Volume 1, Issue 1 (2025), pp. 39-68
Journal of Global Higher Education
https://www.jghe.org
DOI: 10.25774/jghe.v1i1.4

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Scholasticide in Gaza and Palestine as a Portal: A Duoethnography on Silence, Silencing and the Struggle for a Better World

Hiba B. Ibrahim
PhD Candidate in Applied Linguistics, York University, Canada
hibabasibrahim@gmail.com
ORCiD: 0009-0008-6374-9680

Savo Heleta*
Research Associate, Chair of Critical Studies in Higher Education Transformation (CriSHET), Nelson Mandela University, South Africa
sheleta@gmail.com
ORCiD: 0000-0002-7478-742X
*Corresponding author

Abstract

The unprecedented destruction of the education sector in Gaza since October 2023, including the systematic destruction of all higher education institutions, is known as scholasticide. This has been part of the onslaught intended to impede the survival and existence of Palestinians as a people. The genocide and scholasticide in Gaza have been a global affair, from international support for Israel, on one side, to a growing global movement against the genocide, much of it spearheaded by university students, on the other. The repression and silencing of students, academics and staff who speak out against the genocide have, too, been a global affair, as has been the silence of many leaders, administrators and individuals in the global higher education sector. In this paper, we employ duoethnography as a research method and draw on our personal and professional experiences as researchers and practitioners in higher education and internationalization to critically engage with this moment and what it represents. We unpack how the events in Gaza and Palestine should influence global higher education to engage more critically with the struggles for social justice. We discuss the global responsibility during a genocide, and the responses to scholasticide in Gaza in the higher education sector. We explore what this moment means for higher education going forward, framing this around the need to organize more and better globally to challenge

and dismantle coloniality, capitalism, and neoliberalism which continue to wreck the lives of billions of people around the world.

Keywords: Gaza, genocide, global citizenship, higher education, intercultural education, international education, Palestine, scholasticide

> *'Once far enough removed, everyone will be properly aghast that any of this was allowed to happen. But for now, it's just so much safer to look away, to keep one's head down, periodically checking on the balance of polite society to see if it is not too troublesome yet to state what to the conscience was never unclear.'*
>
> Omar El Akkad (2025: 22)

Introduction

Since October 2023, Israeli crimes against humanity, crimes of extermination and genocide in Gaza have killed tens of thousands of Palestinians and have destroyed much of the besieged Gaza Strip (Albanese, 2024; Amnesty International, 2024; Fassin, 2025; Forensic Architecture, 2024; Human Rights Watch, 2024; Republic of South Africa, 2023; Sultany, 2024). The destruction of the education sector, including the systematic destruction of all higher education institutions in the Strip (Al-Mqadma et al., 2024; Dader et al., 2024; Forensic Architecture, 2024; Gaza Academics and Administrators, 2024; United Nations, 2024), known as scholasticide, is part of the genocidal onslaught intended to impede the survival and existence of Palestinians as a people (Albanese, 2024; Gaza Academics and Administrators, 2024; Matthews et al., 2024; Republic of South Africa, 2023; United Nations, 2024). Scholasticide is a term first coined by Palestinian scholar Karma Nabulsi in 2009 to describe systematic and deliberate attacks by Israeli forces on the Palestinian education sector, particularly in Gaza, with the aim to annihilate the ability of Palestinian people to learn, teach, conduct scholarly research, and preserve their history and culture (in Ahmad & Vulliamy, 2009). The systematic nature of Israeli attacks and complete destruction of all levels of education in Gaza since October 2023 (Amer, 2024; Dader et al., 2024; Forensic Architecture, 2024; United Nations, 2024; World Bank, European Union & United Nations, 2025) are unprecedented in Palestine and globally. They represent a comprehensive and methodical attempt to erase the Palestinian education sector, deprive the Palestinian people of their right to education, and dismantle the foundations of the Palestinian society and its future (Amer, 2024; United Nations, 2024).

The genocide and scholasticide in Gaza have been a global affair, supported by much of the Western world through the provision of arms and diplomatic support to Israel (Ayyash, 2025; El-Shewy et al., 2025; Fassin, 2025). At the same time, there is a growing global movement against the genocide and scholasticide in the Gaza Strip and

against the Israeli occupation in Palestine, much of it spearheaded by students on university campuses in North America, Europe, and elsewhere. Similarly, the repression and silencing of students, academics, and staff who speak out or protest against the genocide, scholasticide, Israeli occupation, and apartheid have been a global affair, as has been the silence of many leaders, administrators, and individuals in the global higher education sector (Fúnez-Flores, 2024; Hajir & Qato, 2025; Khan, 2024; Matthews et al., 2024; Shoman et al., 2025). The recent pro-Palestine activism and repression in the academy have reopened the debate over academic freedom and the role of higher education institutions in promoting voices that bring attention to global and human rights issues. All this makes Gaza and Palestine key issues in and for global higher education at this moment in time.

The aim of this paper is to critically engage with the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza and the responses and/or silences to the livestreamed mass destruction and horrors in the global higher education sector. Fully aware of more than a century-long struggle of the Palestinian people with British colonialism and the Israeli settler colonialism, occupation, apartheid, oppression, and subjugation (Albanese, 2024; El Akkad, 2025; Fassin, 2025; Khalidi, 2020; Said, 1980), in this paper, we focus on this moment and what it represents for Palestinians, their existence and their future, including the preservation of Palestinian history, culture, education, and knowledge production capacity. We discuss the global responsibility during a genocide and scholasticide, and the responses to scholasticide in Gaza in the global higher education sector— both the protests against the genocide and scholasticide and the silences and subjugation of many who speak out against the genocide and in support of Palestinian people. We engage with all this and explore what it means for global higher education and concepts such as global citizenship and intercultural education.

To engage with these issues, we employ duoethnography as a research method. Duoethnography allows for a dialogic, critical, and reflexive engagement with this topic. Similar to Lowe and Lawrence (2020), we both came to duoethnography because we could not find our experiences and views on this topic in most of the scholarly literature we were engaging with. Duoethnography gives us the frame under which we can present our personal experiences as valid and explore them further by juxtaposing them with one another and the broader literature. Theoretically, the paper and our thinking are framed within decolonial theory and praxis (Shoman et al., 2025), as well as the pedagogy of *sumud*, or steadfastness, which represents a form of Palestinian resistance to Israeli oppression and occupation (Awayed-Bishara, 2025). Importantly, we see our engagement with this moment of genocide and scholasticide in Gaza as our public role as critical scholars in international education. As pointed out by Said (2002), we have a responsibility to go beyond theorizing; we must call out gross injustices we see in the world and the silence of many who also see these injustices on a daily basis but choose to remain silent and indifferent. As such, this paper represents a refusal “to look away” and a form of resistance to the systematic “silencing and erasure” of Palestinian suffering and the ongoing scholasticide in Gaza (Badwan & Phipps, 2025, p. 4).

Methodology

We are international higher education students, scholars, and practitioners – a Palestinian and a Bosnian – with diverse experiences in the sector and in different parts of the world (we unpack our backgrounds and positionality in more detail below). To engage with the issues highlighted in the introduction, we employ duoethnography, also known as collaborative autoethnography. This is a research method that combines autoethnography with research collaboration of two or more researchers who engage dialogically on a specific topic or phenomena. This way, they bring in and contrast their unique perspectives and broaden the understanding of a topic under focus beyond a one-person perspective (Chang et al., 2013; Lapadat, 2017; Morgan & Ahmed, 2023). Duoethnography closely follows the autoethnographic research method and practices. Autoethnography is a qualitative research method that allows researchers to engage on a topic through a reflection linked to their own personal experience(s) and combine this with an ethnographic analysis of the broader context under study (Adams et al., 2017; Butz & Besio, 2009; Ellis et al., 2010; Lapadat, 2017). In autoethnographic studies, researchers interrogate, reflect upon, and scrutinize "their own self-understandings as a way to shape understandings of and in the wider world" (Butz & Besio, 2009, p. 1660). By reflecting on personal experiences, combined with engagement with relevant literature, autoethnography and duoethnography provide an opportunity for researchers to "speak against, or provide alternatives to, dominant, taken-for-granted, and harmful cultural [social, political and/or geopolitical] scripts, stories, and stereotypes" (Adams et al., 2017, p. 3).

Duoethnography allows for a deep investigation of hegemonic discourses and social justice issues by encouraging dialogic interactions between people from different backgrounds, enabling a reflexive understanding of oppression and dehumanization. Through its focus on lived experiences, together with relational ethics and the strategic pairing of diverse perspectives, the method disrupts singular narratives and reveals how power systems function in daily life (Breault, 2016; Norris et al., 2012). Duoethnography promotes the humanization of both researchers and topics by prioritizing marginalized voices and counter-narratives, while at the same time embracing diversity and aligning with critical and decolonial research traditions that work to understand, contest, and dismantle injustices (Dillard, 2000; Sawyer & Norris, 2013). Thus, this methodology functions as a critical practice which advances transformative research.

Mutual trust and comfort to expose oneself and one's own historical experiences to their co-author are key principles in duoethnography. Although this paper marks our first collaboration, we have been following each other's work for a few years. Our presence and engagement with one another on LinkedIn, specifically, made our involvement in the topic more visible to one another. What we had in common in terms of interest in research and practices on decolonizing higher education, education in Palestine, and the politics of knowledge and education in the wider "Global South" motivated us to bring our different backgrounds and professional experiences to engage with the scholasticide in Gaza. Our process first included discussing—and later identifying—key questions we have been engaging with through our recent experiences

and work in higher education. We both engaged in conversations and dialogue via online meetings over three months to unpack our experiences, explore the current narratives around Gaza in the academy, in the media, and in the scholarly literature. We also engaged in discussions around relevant recent events, contrasting them with our own experiences in the academic communities of which we are members. These dialogues helped us construct the themes and subthemes we engage with below, as well as conduct our thematic analysis by identifying patterns, tensions, contradictions, and moments of insight we found emerging (Norris et al., 2012). We recorded our notes on shared online documents and reflected on them offline afterwards to reconstruct our conversations into more accessible drafts. As part of our dialogic process, we also reflected on our personal stories that challenge mainstream narratives (Lowe & Lawrence, 2020) and engaged with our drafted scripts and relevant literature through which we individually and jointly constructed meanings around this moment. Engaging in reflexive writing helped us explore how our own identities, beliefs, contexts, and worldviews shape our interactions and understandings of the world around us (Breault, 2016). As part of our evolving understanding of each other's writings, we returned to one another with questions, comments, and challenges to our experiences and interpretations of the issues discussed (Norris, 2008). In the next section, we discuss in greater detail our choice of duoethnography as a methodology in this paper, its relevance to the topic under focus, and reflect on our positionality.

Conceptualizing This Moment Through Duoethnography

Hiba

Savo, this is our first collaboration, and it is also my first time using duoethnography as a research methodology. I remember when I reached out to you to collaborate, I was confident that duoethnography has several strengths that would help us amplify our discussion. By serving as "sites of inquiry" (Burleigh et al., 2022), dialogues like this not only help us trace and unpack the topics of genocide, scholasticide, global responsibility, and global higher education through each other's personal and professional journeys, but also present an opportunity to reflect on our practice as educators and critical thinkers. Duoethnographers need to embrace open-mindedness when critically reflecting on each other's perspectives and understandings of the world (Morgan & Ahmed, 2023). I must say, however, that doing that can put duoethnographers in discomfort and vulnerability because of the transparency, authenticity, and depth of the dialogue (Norris & Sawyer, 2017). The monthly conversations we have had in preparation for this dialogue have given me the confidence to engage with you on the topic of scholasticide in Gaza and be emotional and confused about our place in the world. These conversations allowed me to keep thinking of my identity: Who am I as a human being, a global educator, a researcher? This allows duoethnographers to develop mutual respect (Norris & Sawyer, 2017). Without this respect, we would never be able to discuss critical events we are addressing in this dialogue as openly and as comprehensively.

As a Jordanian with Palestinian roots, the war on Gaza has made me realize the importance of having more open scholarly discussions on the attacks against basic human rights to education, freedom, security, and a life with dignity in Palestine, and what we think global higher education sector should be aware of—and do—at this moment in time. I was born in Kuwait in 1987 to Palestinian parents from a village called *Attil* in the city of *Tulkarm* in the West Bank. Both my parents were born in the Arabian Gulf because my grandparents were forced to leave Palestine after the 1948 *Nakba*[1] to the Arabian Gulf, searching for decent jobs to support themselves and their family members whom they left behind in Palestine. Due to the declaration of the state of Israel in 1948, the West Bank was legally under the ruling of the Kingdom of Jordan between 1950-1988, and Palestinians in the West Bank were granted Jordanian citizenship. However, Palestinians who were not residents of the West Bank at the time, like my family, lost the right to hold a Palestinian ID and passport. In other words, we are denied our right to enter Palestine unless we obtain a visitor visa through an Israeli embassy. For that reason, I have never been to Palestine.

This dilemma of belonging and not belonging to my own roots has felt like what Said (1980, p. 111) described about Palestinians after 1948, who "disappeared nationally and legally." My heart and mind could not bear but think about my life trajectory if I had grown up in Palestine: What would our home be like? What if I had gone to school and made friends in Tulkarm? What about university and my first job? These were just a few of the many questions I have wondered about for years. My parents always entertained us, my siblings and I, with stories from their school summer breaks they spent back in rural Attil. Similarly, I grew up with my grandparents' stories about *elbayyarat* (farms), the *fallahi* (countryside) life and all that they lived through the *Nakba* and *Naksa*[2]. I also engaged with extended family members over the years visiting Amman from Tulkarm and RamAllah, sharing experiences of hours of humiliation at Israeli checkpoints, stories about prison, and hopes of a free Palestine. Palestine was always part of me; there was no doubt about that. It was never easy to connect my life experiences in Jordan with those of my family members, but, over time, their stories gradually became the roots of an inherited heritage—passed down through generations—making it almost impossible to lose our "old" identity, no matter where we are in the world (Said, 1980).

Although I never lived my parents' and grandparents' struggles, my Palestinian identity has shaped my professional career and personal interests. I have played the role of an international student studying English abroad, roaming the West to share stories about my people and my Arab Muslim culture. As a student of English language and literature, I became interested in storytelling, historical fiction, and diasporic literature. The works of Ghassan Kanafani and Murid Barghouti accompanied me on my daily bus rides and between classes, grounding me in the struggles in my homeland. The

[1] *Nakba* means catastrophe in Arabic and it refers to the ethnic cleansing and the mass displacement and dispossession of Arab Palestinians after the establishment of the state of Israel during 1948 (United Nations, n.d.).

[2] *Naksa* means defeat in Arabic and it refers to the 1967 war when Egypt, Jordan, and Syria fought together against Israel. The war ended with Israel seizing the remaining Palestinian territories of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, as well as the Syrian Golan Heights and Egypt's Sinai Peninsula (Al-Tahhan, 2018).

knowledge I was acquiring—both through my family and readings—contributed to a more nuanced and embodied understanding of *sumud* (steadfastness) in relation to the lived realities of occupation in Palestine and the pervasive structures of coloniality that have long shaped our collective experience.

My education career has been diverse and has included designing learning experiences for teachers and learners, in Jordan and beyond, and facilitating intercultural dialogues. Throughout the years, I naturally integrated the pedagogy of *sumud* into my approaches to intercultural language teaching and training, curriculum design, and in my research work as an emerging scholar in my field. As Awayed-Bishara (2024) explains, "sumud pedagogy offers a new framing of linguistic citizenship as a decolonial pedagogy by drawing attention to the way marginalized groups… redefine themselves by reclaiming space and 'learning to unlearn' colonial fear" (p. 25). To me, it is always a priority to encourage my students (and teachers) to challenge the fear of the "other" voice, search for hidden truths, and truly listen to other perspectives. As a practitioner and a scholar in language and intercultural communication, the Palestinian cause has always inspired me to read and learn about injustices around me, speak loudly against unfairness, and create opportunities for change. This includes promoting decolonial approaches to designing and facilitating educational experiences for students I work with, questioning the status quo, and examining marginalized voices and the hidden powers suppressing them.

Throughout the several wars in Gaza over the years, I have had the honor of getting to know and collaborate with great Palestinian scholars, such as Refaat Alareer and others, to support Gazan student voices. I have also collaborated on different projects to support English language teachers in Palestine. My work on education within refugee communities has allowed me to see the power of education and cultural awareness of what is happening in the region. "Education is a weapon" is a common saying you hear in Palestinian families and working with people within these projects was a proof of that. The motivation to speak about Palestine strengthened while working on my doctoral degree in Canada; there, I learned more about the struggles of the Indigenous communities across Canada. It felt like engaging with and learning about the *Nakba* twice. In another paper (Ibrahim, forthcoming) I share more about how observing the current war on Gaza has impacted how I perceive my identity as a Palestinian scholar in Western academia. The profound disappointment I carry to this day about how universities have failed their students and scholars on account of their pro-Palestine activism and advocacy will invariably be a catalyst for further discourse about Palestine under occupation.

Savo

Hiba, like you, this is the first time I'm collaborating on an academic publication using duoethnography. I'm glad you brought up our conversations and the idea to work on something together related to scholasticide in Gaza. As you note, our conversations were very important. I remember our online meetings, talking about the horrific scenes of the genocide in Gaza we were watching daily on our screens, what this means to you and what it means to me, and often just shaking our heads in disbelief and not really knowing what to say. The vulnerability and emotion you speak about, which are part of

duoethnography, were always there in our online conversations. To be honest, I needed this; I needed to engage critically about this moment and reflect on the role and complicities of the universities and academia in maintaining the status quo and silencing those fighting for justice and freedom in Palestine. This is also an opportunity to engage with the silencing we are seeing in many places, which we have also discussed in our conversations. I'm glad we got to work on this as people who work in international education. As much as we are offering our perspectives, we are also learning about each other, what drives and motivates us, and why we do what we do.

In terms of the theoretical perspectives that inform my thinking in this paper and broadly about the struggles in Palestine and the ongoing scholasticide in Gaza, my thinking is framed within decolonial theory and praxis (Fúnez-Flores et al., 2022; Shoman et al., 2025; Walsh, 2023). Decolonization, according to Walsh (2023), is a "project, process, practice and praxis that is struggled, thought and actioned… in ways that put into question and tension the still-colonial projects of these societal structures and institutions" (p. 522). Palestinians have struggled first under British colonialism and later under Israeli settler colonialism and apartheid for many decades (Albanese, 2024; Khalidi, 2020; Said, 1980) and this is why decolonial theory and praxis are relevant here. Scholars such as Ayyash (2025) see the ongoing Palestinian struggle as a decolonial struggle with both local and global implications and relevance. Decolonial theory and associated frameworks allow us to "name and interrogate oppressive systems" and critically interrogate ways to challenge and dismantle them (Fúnez-Flores et al., 2022, p. 610-611), which is what we are attempting to do here in reference to the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza and the responses and silences in global higher education.

I'm from Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country that emerged in the early 1990s after the violent breakup of the former Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's breakup led to numerous wars; the war in Bosnia was particularly horrific, leading to ethnic cleansing, genocide, suffering and displacement of millions, and the killings of around 100,000 people between 1992-1995. I spent the first two years of the war in Gorazde, a city under a brutal siege in the eastern part of Bosnia. I have experienced a lot of what I have seen happening in Gaza, which has also been under a siege since 2007 and has experienced many wars since then. We were under constant bombardments and sniper fire; my family was arrested and spent months in detention; we lived without electricity, water was scarce, and we were often without food. I did not go to school for two years. For years after the war, I struggled to come to terms with my experience but somehow found a way to deal with the past and move on. A key part in this process was my international education experience in the United States, as well as a study abroad experience and later postgraduate studies in South Africa. I decided to write a book about my wartime experience after I spent a semester in South Africa (Heleta, 2008), which was an important part of moving on with my life.

My academic and research interests have been shaped by my wartime experience in Bosnia. In addition to this, I studied history in my undergraduate studies, focusing on European colonialism, apartheid in South Africa, and the Rwandan genocide. In my Masters in conflict transformation and management, I studied the conflicts between Sudan and South Sudan, and the conflict and genocide in Darfur. In my PhD, my focus was on post-war reconstruction and development in Bosnia, South Sudan, and

Somaliland. Later, I tried to link all these past subjects and focus areas to international education, exploring how to support rebuilding and strengthening higher education in conflict settings and in the aftermath of war and destruction. A lot of my current work extends on this past research. In addition, my work and research on epistemic decolonization, internationalization, and international research collaboration tackles the Eurocentric epistemic hegemony and coloniality of knowledge.

Regarding Palestine, I have known about the Palestinian struggle since I was a kid. Yugoslavia was a socialist country, part of the non-aligned movement. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, Yugoslavia supported the Palestinian struggle for liberation, and news about Palestine was often on our TV screens. For years after the war in Bosnia, I was dealing with my own challenges and displacement, and I did not have time to closely follow what was happening in other parts of the world. This changed when I went to study in the United States, and later in South Africa. I closely followed the first war in Gaza under siege in 2008-2009. The footage of bombardments and destruction, the suffering of Palestinian people, and particularly the murder of hundreds of kids in Gaza by Israeli bombs brought back the memories of my own wartime experience. I felt a responsibility to speak out. I wrote an open letter to Elie Wiesel, a Holocaust survivor and the author of *Night*, asking him how he could remain silent about the atrocities in Gaza, particularly since he has been very vocal about the importance of speaking out whenever and wherever we see the suffering of other people (Heleta, 2009). That piece went viral, but I never got a reply. Years later, we are witnessing even worse atrocities against the Palestinian people, as well as the same silence and indifference of many around the world. As a researcher in higher education and internationalization, the fact that many in the sector are either silent or indifferent to the livestreamed scholasticide and genocide in Gaza has had a profound impact on me and my views of higher education and the people working in it. While concepts such as social justice, inclusion, and equality are plastered everywhere, they are often undermined by the very institutions that claim to uphold them—through the actions and inactions of universities, academics, and administrators, and the persistent whitewashing and hypocrisy embedded within higher education. This is why this moment is important; we must tackle and call out this hypocrisy, immorality, and dehumanization.

What This Moment Says about the World, Humanity, and Higher Education

Hiba

I cannot imagine the difficulties a child goes through in a war; the struggles, yet the early matureness it brings to one. Your description of the moment we are currently living in and observing is important. Our observation of what is happening around us always leaves an impact on our understanding of the world and the changes it goes through. The rapid development of technology enables us to witness numerous events captured in images and videos shared via social media. As much as learning about what is happening in Gaza has educated the world about the struggles in Palestine for almost

eight decades, we find ourselves in need to process what is currently happening and its impacts before initiating any action about the future. We are having this discussion after more than a year of genocide against Palestinians in Gaza, and after many years of excessive Israeli violence against Palestinians in both Gaza and the West Bank. Between October 2023 and March 2025, more than 52,000 people have been killed in Gaza (Yussuf et al., 2025). Other researchers argue that the death toll in Gaza is at least 40% higher than the official figure (Jamaluddine et al., 2025). It is estimated that 10% of Gaza's population was either killed or injured during the current war, and 88% of the Strip's infrastructure has been fully destroyed (Quds News Network, 2025). As for higher education, the Israeli forces have completely destroyed all institutions in Gaza during this war, depriving around 90,000 students from completing their education. In a powerful letter to the world, academics and administrators from Gaza declared their commitment to resume teaching and research despite everything they are going through. This letter is an open invitation to us all to provide immediate support to Gaza's universities, and to stand against Israel's systematic destruction of the education system (Gaza Academics and Administrators, 2024). The Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education announced the resumption of the academic year in Gaza in mid-2024, with much of it taking place online (Al-Mqadma et al., 2024). It is important to highlight this as it shows how much Palestinians value education, despite all the challenges they are going through.

Savo

As you note, Hiba, this moment is important as we are watching the genocide and scholasticide on our screens. We are also watching closely many people and colleagues who have been claiming to be all for diversity, inclusion, and equality—as well as the promotion of justice, human rights, and global citizenship in higher education—either remain silent or actively suppress solidarity with Palestine and the suffering people of Gaza. While we are focusing on this moment, and the systematic and widespread campaigns to shut down anti-genocide protests or any activity aimed at showing solidarity with the Palestinians, this has been the reality—both in Palestine and globally—for more than a century. In *The Question of Palestine*, Edward Said (1980) writes about systematic campaigns to shut down Palestinian narratives and deny the existence of Palestine and the Palestinian people since British colonial rule. This was done by the British colonizers and the Zionist lobby around the world in order to take over Palestine and prepare the ground for ethnic cleansing, settler colonialism, and the creation of Israel at the end of the 1940s. And it has been going on until today.

When we say we are focusing on this moment in Palestine, and specifically on the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza, we are looking at the world, the responses, the silences, and complicities with the genocide and scholasticide on one side, and the resistance to the occupation, genocide, and the normalization of the destruction of schools, universities and hospitals, and the murder and starvation of tens of thousands of Palestinians, on the other. Gaza and the rest of Palestine are, in many ways, a portal, to borrow from Arundhati Roy (2020). Baconi (2024) warns that through the "confinement, surveillance, mass torture, de-development, de-ecologizing, imprisonment, starvation, bombardment… Gaza offers a road map for confronting and managing populations that must be forgotten so that the civilized of the world can claim their humanity and

superiority" (para. 8). But, again, it is important to remember that this is not new; many formerly colonized and oppressed people around the world have seen in the oppression of Palestinian people their own struggles and experiences for many decades (Said, 1980). This is why the century-long plight of the Palestinians (Khalidi, 2020) has been and remains a global issue (Ayyash, 2025).

Hiba

I think you described it fairly, Savo. Such severe and violent attacks will never end with Gaza. The global history of oppression reminds us that moments of violence and conflict do not emerge in isolation—they are the result of long-standing historical, political, and structural conditions that often span decades or even centuries. As we consider the ongoing wars around the world, it is essential not only to reflect on how we might work toward ending them, but also to critically trace the underlying causes and decisions that allowed such horrific events to unfold in the first place. While the current genocide in Gaza—this horrific moment in Palestinian history—has been unthinkably brutal, harrowing and existential (El-Kurd, 2025), the oppression and subjugation of Palestinians has been going on for many decades in different forms (Albanese, 2024; Khalidi, 2020; Republic of South Africa, 2023). El Akkad (2025) writes that "it has always been this way—not just in this moment, this culmination of so many previous moments" (p. 95). The Israeli occupation and apartheid have fragmented Palestinian society, destroyed its economy, and led to underdevelopment (Amnesty International, 2022; Keelan & Browne, 2020; Knudsen & Tartir, 2017; Said, 1980). The silencing and erasure of Palestinian narratives has been going on for decades (Said, 1980); so has scholasticide (Ahmad & Vulliamy, 2009; Dader et al., 2024; Post, 2024). Education in Palestine is essential for the preservation of the Palestinian identity and has always served as a tool of resistance to the occupation and socio-economic and political mobilization against Israeli oppression and apartheid. This is why it has been a target of Israeli restrictions, repression, and military attacks for decades, with the universities in Gaza and the West Bank bearing the brunt of the oppression (Abu Lughod, 2000; Alfoqahaa, 2015; Dader et al., 2024; Erni, 2013; Jebril, 2023; Post, 2024; Qassrawi, 2024). During the first Intifada, for instance, Israel imposed closure of all universities in Gaza and the West Bank between 1987-1993. For decades, children and students in the West Bank have had to spend hours every day crossing checkpoints, humiliated and assaulted by Israeli soldiers, before reaching schools and universities (Dader et al., 2024). Similarly, the attacks on those challenging apartheid, military occupation, repression and settler colonialism in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and most parts of the Western world are nothing new (Hajir & Qato, 2025; Jackson et al., 2015; Said, 1980; Wind, 2024). Importantly, the silencing and brutality must be seen in broader and much longer historical processes of European imperialism, genocidal erasure, and settler colonialism, as well as ongoing Euro-American global coloniality, including in higher education (Fúnez-Flores, 2024; Hajir & Qato, 2025).

Although this moment in Gaza seems to be specific to Palestinians, it is, as you noted, a global issue. It has turned this moment into one of awareness and understanding that neocolonialism or coloniality still exist and are maintained by hegemonic powers around the world. Zionism mirrors the settler-colonial ideologies that dispossessed

Indigenous peoples in places like Canada, Australia, South Africa, and the United States—denying them their land, languages, faith, and humanity (Said, 1980). The genocide in Gaza has awakened vulnerable memories about suppression, murder, and the violation of basic human rights around the world. "Gaza is the abject of our time," as Tareq Baconi (2024, para. 2) argues. It makes us confront an "Other" hiding within us; an Other that longed to "disrupt the norms around us that we are socialized into and come to abide by" but was always "trampled on, marginalized, and suppressed in the anxious belief that its acknowledgement might destabilize the Self and bring it to ruin" (Baconi, 2024, para. 1). As I share in my other forthcoming piece (Ibrahim, forthcoming), this war symbolizes a moment of one's self-declaration in public: to be or not to be.

Not only is this genocide a prevailing moment in the history of the Palestinian cause, but also one of revelation when many governments in the West refrained from condemning Israel's brutal attacks on Gaza or supporting the calls for a ceasefire. It was then when young people in the West started realizing the levels of unconditional support their governments have provided Israel with. The United States, for instance, has provided Israel with almost 70% of its imported weapons between 2011-2020 and has approved around $17 billion in support of Israel in April 2024 alone. The United Kingdom and Germany exported £426 million and €326.5 million, respectively, in military equipment to Israel between October 2023 and October 2024 (Altun, 2024). We have seen many public figures, scholars, community leaders, journalists, and organizations educate their communities about this dark reality. Unfortunately, higher education institutions in most Western countries have not engaged critically with the many decades of brutal occupation in Palestine. On the contrary, they have actively suppressed pro-Palestinian voices among students and staff—punishing those who speak out, silencing calls for a ceasefire, and using institutional policies to eliminate critical discourse and meaningful action on Palestine. Student activists realized that their institutions were supporting this war by investing in partnerships and financial investments in the Israeli war machine. A few universities in Canada, for instance, invest in arms companies that sell weapons to Israel and others that invest in illegal settlements in the West Bank (Nerestant, 2024; Tanguay, 2024). I never thought such complicity would include contracts of millions of dollars from the Israeli Ministry of Defense to conduct research projects on missile systems or in companies developing technologies that end up being used to subjugate Palestinians at checkpoints in the West Bank (Dawn, 2024). This reality hit me personally just days into my doctoral studies in Canada, when I began to grasp how deeply normalized pro-Zionist narratives were even years before the current genocide (Eglin, 2024) and how difficult it was for students to speak out against them. On many campuses across Canada, an Israeli Defense Force (IDF) presence is common, and it never stopped during the genocide in Gaza (Cholakova, 2024; Singh, 2024). With such intense institutional complicity and support for the Israeli occupation and genocide, there was no question that the reaction of student activists would be as intense as we have witnessed since October 2023.

Savo

It is important to put what's happening in Gaza and the rest of Palestine currently in a historical perspective, as you have done above. It's also important to highlight Western support for the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza, whether in arms or joint research between European or North American universities and their counterparts in Israel to produce bombs, weapons, surveillance technologies, and other tools of oppression used on Palestinians and then exported for use on other marginalized peoples around the world (see Loewenstein, 2023; Wind, 2024). Particularly due to this last part, this moment is important for global higher education. For many years, we have seen the proliferation of rhetoric at universities around the world about social justice, racial justice, global citizenship, diversity, equity and inclusion, fair cooperation, and more. We have also seen the resurgence of the epistemic decolonization movement globally, including at European and North American universities, in the centers of the (neo)colonial power. The progress that we thought we were making turned out to be empty rhetoric and smokescreens. The genocide and scholasticide in Gaza have exposed the fallacies of much of this on institutional and structural levels globally. Of course, this is not the first time this is happening in the case of Palestine. Jackson et al. (2015) show this in their comprehensive report titled *The Palestine exception to free speech*, in which they outline in detail years of systematic attacks on pro-Palestine advocacy and activism in the United States, both on the societal level and at universities, long before this current moment. But this moment and the widespread and often brutal attacks and repression of pro-Palestine narratives and activism have exposed so much racism, Islamophobia, hatred, and dehumanization of Palestinian people (El-Kurd, 2025), as well as the willful blindness and hypocrisy of so many institutions and individuals.

This moment is perhaps the best example of the effects of neoliberalization of higher education globally. Universities have been run as corporations for decades, but it is in this moment that we can see how these corporate entities can turn violently on their students and staff as soon as they express solidarity with the "forbidden" people and campaign for a cause that the powerful and donors do not like. Noura Erakat (2024) highlights that, "because they are so concerned with revenue above anything else," many university leaders and administrators "want to appease establishment opinion and the mainstream status quo" (para. 24). That's why many of university administrations have been autocratic in shutting down student encampments, or in silencing anti-genocide and pro-Palestine narratives on campuses. But, again, this is not new; neoliberal universities have been undermining student activism against injustices for decades. South Africa is a case in point. In 2015-2016, when black students protested against racism, coloniality, exploitation of outsourced black workers by universities, and the commodification of higher education, most university leaders and administrators labelled students as unruly criminals and unleashed private security and the police to brutalize student activists (Heleta et al., 2018). It doesn't matter to the neoliberal university whether the cause is just; the protection of the oppressive status quo by any means necessary is often all that matters.

Hiba

For these particular reasons you illustrated, Savo, it is worth taking a moment to appreciate what students around the world did to organize encampments and maintain their activity for months during the genocide in Gaza. Students managed to list demands and attempted to negotiate with university administrations; they collected donations to secure the basic needs at the encampments; they reported updates and demands and communicated with the media; and they educated their wider communities about the genocide and why they were taking responsibility to protest. Similarly, they were concerned about the security and safety of members of their community, and those in the broader university community. In other words, these students demonstrated skills of communication, project and human management, digital literacy, conflict management, and global citizenship their higher education institutions have been claiming for years to have wanted them to learn in classes. Ironically, most universities responded with not permitting protests on campuses, with the expulsion of protesting students and faculty, court-order deadlines to leave campuses, and an injunction to tear down encampments while freezing negotiations regarding divestment demands (e.g., CBC News, 2024; Hatting & Squyres, 2024; Maruf, 2024). Most university administrations in North America sent letters and published damning reports concerning the encampments, enforcing descriptions of them as violations of freedom of speech policies, disruptions to learning, and a source of concern to other community members who claimed protesting students caused them distress (e.g. Cardiff University, 2024; Columbia University, 2024; University of Chicago, n.d.). This is not to say that protesting students never made mistakes or would not benefit from further mentorship and wise support from university associations, academics, or student union leadership, but this still should never be an excuse for university administrators not to engage constructively with these protests. Again, if we trace the history of student activism on campuses in the United States during the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the anti-apartheid protests, and even the more recent Black Lives Matter and climate change activism, we can see that each generation of university administrators acts as if they are facing student activism for the first time. And in most cases, they tend to be on the wrong side of history. As King (2024) explains,

> Activists have refined campus protest tactics over time, learning from what worked in the past and creating plans that can be easily transported across time and location. It's not coincidental that the tent cities of the anti-apartheid movement in the 1980s look similar in form and function to the encampments springing up recently. Activism from the past gets stored in collective memory, often through written records and routinized in social movement organizations and passed to the next generation (para. 4).

While students learn and build on past protest strategies and tactics, similar learning is not evident in the case of university administrations. Instead of responding more strategically and learning from the past, only a few institutions showed some flexibility to negotiate students' demands and review their investment policies during the recent anti-genocide and pro-Palestine protests (e.g. Canon, 2024; University of Oxford,

2024). The violent and authoritarian responses to any kind of pro-Palestinian discourse and activism have taken place in most Western countries (Khan, 2024) and even in some Arab countries, where classes were suspended to prohibit “unlicensed” pro-Palestine symposiums and demonstrations on campus (Sawahel, 2024a). I still remember a viral response to a video of a dean in an Arab university refusing to hand a distinguished student her certificate for wearing a Palestinian *kufiyyah* (Sawahel, 2024b). In many countries, students who organized protests on campuses either got arrested or suspended from their universities (Andoni, 2024). The repression of pro-Palestinian voices within academia in the Middle East and North Africa must also be understood within a broader regional and political context. As Andoni (2024) explains, when these dynamics are viewed against the backdrop of the Arab uprisings—which started in late 2010 and began to wane by 2015—and the subsequent normalization of relations with Israel by some countries in the region, their implications become clearer. In this context, “the restriction of freedoms and oppression” has “created an atmosphere of fear and intimidation of arrests and interference by security services, expulsion from universities, and the destruction of students' futures” (Andoni, 2024, para. 2). Such systemic repression not only stifles academic freedom but also silences dissent, making it increasingly difficult for students and scholars to engage critically with the Palestinian struggle or broader issues of justice and neocolonialism in the region.

My personal experience in Canada was not different. I was as active as any pro-Palestine activist who spoke out. Many friends and colleagues advised me to stop posting about the genocide on social media or speak openly about my work on Palestine. As an intercultural education specialist, I feel betrayed when there is no mention of the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza at events about decolonial approaches to language education or the power of critical voices in education. It is deeply ironic and disheartening that discussions about Gaza and Israeli apartheid in such events are often left solely to Palestinian scholars, as if their suffering is theirs alone to name, while others remain silent under the guise of discomfort or neutrality. I share these experiences not out of complaint, but from lived reality, motivated by both personal conviction and professional responsibility. Why are we interculturalists in the first place if we are not comfortable speaking with honesty and transcendency with one another? Why do we claim that we are dedicated to work with students and help them develop into individuals who are open-minded, empathetic, and ready to critically know themselves and others if we cannot practice all this openly among each other. I found myself asking the same questions Gorski (2008) was asking almost two decades ago:

> Do we advocate and practice intercultural education, as too often happens, so long as it does not disturb the existing sociopolitical order?; so long as it does not require us to problematize our own privilege?; so long as we can go on celebrating diversity, meanwhile excusing ourselves from the messy work of social reconstruction? And can we practice an intercultural education that does not insist first and foremost on social reconstruction for equity and justice without rendering ourselves complicit to existing inequity and injustice? In other words, if we are not battling explicitly against the prevailing social order, are we not, by inaction, supporting it? (p. 516)

If this reveals anything about the state of global higher education today, it is that institutions often vilify students for embodying the very ideals they claim to uphold—critical thinking, civic engagement, and global responsibility—and punish them for taking principled actions to create meaningful change. This is a moment when universities should respond with more responsibility regarding what they claim to be their principles of social justice and diversity, equity, and inclusion. As global educators, academics, university officials—whatever role we play in higher education—we need to realize, today more than ever, that students' knowledge is an inevitable component of the curriculum design and academic processes. The organized student encampments against the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza have challenged the widely accepted "legitimate knowledge" about students' roles in shaping higher education practices and policies and have inspired some of us to rethink the principles and values that shape the internationalization of higher education and curricula.

Savo

I fully agree with everything you highlight above, particularly when it comes to the importance of student activism and encampments in many countries and on many campuses. Before I add a few points on this, I want to address the silence of many leaders, administrators, and academics in global higher education. I agree with Shoman et al. (2025) that this silence represents the profound ethical, moral, and intellectual failures of so many. The silence in academia is often due to ideological and material factors—from ideological beliefs in supremacy of some groups of people over others, to attempts to remain "neutral" and silent to preserve job security and benefits (Shoman et al., 2025). The notion of academic freedom, which is supposed to allow scholars to express their views without fear, does not seem to be adequate in many countries, particularly when it comes to the issue of Palestine (Fúnez-Flores, 2024; Shoman et al., 2025). Fúnez-Flores (2024) argues that we must see academic freedom and free speech that many Western universities claim to uphold as part of the "capitalist, colonial social reality of which they are an integral part" (p. 475). But like many things we noted before, the inadequacy of the notion of academic freedom in the case of Palestine is not the issue only in this moment; scholars have been attacked and have lost jobs in the past for pro-Palestine advocacy (Fúnez-Flores, 2024; Jackson et al., 2015); similarly, many scholars outspoken on social justice issues around the world have been silent in the past when it comes to the oppression of Palestinians by Israel (Said, 1994).

As you have highlighted, in many countries and at most institutions, amid the deafening silence of university leaders, administrators, and academics, and despite the draconian and violent responses by university administrations (El-Kurd, 2025), students "have been the ones with the ethical backbone to speak back to power, and [have] suffered intimidation from university management, campus security, and police violence for their actions" (Shoman et al., 2025, p. 5). These students are showing us what decolonial praxis is, or should be, all about (Fúnez-Flores, 2024). El Akkad (2025) notes that the students represent an alternative vision to the toxic neoliberal and capitalist framing of what should matter in life. That many students choose to be part of the protests and encampments, instead of sitting in classrooms to complete their studies so they can get a job and contribute to increasing the profits of the shareholders of

multinational corporations and weapons makers, all on a burning planet, must represent a betrayal of the capitalist and Euro-American values propagated by their own institutions. The fact that the students would "jettison such a privilege in favor of a people on the other side of the planet who are able to offer nothing in return—to an ideology fixated on self-interest, it must seem like an embrace of nihilism" (El Akkad, 2025, p. 116) to many of our university leaders and administrators.

Hiba

Added to all this is the alarming trend of university administrations yielding to governmental pressure—turning over protesting students and faculty as part of a performative collaboration with state authorities under the guise of combating "terrorism" and "extremism" on campuses. Take Mahmoud Khalil and Rümeysa Öztürk, for instance, who have faced detention and disciplinary actions for participating in pro-Palestinian protests (Helmore, 2025). Similarly, in Germany, authorities have ordered the deportation of pro-Palestinian activists over their involvement in protests, even though they don't have any previous criminal convictions (Al Jazeera, 2025). This collaboration risks subjecting higher education policies to even greater limitations, as universities become increasingly complicit in unjustified political agendas and the stifling of dissent (Helmore, 2025).

Global Responsibility During a Genocide and Scholasticide: Higher Education Going Forward

Hiba

We must realize that after the genocide and scholasticide we have witnessed in Gaza, we cannot continue with global higher education as usual. On one hand, we need to process the damage the genocide in Gaza has left. By damage, I do not only refer to the destruction of infrastructure, murder of tens of thousands, suffering of millions, and the transformation of Palestinian lives in the Gaza Strip. I am also referring to the real dilemma of the neoliberal reality of higher education. Instead of questioning their role in contributing to equity and social justice in the world, universities in the Global North (and elsewhere) have for decades focused primarily on generating revenue from international students, study abroad programs, and international partnerships with other universities (Guo & Guo, 2023; Liu, 2023). The moral dilemma caused by discrepancies between students' encampment experiences and their priorities for change, and the assaulting reaction from most universities on a pro-Palestine discourse, should be faced by advocating for an immediate ethical shift in global higher education. First, we all must have a role in supporting the *sumud* of higher education institutions in Palestine in the upcoming years. For decades, knowledges and worldviews from Palestine were misrepresented by Zionism and settler colonial supremacism and perceived as savage and irrelevant (see Said, 1980; Wind, 2024). The establishment of strategic long-term collaborations with scholars and students in Palestine would be an eye-opening

experience for scholars, students, and institutions from other parts of the world to better understand and include unique perspectives about the Palestinian cause, generally, and the struggle for freedom and social justice, particularly. The different acts of *sumud* the world has witnessed are worthy of examining, and such collaborations are a golden opportunity for higher education institutions in the Global North and Global South to be part of.

On the other hand, we need to reevaluate how we conceptualize what we call "international dimensions" and "intercultural perspectives" that have shaped frameworks and evaluation models of international curricula and international education (Heleta & Chasi, 2023; Gorski, 2008). What everyone involved in global higher education needs is to think differently, or otherwise, away from Eurocentric, colonial, and neocolonial assumptions and frameworks that have overwhelmingly influenced how we design global learning experiences and how, and what, we learn about the world (Heleta & Chasi, 2023, 2024). I would argue that Gaza and all events surrounding it at this moment open new possibilities to think otherwise and construct a new critical consciousness about the moment we live in by forming a new understanding of the geopolitics of knowledge that maintain coloniality but also lead to resistance in many spaces. I have always believed that the goal of education is to empower students with skills that help them succeed and grow as human beings in all the roles they play in life. The genocide and scholasticide in Gaza remind us that this goal is hard to achieve if we, scholars and students alike, lose the compass of who we are and what shapes our knowledge and worldviews, what we stand for and how our stands and actions impact other social groups around us, and the legacy we want to leave behind.

Savo

In this section where we discuss global responsibility during the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza and the way forward for higher education, I want to start with your social media post on 11 January 2024, two weeks after South Africa's application to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) accused Israel of committing a genocide in Gaza and asked the court to institute the provisional measures to stop the genocide, murder, and starvation of Palestinian people. You posted: "From now on, if you don't teach that South Africa is a pragmatic example of global citizenship, don't claim that you care for internationalization nor call yourself an international educator" (Ibrahim, 2024a). I fully agree with your statement that what the South African government has done is one of the most pragmatic examples of global citizenship. Many Palestinians (see Ayyash, 2025; El Akkad, 2025; Erakat, 2024) highlight that it is particularly important that South Africa—a country with a horrific experience of centuries of European settler colonialism, apartheid, and racist oppression against black people—brought this case against Israel, another settler colonial apartheid state that is committing genocide against Palestinian people. In addition, as a relatively small developing country with many domestic challenges, the South African government decided that, despite the potential diplomatic, economic, and geopolitical blowback and pressure that may come, it could not sit and watch the genocide in Gaza and the destruction of Palestinian people unfold.

I have done considerable work on global citizenship and global citizenship education. I have been critical of the mainstream concept and praxis, particularly as it is

defined, conceptualized and practiced in the Global North and often replicated in the Global South (Heleta, 2025; Jooste & Heleta, 2015). The mainstream conceptualization sees global citizenship education contributing to learning about others, being committed to social justice, fostering global understanding, and volunteering (Oxfam, 2015). Across the world, global citizenship praxis in higher education has been largely superficial, promoting tokenistic and abstract engagement with the world and faraway places and people, often devoid of any critical interrogation of global power dynamics or roots of structural inequalities in the world (Heleta & Jooste, 2015; Stein & Andreotti, 2021). Koyama (2015) argues that superficial learning about the world and others, while ignoring systemic and structural inequalities and inequities, only contributes to the maintenance of the status quo. Critics such as Stein and Andreotti (2021) and Bosio and Waghid (2023), who look at global citizenship through a critical and decolonial lens, argue that the concept and praxis must be far more critical and politically aware, engaging with historical and contemporary inequalities and injustices in the world and providing education to students aimed at preparing them to challenge, interrupt, and dismantle coloniality, Eurocentric hegemony, and the global inequalities rooted in colonial and neocolonial projects.

To come back to your post and what the South African government has done, I see critical and decolonial aspects of the global citizenship concept in South Africa's ICJ application. I see the attempt to stop the genocide in Gaza, but also to show the roots of historical and contemporary injustices that the Palestinians have been facing for many decades under settler colonialism, occupation, and apartheid (see Republic of South Africa, 2023). I see South Africa standing up to powerful countries that are materially and diplomatically supporting the genocide in Gaza. I see South Africa supporting the oppressed and fighting for justice in the world. Finally, South Africa's ICJ application has contributed to the global mobilization of other states, organizations, and people who have either joined the case, or have contributed to further unearthing and publicizing of the injustices in Gaza and the rest of Palestine and calling for the end of the genocide and justice for Palestinian people. All this illustrates what a principled and critical global citizenship praxis should be about. I hope that critical and principled educators will use this example in their classrooms when they engage their students on the development of global citizenship, as you pointed out in your post.

The largely empty rhetoric about social justice and global citizenship in higher education in the Global North, but also in many parts of the Global South, has been evident in most institutional responses to the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza. As we highlighted before, many institutions choose to remain silent, and many actively suppressed and silenced their students and staff who organized and spoke out against the genocide. If we look at their websites, visions, and curricula, I guarantee we will find the promises of developing global citizens and critical thinkers at all these institutions. Yet, they have failed to be global citizens themselves and have suppressed their students and staff who acted as critical global citizens in time of genocide. Here, I'm not only talking about the institutions in the United States, Canada, and across Europe, but also countries such as South Africa. Despite South Africa's progressive stance and the ICJ case, the country's higher education sector has been largely indifferent to the scholasticide and genocide in Gaza, particularly when it comes to historically white

institutions. I have been disgusted by the silence and indifference of many South African universities and their leaders, administrators, and many academics, but I understand their stance. These are neoliberal institutions, many of them historically white beneficiaries of colonialism and apartheid that have failed to fundamentally transform and move away from white supremacist structures, institutional cultures, and the Eurocentric epistemic hegemony after apartheid ended in 1994 (Heleta & Dilraj, 2024). Why would these institutions care about some far away people, or apartheid in some other place? The students and staff, on the other hand, who have been protesting, organizing, and building encampments in many countries—be they Palestinian, Jewish, American, European, South African or any other—offer hope and an example of what critical global citizenship is all about, or should be, in this moment and the similar moments that are likely to come in the future.

Hiba

The point you raise about why we should care about this moment—and other similar moments that are likely to happen in the future—is very important. One of the ongoing traditions of learning globally is that many people start to care about an issue when events become a catastrophe. One important question global educators should be concerned about is: Why do we tend not to learn about global issues that do not seem to impact us directly? In collaborative online international learning and virtual exchange projects, for instance, many instructors aim to have students learn and collaborate on projects that address issues they have in common, or address issues with direct impact on their communities. Despite the critical awareness such projects bring to participants, they still do not provide a full picture of what the world is going through. Moving forward, I cannot imagine programs that include Gaza and Palestine but do not address the Israeli occupation and apartheid. We cannot deny that politics influence education heavily (Gorski, 2008), and that the geopolitical and general knowledges of students from different parts of the world are all valid. We need to encourage and support students to have difficult conversations that impact their lives and shape their hybrid identities. This genocide broke all taboos that hindered access to different perspectives and worldviews, and we need to acknowledge that. In a way, we need to radicalize the traditional relationship between educators, curriculum designers, and students.

As Freire (1973) explains, educators are usually the ones who own knowledge and power, while students do not. Today, more than at any other time, we need to admit that students of this generation have so much to teach us, the educators, about how to navigate the world. While access to technology and social media connects individuals to diverse cultures, global events, and the daily lives of others around the world, those without such access are not necessarily less informed. Their understanding of the world, shaped by lived experience, resilience, and resourcefulness in navigating challenges, is equally valuable and unique. Together, these knowledges can add so much to how we understand and frame curricula. Similarly, international students on any campus should be looked at as individuals who can contribute to their new communities. In an earlier article, I traced some examples of engaging students in internationalizing higher education curricula (Ibrahim, 2024b). I believe that such engagements can prepare

students to address more critical issues around them, but it all starts with providing them with learning opportunities for personal growth and critical thinking.

Researchers are always advised to practice reflexivity; a transparent examination of one's feelings, reactions, and motives and how they influence the researchers' actions or beliefs when conducting a certain research project. Educators do the same when they journal about their practices or special moments with students that make them revisit their instruction or motivate them to learn more about a context or an issue. This practice needs to be part of our daily routine as professionals. Whether working in global higher education or any other profession, the fact that we reflect on our biases and how we react towards a particular matter is key to professional improvement and a peace of mind. I have heard many of my colleagues arguing that this genocide in Gaza has changed them and the way they view life and the world around them. However, and as Freire (1973) points out, we should combine thoughts with concrete actions. If the values that we believe in changed during the genocide that created this historical moment we are living in, they are worth documenting and being acted upon in the classroom and beyond.

Savo

I agree with you about the possibilities that this moment brings that can assist us to challenge the status quo in and through higher education. However, it's difficult to be hopeful about most things at this moment in the world. Climate destruction; the rise of far right and fascism in Europe, United States, and elsewhere; horrific conflicts and suffering in Palestine, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and many other places; predatory capitalism ruining the lives of billions of people and destroying the planet; and the list can go on. Similarly, it's difficult to be hopeful about global higher education. We have unpacked the current anti-Palestinian racism and dehumanization in many higher education systems and institutions around the world; much of the sector globally remains Eurocentric, with structures, systems, institutional cultures, curricula, and knowledge propagated by these institutions rooted in colonial violence, racism, and white supremacy; there is also the toxic neoliberalization and commodification of the sector, and authoritarianism when students and staff challenge the status quo and try to speak out about the challenges and suffering they see in the world.

Many people working in higher education globally have a rather naïve view of the sector as a force for public good committed to social justice and livelihood improvements for all through education, research, and knowledge production. But as Robin Kelley (2018) points out, this is simply not true; universities, particularly the Eurocentric and neoliberal ones—basically the large majority in the world—are not interested in social justice and transformation beyond mere rhetoric. The silence of many in global higher education on Palestine and what is happening in Gaza, and the broader lack of genuine commitment to social justice, "is not an isolated disregard but a reflection of broader ideological and institutional complicity within Western academia" and the "systemic alignment [of universities and much of academia] with [neo]colonial power structures" (Shoman et al., 2025, p. 1). Silence is not just a mere absence of an opinion; it's a choice to remain silent, to selectively pretend not to see what is going on in the world. This should not come as a surprise. Universities have been and remain, by and large, institutions deeply entangled with colonialism, neocolonialism, coloniality, capitalism, and

neoliberalism (Shoman et al., 2025), with much of academia representing the white and upper-class academics in the Global North, or similarly privileged and often Western educated academics in many parts of the Global South (Demeter, 2021). All this is very important to consider as we call on our institutions—and other institutions—to be concerned with the scholasticide in Gaza and to show genuine solidarity with the Palestinian people, or any other struggling peoples around the globe. We must be clear about our neoliberal, neocolonial, and largely Euro-American-centric sector and institutions, what they represent, and what we can expect from them. At the same time, we should never accept this, or stop calling it out and trying to dismantle it. I still think the struggle to decolonize universities has the potential to dismantle the oppressive status quo. For that, we must organize more—and better—globally.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have employed duoethnography as a research method to draw on our personal and professional experiences as researchers and practitioners in higher education and internationalization to critically engage with this moment—the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza—and the responses and/or silences in the global higher education sector to the livestreamed mass destruction and horrors. We have also engaged with all this on a human level. As we noted in this paper, Gaza and Palestine are key issues in and for global higher education at this moment. Mohammed El-Kurd (2025) calls Palestine "a microcosm of the world: wretched, raging, fraught, and fragmented. On fire. Stubborn. Ineligible. Dignified" (p. 30). As a portal and a microcosm of the world, Gaza and Palestine are showing us what is likely to happen to many marginalized peoples around the globe in the future. The repression of solidarity with Palestinian people on university campuses is also a portal. Today, it is forbidden in many countries and higher education institutions to be against the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza, and against Israeli occupation and apartheid in Palestine. Tomorrow, it will be forbidden to campaign against racism and other social ills in neoliberal higher education, or show solidarity with migrants, indigenous communities, and other marginalized and oppressed peoples and communities, both at home and abroad.

Writing about the public role of scholars, writers and intellectuals, Said (2002) highlights the importance of bearing witness to the suffering of the oppressed and speaking out. He reminds us that the role of critical and progressive scholars and intellectuals is not only to theorize and/or describe the complexities and injustices they see in the world, but also to think critically about the possibilities for radical change. He calls on scholars and intellectuals to "challenge and defeat both an imposed silence and the normalized quiet of unseen power wherever and whenever possible" (p. 31), and to have the "courage to say that *that* is what is before us" (p. 39). In this paper, we have tried to do what Said thought our role should be in these times, calling out that *that* is in front and all around us, *that* which is used to dehumanize the entire people, destroy them and their knowledge system, and normalize all this as the way the world is. We are not the only ones doing this. As we have discussed in the paper, students around the world

have led the way and have shown what critical, ethical, and principled global citizenship should be all about. They have faced brutal attacks from their institutions and the police, yet they have stayed true to their principles. Similarly, some academics and staff at universities around the world have shown solidarity with Palestinian people, often facing repression and institutional subjugation, yet still speaking out against the horrific injustices (see, for example, Fúnez-Flores, 2024).

Going forward, we are likely to face more repression, authoritarianism, toxicity, and commodification in higher education across the globe. We will have to organize and challenge these and other ills, in higher education and in our broader societies, regions, and the world. Catherine Walsh (2023) argues that we must work together to "open fissures and cracks" in our authoritarian, neoliberal and Eurocentric higher education institutions and systems "in order to sow and cultivate an otherwise or something else" (p .526). Importantly, she points that,

> The cracks are not the solution. They are part of a decolonizing tactic, strategy, and actioning that open up and move toward other realities, other ways of learning, thinking, becoming, and doing; of living life anyway. They also activate other ways of theorizing, analyzing and perceiving the system-wall, not from its solidity and totality but from its fissures and cracks (p. 528).

Finally, Walsh (2023) concludes with this: "Maybe, if we persist in this cracking, the wall – that is the dominant system with its colonial matrices of power—will someday begin to crumble and fall" (p. 528). This applies to all of us, whether we are in Palestine, South Africa, Britain, United States, Canada, across Europe, and elsewhere in the world where the colonial matrices of power, coloniality, capitalism and neoliberalism continue to wreck the lives of billions.

References

Abu Lughod, I. (2000). Palestinian higher education: National identity, liberation, and globalization. *boundary 2*, 27(1): 75–95. https://doi.org/10.1215/01903659-27-1-75

Adams, T. E., Ellis, C., & Jones, S. H. (2017). Autoethnography. In J. Matthes, C. S. Davis and R. F. Potter (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of communication research methods* (pp. 1-11). Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118901731.iecrm0011

Ahmad, A., & Vulliamy, E. (2009, January 10). In Gaza, the schools are dying too. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/10/gaza-schools

Al-Mqadma, A., Dittli, R., & Belotti, M. (2024). *Resilience in the rubble: A needs assessment of higher education in the Gaza Strip*. Swiss Peace Foundation.

Albanese, F. (2024). *Genocide as colonial erasure*. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, Francesca Albanese. A/79/384. United Nations General Assembly.

Alfoqahaa, S. A. A. Q. (2015). Economics of higher education under occupation: The case of Palestine. *Journal of Arts & Humanities*, 4(10), 25-43.

Al Jazeera. (2025, April 14). *Germany orders deportation of pro-Palestine activists*. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/4/14/germany-orders-deportation-of-pro-palestine-activists-what-you-should-know

Altun, T. (2024). *West continues to support Israel despite rising deaths in Gaza genocide: US, Europe refrain from cease-fire calls amid humanitarian crisis*. Anadolu Ajansı. 10 October 2024. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/west-continues-to-support-israel-despite-rising-deaths-in-gaza-genocide/3352042

Amer, M. (2024). Personal reflections on Israel's war on education in Gaza. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *53*(4), 44-49. https://doi.org/10.1080/0377919X.2024.2447220

Amnesty International. (2022). *Israel's apartheid against Palestinians: A cruel system of domination and a crime against humanity*. Amnesty International.

Amnesty International. (2024). *"You feel like you are subhuman": Israel's genocide against Palestinians in Gaza*. Amnesty International.

Andoni, L. (2024, May 19). لماذا غابت الجامعات العربية عن ثورة غزّة العالمية؟ [Why did Arab universities miss the global Gaza revolution?]. الجزيرة.نت. https://www.alaraby.co.uk/opinion/لماذا-غابت-الجامعات-العربية-عن-ثورة-غزّة-العالمية

Ayyash, M. (2025). The Western imperial order on display in Gaza: Palestine as an ideological fault line in the international arena. *Third World Quarterly*, 1-18. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2025.2465522

Awayed-Bishara, M. (2025). Sumud pedagogy as linguistic citizenship: Palestinian youth in Israel against imposed subjectivities. *Language in Society*, *54*(1), 5–27. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404523000891

Baconi, T. (2024, June 5). *Confronting the abject: What Gaza can teach us about the struggles that shape our world*. Literary Hub. https://lithub.com/confronting-the-abject-what-gaza-can-teach-us-about-the-struggles-that-shape-our-world/

Badwan, K., & Phipps, A. (2025). Hospicing Gaza (غزة): Stunned languaging as poetic cries for a heartbreaking scholarship. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 1-18. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2024.2448104

Breault, R. A. (2016). Emerging issues in duoethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *29*(6), 777–794.

Bosio, E., & Waghid, Y. (2023). Cultivating students' critical consciousness through global citizenship education: Six pedagogical priorities. *Prospects*, 1-12. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-023-09652-x

Burleigh, D., & Burm, S. (2022). Doing duoethnography: Addressing essential methodological questions. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *21*, 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221140876

Butz, D. & Besio, K. (2009). Autoethnography. *Geography Compass*, *3*(5), 1660-1674. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2009.00279.x

Canon, G. (2024, May 4). The US universities that allow protest encampments—and even negotiate. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/may/04/universities-allow-student-campus-protest-encampments

Cardiff University. (2024, May 29). *Response statement to open letter from protest groups—29/5/2024: A message from the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Wendy Larner on behalf of the University Executive Board*. Cardiff University Media Centre. https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/media/media-statements/response-statement-to-open-letter-from-protest-groups-290524

CBC News. (2024, July 3). U of T protesters clear encampment ahead of deadline. *CBC News*. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/u-of-t-injunction-encampment-deadline-1.7252944

Chang, H., Ngunjiri, F. W., & Hernandez, K. C. (2013). *Collaborative autoethnography*. Left Coast Press.

Cholakova, M. (2024, December 3). Ex-Israeli defence soldier event interrupted by counter-protest. *Link*. https://thelinknewspaper.ca/article/ex-israeli-defence-soldier-event-interrupted-by-counter-protest

Columbia University. (2024, May 1). *A message from president Minouche Shafik*. Columbia University. Office of the President. https://president.columbia.edu/news/message-president-minouche-shafik-5-1-24

Dader, K., Ghantous, W., Masad, D., Joronen, M., Kallio, K. P., Riding, J., & Vainikka, J. (2024). Topologies of scholasticide in Gaza: Education in spaces of elimination. *Fennia - International Journal of Geography*, *202*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.11143/fennia.147002

Dawn. (2024, April 24). What are US colleges' financial ties to Israel? *Dawn*. https://www.dawn.com/news/1829354

Demeter, M. (2021). Taking off camouflage identities: Why peripheral scholars strive to look like their Western peers in order to being recognized? *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, *16*(1), 53-68. https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2021.1912054

Dillard, C. B. (2000). The substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen: Examining an endarkened feminist epistemology in educational research and leadership. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *13*(6), 661–681.

Eglin, P. (2024). *Analysing the Israel effect in Canada: A critical autoethnography*. Routledge.

El Akkad, O. (2025). O*ne day, everyone will have always been against this*. Alfred A. Knopf.

El-Shewy, M., Griffiths, M., & Jones, C. (2025). Israel's war on Gaza in a global frame. *Antipode*, *57*(1), 75-95. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.13094

Ellis, C., Adams, T. E. & Bochner, A. P. (2010). Autoethnography: An overview. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *12*(1), 273-290. https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-12.1.1589

Erakat, N. (2024). Resisting the racist new McCarthyism. *Spectre Journal*, Issue 9, Spring 2024. https://spectrejournal.com/resisting-the-racist-new-mccarthyism/

Erni, F. L. (2013). *Tired of being a refugee: Young Palestinians in Lebanon*. Geneva Graduate Institute, Graduate Institute Publications. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.iheid.543

Forensic Architecture. (2024). *A spatial analysis of the Israeli military's conduct in Gaza since October 2023*. Goldsmiths, University of London.

Freire, P. (1973). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* Seabury Press.

Fúnez-Flores, J. I., Díaz Beltrán, A. C. & Jupp, J. (2022). Decolonial discourses and practices: Geopolitical contexts, intellectual genealogies, and situated pedagogies.

Educational Studies, *58*(5-6), 596-619. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2022.2132393

Fúnez-Flores, J. I. (2024). The coloniality of academic freedom and the Palestine exception. *Middle East Critique*, *33*(3), 465-485. https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2024.2375918

Gaza Academics and Administrators. (2024, May 29). Open letter by Gaza academics and university administrators to the world. *Al Jazeera*. https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2024/5/29/open-letter-by-gaza-academics-and-university-administrators-to-the-world

Gorski, P. C. (2008). Good intentions are not enough: A decolonizing intercultural education. *Intercultural Education*, *19*(6), 515–525. https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980802568319

Guo, Y., & Guo, S. (2017). Internationalization of Canadian higher education: Discrepancies between policies and international student experiences. *Studies in Higher Education*, 42(5), 851–868. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2017.1293874

Hajir, B., & Qato, M. (2025). Academia in a time of genocide: Scholasticidal tendencies and continuities. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 1-9. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2024.2445855

Hatting, A., & Squyres, K. (2024, April 25). Solidarity encampment continues amid statements from AU and GW: AU administrators announce "no camping activities are permitted." *The Eagle*. https://www.theeagleonline.com/article/2024/04/solidarity-encampment-continues-amid-statements-from-au-and-gw

Heleta, S. (2008). *Not my turn to die: Memoirs of a broken childhood in Bosnia*. Amacom Books.

Heleta, S. (2009, January 15). Open letter to Elie Wiesel regarding Gaza. *The Palestine Chronicle*. https://www.palestinechronicle.com/open-letter-to-elie-wiesel-regarding-gaza/

Heleta, S., Fatyela, A., & Nkala, T. (2018). Disrupting coloniality: Student-led resistance to the oppressive status-quo in South Africa. In J. Millican (Ed.), *Universities and conflict: The role of higher education in peacebuilding and resistance* (pp. 191-204). Routledge.

Heleta, S., & Chasi, S. (2023). Rethinking and redefining internationalisation of higher education in South Africa using a decolonial lens. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *45*(3), 261–275. https://doi.org/10.1080/1360080X.2022.2146566

Heleta, S., & Chasi, S. (2024). Curriculum decolonization and internationalization: A critical perspective from South Africa. *Journal of International Students*, *14*(2), 75-90. https://doi.org/10.32674/jis.v14i2.6383

Heleta, S. (2025, forthcoming). From global citizenship to critical global competence: More than semantics. In E. Bosio (Ed.), *New conversations on global citizenship education: Plural voices, ethical commitments, and emerging futures*. Routledge.

Helmore, E. (2025, April 5). Mahmoud Khalil says his arrest was part of "Columbia's repression playbook." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/apr/05/mahmoud-khalil-columbia-university

Human Rights Watch. (2024). *Extermination and acts of genocide: Israel deliberately depriving Palestinians in Gaza of water*. Human Rights Watch.

Ibrahim, H. B. (forthcoming). *My share of watermelon*: Identity work and finding voice in Western academia. In I. V. Avendaño & R. Chiappa (Eds). *Navigating academia as a transnational scholar from the Global South: Treasuring all knowledges*. Routledge.

Ibrahim, H. B. [@hibabibrahim]. (2024a, January 11). *From now on, if you don't teach that South Africa is a pragmatic example of global citizenship* [Tweet]. X/Twitter. https://x.com/hibabibrahim/status/1745490324720382212

Ibrahim, H. B. (2024b, March 19). Your brief 5 ways to better build community with international students in Canada. *The Conversation*. https://theconversation.com/5-ways-to-better-build-community-with-international-students-in-canada-214109

Jackson, L., Khalidi, D., LaHood, M., Sainath, R., & Shakir, O. (2015). *The Palestine exception to free speech: A movement under attack in the US*. Palestine Legal and Center for Constitutional Rights.

Jamaluddine, Z., Abukmail, H., Aly, S. Campbell, O. M. R., & Checchi, F. (2025). Traumatic injury mortality in the Gaza Strip from Oct 7, 2023, to June 30, 2024: A capture–recapture analysis. *The Lancet*, *405*(10477), 469-477. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(24)02678-3

Jooste, N., & Heleta, S. (2017). Global citizenship versus globally competent graduates: A critical view from the South. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *21*(1), 39–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315316637341

Keelan, E. P., & Browne, B. C. (2020). Problematising resilience: Development practice and the case of Palestine. *Development in Practice*, *30*(4), 459-471. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2020.1724885

Kelley, R. D. G. (2018). Black study, black struggle. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, *40*(2), 153-168. https://doi.org/10.5070/F7402040947

Khalidi, R. (2020). *The hundred years' war on Palestine: A history of settler colonialism and resistance, 1917-2017*. Metropolitan Books.

Khan, I. (2024). *Global threats to freedom of expression arising from the conflict in Gaza*. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. A/79/319. United Nations General Assembly. https://docs.un.org/en/A/79/319

King, B. (2024, May 2). Here's what universities always get wrong about student protests. *Scientific American*. https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/repression-draws-attention-to-campus-protests-like-those-over-the-conflict/

Knudsen, A. J., & Tartir, A. (2017). *Country evaluation report: Palestine*. Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) and Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI). https://alaatartirdotcom.files.wordpress.com/2017/06/5-17-country-evaluation-brief_palestine.pdf

Koyama, J. (2015). *The elusive and exclusive global citizen* (Working paper 2015–02). UNESCO & Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development.

Jebril, M. (2023). Between construction and destruction: The experience of educationalists at Gaza's universities. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *53*(6), 986-1004. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2021.1987190

Lapadat, J. C. (2017). Ethics in autoethnography and collaborative autoethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *23*(8), 589-603. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800417704462

Liu, W. (2023). Advocating for an ethical shift in international higher education. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. https://gjia.georgetown.edu/2023/04/11/advocating-for-an-ethical-shift-in-international-higher-education/

Loewenstein, A. (2023). *The Palestine laboratory: How Israel exports the technology of occupation around the world*. Verso Books.

Lowe, R. J. & Lawrence, L. (Eds.). (2020). *Duoethnography in English language teaching: Research, reflection, and classroom application*. Multilingual Matters.

Maruf, R. (2024, May 5). Columbia University's encampment ended with a mass police operation. Here's how some schools avoided that. *CNN*. https://edition.cnn.com/2024/05/05/business/how-schools-avoided-police-columbia-encampments/index.html

Matthews, H., Ahdash, F., & Gupta, P. (2024, November 27). Universities should not silence research and speech on Palestine. *The Conversation*. https://theconversation.com/universities-should-not-silence-research-and-speech-on-palestine-243880

Morgan, B., & Ahmed, A. (2023). Teaching the nation(s): A duoethnography on affect and citizenship in a content-based EAP program. *TESOL Quarterly*, *57*(3), 859-889. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.3213

Nerestant, A. (2024, April 29). A look at where McGill's money goes — and why protesters say it's a problem. *CBC News*. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/protest-palestinian-israel-mcgill-encampment-investments-divest-1.7188777

Norris, J. (2008). Duoethnography. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 233–236). Sage.

Norris, J., & Sawyer, R. D. (2012). Toward a dialogic methodology. In J. Norris, R. Sawyer, & D. Lund (Eds.), *Duoethnography: Dialogic methods for social, health, and educational research* (pp. 9–39). Left Coast Press.

Post, C. (2024). Resisting scholasticide. *Spectre Journal*. Issue 9, Spring 2024. https://spectrejournal.com/resisting-scholasticide/

Qassrawi, R. (2024). *Higher education in the Gaza Strip: Challenges and future prospects amid and after the October 7 war*. Institute for Palestine Studies. https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1656007

Quds News Network. (2025, January 19). Long-awaited hopes: Displaced Palestinians eager to return home. *Quds News Network*. https://qudsnen.co/long-awaited-hopes-displaced-palestinians-eager-to-return-home/

Republic of South Africa. (2023, December 29). *Application instituting proceedings and request for the Indication of Provisional Measures. Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel)*. Court of Justice.

Roy, A. (2020, April 3). The pandemic is a portal. *Financial Times*. https://www.ft.com/content/10d8f5e8-74eb-11ea-95fe-fcd274e920ca

Said, E. W. (1980). *The question of Palestine*. Vintage Books.

Said, E. W. (1994). *Representations of the intellectual*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

Said, E. W. (2002). The public role of writers and intellectuals. In H. Small (Ed.) *The public intellectual* (pp. 19-39). Blackwell.

Sawahel, W. (2024a, March 22). University prevents pro-Palestine conference, students claim. *University World News*. https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20240322101313464

Sawahel, W. (2024b, July 18). Anger as dean "confronts" student with Palestinian keffiyeh. *University World News*. https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20240717110805153

Shoman, H., Ajour, A., Ababneh, S., Jabiri, A., Pratt, N., Repo, J. & Aldossari, M. (2025). Feminist silences in the face of Israel's genocide against the Palestinian people: A call for decolonial praxis against complicity. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *32*(4), 1668-1675. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.13258

Singh, D. (2024, November 1). Pro-Palestinian groups protest Israeli speaker Eylon Levy at the University of Calgary. *The Gauntlet*. https://thegauntlet.ca/2024/11/01/pro-palestinian-groups-protest-israel-speaker-eylon-levi-at-the-university-of-calgary/

Stein, S. & Andreotti, V. (2021). Global citizenship otherwise. In E. Bosio (Ed.), *Conversations on global citizenship education: Research, teaching and learning* (pp. 13-36). Routledge.

Sultany, N. (2024). A threshold crossed: On genocidal intent and the duty to prevent genocide in Palestine. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 1–26. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2024.2351261

Tahhan, Z. A. (2018, June 4). The Naksa: How Israel occupied the whole of Palestine in 1967. *Al Jazeera*. https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2018/6/4/the-naksa-how-israel-occupied-the-whole-of-palestine-in-1967

Tanguay, B. (2024, September 2). Canadian universities are benefiting from genocide in Palestine. *Communist Revolution*. https://www.marxist.ca/article/canadian-universities-are-benefiting-from-genocide-in-palestine

United Nations. (n.d.). *About the Nakba-question of Palestine*. Question of Palestine. https://www.un.org/unispal/about-the-nakba/

United Nations. (2024, April 18). *UN experts deeply concerned over 'scholasticide' in Gaza. The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.* United Nations. https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/04/un-experts-deeply-concerned-over-scholasticide-gaza

University of Chicago. (n.d.). *Concerning the encampment*. University of Chicago. Office of the President. https://president.uchicago.edu/en/from-the-president/messages/240429-concerning-the-encampment

University of Oxford. (2024, June 27). *Open letter from Oxford University to encampment students*. University of Oxford. https://www.ox.ac.uk/about/organisation/global-crises/university-response-israel-gaza-middle-east/open-letter-to-encampment-students

Walsh, C. E. (2023). On justice, pedagogy, and decolonial(izing) praxis. *Educational Theory*, 73(4), 511-529. https://doi.org/10.1111/edth.12592

Wind, M. (2024). *Towers of ivory and steel: How Israeli universities deny Palestinian freedom*. Verso Books.

World Bank, European Union, & United Nations. (2025). *The Gaza and West Bank interim rapid damage and needs assessment*. https://palestine.un.org/en/download/178604/289429

Yussuf, A., Morris-Grant, B., & Tlozek, E. (2025, March 24). A closer look at the human toll in Gaza as deaths pass 50,000. ABC News. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2025-03-24/gaza-death-toll-50000-explained/105088110

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the journal editors for providing us a platform to write about the genocide and scholasticide in Gaza at the time of mass silencing of anti-genocide and pro-Palestine narratives in academia globally. We also thank the reviewers who provided valuable and constructive feedback which helped us improve the paper.

AI Statement

This article was not written with the assistance of any Artificial Intelligence (AI) technology, including ChatGPT or other support technologies.

Funding

The authors have not shared any financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.