

***“We are not freeing Palestine, Palestine is freeing us”*: intellectuals and the anti-colonial framing of the Palestinian Solidarity Movement**

(Accepted version Published in Special Issue ‘Cattivi Maestri: Intellectuals and Radical Political Mobilizations’, in *American Behavioral Scientist*)

Keywords

Social movements; Palestine; decolonial thought; radicalization; intellectuals

Abstract

This article examines the role of political, cultural, and institutional intellectuals in the discursive radicalization of the current wave of solidarity with Palestine in Spain. Drawing on Gramscian and decolonial traditions, we reconsider who becomes legible and constructed as an intellectual in the context of sustained transnational mobilization for Palestine. Based on empirical data from Spain, we argue that the perceived discursive radicalization of Palestinian Solidarity Movement is driven by the growing prominence of an anti-colonial frame. Using original in-depth interviews with activists and key informants and desktop research, we identify four types of intellectual figures within the movement and analyze how each contributes to this discursive shift. Beyond deepening solidarity, their influence has turned the Palestinian cause into a powerful prism of politicization: one through which activists rediscover the persistence of the modern colonial order, recognize the colonality of their own regimes, and connect broader patterns of inequality and injustice.

How to cite: Mendoza Sandoval, L., & Portos, M. (2026). “We Are Not Freeing Palestine, Palestine Is Freeing Us”: Intellectuals and the Anti-Colonial Framing of the Palestinian Solidarity Movement. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/00027642261472333>

Introduction

In Gramsci's terms, anyone capable of formulating and communicating critical thought can be an intellectual, but what defines their relevance is not eloquence or visibility— it is their social function in the struggle for hegemony (Gramsci, 1999). Intellectuals act as mediators between social structures and lived experience, organizing consent by articulating narratives, symbols, and justifications that bind ideas to collective action. As such, counter-hegemonic intellectuals become pivotal in moments of political transformation, serving as the connective tissue between worldview and social change. Following the introduction of this special issue on the role of intellectuals in radicalizing social movements, i.e. the so called 'Cattivi Maestri' (Cavatorta, Mostofa & Ramaioli, n.d.), in this article we ask what role intellectuals play in the discursive radicalization of the wave of international solidarity with Palestine that has unfolded since 2023.

The role of intellectuals in the radicalization of social movements has been primarily framed within Eurocentric categories—academic Marxism, post-structuralism, avant-garde theory—where the intellectual figure is usually a male, white, educated, metropolitan subject whose authority derives from writing, teaching, being an expert or being part of a formal institution (Ponzanesi, 2021). This dominant view of the intellectual obscures the capacity the concept originally conveys. A decolonial perspective problematizes who counts as an intellectual (De Sousa Santos, 2009): as insurgent thought arises from subaltern experiences (Mendoza, 2018; Spivak, 2023), the most radical knowledge is produced through and within anti-colonial struggles.

While Gramsci's notion of *the intellectual* remains foundational for understanding how ideas and collective action intertwine, "popular intellectuals" (Baud, & Rutten, 2004) and "postcolonial intellectuals" (Ponzanesi, 2021) challenge the dominance of Gramsci's (organic or traditional) intellectual as rooted in the industrial working class and the Western nation-state. The category has expanded to account for the diverse geographies, cosmologies, subjects and modes of knowledge that shape anti-colonial struggles. In contexts such as Palestine (and Palestinian diaspora), intellectual labour is not confined to writers, party cadres, or professional educators; it is embodied in poets, farmers, dancers, jurists, martyrs and activists whose acts of resistance, narration, and creation are themselves forms of theorizing and of constructing an internationalist counter-hegemony.

The Palestinian struggle illustrates that intellectuality emerges not only from the privilege of reflection but also from the urgency of resistance. Certain reservoirs of intellectuals are contributing in specific ways to the expansion and radicalization of the solidarity movement in Spain (and beyond). Our data reveal that the call to listen to Palestinians has become a central ethical, epistemological, and practical imperative for the Palestine solidarity movement in Spain—especially after the escalation of violence and violations of human rights by the Israeli Forces in Gaza since October 2023. It signals both a recognition of Palestinian epistemic authority and a critique of the colonial hierarchy of knowledge that long positioned Palestinians as victims rather than as theorists and agents of their own liberation (El-Kurd, 2025).

Spanish solidarity networks echo this shift by putting Palestinian voices at center stage, and by framing their actions in anti-colonial terms (see Blanco Fernandez, 2022). The largest Palestine Solidarity coalition of organizations in Spain (RESCOP)¹ consists of different civil society organizations—many of whom have long-standing connections with Palestinians and their organizations. Additionally, the international networks in solidarity with Palestinian prisoners Samidoun and Masar Badil are also prominent in Spain. They work “to build solidarity with Palestinian prisoners in their struggle for freedom” and to achieve justice for those who “are on the front lines of the Palestinian struggle for liberation on a daily basis”.² These activist milieux have been increasingly criminalized and repressed since Germany banned Samidoun in November 2023,³ the USA and Canada listed the group as a terrorist organization in October 2024⁴, and at the European Parliament such ban was also discussed.⁵ Newer and independent organizations, collectives and coalitions in several regions of Spain have been key to sustaining mobilization, awareness raising and diffuse solidarity initiatives.

¹ <https://rescop.org/rescop/>. The Network of Solidarity against Palestinian Occupation in Spain has more than 50 organizations across the country coordinated and following the BDS guidelines since 2005. Their active campaign on arms embargo gathers more than 600 organizations across the State

² <https://samidoun.net/about-samidoun/>.

³ <https://www.reuters.com/world/german-minister-announces-complete-ban-hamas-activities-2023-11-02/>

⁴ Due to alleged ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. See <https://ofac.treasury.gov/recent-actions/20241015>.

⁵ https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/O-10-2025-000014_EN.html.

These actors in Spain have used different tactics to defend Palestinian liberation, e.g., multi-sited mass gatherings, symbolic/art performances, occupation of hotels owned by Zionist financial actors, collective vigils for mourning killed civilians, fundraising initiatives, boycotting campaigns, bill proposals and direct actions to disrupt the supply chain of the military industrial complex, student encampments, self-organized pedagogical sessions to raise awareness about the Palestinian genocide. In the early months following October 2023, solidarity mobilizations in Spain displayed a plurality of frames, including the most salient ‘ceasefire’ but also humanitarian, peace-oriented, and human rights discourses were part of the early stages of mobilization during the last months of 2023. Anti-colonial frames were also present, gaining visibility over time (e.g., claims demanding an ‘end of occupation’, ‘justice’ and ‘right to return’) and widespread use among mobilized actors (see Della Porta et al., 2025)— this is to a large extent, we argue throughout, the result of activist networks’ engagement with Palestinian intellectual production and radical imaginaries.

Radicalization is an ambiguous concept in social movement theory as it has multiple meanings. We focus on its discursive dimension, pointing at the capacity that activists have to create, adopt and amplify fundamental critiques of power and inequality. By reframing conflicts in systemic or antagonistic terms, activists shed light on the roots of injustices and expand the symbolic and moral boundaries of collective action. By radicalization, rather than a mere escalation of tactics (violent, ‘extremist’), we mean the capacity to transform the sense-making of the world, projecting imagined post- or anti-colonial futures in the present (Alimi et al., 2015; Bosi & della Porta, 2013; della Porta, 2018; Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014; Snow & Benford, 1988).

We contend that Palestinian cultural producers, legal advocates, and organizers are guiding solidarity movements worldwide; they have enabled the reconfiguration of the moral and political imagination of Western publics. For instance, journalist Bisan Owda, through their unwavering work of documenting the genocide while surviving it, has inspired and promoted several initiatives globally, e.g., the Global Sumud Flotilla in Summer 2025. Also, the work of Gaza journalists— and their testimonies— those of more than 200 *shaheed*⁶, assassinated while documenting colonial

⁶ In Palestinian Arabic, شهيد (*Shaheed*) names a person who has died while witnessing and exposing truth — for journalists, it signifies a *martyr of truth*, one whose final act of witnessing affirms collective resistance and

violence from the ground, the resistance and steadfastness of communities have left a strong imprint on imaginaries of liberation in the West.

The article draws on qualitative data from 25 semi-structured interviews (see Appendix) with key informants and activists based in four autonomous communities (regions) of Spain, i.e., Catalonia, Basque Country, Navarre, and Andalusia, where long-standing solidarity networks, activist collectives, and local coalitions provide particularly rich environments for examining how discursive radicalization unfolds. By contrast, Madrid—while central in terms of visibility and scale—has been more strongly shaped by large, heterogeneous mobilizations and nationally coordinated demonstrations, which are less suited to capturing the micro-level processes of meaning-making and intellectual mediation that this article seeks to analyse. Our aim is therefore not to provide a representative account of the entire Spanish solidarity field, but to investigate the mechanisms through which anti-colonial framing is produced and diffused within specific, well-established activist milieus.

Building on Della Porta et al. (2025), interviewees were purposively selected based on the prominence, continuity, and visibility of the organizations they were affiliated with within the solidarity field. These interviews allowed us to collect information on a wider range of relevant actors than the ones covered in the media and scrutinize the meanings and semantic context of social movement activisms (Blee & Taylor, 2002). Fieldwork was conducted between July 2024 and July 2025 and testimonies include both long-standing solidarity actors and newly mobilized groups, including student collectives, diaspora organizations, trade unions, and advocacy networks. We complemented interviews with an analysis of publicly available social media content (primarily Instagram), which was used to identify recurring slogans, symbols, and framing patterns. Rather than providing an exhaustive mapping of all mobilizations, the study focuses on analytically relevant cases that allow us to trace processes of discursive radicalization across different activist milieus.

memory. According to the International Federation of Journalists at least 221 journalists have been killed in Palestine since 7th October 2023 (<https://www.nuj.org.uk/resource/palestine-at-least-221-journalists-and-media-workers-killed-in-gaza.html#:~:text=The%20NUJ%20joins%20the%20International,injured%20and%20others%20are%20missing>).

Specifically, we developed a typology of intellectual reservoirs through an iterative thematic analysis of interview and observational data. By coding these materials, we identified recurring patterns in how actors invoked sources of knowledge, authority, and political orientation. These patterns were grouped into four analytical clusters—*engaged*, *strategic*, *organic*, and *institutional* intellectuals—each capturing a distinct mechanism through which anti-colonial framing is produced, translated, and legitimized within the movement. In doing so, the article aims to “provincialize” the European notion of the intellectual (Chakrabarty, 2008).⁷ It shows that the *cattivi maestri* for the Palestine solidarity movement are intellectuals who, from occupied lands or diasporic exile, transform resistance into thought—and thought into collective emancipation. The role of non-Palestinians who use their privilege to stand up and break complicity is also acknowledged as part of this picture.

Whose voice matters? Palestinians and anti-colonial framing

Social movement studies have emphasized the relevance of framing processes for understanding mobilization dynamics. To recruit new members and keep on motivating individuals who are already mobilized, social movement organizations build rationales for action and engagement. In social movement research, framing efforts refer to “the signifying work or meaning construction engaged in by movement adherents (e.g., leaders, activists, and rank-and-file participants) and other actors (e.g., adversaries, institutional elites, media, social control agents, counter-movements) relevant to the interests of movements and the challenges they mount in pursuit of those interests” (Snow, 2023). Framing theories are rooted in the symbolic interactionist and constructionist principle that meanings are not naturally attached to the objects, events, or experiences. Instead, cultural interpretive processes mediate the attribution of meanings (Goffman, 1974).

Frames perform three main functions: focus attention, articulate narratives and shape the viewers’ perception of the object of attention (Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, 2023). There are two different

⁷ “To ‘provincialize’ Europe was precisely to find out how and in what sense European ideas that were universal were also, at one and the same time, drawn from very particular intellectual and historical traditions that could not claim any universal validity” (Chakrabarty 2008: xiii).

approaches to framing within social movement scholarship. On the one hand, a body of literature addresses the cognitive processes through which individuals frame events into familiar categories to make sense of their social dynamics (Gamson, 1992). On the other hand, at the meso-level, focus is placed on the construction of reality by collective entrepreneurs. According to Snow and Benford (1988; see Snow et al. 2018), the meaning attribution process consists of three stages: diagnosis, prognosis, and motivation. First, certain occurrences, are recognised and constructed as problems to be addressed; second, potential strategies to address them are identified and developed; and third, motivations to act upon this knowledge are put forward. While framing processes do not automatically produce consent, they constitute strategic efforts by social movement actors to shape interpretations of reality, mobilize support, and align participants. Hence, social movements engage in disputes over narratives to dispute what is considered as ‘common sense’. Accordingly, intellectuals’ key task consists of challenging hegemony by translating political claims into concrete actions and symbols that can resonate in audiences and mobilize them.

Edward Said (1979)— along with other intellectuals, e.g., Sayegh, Kanafani,⁸ Darwish—, identified the struggle over hegemony as a central dimension of the Palestinian question, arguing that Western liberal discourse became historically aligned with Zionism in ways that rendered Palestinians politically and epistemically invisible. Subsequent scholarship has expanded and refined this insight by conceptualizing Zionism as a form of settler colonialism and situating the Palestinian struggle within broader structures of colonial domination.

Settler colonialism refers to a form of colonialism in which settlers seek not only to control territory but to replace or eliminate its indigenous population (Wolfe, 1999; 2006; Carey & Silverstein, 2020). Unlike classical colonialism, which is primarily oriented toward exploitation, settler colonialism is structured around a “logic of elimination” that persists over time and becomes embedded in legal, political, and social institutions (Wolfe 1999). Building on this framework, scholars of Palestine have argued that Zionism constitutes a settler-colonial project shaped by both nationalist aspirations and imperial support (Khalidi, 2020; Pappé, 2006). From this perspective, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not simply a dispute between two national movements, but an

ongoing colonial process aimed at displacing and subordinating the indigenous population (Veracini, 2014; 2015; Quijano, 2000).⁹

This body of work also intersects with decolonial theory, which highlights how knowledge production is structured by colonial hierarchies (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Castro-Gómez & Grosfoguel, 2007; Sayegh, 1965). Within this framework, Palestinian intellectuals and cultural producers play a crucial role in challenging dominant narratives by articulating alternative epistemologies grounded in lived experience and resistance. Their interventions reframe Palestine not only as a geopolitical conflict but as a crucial site of ongoing coloniality, thereby reshaping how solidarity movements interpret and engage with the struggle.

Radicalizing the Palestine Solidarity Movement in Spain. Four intellectual reservoirs

The post-October 2023 Palestinian solidarity wave has increasingly been characterized by the return and growing salience of the internationalist anti-colonial frame (Thomson & Olsen, 2023). While in previous solidarity waves in Spain that took place between 2008 and 2014, emphasis on humanitarianism, local development or ‘peace process’ discourses was more salient, today’s protests return to the language of decolonization, anti-apartheid, settler-colonialism, the rights to return and to (armed) resistance. A language that Palestinian intellectuals, both in historic Palestine and in the diaspora, have used for decades. This resonance raises a crucial question about the direction of solidarity: is it about ‘supporting them’, or about joining ‘our’ interconnected struggles against imperialism, colonialism, coloniality, and fascism to forge anti-colonial futures across ‘here’, ‘there’, and ‘elsewhere’? As Angela Davis (2016) notes, the challenge in building international solidarities lies in cultivating an “intersectionality of struggles,” rather than a combinatorial of identities.

In today’s mobilizations we identify different intellectual reservoirs, which have activated different mechanisms that we will argue- altogether have made the anti-colonial framing salient again. Rather than a rigid typology derived from predefined criteria, these clusters were conceived as analytical clusters that capture distinct modes through which intellectual work contributes to discursive radicalization. They emerged from the thematic analysis of interviews and observations

⁹ This is not a consensual claim, though (see, e.g., Troen & Troen, 2019; Morris, 2020).¹⁰
<https://cuapartheidinvest.substack.com/p/what-is-on-trial-at-columbia-students>.

conducted between winter 2024 and spring 2025, reflecting recurrent patterns in how actors draw on, circulate, and recombine different repertoires of knowledge and critique.

In Spain, slogans such as ‘from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free’ are now accompanied by banners and quotes of Kanafani: “The Palestinian cause is not a cause for Palestinians only, but a cause for every revolutionary” [Interviews # 1, 15, 16] or images of Handala, the barefoot child created by Naji al-Ali, on walls in Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid. These references are not nostalgic, but recombinatory: they link the language of the 20th century liberation struggles with a new grammar of transnational revolt. This intellectual lineage of radicalization connects the Algerian anti-colonial revolutionary Frantz Fanon and Palestinian engaged intellectual Ghassan Kanafani, both of whom articulated the liberation struggle as a total transformation of the colonial self and the world. In the Spanish protests, the invocation of the *shahid* (martyr) and the endorsement of resistance and freedom fighters, once confined to militant Arab discourse, have re-entered streets through chants, art, and digital solidarities. They mark the return of what could be called anti-colonial humanism: a refusal of depoliticized humanitarian pity and a reaffirmation of collective liberation as an ethical horizon.

This reorientation owes to the intellectual genealogies of Palestinian authors who, during the revolutionary decades of twentieth century, spoke up against the Zionist colonial project and intersected the Palestinian struggle for liberation with global anti-colonialism (Kanafani, 1972). Fanon’s notion that the ‘anti-colonial struggle is always a violent phenomenon’ has re-entered Western discourse; as the Palestinian armed resistance illustrates, “until there is occupation, there will be resistance standing for their right to self-determination” (Fanon, 1967). Across the observed Spanish cities, the chanting in defense of armed resistance is not a simplistic endorsement of Hamas and their armed resistance. It is to be read as an affirmation of a people’s right to self-defence, as recognized under international law and to demystify the notion of Palestinian resistance as if it were a monolithic force. Intellectual references, from Kanafani and Fanon to Refaat Alareer, sustain this re-legitimization of anti-colonial struggle within the public sphere.

At the same time, the Spanish solidarity field is internally differentiated. Different organizations and activist milieus mobilize distinct symbolic repertoires, slogans, and interpretive frameworks.

For instance, BDS-oriented organizations tend to foreground legal categories such as apartheid, occupation, and international law, often privileging strategic and rights-based discourse. By contrast, actors closer to Palestinian diaspora networks or grassroots collectives more frequently deploy explicitly anti-colonial language, as well as symbols and references drawn from Palestinian resistance and cultural production. These variations suggest that discursive radicalization does not unfold uniformly, but is mediated by the specific intellectual and organizational infrastructures through which solidarity is articulated.

In what follows we will present a four-fold typology of intellectual reservoirs through which organizers in Spain have radicalized discursively. The categories are differentiated by the primary source of authority they mobilize—embodied resistance, strategic translation, affective-cultural mediation, or institutional legitimacy—and by the specific mechanism through which they make anti-colonial framing more salient within the solidarity movement. Table 1 summarizes each type of intellectual, the origins where it comes from, and mechanisms it unleashes in the discursive radicalization process, as well as some empirical examples. Excerpts of our interviews will be used to illustrate our arguments.

Intellectual reservoirs	Origin	Mechanism	Example	Orgas Spain
Engaged	'Fedayeen' Freedom Fighter Resistance(s)	Cognitive Liberation	Ghassan Kanafani, Basil Al-Araj	Alkarama, Samidoun, Masr Badil, Al-Yudur
Radical Strategist	Boycott Divest Sanction Movement	Attribution of similarity & Downward scale shift	Haidar Eid, Omar Barghouti, Jumal Jama	RESCOP, Prou Complicitat
Organic	Artists, Communicators, Journalists	Affective resonance	Rafeef Ziadah, Refaat Alareer, Darwish, Marwan	Diaspora Sevilla, University Students Encampments
Traditional Institutional	Public/Academic Intellectual	Certification, Amplification	Francesca Albanese, Ilan Pappé	All

Table 1: summary of the four intellectual reservoirs that shape discursive radicalization of the Palestine Solidarity movement.

Engaged Intellectuals: Resistance as ethos that goes to the root of the struggle

The student mobilizations for Palestine have taken over the newspapers' headlines all over the world. Encampments started in spring 2024 at US campuses, like Columbia University in New York City. Students of the Columbia University Apartheid Divest Coalition (CUAD) occupied and renamed the Butler library as 'Basil al-Araj Popular University' after this *engaged intellectual*.¹⁰ This "student Intifada" transcended the US national borders and spread across European universities (Marshi, 2024). In student mobilizations in Catalonia the emphasis was explicitly on 'resistance'. One of the founders of the Committee of Solidarity with Palestine in the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona talked about the start of the collective. They were slowly stirring up

¹⁰ <https://cuapartheiddivest.substack.com/p/what-is-on-trial-at-columbia-students>.

something on the campus before the 7th of October, as there was a void in the landscape of student organizations ,

“[...] there was a sense of urgency that something had to be done quickly, so the process was much faster. It was indeed founded on October 7th, partly thanks to the Palestinian resistance, which is something we must not forget! In fact... let me say that: all this strength we're seeing worldwide for Palestine is thanks to the Palestinian resistance. It's not so much what we've achieved ourselves, but it's because the Palestinian resistance has moved the world to do something. So, thanks to the Palestinian resistance, the collective was founded with just a few people at the beginning. Then it grew; we received support, and a Solidarity Committee with Palestine was created...” (Interview #11).

There, the *fedayeens*, ‘freedom fighters’ in the resistance militias emerged as an intellectual source of radicalization, as well as the more multifaceted figure of the ‘militant intellectual’ who merges political action, revolutionary praxis and intellectual reflection. Among these *engaged intellectuals* we find not only individuals but also collective actors that are committed to the defense, endorsement and support of resistance on the ground. They remind and embody – both alive and posthumously – that their very existence under siege produces epistemic engagement. Engaged intellectuals are those whose authority derives primarily from embodied resistance and political sacrifice rather than from institutional status, cultural production, or formal expertise. What distinguishes them from the other reservoirs is that they radicalize solidarity by making resistance itself a source of knowledge and legitimacy.

Considering that the term *resistance* is polysemic—it can mean popular, armed, or civic resistance—the particularity is the support of the most contentious type, i.e., armed resistance.¹¹ This concept is rooted in the praxis of figures like Ghassan Kanafani. As a writer, organizer and political figure part of the Popular Front of Palestinian Liberation (PFPL), and in his role of editor

¹¹ See work and contributions on ‘armed resistance’ by Spanish Arabist Luz Gómez, e.g., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DAiBsKhHPk0>.

of the political magazine of the movement *Al-Hadaf*¹², he was able to trace a political compass for the revolutionary movement during 60's and 70's through a socialist Arab-nationalist ideology. Also, figures like Leila Khaled (see Khaled, 1973), reference of women's everyday life resistance and the struggle for Palestinian prisoners are the focus of networks of feminist Palestinian activists, e.g., Alkarama,

“So the idea was, as Palestinian women in the diaspora, to start being not the voice of women. [...] No! We are not the voice. They have their own very powerful voice. We are transmitters, we are translators. We are a bridge that tries to convey the voice of Palestinian women who continue to fight today at all levels. But also the historical struggle of Palestinian women. We started translating into Spanish also taking into account that Spanish is a language that is not only spoken and understood here in Spain but also in almost all Latin America... so we thought it was an opportunity to contribute as women in the diaspora” (Interview #1).

What this intellectual repository enables in the solidarity movement in Spain is an unlocking of a radical imagination that expands the terrain of the possible. In this *cognitive liberation* process (McAdam, 2022; McAdam et al., 2001), the ‘click’ and change of perspective that engaged intellectuals ignite in Spain's activists comes from a visceral reaction to the colonial violence that is being suffered and resisted in Palestine. The cognitive realization of the long-lived injustice goes together with an emotional drive to ‘care’, even from the distance. Here, care is not meant as softness or tenderness, it is not pity, or charity, it is to *be-come concern* and thus, motivate action. Be-coming concerned through the engaged intellectuals that are sacrificing for Palestine's liberation enables overcoming the cultural hegemony of the dominant pacifist logic in the West. The Palestinian resistance embodies this counter-hegemonic criticism, bringing back the anti-colonial framing which demands engagement; not to detach reflection from action,

“If you want to be an intellectual, you have to be engaged. If you don't want to be engaged – if you don't want to confront oppression – your role as an intellectual is pointless” (*Al-Araj*, 2018; see *Badaan, & Moghli*, 2025).

¹² <https://revolutionarypapers.org/journal/al-hadaf/>

Testimonies from students, youth movements, and other pro-Palestine actors identify the Palestinian resistance as an important source of intellectual radicality but, more importantly, radical integrity—one collective identity created thanks to new referents for thought and political praxis.

Radical-Strategic Intellectuals: Two decades of Boycott, Divestment and Sanction Movement

The second category comprises the intellectuals that convert anti-colonial critique into modular, actionable repertoires, which is key to the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions Movement (BDS) strategy. Figures such as Haidar Eid, Omar Barghouti (2011), and Jamal Juma' transform the moral economy of solidarity into a theory of change. Barghouti's philosophical rigor and appeal to international law articulates a civil decolonial strategy; Juma' grounds it in land-based anti-apartheid activism (Desai, 2017); while Haidar Eid (2025; 2021) has written about the decolonization of Palestine and Palestine Solidarity. They help translate complex anti-colonial ethics into practical global action, for instance in Barghouti's (2021) understanding of boycott is the minimal act of disobedience available to the global citizen. In his own words, "BDS is deeply rooted in decades of Palestinian popular nonviolent resistance to settler colonialism and is inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement, the U.S. civil rights movement and, to a lesser extent, the Indian and Irish anti-colonial struggles" (Barghouti, 2021, p. 109), and also the Arab boycott of Israel in the 1970s. By adopting boycott campaigns which are not merely symbolic or reputational, but disrupt the material complicities with Israel and affect their economic, diplomatic and institutional apparatus, a similar political change is sought after for Palestine.

These actors have profoundly shaped Spanish networks. In the words of BDZ Nafarroa coordinator, "after the BDS was created they [the Boycott National Committee BNC in Palestine] gave us, internationally, the orientation we needed to advance and strengthen our solidarity with the cause" [Interview #7]. RESCOP, the main platform across Spain, follows the BNC guidelines. Indeed, university collectives, trade unions, and cultural associations frequently quote BDS' triad of goals: end of occupation, equality, right to return,.

These principals are at the core triad of principles of campaigns like the global energy embargo for Palestine. As one interviewee from Andalusia, put it,

“Here in Europe [and in Spain], we're also starting to build networks to denounce the normalization and European complicity with everything related to gas imports. For instance, Israel is stealing gas through a pipeline that passes through Palestinian maritime territory... this isn't just about Palestine, it's about antimilitarism, anti-capitalism, anti-racism, and also the fight for climate justice...” (Interview #25).

BDS guidelines— and specifically their leaders and spokespersons as radical-strategizing intellectuals— contribute to the discursive radicalization of the movement in two ways. On the one hand, providing a conceptual framework through which Spanish activists interpret (economic, academic, political) *complicity* as a colonial mechanism that should be disrupted and dismantled everywhere. This way, it enables the *attribution of similarity* of different milieux, i.e., “the mutual identification of actors in different sites as being sufficiently similar to justify common action” (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 334). On the other hand, it contributes to the *downward scale shift* of the conflict, as the loci of contention goes from transnational to local arenas, influencing actors and their interactions (Portos, 2019). This intellectual reservoir facilitates the way international solidarity can stand up for the Palestinian liberation. It sets a framework that orients action and enables the break-down of the complicity that holds the Zionist project— that involves everyone. It enables the identification of local terrains as fractals, where actions can have ripple effects or are seen as never ending patterns that replicate over and over, and that conform a whole system to be transformed/dismantled (brown, 2019).

Organic Intellectuals: Artists, writers and journalists translating humanity through affective resonance

The number of translations of the poem “*If I Must Die*” have grown exponentially since Refaat Alareer (2023) was killed in Gaza in late 2023. Poetry readings in public squares across Spain have become a widespread type of symbolic performance, where poetry functions as testimony and claim at the same time. These intellectuals collapse the gap between martyrdom and authorship, turning death into pedagogy. Or translating Palestinian suffering and endurance through the affective register that is possible on art, performance, poetry, as Palestinian-Canadian BDS activist Rafeef Ziadah (2013) does.

In Madrid, Valencia, and Bilbao, poetry-for-Palestine gatherings were organized in squares, cultural centers, and universities. Tuqan’s verses on “freedom as the scent of jasmine” were read

at the University of the Basque Country; Darwish's (2003) lines "On this land, there is what makes life worth living", were written on placards and sung during protests.

Poets, filmmakers, and visual artists have been among the most influential intellectuals in the radicalization of solidarity through affective-cultural mediation: they make Palestine emotionally legible and politically resonant by translating colonial violence into shared sensibilities, aesthetic practices, and embodied forms of memory. Above mentioned Mahmoud Darwish, Fadwa Tuqan and Refaat Alareer form a genealogy of poetic resistance that continues alive; filmmakers like Mai Masri and Elia Suleiman, or symbols such as Naji al-Ali's Handala, extend the visual dimension. Their cultural work universalizes the Palestinian condition: oppression is narrated not as exception but as an anchor to talk about global coloniality; as a reminder that 'no one is free until Palestine is free'.

In Spain, film cycles, *dabke* and embroidery workshops (*tatreez* as political pedagogy) have multiplied since 2023. As student activist interviewees told us these were crucial activities for socialization, politicization and affective resonance in the student encampments in Barcelona (Interviews #11/12/14). One interlocutor narrates how these elements "deepene" the meaning of cultural resistance in the student mobilizations for Palestine:

"There were people from the Arab community who were part of the encampment, and we did some really cool things in cultural terms. Trying to move beyond a purely traditionalist, 'Trotskyist' or 'anarchist' perspective, towards one that took into account the cultural and spiritual experiences, visions, and organizational structures of the Arab world. There was tension with this because there were people socialized in the Left who were skeptical about the value of these things; they're used to 'pure', 'hard-core political activism'. For them, dancing, doing dabka, or reading Mahmoud Darwish's poetry was "all good", but ultimately what they believed was more important was to cause disruptions in institutions, agitate, do direct actions, you know?... Our positions was no! It is important that Palestinians and Arab communities are heard. That we create a deeper, more visceral understanding of things, rather than just an anti-imperialist analysis of "we must fight for anti-imperialist causes because that's what theory tells us" and "because it's the path to liberation," without truly understanding that liberation ultimately also means understanding people from within." (Interview #11).

These organic intellectuals do not ‘represent’ Palestine; they translate its endurance into art or *silent protests*, enabling empathy to become method of action. Through these acts, the poetics of *sumud* –*steadfastness*, meaning a shared affect that activates human empathy– has become a pedagogical device. It teaches not only endurance but a form of decolonial tenderness—a way of holding grief and defiance simultaneously. Here, cultural intellectuals are not simply producers of art; they are carriers of a political ontology that is collectively enacted through dance (*dabke*), embroidery (*tatreez*), film screening, and singing. The figure of the intellectual dissolves into a communal practice of aesthetic resistance, where every act of expression becomes political.

“[...] , one way we saw that cultural resistance was a form of struggle, and that's why the Palestinian community is learning to dance dabke, to cook Palestinian food, and also to sell keffiyehs, all kinds of merchandise related to Palestine: flags, necklaces... For example, the current president of the Palestinian community in Seville is from Gaza, from Gaza! She came here four years ago [2021], her family is there! She is a very well-educated person, she wears the hijab—the headscarf that's so reviled in Spain, right?—and so much prejudice... So what we wanted to show with the Palestinian community is that there is all sorts of people here, right? And there is all sorts of people in Palestine. That is why we shouldn't judge [the different ways of being Palestinian and resisting] [...] So, well, that's also a way of making the Palestinian people visible and humanizing them, right? And also, well, to give a voice to our art, our culture, gastronomy and so on...” (Interview #24).

In this quote the reference to *cultural resistance* serves as a *tool to humanize and forge empathic bonds*. It is through cultural practices that people can keep alive Palestine in Spain in spite of the destruction and ethnic cleansing. Artists, through their poems, storytelling, performance art, filmmaking, musicians, dancers and cooks are able to translate the humanity of Palestinians through *affective resonance*— which refers to social interaction being dynamically shaped in an entanglement of moving and being-moved, affecting and being-affected (Mühlhoff, 2015). For many of the interviewees, the cultural resistance was pointed as their main way to act in solidarity with Palestine, stressing the pivotal role of cultural production and diffusion for the spread of the anti-colonial framing. Similarly, in their work Betancor & Portos (forthcoming) refer to the way in which cultural events hosted by Palestinian diaspora in Madrid serve as ‘safe grounds’ where

brokerage is enabled. In this light, and connecting with the next intellectual reservoir, rock-star Roger Waters' song *Sumud* in support of Palestine and the Global Sumud Flotilla, created affective resonance at a global scale, disseminating the meaning of 'Sumud for Palestine'¹³.

Traditional-institutional Intellectuals: more than a moral, a legal obligation.

While this article foregrounds the centrality of Palestinian intellectual production, the distinction between Palestinian and non-Palestinian intellectuals should not be understood in essentialist or strictly national terms. Rather, it is a distinction between different positions within the production and circulation of anti-colonial knowledge. Palestinian intellectuals—whether located in Palestine or in the diaspora—derive epistemic authority from their embeddedness in the structures of colonial domination and resistance. By contrast, non-Palestinian intellectuals intervene from positions external to this lived condition, yet may still play a crucial role in translating, amplifying, or legitimizing anti-colonial claims within hegemonic institutions. Specifically, non-Palestinian traditional intellectuals have mobilized the authority of institutions to expose their complicity. Legal experts and UN officials like Craig Mokhiber and Francesca Albanese, scholars like Ilan Pappé, perform an act of internal rebellion and co-resistance. Their role is analytically distinct from that of Palestinian intellectuals, but complementary within the broader process of discursive radicalization. While they are not representatives of the Palestinian experience, they use their privileged status, platforms, international law forums, and global media as sites of anti-colonial struggle. Their visibility helps crystallize and legitimize grassroots narratives that might not have reached bystanders or the broad public. Institutional intellectuals, and their associated organizations, radicalize by certifying and amplifying claims that movements already advance, translating grassroots framing into formats legible within law, diplomacy, journalism, and public institutions.

In Spain, Albanese's UN reports (2025) and public lectures have been translated, circulated, and cited in parliamentary debates and activist petitions, bridging the street and the institutional arenas. In her UN reports, she certifies the more radical framings that resonate with the solidarity movement; their presence legitimizes what the West would otherwise (still does) dismiss as extremist. In the words of an interviewee,

¹³ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8eZaoNecurA>.

“[...] we need to understand that what is happening is a colonial regime. I believe that the narrative is changing. Very slowly, but it is changing. Even before the 7th of October, the narrative was slowly changing. Before we were talking about occupation, little by little, the term apartheid was integrated, right? Now the reports of Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Bet’Selem, Al-Haj, used those terms! Of course Ilan Pappé helped a lot with his book, but more and more voices are talking about ethnic cleansing and genocide. Even Amnesty International, which took longer, but finally in their report... and of course everything that Albanese is accomplishing and everything that has been done since South Africa issued the case in the International Court of Justice.... All that narrative that was already on the social movements and on the streets, in grassroots organizations, is slowly permeating and reports are being done to document and prove all of this. I believe that now the challenge we face is to talk about colonization, that is the term that we need to disseminate” (Interview #16).

The fact that the international organizations and Israeli figures are taken more seriously than what Palestinians have done for decades, is only a mirror of epistemic coloniality. But the contradiction here is that the structure of international law continues to reflect colonial hierarchies— and that’s the next frontier that anti-colonial movements aim to overcome. The international law has served more the perpetrators than those who are resisting occupation, as the unequal distribution of the “right to self-defense” attests. As only a fully recognized state (Israel) invokes it to justify large-scale violence, while a people under occupation (the Palestinians) are denied the same legal vocabulary, even though their right to resist occupation is strongly grounded in international law.

Towards a decolonial sociology of intellectuals

‘We are not freeing Palestine; Palestine is freeing us’. This quote in pro-Palestine protests, posters, social media posts in Spain epitomizes the way intellectual radicalization in Palestine Solidarity

movement is operating – but also its limitations. It inverts the traditional hierarchy between intellectual and audience, between subject and object of liberation. From a decolonial standpoint, this movement’s intellectual radicalization does not stem from reading European theorists nor public intellectuals but from listening to Palestinians in their plurality; from the BDS founders and campaigners, to poets, dancers, filmmakers, and scholars whose work articulates resistance. The boycott campaign itself operates as an intellectual project, translating a complex anti-colonial ethics into practical global action. The artistic sphere where we locate literature, cinema, *tatreez*, *dabke*, and performance arts, functions as a front line of knowledge production and intellectual radicalization for the solidarity movement. The solidarity wave with Palestine reopens the question of the intellectual not as author, expert, or teacher, but as relay. In Spain (and beyond), Palestinian intellectuals, through their words, images, and testimonies, are radicalizing the moral imagination of the multitudes. Their ideas are not simply received; they are embodied, danced, painted, and sung. This calls for a decolonial sociology of intellectuals that shifts from analyzing how they ‘influence’ movements to how their work becomes movement— or how their thought lives (and dies) in the streets.

Across the four different reservoirs of intellectual radicalization identified in the interviews runs a common lineage, i.e., the unfinished project of Third-World liberation (Hamouchene, 2024). The influence of Fanon and the Algerian FLN is explicit in Barghouti’s writings and in the rhetoric of youth groups such as Al-Yudur or alternatives like Masar Badil. The insistence that liberation is both material and psychological reappears in slogans defending the *shahid* and celebrating the persistence of Gaza. The radicalization of the Spanish solidarity field is therefore not an imported fanaticism that shallowly glorifies the resistance and sacrifice of the Palestinians who have faced for decades settler-colonial violence-, and a televised genocide in the last two years. It is the reactivation of global decolonial memory that also resonates with internal colonialism and the history of colonial legacies that still shape the country and the Spanish society all together. When activists defend armed resistance, they do so from within a normative framework that, despite its loopholes, is recognized by international law: the right of occupied peoples to resist occupation. What appears radical in Western liberal eyes is, in fact, the recovery of a denied right that is both a legal and political terrain of dispute (Erakat, 2019). Therefore, the perception of ‘radicality’ in endorsing resistance and the right to self-defense is not due to the means that are used by those actors, i.e., revolutionary violence. But rather it lies on endorsing insurrectionary tactics that

challenge Western pacifist universalism that the liberal West seeks to maintain notwithstanding (settler) colonial dynamics in place.

Still, what is becoming evident is that one obstacle to fully acknowledging this intellectual revival is Europe's persistent Islamophobic and orientalist filter. The West's selective empathy, as it has been framed, mourning (Ashkenazi) Jews or the white Ukrainian victims of Russia's aggressions, while casting suspicion on Palestinian resistance and downplaying the suffering of the whole Gaza strip and all the occupied territories of historic Palestine, renders Palestinian struggle legible only when sanitized of its militant dimensions (see el-Kurd, 2025).

Dominant Spanish solidarity networks rarely –cautiously- centre organized militant actors, due to fear of criminalization; yet their repeated defence of the resistance and prisoners' struggle might signal a possible re-alignment between secular left internationalism (origins of the *fedayeen*) and anti-imperialist currents in political Islam. Another striking contradiction within the Spanish Solidarity movement is its difficulty in confronting the pervasive islamophobia, orientalism and anti-Blackness that continue to hinder the articulation of interconnected struggles, both in Spain, i.e., the white supremacist aggressions in Torre Pacheco,¹⁴ and also internationally, i.e., spanning through Congo and Sudan to Yemen and Western Sahara. Despite insisting on a global decolonial horizon and marking those connections, massive solidarity to those contexts have not been matched to those of Palestine Solidarity. These blind spots demand further inquiry.

Israel's systematic targeting of cultural institutions, archives, and artists reveals its understanding that culture is not peripheral but central to indigenous resistance.¹⁵ Moreover, the fact that in many of the interviews the cultural resistance was posed as their main way to act in solidarity with Palestine signals the centrality of cultural production and diffusion as a radicalizing area that manages to translate across space and time. The assassination of Ghassan Kanafani in 1972 remains the most emblematic proof that creative and intellectual labour can be perceived as existential threats by a colonial state.

¹⁴ See https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2025/07/21/emeutes-racistes-en-espagne-les-actions-presentees-comme-locales-et-spontanees-sont-frequeemment-organisees-par-des-groupes-exterieurs_6622859_3232.html.

¹⁵ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/06/israeli-attacks-educational-religious-and-cultural-sites-occupied>.

If the 20th century was marked by the figure of the intellectual as vanguard, the 21st may well belong to the martyr-poet, the diasporic witness, the jurist-activist, figures whose authority comes not from mastery but from the shared vulnerability of struggle. This article contributes to the literature on social movements, intellectuals, and transnational solidarity by showing that the ongoing diffusion of the anti-colonial frame as the main interpretive key to the Israeli occupation has (discursively) radicalized the Spanish solidarity field through four distinct yet interconnected intellectual reservoirs. This way, it advances a decolonial approach to intellectuals that moves beyond Eurocentric and author-centered understandings. At the same time, the analysis is limited by its focus on selected regions and organizations within Spain, and by its reliance on qualitative interview data, which does not allow us to assess the broader diffusion and impact of these frames. The proposed typology should therefore be understood as a heuristic rather than an exhaustive classification. Future research could extend this framework comparatively across national contexts, examine how anti-colonial framing interacts with other axes of mobilization, and explore the longer-term effects of these processes on political subjectivities and repertoires of contention.

Palestine today, in Spain and elsewhere, is regarded as a prism through which the multiplicity of global oppressions becomes legible. It diffracts the light of empire, revealing overlapping systems of violence: borders, policing, extractivism, surveillance, racial hierarchies. This politicization, or as activists called it, the “awakening” of multitudes who are “realizing the oppressions” and how “dots” are connected worldwide (Interviews #6, #8, #10, #11, #12, #13, #23), is what makes the Palestinian question today’s moral and political litmus test, a fault line. Through it, Spanish activists and the solidarity movement re-discover the world as a colonial system that has never ended; Palestine is not the exception but the condensation of a planetary imperial/colonial arrangement. Despite limited material impact so far and a disconnect of international solidarity with its effect on countering colonial violence on the ground of Palestine, the emergence of a global solidarity landscape increasingly led by Palestinian voices is a transformation that must be recognized. If sustained, this awakening might pave the way for civil society and governments to match their moral clarity with decisive action toward the liberation Palestinians have imagined and cultivated for generations.

Bibliography

- Al-Araj, B. (2018). *I Found My Answers—Thus Spoke the Martyr Basel al-Araj*. Bisan Press.
<https://ketab.co.uk/products/9783899112399>
- Alareer, R. (2023). If I must die. *Palestine and Us*, 11(2), 14.
- Albanese, F. (2025). *From Economy of Occupation to Economy of Genocide Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*. United Nations.
- Alimi, E. Y., Bosi, L., & Demetriou, C. (2015). *The dynamics of radicalization: A relational and comparative perspective*. Oxford University Press.
- Badaan, V., & Moghli, M. A. (2025). Academic solidarity in the time of genocide. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 1–21.
- Barghouti, O. (2011). *BDS: Boycott, divestment, sanctions: The global struggle for Palestinian rights*. Haymarket Books.
- Barghouti, O. (2021). BDS. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 50(2), 108–125.
- Baud, M., & Rutten, R. (2004). *Popular intellectuals and social movements: Framing protest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Blanco Fernandez, T. (2022). *Un Siglo de resistencia en Palestina. Historias de solidaridad y activismo*.
- Blee, K., & Taylor, V. (2002). Semi-Structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research. In *Methods of Social Movement Research* (edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, pp. 92–117). University of Minnesota Press.
- Bosi, L., & della Porta, D. (2013). Radicalization. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements* (pp. 1–6). The Wiley-Blackwell.
- brown, adrienne maree. (2019). *Emergent Strategy. Shaping change, changing worlds*. AK Press.
<https://www.akpress.org/emergentstrategy.html>
- Carey, J., & Silverstein, B. (2020). Thinking with and beyond settler colonial studies: New histories after the postcolonial. *Postcolonial Studies*, 23, 1–20.
- Castro-Gómez, S., & Grosfoguel, R. (2007). Prólogo. Giro decolonial, teoría crítica y pensamiento heterárquico. In S. Castro-Gómez & R. Grosfoguel (Eds.), *El giro decolonial. Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*. Iesco-Pensar-Siglo del Hombre Editores.
- Chakrabarty, D. (1992). Provincializing Europe: Postcoloniality and the critique of history. *Cultural Studies*, 6(3), 337–357.
- Darwish, M. (2003). *Unfortunately, It Was Paradise: Selected Poems* (M. Akash & C. Forché, Trans.). University of California Press.
- Davis, A. Y. (2016). *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*. Haymarket Books.
- De Sousa Santos, B. (2009). *Una epistemología del sur: La reinención del conocimiento y la emancipación social*. Siglo XXI.

- della Porta, D. (2018). Radicalization: A Relational Perspective. *Annual Review of Political Science*, (21), 461–474. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-042716-102314>
- Della Porta, D., Mendoza Sandoval, L., Portos Garcia, M., & Stagni, F. (2025). ‘Free Palestine!’: Protesting Israel’s war on Gaza in Italy and Spain. *South European Society and Politics*, 30(2).
- Desai, C. (2017). The land is talking to me”: An interview with Jamal Juma’ on meanings of land, decolonization, resistance and solidarity from Palestine. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 6(1).
- Eid, H., & Brittain, V. (2025). *Decolonizing the Palestinian Mind*. Between the Lines.
- Eid, Haider. (2021). Futuristic vision for Palestine. *Human Geography*, 14(3), 379–380.
- El-Kurd. (2025). *Perfect Victims: And the Politics of Appeal*. Haymarket Books.
- Erakat, N. (2019). *Justice for some: Law and the question of Palestine*. Stanford University Press.
- Fanon, F. (1967). *Wretched of the Earth*. Trans. Constance Farrington.
- Gamson. (1992). The Social Psychology of Collective Action. In *Frontiers of Social Movement Theory* (Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller). Yale University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1999). Intellectuals and hegemony. In *Social theory: The multicultural and classic readings*.
- Haiven, M., & Khasnabish, A. (2014). *The Radical Imagination: Social Movement Research in the Age of Austerity*. Zed Books.
- Hamouchene, H. (2024, November 28). Vietnam, Algeria, Palestine. Passing on the torch of the anti-colonial struggle. *Transnational Institute. Middle East and North Africa*. <https://www.tni.org/en/article/vietnam-algeria-palestine>
- Kanafani, G. (1972). *The Revolution of 1936–1939 in Palestine: Background, Details and Analysis* (Translated by Hazem Jamjoun). 1804 Books.
- Khaled, L. (1973). *My people shall live* (George Hajjar). Hedder and Stoughton.
- Khalidi, R. (2020). *The Hundred Years’ War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917–2017*. Metropolitan Books.
- Marshi, A. (2024). *The Student Intifada in the United States* (p. 21).
- Masri, M. (2017). *The Dynamics of Exclusionary Constitutionalism. Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- McAdam, D. (2022). Cognitive Liberation. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm030>
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (2001). *Dynamics of contention. Social Movement Studies*.
- Mendoza, B. (2018). Can subaltern save us? *Tapuya: Latin American Science, Technology and Society*, 1(1), 109–122.

- Mignolo, W. D., & Walsh, C. E. (2018). *On decoloniality: Concepts, analytics, praxis*. Duke University Press.
- Mühlhoff, R. (2015). Affective resonance and social interaction. *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences*, 14(4), 1001–1019. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11097-014-9394-7>
- Pappe, I. (2006). *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. <https://www.meforum.org/middle-east-quarterly/book-reviews/the-ethnic-cleansing-of-palestine>
- Pappé, I. (2017). *Ten Myths About Israel*. Verso.
- Pappe, I. (2025). *Israel on the Brink: And the Eight Revolutions that Could Lead to Decolonization and Coexistence*. Beacon Press.
- Ponzanesi, S. (2021). Postcolonial intellectuals: New paradigms. *Postcolonial Studies*, 24(4), 433–447. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2021.1985232>
- Portos, M. (2019). Keeping dissent alive under the Great Recession: No-radicalisation and protest in Spain after the eventful 15M/indignados campaign. *Acta Politica*, 54(1), 45–74. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41269-017-0074-9>
- Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 215–232.
- Sabbagh-Khoury, A. (2022). Tracing Settler Colonialism: A Genealogy of a Paradigm in the Sociology of Knowledge Production in Israel. *Politics & Society*, 50(1), 44–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329221999906>
- Said, E. (1979). *The Question of Palestine* (VintageBooks).
- Sayegh. (1965). *Zionist colonialism in Palestine* (Vol. 1). Research Center, Palestine Liberation Organization.
- Snow, D. A. (2023). Framing and social movements. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements* (edited by David A Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans & Doug McAdam, 2nd edition). Wiley-Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm434.pub2>.
- Snow, D., & Benford, R. D., (1988). Ideology, frame resonance and participant mobilization. In *From structure to action: Social movement participation across cultures* (edited by Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi & Sidney Tarrow), pp. 197–217. JAI Press.
- Snow, D.A., Vliegenthart, R., & Ketelaars, P. (2018). The Framing Perspective on Social Movements. In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (edited by D.A. Snow, S.A. Soule, H. Kriesi and H.J. McCammon), pp. 392–410. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Spivak, G. (2023). Can the subaltern speak? In *Imperialism* (pp. 171–219). Routledge.
- Thomson, S. A. M., & Olsen, P. V. (2023). Introduction: Palestine in the World. In *Palestine in the World: International Solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Movement* (pp. 1–24). Bloomsbury Academic.
- Todorova, T. (2021). *Decolonial Solidarity in Palestine-Israel: Settler Colonialism and Resistance from Within*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Troen, I., & Troen, C. (2019). Indigeneity. *Israel Studies*, 24(2), 17–32.

Veracini, L. (2015). *The settler colonial present*. Springer.

Wolfe, P. (1999). *Settler-Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The politics and poetics of an ethnographic event* (Cassell).

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4), 387–409.

Ziadah, R. (2013). *Outside the multicultural: Solidarity and the silencing of Palestinian narratives* [PhD Political Science, York University].

https://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/bitstream/10315/32038/1/Ziadah_Rafeef_2014_PhD.pdf

Appendix 1

#	COD	ORGANIZATION	DATE INTERVIEW
	MA		
1	MA_1	Alkarama	DEC 2024
	EH		
2	BC_1	Gernika-Palestina	DEC 2024
3	BC_2	Mundubat	DEC 2024
4	BC_3	LAB Union	DEC 2024
5	BC_4	Askapena/Sakana Harana	DEC 2024
6	BC_5	Yala Nafarroa/CGT Nafarroa	DEC 2025
7	BC_6	BDZ Nafarroa	DEC 2025
8	BC_7	KEM-MOC	DEC 2025
	CAT		
9	CAT_1	RESCOP	JUL 2024
10	CAT_2	UB Encampment	JUN 2024
11	CAT_3	Comité Estudiantil por Palestina	DEC 2024
12	CAT_4	UAB. Accion por pal	DEC 2024
13	CAT_6	UAB. Encampment Accion por pal	MAR 2025
14	CAT_9	UMAUB	MAR 2025
15	CAT_8	Palestina. Cat + Profes por Palestina	MAR 2025
16	CAT_5	Suds/ Prou Complicitat amb Israel	MAR 2025
17	CAT_7	ACJP-JUNTS	MAR 2025
	AND		
18	AN_1	Cordoba con Palesina	JUL 2024
19	AN_2	Cadiz con Palestina	JUN 2025
20	AN_3	Acampada U Cadiz	JUN 2025
21	AN_4	Acampada U Sevilla	JUN 2025

22	AN_5	Juventudes Cordobesas X Palestina	JUN 2025
23	AN_6	Comunidad Palestina de Sevilla	MAY 2025
24	AN_7	UNADIKUM	JUL 2025
25	AN_8	Global Energy Embargo	JUL 2025