questions of oppression, resistance, and social justice. His research examines how social ecological systems shape identity and the lived experiences of underrepresented communities, particularly regarding race/ethnicity, class, and sexuality. Rich aims to pursue a faculty career, advancing research that bridges social psychology, critical consciousness, and social justice in both theory and practice.

Minh Duc Pham identifies as a Vietnamese scholar-activist and is currently a post-doctoral fellow at Columbia University. His research examines oppression, activism, and solidarity through a critical lens, using diverse mixed methods and prioritizing marginalized perspectives. He also organizes with multiple decolonial collectives on various fronts, in and outside academia.

Gloria Wong-Padoongpatt is an associate professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. She is a trained social psychologist, and her research program examines the impact of microaggressions and other forms of oppression on marginalized people. She is an activist scholar and uses liberatory frameworks in her approach to psychological research.

Critical Education

criticaleducation.org

ISSN 1920-4175

Editors

Sandra Mathison, *University of British Columbia*

E. Wayne Ross, *University of British Columbia*

Associate Editors

Abraham P. DeLeon, *University of Texas at San Antonio*

Adam Renner, 1970-2010

Co-Founding and Past Editor

Stephen Petrina, *University of British Columbia*

Editorial Collective

Wayne Au, *University of Washington Bothell*

Jessica Bacon, *Montclair State University*

Jeff Bale, *University of Toronto*

Grant Banfield, *Flinders University*

Dennis Beach, *University of Gothenburg*

Kristen Buras, *Georgia State University*

Paul R Carr, *Université du Québec en Outaouais*

Lisa Cary, *Murdoch University*

Antonio J. Castro, *University of Missouri*

Erin L. Castro, *University of Utah*

Noah De Lissovoy, *University of Texas at Austin*

Ardavan Eizadirad, *Wilfred Laurier University*

Gustavo Fischman, *Arizona State University*

Derek R. Ford, *DePauw University*

Four Arrows, *Fielding Graduate University*

David Gabbard, *Boise State University*

Rich Gibson, *San Diego State University*

Panayota Gounari, *UMass, Boston*

Keith Heggart, *University of Technology Sydney*

Dave Hill, *Anglia Ruskin University*

Nathalia E. Jaramillo, *Kennesaw State University*

Richard Kahn, *Antioch University Los Angeles*

Gianna Katsiampoura, *University of Athens*

Harper Keenan, *University of British Columbia*

Kathleen Kesson, *Long Island University*

Ashwani Kumar, *Mount Saint Vincent University*

Ravi Kumar, *South Asian University*

Saville Kushner, *Drew University*

Yulong Li, *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*

John Lupinacci, *Washington State University*

Kevin R. Magill, *Baylor University*

Alpesh Maisuria, *University of East London*

Curry Stephenson Malott, *West Chester University*

Gregory Martin, *University of Technology Sydney*

Cris Mayo, *University of Vermont*

Peter Mayo, *University of Malta*

Peter McLaren, *Chapman University*

Shahrazad Mojab, *University of Toronto*

João Paraskeva, *University of Strathclyde*

Lana Parker, *University of Windsor*

Brad Porfilio, *California State University, Stanislaus*

Marc Pruyn, *University of the Sunshine Coast*

Lotar Rasinski, *University of Lower Silesia*

Leena Robertson, *Middlesex University*

Sam Rocha, *University of British Columbia*

Edda Sant, *University of Manchester*

Doug Selwyn, *SUNY Plattsburgh*

Özlem Sensoy, *Simon Fraser University*

Patrick Shannon, *Penn State University*

Steven Singer, *The College of New Jersey*

Kostas Skordoulis, *University of Athens*

John Smyth, *Federation Univ. Australia*

Hannah Spector, *Boston Psychoanalytic Society & Institute*

Marc Spooner, *University of Regina*

Inna Stepaniuk, *Simon Fraser University*

Paolo Vittoria, *University of Naples Federico II*