



## The Missing Link: Palestine and the west – implications for teaching democracy

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### Abstract

Major Western governments' support for the Israeli state is rarely if ever discussed in political studies courses as an important influence on the current state of democracy in Western countries. This ensures that a crucial feature of democracy's decline is missed. Governments' determination to protect the Israeli state from opposition has become a significant constraint on democracy in major Western states. Until this factor is included in democratic studies courses, they will offer only a partial view of reality

**Keywords:** Democracy, conflict, non-democracy

### Background

IT has become a commonplace in news reporting and political discussion to note that democracy is under pressure, particularly in the long-standing formal democracies of the West. (ECPS, 2023) It has become equally common to see the Israeli state's assault on Palestinians as a severe challenge to the hope for a fair and just international order. It is far less common to combine the two concerns.

But the two are very directly related, for Palestine – or, to be more specific, governments' response to support for Palestinian rights and freedom- has become a core factor in understanding threats to democracy, particularly in the West. This has obvious and important implications for political studies curricula. Teaching and scholarship which fails to integrate the Palestine factor into understandings of democracy's current challenges will offer a partial and distorted account of the problem.

This article seeks to substantiate the claim that Palestine is central to teaching on democracy, its current state of health and its prospects. It will, firstly, show that Western states, in their eagerness to support the Israeli state and thus to curb public expressions of opposition to it and its actions, are

eroding their long-established democracies. It will then argue that the roots of this bias lie in the way in which the prejudices of Western elites limit democracy. It will note that the assault on speech and action in support of Palestinians tells us much about the nature of democracy in those societies which have long portrayed themselves as democratic role models. It will conclude by noting that this makes the integration of Palestine into curricula which deal with democracy essential.

Not all Western states are subject to this judgement to the same degree. In Europe, Ireland, Spain, and Norway are, to varying degrees, critical of the Israeli state's treatment of Palestinians. Critics insist that their responses fall short of the degree of support required (Provost, 2024) but in none of these countries has the official position on Palestine promoted democratic erosion. This suggests that the trend discussed here is not a product of Western-ness but of particular stances adopted by particular states who happen to be Western. But the three states mentioned here are outliers – they deviate from a Western norm. Equally important, it will be argued here that the vast majority of Western states have chosen the path discussed here because they are Western and that the phenomenon analysed here is thus a product of a view of the world which privileges Western-ness.

The article relies to some extent on published academic literature but its empirical claims are based on a wide variety of news reports. It should be stressed that it uses only a fraction of the information available from a range of sources which support its claims.

### Nature of the problem

Since its foundation in 1948, the Israeli state has enjoyed an image among Western European and North American politicians, media and much of the academy which is at sharp variance with the way the state is experienced by Palestinian.

For Palestinians, the Israeli state is an ethnic nationalist project founded by European settlers (Khalidi 2020). It was established by ‘ethnically cleansing’ much of its territory, driving Palestinians from their homes into a stateless existence in refugee camps or to other countries to ensure a Jewish majority in its territory. (Pappe 2006) While the Palestinian minority which survived this process is entitled to Israeli citizenship and the right to vote, Palestinians are subject to a host of discriminatory laws and policies. In 2018, the Israeli state’s parliament adopted the ‘nation state law’ which proclaims it a state for Jews only (Knesset 2022), signalling to Palestinians within its borders that their citizenship will never entitle them to a full and equal role in the state and to those outside its borders that they will never be allowed to return. Palestinians are subject to severe limitations on their freedom of movement – those who resist, or are believed by the state to resist, their subordination are subject to ‘administrative detention’ or indefinite imprisonment without trial. At the end of 2024 over 3 000 people were reportedly detained in this way. (B’Tselem 2025)

There is no credible theory of democracy which would characterise a state which denies basic rights to a significant section of its population because they do not belong to the dominant ethnic group as democratic. But the Israeli state’s ethnic nationalist character has not prevented elites in most Western states from characterising it as ‘the only democracy in the Middle East’ and thus as a beleaguered liberal democracy, surrounded by undemocratic states

and cultures. It is portrayed and seen in this way even when other states in the area, such as Tunisia between 2014 and 2019, and Lebanon for several decades, do meet core democratic criteria.

This view of the state has guaranteed it the political and military support of most Western states. The United States of America has repeatedly used its veto at the United Nations Security Council to ensure the impunity of the Israeli state and has provided it with the arms it requires. Most Western European states have also provided it with arms and have offered it varying degrees of political support. This includes, as we will soon see, using the law to suppress support for Palestinians. In the words and actions of Western elites, the Israeli state is treated as a valued member of the liberal democratic family of states. Its repeated use of violence against Palestinians is usually regarded in the West as legitimate self-defence in the face of unprovoked assault even when all the evidence points in the contrary direction (Erekat 2014) and is usually portrayed as the response of a democracy to anti-democratic assaults.

### *Zionism and The West*

Why does a non-democracy enjoy this exalted democratic status? The answer does not lie in any feature of the Israeli state’s political system. It lies, rather, in the reality that, in the eyes of both Western elites and those which run the Israeli state, it is a Western country which happens to be located in the Middle East. This is so first because the state is the creation of Europeans: the Zionist movement which created the state was a purely European phenomenon, despite the fact that there were large Jewish communities in Africa and Asia and the Zionist pioneers who colonised the land hailed overwhelmingly from Europe. But an equally important factor was that Zionists, for all their nationalist rhetoric, saw the state as European, a view which was shared by European elites.

Zionism emerged out of late nineteenth century Europe. It was a period in which a nationalism founded on the notion of the nation state had become a powerful intellectual fashion (Breuille 2013) But it was also one in which Jewish elites encountered a set of circumstances which made Zionism an attractive option for some.

Before the French Revolution and the formal democratisation which followed it, Jews were not accepted as full members of Western society and were subject to discriminatory laws. The ostensible reason for this was religious – Jews were supposedly excluded because they rejected Christianity.<sup>i</sup> Democratisation removed legal restrictions by recognising the rights of all citizens, including Jews. Secularisation removed the religious rationale for anti-Jewish racism.

But the removal of legal disabilities did not end prejudice against Jews. European elites reacted by continuing to keep Jews at arm's length, limiting their access to their institutions, or excluding them entirely. Upwardly mobile Jewish professionals who sought full admission to European society found that many doors were still closed to them. An event which seemed to illustrate this reality – and persuaded some to become Zionists – was the Dreyfus Affair at the turn of the twentieth century (Bredin 1986). Alfred Dreyfus, a French army officer, was falsely accused of spying and was imprisoned. A public campaign revealed that the evidence against him had been fabricated because he was Jewish.

Dreyfus was, of course, not the only Jew in France to continue to face prejudice. But the event made an impression on Zionists because he was barred from perhaps the most obvious expression of integration into Western society, the upper echelons of the military. He had tried to become a full member of Europe's elite and had paid a heavy price. And so it illustrated the constraints facing Jews who wished to become full members of European society by winning the approval or at least acceptance of its elites. Zionists, anxious to find a way through the door which was barred to them, concluded that Jews continued to face prejudice because, unlike the rest of Europe, they had no state of their own.<sup>ii</sup> A Jewish state was the key to the full European status that Zionists craved.

Their strategy worked. The Israeli state was essentially a project of European Jews who have remained dominant in the state despite an influx of North African and Middle Eastern immigrants. It has always seen itself as an island of 'Western civilisation' in a sea of Oriental

backwardness – a former prime minister captured this when he declared that it was a 'villa in the jungle.' (Ofir 2020) Western elites have been more than receptive, a reality which is illustrated in their increasingly uncritical support for the state. While this is often explained as a reaction to the Nazi genocide which murdered 6 million Jews, a very strong motivation is that the state is seen as the only Western state in the Levant. This was illustrated by the first post-World War Two chancellor of Germany, Konrad Adenauer when, in 1960, he met the then prime minister of the Israeli state, David Ben-Gurion, to assure him of Germany's support and protection. Adenauer did not, as we might expect, justify this support as an attempt to atone for the Nazi genocide. He declared, rather, that Germany would remain loyal to the state because it was a 'fortress of the West.' (Mishra 2024)

This view has underpinned German elites' support for the Israeli state ever since. Sixty-five years later, responding to an attack on Iran by the Israeli state, ostensibly to prevent it developing nuclear weapons which Western intelligence agencies report it is not trying to develop, Adenauer's contemporary successor, Friedrich Mertz, declared: 'This is the dirty work Israel is doing for all of us' (MEMO 2025) Since it is safe to assume that 'all of us' meant Western countries, he was confirming that the 'West's fortress' has retained its status.

It is shared by other European states – their politicians, media and much of the academy. It explains their almost automatic support for the state. This hardened as Muslims came to be seen as a threat in the West – the Israeli state was, in the world view of Western power holders, on the front line of the West's attempt to keep Islamic violence at bay. It is also why these elites insist that the state is a democracy. In their view, 'liberal democracy' and 'belonging to the West' are synonymous. Western societies are assumed to be 'real' democracies and the 'progress' of democracies elsewhere in the globe are assessed by the degree to which they correspond to an idealised notion of 'Western democracy.' (O'Donnell 1996) It follows from this that to be Western is also to be democratic, regardless of the features of a country's political system. When Western elites

insist that the Israeli state is ‘the only democracy in the Middle East,’ they really mean that it is the only Western state in the region.

Democracy is inevitably weakened by this failure to distinguish between a society’s culture and its political order. It signals to people outside the West that they can become democratic only by ceasing to be who they are. (Friedman 2018) But the concrete consequences are even more damaging. Because ‘democracy’ really means ‘being Western,’ political freedoms and the right to be heard which are essential to democracy are expendable if they obstruct the interests of a state which is deemed to be Western.

### Throwing Democracy Overboard

This context explains why major Western liberal democracies have been willing to erode their own democracies purely to protect the Israeli state.

The term ‘democracy’ is, of course, hotly contested and so it should be noted that the term is used here to describe a polity in which every adult enjoys an equal share in the decisions which affect them and the liberties which are necessary to enable them to decide. This obviously describes an ideal society but it does identify the core elements of democracy and enables us to identify as democracies all countries in which citizens are able to choose policies and the governments which will implement them and enjoy the freedom to speak and to associate which enable them to exercise this right (Friedman 2018)

They were willing to do this well before the October 7 2023 attack on the Israeli state by Palestinian resistance groups. But, events since that incident, and the Israeli state’s response to it, which has been described by an Israeli scholar as a ‘textbook genocide,’ (Segal 2023) have accelerated the willingness of these countries to attenuate their democracies in service to the Israeli state.

In most of these countries, but most notably in the USA, France, Germany and Britain, the consensus among elites remains that the Israeli state is an ally of the West and thus deserving of largely uncritical support. But, as its responses have become more violent and more obviously

aimed not at ‘self-defence’ but at punishing and expelling the Palestinian people (Odeh 2025) Western public opinion, which once shared the elites’ support for the Israeli state, has become increasingly unsympathetic to it. First, opinion polls repeatedly found majority support among Western publics for a ceasefire in Gaza, which would require their governments to place pressure on the Israeli state. (DFP 2024). Later, this turned into sharply declining support for the state which is now viewed negatively by majorities in all the Western democracies. (Ahmad 2025; MEE 2025) This public sentiment has, predictably, prompted protest against Israeli state actions. In many countries, including the Western democracies, huge crowds have marched to demand an end to the violence against Palestinians. In several, most notably the US, students mobilised to demand that their universities end investments in the Israeli state. (Gohil and Henley 2024) More generally, renewed focus on Palestine after October 7 also amplified support for the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, which seeks to mobilise to end economic and other links between the Israeli state and other countries.

Pro-Palestinian activism in the West is an expression of core democratic rights. It is central to democracy that citizens enjoy free speech and that academics enjoy academic freedom. Expressions of support for Palestinian aspirations, including marches and other non-violent demonstrations, should, therefore, be protected by democracies if they wish to remain democratic. Citizens of democracies have the right to decide which products they will buy and with whom they will associate and so boycotts are also an expression of democratic rights. We would expect ‘consolidated’ democracies to protect their citizens’ rights to engage in all these forms of expression.

But support for the Israeli state takes precedence over protection of democratic rights. Signs of this had been evident for years before October 7, 2023. A report by a US research organisation in 2018 details a range of measures which restrict free speech and free political activity in support of Palestinians. (White et al 2018) While an attempt to introduce a nation-wide law criminalising boycott activity was thwarted, many

states passed laws restricting boycotts. The report quotes the American Civil Liberties Union's concern at 'wave after wave of legislation seeking to stamp out boycotts and divestment campaigns aimed at Israel' all of which, it said, violated the US Constitution's First Amendment which guarantees freedom of speech. (White at al p.10) It also noted repeated attacks on free speech and academic freedom directed at opponents of the Israeli state at universities. (White et al p.11)

In France, an 1881 law which allows the punishment of citizens or organizations who call for the boycott of goods from a country whose policies they criticise, on the grounds that this constitutes discrimination, has been used to prosecute campaigners for Palestinian rights. Activists faced criminal charges because they participated in nonviolent BDS advocacy. One was arrested for wearing a BDS T-shirt. In October 2015, the Court of Cassation, France's highest appeals court, ruled that the call to boycott Israeli products was illegal. Police used this to try to prevent demonstrations in support of BDS. (Greenwald and Fishman 2016)

These measures have become significantly more severe since October 7. In the United States, student protestors have faced harsh police action while academics have faced disciplinary charges for opposing Israeli state actions. (MEE 2024) Australia's parliament, with government support, is establishing a committee which will monitor 'anti-Semitism' at universities, a coded reference to criticism of the Israeli state, so ensuring that speech on campuses will face continuous government scrutiny. (Peleg 2024) Both the US and Canada have imposed restrictions on organisations which oppose the occupation of Palestinian lands. (Arria 2024) Germany, in which a range of actions have been taken against campaigners, including the conviction in court of a person chanting a pro-Palestinian slogan at a rally (Kuras 2024), has adopted a citizenship law which may deprive immigrants who publicly campaign for Palestinian freedom of their citizenship. (Hamed 2024) In most Western countries, politicians and influential lobbies press for even harsher restrictions on speech on Palestine, suggesting that freedom will be further constricted (Goldberg 2024).

Some of the assaults on democracy may have profound, but disguised, impacts. In the United States, legislation was passed and signed into law which required the Chinese owners of the digital media platform TikTok to sell it to government-approved owners or leave the United States. (Hadero 2024) The ostensible reason was a stated fear that China could use the platform to undermine American security. But this may not have been the only rationale. The chief reason why public opinion in the US and other Western countries was so opposed to the Israeli state's assault on Gaza was that the violence was often recorded on mobile phones and posted on digital media. While, as noted above, other platforms were willing to limit or suppress material sympathetic to Palestine, TikTok did not intervene and so it became an important source of information on Gaza. Supporters of the Israel state thus identified 'social media' as a core problem in their attempt to justify the violence. (ADL 2024) For most other outlets, the problem could be solved by lobbying the companies. For Tik Tok the solution may have been to replace an owner which might not be willing to suppress speech with one who would. If so, the intended effect would violate one of democracy's core principles, the right of citizens to know what their government does in their name and with their money.

Western governments' determination to defend the Israeli state has, therefore, prompted many to largely disregard democratic principle and have eroded democracy in their countries. It seems likely that, while the conflict which prompted the latest retreat from democracy will end, the effects on Western democracy could be long-lasting.

The rights which are under assault are basic to even 'thin' understandings of democracy, which see it as a means of protecting the individual from the power of the state rather than a way of enabling citizens actively to shape public policy and government decisions. (Macpherson 1962) Freedom of speech and assembly are basic to any definition of democracy. The right to boycott is founded on the principle that individuals are, in market economies, free to choose what they will or will not purchase and to advise others to make similar decisions. So the democratic norms which are being sacrificed are core features of the system.

Support for the Israeli state is prompting Western elites to deprive their citizens of very basic democratic freedoms.

### *Less Visible Effects*

The fact that elite attitudes and government actions are so at variance with public attitudes is a further indicator of a willingness to subordinate democracy to the interests of the Israeli state.

Democratic governments are meant to give effect to the will of citizens. In practice, few if any democratic governments do this and polling data often finds significant divergences between public attitudes and the actions and attitudes of politicians of all parties. But the divergence between them is particularly stark on the question of Palestine. Elected governments may prefer to ignore public protest but, on almost all issues, if it is sustained and well supported, official attitudes tend to shift. (ICNC nd)<sup>iii</sup> But the effect of protest in support of Palestinians on Western governments has ranged from very slight to none.

In Britain, France and Canada, they have produced muted expressions of government disapproval at Israeli state actions (Grierson 2025), and a French government decision to co-sponsor a conference which seeks to promote Palestinian statehood (although it was postponed after the Israeli state attacked Iran. ) (Irish et al 2025) But, despite the fact that a scholarly consensus has developed that a genocide is in progress (Asem 2025), the states have continued to support the Israeli state in a variety of ways, including the supply of weapons. In the United States, whose support is most important to the Israeli state, there has been no shift at all – the government continues to arm the state and to defend it by vetoing United Nations Security Council resolutions urging it to end its assault on the Palestinian people. (Kupemba 2025) It is also significant that even the mild criticism of some Western governments was placed in abeyance when, in mid-2025, the Israeli state attacked Iran. Even though the attack was entirely unprovoked, and seemed to be designed to prevent a negotiated agreement between Iran and the United States, governments in major Western countries, supported by much of the media, portrayed the

conflict as an attack by Iran on Israel because the Iranians responded to the assault by inflicting damage on the Israeli state. (Massad 2025)

While it is, of course, possible that public opinion will eventually force elites in these countries into substantial changes in position, the current reality is that the opinion of Western citizenries has no impact on the actions of their governments. Fealty to the Israeli state overrides even elites' willingness to make symbolic concessions to what voters want.

There is also an important international dimension to this democratic self-immolation. A frequently remarked feature of the period after October 7, 2023, has been the role of the United States and, albeit to a lesser degree, other Western states in allowing the Israeli state impunity to ignore international law. It has ignored repeated judgements of the International Court of Justice (AI 2024) and a United Nations Security Council resolution imposing a ceasefire on its operations in Gaza (DS 2024) but Western governments have, in the main, made no attempt to compel it to obey the law. The effect of International Criminal Court arrest warrants against the Israeli state's prime minister and defence minister – as well as officials of the Hamas resistance movement – were weakened as key Western governments said they would not arrest the indicted politicians if they visited their countries despite the requirements of the Treaty of Rome. (Borger 2024) The United States has repeatedly used its veto to prevent Security Council measures seeking to contain or end the attack on Gaza (O'Dell 2023) and so is able to thwart overwhelming international opinion.

These responses are particularly significant since they follow the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine which major Western powers portrayed as an assault on the 'international rules-based order'. (Narine 2023) At the time, this view seemed to be applying a double standard since the Israeli state was allowed to attack Gaza repeatedly without incurring the wrath of these powers. (Nashed 2024) In the months after October 7, the disparity between holding Russia to account for flouting international law but allowing the Israeli state to do as it pleased became stark. If there was a rules- based order between states before the

genocide in Gaza, it clearly no longer exists because none of its rules apply to the Israeli state. While the Russian invasion clearly did violate international law, allowing the Israeli state to ignore it clearly meant that the rules applied to some but not others. A state in which the law applied to some but not others would not be credibly described as one in which the rule of law prevailed. An international order in which some are subject to norms which others may ignore is clearly not 'rules based.' Support for the Israeli state has, therefore, prompted major Western powers to witness the dismantling of the normative foundations of the international rules they claim to defend.

It could be argued that, while this may weaken Western states' 'soft power' in their international dealings, it says little or nothing about their commitment to democracy at home. Western countries have found no contradiction in defending democratic values at home while colonising other countries, so depriving them of the right to rule themselves. Mahmood Mamdani has argued persuasively that the laws of war, which restrict the ways in which belligerents may behave, have always applied only to Western countries' dealings with each other and that, in their dealings with the colonised, they have always been guided only by the 'laws of nature.' (Mamdani 2005 p.7) They have adopted this double standard while remaining functional democracies. This double standard, which reinforces suspicions that Western elites see democracy as Western rather than universal, has not weakened the vast majority of Western citizens' confidence that they do live in a democracy which protects their rights if not those of others born elsewhere.

But this double standard has become far more difficult to maintain. It was noted earlier that Western public opinion has turned against the Israeli state, a consequence of the fact that, while past colonial wars were far less visible to Western publics, the assault on Gaza is starkly visible to anyone who owns a mobile telephone. Just as Western elites have portrayed their societies as the guardians of democracy, so they have projected their role in the world as a defence of democracy and fairness. Colonialism was said to 'civilise' the colonised, the West's role in the Cold War was

projected as a defence of democracy against tyranny and, in the period after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Western countries offered rewards to countries which they hailed as democracies and imposed penalties on those they judged to be tyrannies. (Molenaers et al 2015) Western countries were not only the font of democracy at home, they were its guarantors abroad.

The effective collapse of this self-image as the West ignores or cheers the starvation of Gaza's people and scores of deaths each day – as well as the destruction of hospitals and schools – is likely to erode confidence in democracy at home by exposing the sharp difference between what elites say they value and their actions. If what they say about Gaza seems to lead only to endless horror in which no moral standards at all apply, why trust them when they insist that they want only to serve their own societies, not to exercise power over them? While no empirical data is yet available to demonstrate a link between the collapse of the West's claims to defend a liberal world order and confidence in democratic politics at home, it would be surprising if there was no link. There is, for example, circumstantial evidence that the Biden administration's refusal to impose constraints on the killing in Gaza cost the Democratic Party the 2024 presidential election and allowed an administration which has flouted democratic norms to win election. (Yang et al 2024) The United States' retreat from democracy may, therefore, have been directly caused by the impunity afforded to the Israeli state.

The role of the Biden administration raises an important dimension of this phenomenon. It confirms the point made earlier – that the events of October 7 did not trigger Western elites' willingness to sacrifice their democracies to the defence of the Israeli state. They merely deepened a pattern which was already evident. This means that the patterns discussed here cannot be explained either as a response to October 7 or as a byproduct of the rise of the Western right. Liberal or centrist governments have been as eager as the right to erode democratic rights and popular sovereignty to defend the Israeli state. Liberal or centrist media and academics have zealously supported them. The US example noted above is one case in which this choice enabled the rise of

the right. There are no cases in which this began only when the right took office in Western countries.

This is crucial because it demonstrates that the threat to democracy discussed here is endemic to much of Western liberal democracy, whoever is in power. It is a causal factor in its own right, not a byproduct of a drift to the right.

### Implications for Teaching

The analysis argued here holds important implications for the teaching of courses in which democracy is the sole focus or one of the focuses.

Incorporating the Palestinian experience in teaching is currently under threat from the anti-democratic trends discussed here. The Trump administration has directly targeted programmes in which Palestine is taught (Pollock 2025) while research and teaching on Palestine elsewhere in the West is subject to significant repression. (Uddin and Misbach 2024) This increases the need for scholars and teachers in countries which respect the academic freedom of scholars who teach courses on Palestine to keep alive the study and teaching of this important dimension of the contemporary human experience.

But Palestine, and the attitudes it prompts among Western elites, is not taught as a problem for the theory and practice of democracy. This is hardly surprising, since scholarship has yet to make the connection and to integrate it into writing and research. Scholars of democracy do not see Palestine as a causal factor in democratic erosion, perhaps because many share the biases of Western elites discussed here. Nor do scholars of Palestine, most of whom do not share the assumptions of democracy scholars, see the West's support for the Israeli state as a problem for democratic theory and practice in Western democracies.

This article has sought to show that this division between the study of Palestine and of democracy is no longer tenable. Not only has the evidence assembled here shown that accounts of democracy's erosion which ignore the role of support for the Israeli state do not offer a full account of current realities. This analysis has also demonstrated that democracy is threatened by support for the Israeli state because this choice is

deeply embedded in the biases which limit Western understandings of democracy.

Colonialism was possible in part because Western elites assumed that the democratic rules which bound them did not apply to people who are not Western. This assumes that democracy is not a system of government and a set of values which is equally available to all human beings - it is, rather, a subordinate feature of Western identity and so is expendable if that identity is under threat. While formal colonisation has ended, the attitudes and assumption which sustain it have not disappeared. On the contrary – they remain essential to Western elites' understanding of democracy and it is hard to find a reality which demonstrates this more clearly than the way in which support for a state understood by its elites and those in the West as Western has prompted professed democrats in major Western countries to violate democratic norms which have long been taken for granted and so to threaten democracy's survival.

It is, therefore, no longer possible to teach credible and comprehensive courses on democracy without focusing on the effect of the Palestinian experience, and the support for the Israeli state it triggers in Western elites, on those who decide the policies and laws of Western democracies.

### Disclosures

#### Conflict of interest

The author declares no competing interests.

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### Notes

<sup>i</sup> Jews who were converted to Christianity in sixteenth century Spain were not accepted as Christian. They were deemed to have 'impure blood' because they were not born into Christianity. (Carroll, 2002, p.374)

<sup>ii</sup> For a discussion of how this manifested in Zionist thought see Friedman (2023)

<sup>iii</sup> This research initially claimed that all protests in which 3,5% of population participate produce change but the researchers have since qualified that finding