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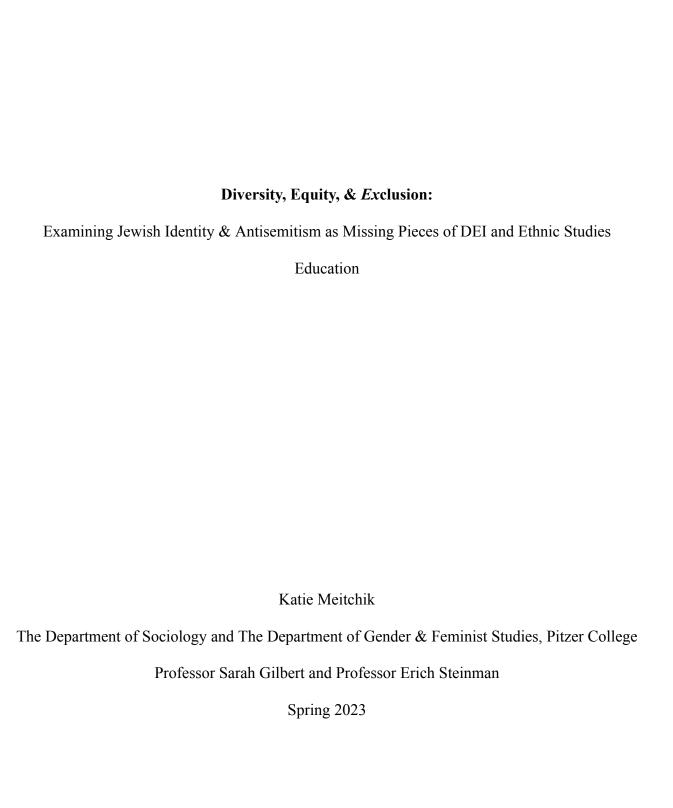


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ABSTRACT

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) is a theory and practice that focuses on systemic structures, inequities, and social change by examining concepts such as race, gender, class, sexuality, ethnicity, ability, and religion. Incorporating DEI initiatives into learning spaces can lead to a deeper sense of self, stronger coalition building, increased civic engagement, and a sense of healing, resistance, and belonging. Although a nationwide criteria for using DEI practices in education has not yet been implemented as a key component to public school teaching, there are programs emerging with the intent to utilize the theory. This has led to a movement of bringing Ethnic Studies into the core curriculum for K-12 public schools in the United States. In using DEI as the conceptual framework, courses within the field of Ethnic Studies are the praxis of this theory, and allow for students to engage with and embody the goals stated above. According to the California Department of Education (CDE), Ethnic Studies is "the interdisciplinary study of race, ethnicity, and Indigeneity, with an emphasis on the experiences of people of color in the United States...The field also addresses the concept of intersectionality, which recognizes that people have different overlapping identities, for example, a transgender Latina or a Jewish African American" (CDE, 2022). Within ethnic/multicultural education, however, the application often differs from the definition, and the question of which groups are included continues to be debated. While many minority cultural and ethnic groups find themselves at the frays of these conversations, Jewish people's standing, in particular, as a marginalized group is constantly in question. Jewish people are often not acknowledged as a marginalized, minority, or diverse group within trainings, curriculum, and initiatives.

In my research, I discovered that Jewish identity and experience are not consistently included in Ethnic Studies and DEI programming. This led me to question the following: How is this exclusion linked to perceptions of Jewish identity as an invisible—as opposed to a visible—identity? What does this say about the way Jewish identity is situated within ethnic, racial, and gendered categories in the United States? How can Jewish identity be incorporated into Ethnic Studies programs in an intersectional way?

As Ethnic Studies becomes more widely adopted in schools across the nation, Jewish identity must be included in lessons as its own distinct group. Jewish identity is an ethnoreligion, culture, and peoplehood that often intersects with other identifiers. This understanding supports the very definition of which groups should be included in Ethnic Studies as well as contributes to the fundamental benefits to students who are provided with the space to learn and belong. Jewish identity and antisemitism awareness serve as a crucial component to an intersectional approach to DEI goals, and should be required within the practice of Ethnic Studies curriculum.

Keywords: Ethnic Studies, multicultural curriculum, intersectionality, DEI, education, Jewish, Jewish identity, antisemitism, ethnoreligion, Feminist Theory, Critical Race Theory, windows/mirrors, marginalization, minority, oppression, empowerment

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

On March 9th 2023, a Jewish student from Clark High School in Las Vegas, Nevada came home with a swastika carved into his back. The 17 year old is autistic and nonverbal, and wears a yarmulke to school, making him visibly Jewish. The FBI is currently investigating this horrific, antisemitic incident. According to Jolie Brislin, the regional director for Anti-Defamation League Nevada, "this incident illustrates points of intersectionality in how hate can show itself across marginalized communities" (Burke, 2023).

In the book, *Antisemite & Jew*, written in 1945 in France, Sartre outlines the relationship between Jewish people and the socio-political settings in which they live. He writes, "the phrase, 'I hate the Jews,' is one that is uttered in chorus" (Sartre, 1945). Here, Sartre is referencing that, regardless of time, culture, geography, assimilation, and genocide, Jews are still the target of antisemitism with new conspiracies being created against the Jewish people everyday. As events such as the one above, the Charlottesville riot, and the Pittsburg synagogue shooting continue to happen today, this begs the question of what will happen to the Jewish people if there is no support or education across the political spectrum or within socially conscious spaces?

With antisemitism being so prevalent, understanding what antisemitism looks like, how it manifests, and when it is occurring is critical to supporting Jewish people and their struggles. The examples above are merely a microcosm of the amount and range of antisemitic attacks that have happened throughout history and continue to occur today. By teaching about Jewish experiences and culture in schools, along with the persecution Jewish people face, I assert that

there can be more recognition when antisemitism occurs and, perhaps, will occur less frequently. The question as to why this inclusion is not happening still remains. The fact that Jewish identity was not mentioned once in my major-required Race & Ethnic Studies course at Pitzer College, feels like a clear reflection on what is constantly missing in course offerings.

My Jewish identity has shaped my goals of social change in many ways. Growing up in a world that does not educate about who Jewish people are, nor acknowledge the antisemitism we experience—or even what antisemitism means—has made me more attuned to the plight of other marginalized groups. I know what antisemitism is because I have experienced it firsthand which, in part, propelled me to pursue this as an area of study. This brings me back to my initial thought: How can people who are not educated on who Jewish people are be expected to understand this form of discrimination? And, if they are not educated on this, how can antisemitic acts be understood and addressed?

In committing to a study of DEI initiatives and practices within educational settings, it has been my goal to be aware of whose voices are being heard and whose voices are absent from these conversations. This has led me to study a number of different groups and identities, and yet I continue to find that in all circles—race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, and even religion—Jewish voices are still limited or ignored. This feels especially true of Jewish people with intersecting, marginalized identities such as Women & Non-Binary Jews, Jews of Color, LGBTQ+ Jews, and Disabled/Neurodiverse Jews, whose identities are often erased due to stereotypes and a lack of representation.

It is important to note here that Jewish identity does not merely denote a religious group, and is in fact currently defined as an ethnoreligion. While this is a widely accepted definition in the United States, there is still debate within the global Jewish community whether this categorization feels truly fitting due to a history that includes racial oppression, religious intolerance, ethnic cleansing, and many more complexities regarding the body-mind construction of 'the Jew'. It is also important to state that not all Jewish people even identify with the religion of Judaism. There are many non practicing Jews who still are seen as and identify as Jewish. According to a study done by the Pew Research Center in 2020, "U.S. Jews do not have a single, uniform answer to what being Jewish means. When asked whether being Jewish is mainly a matter of religion, ancestry, culture or some combination of those things, Jews respond in a wide variety of ways" (Pew, 2020). By preserving the Jewish community as a peoplehood without just one definition, it allows Jewish people to not be constrained by categories that far postdate the beginning, and longstanding history, of their culture. While there may not be one set definition, that does not mean that Jewish people and their struggles do not exist. Jewish people can take part in conversations about the diversity of experiences while still finding community and family in other Jewish people. Jews of Color, LGBTQ+ Jews, disabled Jews, neurodiverse Jews, interfaith Jews, converted Jews, feminist Jews, abolitionist Jews, and secular Jews exist and deserve to find larger Jewish communities—and non-Jewish communities—that show them unconditional love, respect, and belonging which are some of the key tenets of a DEI framework.

One of the important components of including Jewish experiences in DEI goals and, subsequently, Ethnic Studies curricula, is to bring more awareness to antisemitism and the diversity of the Jewish community. In analyzing Ethnic Studies curriculum and DEI

programming through looking at specific states' implementation of required courses, it is clear that this awareness within public schools is lacking. Due to the field of DEI being so expansive, and the incorporation of Ethnic Studies in national K-12 education being so new, it is crucial to add to the growing knowledge in the field and ensure that any foundational issues are highlighted. In the first half of this paper, I discuss the histories of Ethnic Studies and DEI, the importance of Ethnic Studies in education, and where these ideas of Jewish identity and antisemitism are being situated within scholarly conversations surrounding education. I also discuss my own experiences as a DEI educator in order to frame my methodology. In the second chapter, I apply the methodology to a study of the current state of Ethnic Studies curriculum in the U.S. In the final section, I explore a handful of intersectional approaches to incorporating Jewish identity and antisemitism awareness, and I highlight areas in which the theory of DEI can make often invisible Jewish experiences visible, in order to be put into practice in Ethnic Studies programs.

Due to the Jewish people existing prior to modern racial and ethnic categories, it is important to make it clear that throughout this piece, those categories will not perfectly apply to this identity and must therefore be understood in a framework that does not center white supremacist, normative ideologies. In taking part in the scholarly conversation surrounding the need to reframe Jewish identity and antisemitism as an important part of liberation and intersectional solidarity, I argue that it is crucial for Jewish identity to be part of DEI and Ethnic Studies models.

BACKGROUND

History of Ethnic Studies

The academic field of Ethnic Studies was established in the United States in the 1960's during the Civil Rights Movement. In the legislative realm, with the passing of The Civil Rights Act of 1964, discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin were deemed prohibited and became protected classes by written law. There was a call to better understand one another and to support justice and fairness in communities, schools, and professional organizations. Government offices, corporations, businesses, and schools were contending with how to institute these new protections. As the nation slowly began adopting new views and new policies, growing pains were reflected in protests, walk outs, and marches which were happening all throughout the nation. In 1969, a student strike at San Francisco State College (now University), led by the Black Student Union in their fight for greater diversity, equity, and inclusion in higher education, resulted in the establishment of the first College of Ethnic Studies at SFSU (SFSU, n.d). Over the next several decades with shifting demographics, changing political ideologies, and further civil unrest, the call to expand programming to K-12, and to broaden the range of coursework within the Ethnic Studies framework, continued to evolve.

With San Francisco State leading the way, Ethnic Studies programs were soon adopted by other institutions of higher education across the United States. Ethnic Studies became a formalized program of study, one that students could major in, and courses in this field could be found within departments such as Sociology, History, Gender and Sexuality, and English. While the courses and focus of each program varied, the main tenets of each class remained consistent. These classes would result in a greater understanding of diversity, an increased awareness and push for equity, and an opportunity for inclusion. Ethnic Studies became a praxis element for

DEI work and was rooted in a goal of social and political change on campuses. Ethnic Studies continues to be regularly offered as a commonplace curriculum in colleges and universities, however it is a field just now emerging in standardized K-12 education.

History of DEI

As the field of Ethnic Studies continues to flourish, the curricula and lessons continue to be examined and refined in response to societal needs. As Ethnic Studies became 'normalized', it opened the door for ideas of DEI to come into the mainstream fold of education. While the concepts of diversity, equity, and inclusion were circulating at the time Ethnic Studies programs were being established, the label of 'DEI' was not yet part of the mainstream conversation.

Looking back to policies in the latter part of the 20th century, early signs of DEI theory came into play and this began to positively impact our students and schools. One early example of DEI theory and its impact on education was the passing of the Title IX Amendment of 1972 which states, "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance" (Title IX of the Education Amendments, 1972). With the passing of this legislation, schools were required to provide equal access to educational opportunities for all students regardless of sex. Soon after, in 1975, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act was signed into law. This Act guaranteed access to a free public school education for children with disabilities, spurring a movement of inclusivity within all academic institutions (US Department of Education, 2022). Schools were now responsible for

addressing the needs of all students by making education more accessible to all children through Individual Education Plans, and programming within the schools themselves.

The expansion, purpose, and prevalence of a focus on DEI in public, private, and parochial schools continues to receive increased support by the U.S. Department of Education in the 21st century. The Every Student Succeeds Act (U.S. Department of Education, 2015) as well as influential organizations such as the National PTA help schools in their quest to promote equity and provide a foundation of learning that is supportive of all students (National Parent Teacher Association, 2023). Most recently, in 2021, the White House created "the first-ever United States government strategy on gender equity and equality...[to address] barriers faced by those who belong to underserved and historically marginalized communities that have long been denied full opportunity: women and girls of color, LGBTQI+ people, people with disabilities, and all of those whose lives are affected by persistent poverty and inequality" (The White House, 2021). This strategy focuses directly on the key tenets of diversity, equity and inclusion with a commitment by the President and Vice President of the United States to work towards solutions to uplift the nation's youth.

Diversity, Equity and Inclusion as a Foundation for Ethnic Studies in K-12 Education

A strong and holistic Ethnics Studies course is built using the foundational tenets of DEI initiatives and programming. Therefore, it is important to understand the structure and uses of DEI in order to see what is being strived for in Ethnic Studies. In recent years, following the murder of George Floyd, the adoption of DEI initiatives in schools and businesses have gained traction. New and innovative DEI-focused programs are presently being embraced in

professional circles, on college and university campuses, in private schools, and, to varying degrees, in public schools across the nation. There is emerging evidence that schools that implement DEI programming increase their students ability to "think critically and creatively as they engage in conversations across differences, especially when all learners' abilities and attributes are embraced" (University of Delaware, 2023).

Today, DEI is brought into educational spaces in order to support individuals, classrooms, schools, and communities. The following list provides a brief summation of shared goals found in DEI programming from school districts across the nation:

- 1. Foster a space where all voices are uplifted
- 2. Nurture a climate of respect where every student has access to learn and grow
- 3. Provide opportunities to better understand differences and similarities
- 4. Increase student's understanding of selves and others
- 5. Provide programming that is fully accessible
- 6. Promote socially just educational programming
- 7. Assure that all students and families are welcomed and affirmed

These DEI initiatives—including hiring practices of teachers and school administrators—support the belief that all people should be acknowledged and understood. When DEI programs are effective, spaces that promote a sense of belonging and connection are created. DEI work celebrates individual differences, while casting a light on ways in which people can find common ground. In educational spaces in the United States, these goals are achieved by first educating the educators, and then providing support for educators to create spaces of belonging in their classrooms for their students.

There is a glaring omission of findings on the nationwide impact of programs that introduce and support DEI initiatives and Ethnic Studies models in schools. Perhaps this is due to programs being implemented differently in so many different places, or perhaps because this is relatively new to K-12 education. As schools navigate the road ahead and begin considering what they hope to accomplish by implementing a curriculum that enhances classroom spaces, access to equitable opportunities, and a compassionate and empathetic worldview, the curriculum itself and those who teach it must take into account the standing of all those who will be the recipient of learning it (race, religion, ethnicity, gender identity, sexuality, disability, economic status, etc). Excluding any of these populations means teaching from a flawed foundation, with results being potentially harmful rather than helpful.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Problematizing the Absence of Antisemitism Education

In a 2023 supplementary report of hate crime statistics in the U.S., it shows that 51.4% of all religion related incidents in the United States were perpetrated against Jewish people (U.S. Department of Justice, 2023), despite the fact that Jews make up only 2.4% of the U.S. population (Mitchell, 2022). These numbers are extremely relevant when considering the dramatic rise in antisemitism over the past few years. While statistics cannot show the full scope of the situation, they certainly put the danger of further marginalization of Jewish people into perspective. Omitting these facts from conversations in educational spaces limits the validity and impact of Ethnic Studies as a whole. The assumption that Jewish identity will be fully covered in a WWII section of a history class—which, put simply, is the current state of the national

education system—is not enough. It is important to first understand both the history of antisemitism and categorization of the Jewish people in order to understand the necessity of why these topics must be included in the framework of DEI and Ethnic Studies education today. Among the debated issues of whether Jewish identity should be included in Ethnic Studies, most of the scholarly focus has been on the racialization of ethnic groups (Rubin, 2019). In this literature review, I will discuss the key scholarship on Jewish identity in Ethnic Studies in order to support my proposal for the need to incorporate Jewish experiences and education on antisemitism into both the framework of DEI and the curriculum of Ethnic Studies for grades K-12.

A handful of scholars have dealt with the issue of Jewish identity and how it has been situated within racial and ethnic constructs. Most notably, Karen Brodkin's book, *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Jews in America*, dives into the shift in the racial assignments of Jewish people over time in the United States, along with the complicated social and political identities of Jewish people (Brodkin, 1998). Brodkin's (1998) work has been described as a "subtle analysis of the intersections of class and gender ideologies in constituting Jewish whiteness in the United States" (Cohen, 1999). Brodkin focuses on how the process of assimilation gave Jewish people forms of white privilege, but also, in trade, had them give up core parts of their Jewish identity. In terms of her perspective on the racialization of Jews, she has been critiqued for not placing any emphasis on Sephardi and German Jews (Cohen, 1999). Cohen (1999) writes, "with this omission, Brodkin perpetuates the fallacy that eastern European Jews who emigrated from Russia are the only Jews that count" (Cohen, 1999). Brodkin's (1998) work of grappling with the positionality of Jewish people, specifically white Jewish people,

within the framework of race, set the stage for contemporary scholars, such as Rubin (2023), who built on her argument of assimilation and provided more nuance and reasoning as to why Jewish people had to assimilate. Most of the literature on Jewish identity and its presence—or lack thereof—in ethnic and multicultural scholarship comes from Sociology, Cultural Studies, Education, Race and Ethnic Studies, Jewish Feminist Ethics, and Jewish Studies.

While this specific field of scholarship of Jewish identity's place in Ethnic/Multicultural Studies has only been explored by a few key figures—the most prominent being Daniel Ian Rubin (2013, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2021, 2023) and Jonathan Freedman (2005, 2012)—their work examines what Jewish identity is and how it is perceived in the United States. This leads them to analyze the complexities of both Jewish identity and Ethnic Studies, and the increase in antisemitism not being addressed with education on Jewish identity. They argue that including the study of Jewish culture, identity, ethnicity, and diversity into Ethnic and Multicultural Studies programs will enrich the students' learning and potentially lead to a decrease in antisemitism and biases against Jewish people. Their work informed additional studies by Vernikoff, Morvay, and Kolman (2022), and Muller (2022), who analyze the importance and best practices for including Jewish identity and a study of antisemitism into classroom spaces in conjunction with other areas of Ethnic Studies. Additionally, the key components and academic conversation those scholars are situated in feed directly into the scholarship written by Baddiel (2021), Horn (2021), Cox (2021), Schraub (2019), and Larks (2023). Part of the literature describes what ethnic and multicultural classes are (Rubin, 2019), which groups are included in the curriculum (Freedman, 2012; Rubin, 2019), and the Black/white binary of the field (Rubin, 2019; Perea 1997). Another component to the literature describes how Jewish people and culture are viewed in the United States (Vernikoff,

Morvay, Kolman, 2022), the Jewish relationship to whiteness (Rubin, 2023; Cox, 2021; Schraub, 2019; Larks, 2023), and antisemitism (Sarte, 1945; Baddiel, 2021; Fanon, 1952). A final component of the literature focuses on the detriment that not including Jewish identity into Ethnic and Multicultural Studies has on students. This section also highlights the importance of incorporating these inclusions in expansive, intentional, nuanced, and intersectional ways that shed light on invisible identity (Faulkner & Hecht, 2011; Larks, 2023; Crasnow, 2020).

Ethnic & Multicultural Studies: The Black/White Binary

Rubin (2019) cites the definition from Banks (2016) of multicultural education as "at least three things: an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process. Multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students—regardless of their gender; sexual orientation; social class; and ethnic; racial, or cultural characteristics—should have an equal opportunity to learn in school" (Rubin, 2019). Rubin goes on to clarify that, "the diversity and multicultural classroom, as it is discussed in this article, does not refer to particular ethno-religious studies courses" (Rubin, 2019). Therefore, when discussing which groups are—and should be—included in the field of study, particularly Jewish people, it is with the intention that these groups will all be discussed and taught in one setting and in conjunction with one another as opposed to specialized course such as Jewish Studies, Africana Studies, or Latino/a/x Studies.

In terms of which identity groups are consistently included in Ethnic and Multicultural Studies, Rubin cites the Liberated Ethnic Studies (LES) homepage—which is consistent with programs across the United States, including the U.S. census—where it notes that "the LESMCC curricular model includes lessons/unit plans on Chicanx/Latinx, American Indian/Native Americans,

African American/Black American, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Arab Americans" (Rubin, 2023). He highlights how the exclusion of Jewish identity in this list lacks an acknowledgement of the antisemitism that is on the rise, and even notes that the website says that by focusing on BIPOC, they are working to eradicate all forms of discrimination including antisemitism (LESMC). He says, "it is completely understandable if educators choose to include the stories of Arab and Palestinian Americans in a high school ES course, yet the assertion that LES is attempting to eradicate antisemitism, even though they do not cover any content addressing antisemitism, is quite problematic" (Rubin, 2023).

Rubin lays out reasons for Jewish identity being excluded from these fields and continues to point to one glaring issue within Ethnic/Multicultural Studies and DEI work which is the 'Black/White binary'. He refers to the work of J.F. Perea in his 1997 work, *The Black/White Binary Paradigm of Race: The "Normal Science" of American Racial Thought*, where he defines the Black/White binary as "a paradigm that explains that racial issues in the U.S. only focuses on two groups, Blacks and Whites, and that racial identities are understood through this binary" (Rubin, 2019; Perea 1997). The claim is that this Black/White binary within Ethnic Studies actually leads to Jewish identity not having a clear place, and ends up somewhere in between. Specifically for white Jews who both do not experience the racial oppression that People of Color do, but who also are persecuted by white supremacy, it becomes complicated to find accurate representation (Rubin, 2019). Professor Jonathan Freedman (2012) also notes in his study, *Do American and Ethnic American Studies Have a Jewish Problem; or, When Is an Ethnic Not an Ethnic, and What Should We Do about It?*, the issues that the Black/White binary presents for situating Jewish identity. When discussing the complexity that identity brings to the

oversimplified definitions of race, Freedman (2012) writes, "to think about Jewishness in the context of Asian American or Latino or even Native American identities and experiences; in all these cases, relations between Jewish and other forms of ethnic belonging become much more complicated" (Freedman, 2012).

In the book, Jews Don't Count by David Baddiel (2021), he takes a direct approach to discussing antisemitism in progressive spaces. As Baddiel (2021) notes in the book, antisemitism is rarely a part of progressive or marginalized discourse and, when it is, it is often seen as one of the 'lesser evils'. He also notes that Jewish identity does not fit into the eurocentric framework of racism and identity. He continually refers back to, what he calls, the 'protected inner circle' which typically includes many marginalized groups such as Black people, Muslim people, people with disabilities, women, etc., but does not explicitly include Jews—despite there being overlap within these groups. David Baddiel's (2021) description of how Jewish people are often excluded from protections given to other minority groups, while simultaneously being discriminated against by the majority, leaves Jewish people in an unprotected liminal space, which Rubin (2023) also speaks to. Baddiel (2021) discusses the strong history of Jewish people being activists and standing up with—and for—other marginalized groups. He calls on others to learn more about Jewish identity—not just the religion—and to stand with Jewish people in the fight against antisemitism and particularly see it as anti-racist work. This builds off of scholars such as Sartre (1945) and Frantz Fanon (1952) who were not Jewish, yet still called for this same action decades ago, post World War II.

Cox (2021) explores the ways in which social work can be used as a tool to help combat antisemitism. Cox writes that "anti-semitism is now the most documented hate crime in the United States" (Cox, 2021), and that number is unfortunately still rising. Cox says that "personal responses to antisemitism are often efforts to be "invisible" as Jews seek to not identify as Jewish" which fits into the narrative that author Dara Horn (2022) shares in her book, *People* Love Dead Jews, of Jewish people needing to hide their identities in order to be accepted by the greater society. Cox (2021) writes, "[Jews] are attempting to "pass" as "white" (Cox, 2021). Cox is considering that Jewish people with fair skin are more so 'white passing' than just simply white. While this adds nuance to the way that Jewish people are perceived in U.S. racial categories, it also ignores the fact that Jewish people can be of any race, ethnicity, or nationality. Cox (2021) goes on to say that "the current upsurge of anti-semitism in the United States, suggests that historical stereotypes remain influential and that Jewish "whiteness" does not correlate with full acceptance into society" (Cox, 2021). This implies that while there is a sense of whiteness, it is not necessarily protecting Jewish people from racial oppression (Brodkin, 1998). This flows into the ideas that have been brought up by other scholars such as Professor David Schraub (2019) and his theories on 'conditional whiteness' as it applies to Jewish people (Schraub, 2019). It truly puts into question what 'whiteness' is—beyond skin tone—and who is considered white depending on the context, geography, political majority, etc.

The question of 'are Jews white?' actually oversimplifies the history of Jewish racial and ethnic categorization and oppression in the United States. Black Jewish author and DEI professional, Shekhiynah Larks (2023), is one modern content creator who speaks to this very issue. She says, "Jews are multiethnic and multiracial. There are Jews of all races. It just so happens that the

majority of the Jews in America have European admixture and fall under how we define what whiteness looks like in this country" (Larks, 2023). She explains how this question forces people into rigid categories that center whiteness, rather than acknowledging racial and ethnic diversity. She describes how the homogenization of Jews as white is due to stereotypes and inaccurate representation in the media that only highlights white, American Jews.

Pass/Fail Binary

This idea of 'passing' that continually comes up with Cox (2021) and Schraub (2019), has been elaborated on by other scholars in looking at not only what it means to 'pass', but also what it means to 'fail'. In taking a Queer Theory approach, there is a connection to other groups with invisible identities—particularly the LGBTQ+ community—that may 'pass', and then must negotiate the particularities of their identities (Faulkner & Hecht, 2011). This constant negotiation can, in part, be attributed to the perception that these invisible identities are actually political/social actions to subvert norms. Faulkner and Hecht in their article, *The negotiation of closetable identities: A narrative analysis of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered queer Jewish identity*, use the Communication Theory of Identity (CTI) which "considers identity to consist of four layers or frames: (1) personal; (2) enacted; (3) relational; (4) communal in which messages are exchanged (Faulkner & Hecht, 2006)" (Faulkner & Hecht, 2011). Not only does their piece focus on intersectionality, but it also relates back to Larks' (2023) point on inaccurate perceptions in the media feeding into negative stereotypes. This article, at its core, focuses on the intersection of being both LGBTQ+ and Jewish.

SJ Crasnow (2020), Professor of Theology and Religious Studies, however, examines the connection between Jewish identity and transgender identity as two separate groups with their piece, "I Want to Look Transgender": Anti-Assimilation, Gender Self-Determination, and Confronting White Supremacy in the Creation of a Just Judaism (Crasnow, 2020). They use Critical Race Theory and Transgender Theory to, "consider transgender identity and white Jewish identity to argue that "passing" or normative assimilation is a trap, in that it extends the offer of privilege to individuals who can "successfully" conform within the confines of normativity, while leaving intact, or even reifying, the oppressive systems that are at work" (Crasnow, 2020). This piece ended up being key to my research in ways in which structures could be reimagined to go against normative and oppressive forces of assimilation.

METHODOLOGY

<u>Positionality</u>

I have always had a deep interest in the fields of Sociology and Gender Studies. As a neurodivergent, Jewish woman, my perceptions of the world around me have been shaped greatly by my identity. Being in the types of spaces and environments that these two fields foster, I have in many ways felt a sense of belonging and mutual understanding for my position as a neurodivergent woman, but less so for being Jewish.

Throughout my time at the Claremont Colleges, I have immersed myself in a spectrum of academic experiences that provided me with the opportunity to see systems and processes of education in a whole new light. My initial interest in Diversity, Equity, & Inclusion (DEI) within

¹This scholar, SJ Crasnow, uses 'they/them/theirs' pronouns and that will be respected in my writing. I am including this footnote for clarity on legibility that when the pronouns 'they' and 'them' are used in this section, I am referring to this single, individual scholar.

education, however, began in high school during my involvement in multiple affinity and activist groups such as Political Action Club (PAC) and Feminists United (FU). I was particularly interested in the ways in which learning about identity and community enhance so many useful skills in work and life. In 2019, fueled by the lack of inclusion of Jewish identity I was seeing within my own school's DEI programming, I earned a Certificate in Diversity & Inclusion from Purdue University. Around this time, I saw a significant increase in businesses, companies, and schools hiring DEI administrators. This shift highlighted the importance of DEI in both academic and professional spaces. After graduating high school and attending Pitzer College for some time, I continued to feel drawn to courses and conversations surrounding identity within educational environments. These scholarly pursuits all included components of situating identity within an educational context, and displayed how beyond deserving these types of classes are to be in academic institutions. I believe that they are key and foundational to the future of education as we know it. In addition to the courses I have taken, I have also spent a considerable amount of time reflecting on my own identity and the ways that impacts my perspective. Most eye opening has been how absent Jewish identity has been in the courses, materials, readings, and discussions throughout my academic career in K-12 and college.

In 2020, during my Sophomore year, I had the opportunity to complete community-based research in my local community of San Diego through the CASA program with Professor Tessa Hicks Peterson. I chose to do my research with a local rabbi, Gabi Arad, of the Jewish Collaborative of San Diego (JCoSD). With both of their support, I developed a DEI curriculum with full lesson plans for the K-6 grade JCoSD youth that I then taught for the entire school year: Fall 2020 through Spring 2021. This curriculum was based upon extensive research into work

from a diverse group of scholars, and a glaring gap in available lessons for students in K-12. Through my work, I was able to create a series of lessons that could be utilized by teachers in a variety of academic settings. My hope was that the course would have a lasting impact on the students' understanding of concepts covered, and would spark a continued desire for self exploration and connection with our world. When I was their age, I was craving a class like this, so my goal was to create a space where they could be immersed, ask questions, and enjoy learning about these topics.

All of the students in the course identified as Jewish and I made sure to include lessons on Jewish identity, gender, and disability—among other topics. This was with the goal that students would feel a sense of belonging for their whole and complete selves in a way that I had not experienced in classes at their age. Although I was aware of the lack of Jewish identity in standardized curriculum from my own experiences, I did not fully grasp the extent in which Jewish identity was missing from so many DEI and Ethnic Studies programs that were providing a similar education for K-6 students.

Now, reflecting back on the work that I did, I now see it as crucial to explicitly address antisemitism within the umbrella of DEI and the practice of Ethnic Studies curricula. Additionally, if the goal is that lessons like this are taught in public schools across the country, then the greater the diversity of the students within the classroom, the more impactful and generative these classes will be. Even in classes where there are no Jewish students, this inclusion can still serve as a window into the experiences of Jewish people who they may

encounter later in life. This all led me here, to this very thesis work, as a true synthesis of my learning process and what I will be exploring beyond the walls of this academic institution.

<u>Intersectionality</u>

When finding specific data in my research, it was crucial for my key focus to be through the lens of Feminist Theory and Critical Race Theory in order to understand the ways in which gender and race impact the lived experiences and forms of systemic and societal oppression Jewish people face. The concept of intersectionality, first coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), continually appeared in scholarly articles and books related to how Jewish identity intersects with race, ethnicity, and gender. As a law professor, Crenshaw explored the standing of Black Women through the lens of the American Legal System. With case law as the foundation for her exploration, Crenshaw broke down the intricacies of individuals as part of more than one 'group'. In her paper, *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics* (Crenshaw, 1989), Professor Crenshaw explores Feminist Theory, and what it means to be both Black and a woman as opposed to one or the other.

While Crenshaw's (1989) original paper referred specifically to race and gender, over the past few decades, the concept of intersectionality has been widely accepted within the fields of Sociology and Gender & Sexuality Studies as a term that encompasses a cross section of identities including race and gender, but extending beyond those to areas like religion, sexuality, physical ability, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. The evolution of the term moved the concept from the legal world into the mainstream vernacular, and is now widely accepted and,

oftentimes, widely debated in various realms—quite often between those with right leaning and those with left leaning ideologies.

In 2015, a definition of 'intersectionality' was added to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) and it reads: "Sociology. The interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, and gender, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage; a theoretical approach based on such a premise" (OED, 2015). It seems it was this broad definition that supported a shift in the application of the concept of 'intersectionality' from what was exclusively a legal term, to one more accessible to mainstream conversation. There was finally a word that addressed the varied part of the individual—one that resonated deeply with non academics and scholars alike. Intersectionality is key to gaining a deeper understanding and appreciation for commonalities and differences between people. It is a concept that is worthy of consideration within DEI focused programming and Ethnic Studies curricula.

Thematic Analysis Coding

For my data coding process, I began by reading through all the scholarship I found that in some way addressed my research question and took notes of any words or themes that were frequently mentioned or discussed. Then, I began grouping them based on what other concepts and topics they evoked in the research. Finally, after compiling studies and subsequently writing my literature review, reading articles, watching videos, and analyzing varying curriculum, I was able to create a thematic analysis chart that was holistic and representative of the work that informed my research. The chart below outlines the common themes that arose within all of my research along with how they connect to specific ideas, structures, and key terms.

THEMATIC CODING Grouping of Key Terms & Concepts

JEWISH IDENTITY

- Religion
- Culture
- Ethnicity
- Ancestry
- Peoplehood
- Multiethnic & Multiracial
- History of Activism
- Diaspora
- Minority

ANTISEMITISM

- Marginalization
- Discrimination
- Hate Crimes
- StereotypesPunching Up/Punching
- Down
- White supremacy
- Social media & Neo Nazis
- 'Hidden' Jew

EDUCATION

- DEI Work
- Ethnic Studies
- Inclusion/Exclusion
- Curriculum
- Multicultural education
- Windows/mirrors
- Anti-racist
- Pedagogical tools
- Accessibility

INVISIBLE/VISIBLE IDENTITY

- Stereotypical physical features
- Clothing & religious symbols (ie yarmulke, Star of David, Mezuzah, etc.)
- Assimilation
- Body/Mind
- Progressive circles
- · Unprotected, liminal space
- passing (pass/fail binary)

INTERSECTIONALITY

- Feminist Theory
- Queer Theory
- Jews of ColorLGBTQ+ Jews
- Connection between Trans Experiences & Jewish
- ExperiencesDisabled Jews
- Misogynoir

ETHNIC/RACIAL CATEGORIES

- Black/White Binary
- Conditional whiteness
- Perceptions
- Critical Race Theory
- · Concept of 'white passing'
- · de-centering whiteness
- racialized groups changing over time

Methodology for Primary Data Collection & Research

When formulating and constructing my ideas, I continue to look to BIPOC, LGBTQ+, disabled, genderqueer, and other marginalized activists and scholars for guidance, knowledge, experience, and wisdom

My methodology for procuring this data began with a search of the current legislation surrounding the implementation of Ethnic Studies in public schools within the United States. From there, I found that there were only nine states with legislation on this, so I decided to look deeper into those programs (NEA, 2021). I intentionally wanted to choose two states from the nine, one politically liberal and the other politically conservative, in order to compare two different frameworks of the curriculum. As Baddiel (2021) notes in his book, antisemitism comes from both sides of the political spectrum, therefore it is important to analyze both. I also

wanted my third overarching data point to be a program that is not required, but is instead providing resources and curriculum for educators in all states, especially states where there are still discussions and debates on whether these bills will, or should, be passed.

For my first data point, I looked at programming in the state of California. I selected California because this was the very first state to pass legislation mandating Ethnic Studies as a high school graduation requirement. This process and mandate will likely become the blueprint for other states in the near future. Additionally, California is where I am conducting this research and where I have experience as an educator in this same field. I then took time to go through their Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum (ESMC) and find the two model lesson plans that focused on Jewish identity and antisemitism. I specifically chose to analyze Sample 31, Jewish Americans: Identity, Intersectionality, and Complicating Ideas of Race, due to the focus on intersectionality and the way it provided fact sheets for students who are unfamiliar with all or some aspects of Jewish identity. After seeing how much variation there was across the state in terms of beginning to actually include Ethnic Studies, I decided that it was important to reflect on one specific district. In my research, San Francisco seemed to have the most developed and clear content to work with regarding Ethnic Studies. By starting with the study from San Francisco, I was able to first see how there was research to back the positive impact that Ethnic Studies lessons have on students.

Choosing the second state was a bit more difficult. Unfortunately, there are very few publications and not much research on how Ethnic Studies is being implemented in the two conservative states on the list—Indiana and Texas. Indiana, however, seemed to have a more comprehensive

framework for their Ethnic Studies Standards for Curriculum (IDOE, 2018; 2020), whereas Texas does not seem to have implemented anything concrete state-wide yet. When looking at the Ethnic Studies Standards for Indiana, there was no language included regarding which specific groups would be discussed in the courses. It seems that in public schools in Indiana where the courses are required to be offered once a year, but not required for students to take, there is very little interest in the classes. When looking into the school mentioned in Chalkbeat (2018), Beech Grove High School, I could not find anything on their website about Ethnic Studies course offerings.

For the third and final data point, I knew that I wanted to use the organization, Diversify Our Narrative, as they have been at the forefront of this work and are completely student run. I was familiar with some of their work from my Public School Teaching class at Claremont Graduate University, and have been following their organization ever since. In using an organization that actively shows the importance of these topics to students, there can be an increase in attention and action from educators and legislators. Diversify Our Narrative has an array of intersectional, diverse, rich—and completely free—lesson plans for educators to adopt into their classrooms and pedagogies. I wanted to focus on how they specifically included Jewish identity and antisemitism, and was met with a collection of intersectional lesson plans that spanned to multiple standardized subjects beyond Ethnic Studies. I chose to summarize four of their courses that intentionally show the intersections of Jewish identity, race, and gender. These four lesson plans all take an intersectional approach that is in line with the core values and methods of Feminist Theory and Critical Race Theory. Transitioning from these four lesson plans most relevant to my topic, I then selected one to analyze in more detail. This was in order to do a

deeper analysis of what components were important in the formulation of the lesson, as well as to display how the content of intersecting misogyny and antisemitism made for a more realistic and holistic understanding of how discrimination of Jewish women manifests. In looking at the tropes and stereotypes put on Jewish women, in particular specific ethnic physical features and their disconnect with eurocentric beauty standards, it is easier to see how the Jewish woman—for both body and mind—is fetishized, demonized, racialized, and put into offensive archetypes. Highlighting this lesson plan in particular allowed for a more overt example of intersectionality, and also connects back to the statement made in the introduction section about how Jewish women are often erased due to negative stereotypes and a lack of accurate representation in the media.

Chapter 1 Discussion

In chapter one, I examined the background of Ethnic Studies and DEI, situated antisemitism and Jewish identity within scholarly conversations, and uncovered the lack of Jewish inclusion in contemporary educational spaces. It is now clear how crucial it is to normalize the inclusion of Jewish identity and antisemitism in Ethnic Studies curricula and DEI centered spaces. As states across the nation begin requiring Ethnic Studies as part of the K-12 standards, it is imperative that programs consider the benefits of focusing on areas of intersectionality and both visible and invisible identities. In this next chapter, I will be exploring the current state of Ethnic Studies curriculum in the United States and taking a closer look at how these curricula are being put into practice.

Chapter 2

DATA ANALYSIS OF ETHNIC STUDIES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Here, I will be exploring the primary data of what standards are implemented for Ethnic Studies courses and how that compares across states. According to the National Education Association (NEA, 2021), "Since the 2012 ban in Arizona, nine U.S states—California, Connecticut, Indiana, Nevada, Oregon, Texas, Vermont, Virginia and Washington—and the District of Columbia have passed laws or policies that establish standards, create committees or authorize courses for K-12 ethnic studies specifically, or multicultural history more generally" (NEA, 2021). While there may be more than nine states that contain public schools who are offering courses in the field, the fact that only nine have any legislation or policy on the standards really begins to show the glaring, bigger picture of the lack of acceptance of these classes—regardless of the specifics of the content. The NEA (2021) continues by saying, "In the same time period, 12 other states have introduced legislation in support of ethnic studies or multicultural history, but those bills have gotten stuck in committee, been postponed or failed" (NEA, 2021). So, while there is a push from constituents in states—outside of the nine listed—to get these bills passed, it seems that there is still much work to be done. I will compare the different structures of Ethnic Studies curriculum by using the Ethnic Studies State Standards for California and Indiana, along with an alternative model of Ethnic Studies curriculum from Diversify Our Narrative that has been created for educators who want to bring these lessons into their classrooms, regardless of whether their state or district requires it. It is important to note that when searching the NEA website for terms such as "Jew", "Jewish", and "antisemitism/anti-semitism", there were only three total search results; one being for 'Jew' and the other two being for 'anti-semitism'. None of these terms came up in the context of Ethnic or Multicultural studies, but instead were only

mentioned once with two out of the three being in response to the 2016 election and a rise in discrimination and neo-Nazi groups.

Dataset 1: California Public Schools

In 2021, California became the first state to mandate Ethnic Studies as a requirement for graduation for all high school students (A.B. 101, 2021). The bill states that schools must begin offering these courses beginning with the 2025-2026 school year (A.B. 101, 2021). According to the California Department of Education (CDE), the curriculum "will focus on the traditional ethnic studies first established in California higher education, which has been characterized by four foundational disciplines: African American, Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x, Native American, and Asian American and Pacific Islander studies" (California Department of Education, 2023). These are the same disciplines as noted in the Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum (LESMC) as seen in the literature review and Rubin's (2023) analysis on how this excludes Jewish identity. In anticipation of the new requirement, the CDE published the Ethnics Studies Model Curriculum (ESMC). The ESMC is a guide for schools to utilize when implementing Ethnic Studies courses, but it remains up to each school district to decide which courses to add, and how they wish to implement them. There is a wide array of programming across the state, and there continues to be quite a bit of conflict when districts discuss adding Ethnic Studies courses to their curriculum. Due to Ethnic Studies courses not being required until 2025, there is presently the opportunity for communities to give feedback and suggestions on what to include in order to "empower all students to engage socially and politically and to think critically about the world around them" (Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum, 2023).

Within the ESMC, there are sample lesson plans that schools can choose to utilize as part of their Ethnic Studies curriculum. There are a total of 33 of these sample lesson plans and two of them are specific to discussing Jewish identity. This is a great example of how Jewish identity can easily be incorporated into Ethnic Studies models. I chose to take a closer look at one of their sample lessons on Jewish identity, Sample Lesson 31, Jewish Americans: Identity, Intersectionality, and Complicating Ideas of Race, because out of the two lessons offered, this lesson felt more in line with addressing my research question (ESMC, 2023). Additionally, the focus on intersectionality drew me to this lesson as it is a framework I am using throughout my study. In the 'Lesson Purpose and Overview' section, many of the themes from the literature review arise. The ideas of invisibility, intersectionality, racialization, white supremacy, conditional whiteness, and activism are all discussed in this lesson plan and are incorporated in a clear and comprehensive way. It also notes that it will include both challenging and positive experiences that Jewish people face. The lesson plan says, "Jewish tradition and communal experiences of persecution and the Holocaust have led to a widespread commitment among Jews to pursue justice and equity for all people and a vigilance against rising antisemitism" (ESMC, 2023). This connects to Baddiel's (2021) argument on how Jewish people have been involved in activism throughout history and his call for that same commitment to be seen from others when standing up against antisemitism. The lesson plan goes on to ask questions about visibility/invisibility and the racialization throughout recent history of the Jewish people. The lesson also includes activities that highlight the ways in which Jewish identity intersects with other identities such as gender and ability. One of the most impactful aspects of the lesson was the fact sheet that was included for students to view and analyze. It mapped out the diverse experiences and identities of Jewish people, discussed the diaspora, and framed intersectionality

in a very intentional way. On the fact sheet, it is written that "For many Jews with light skin, Jewish identity is primary, but they may be viewed as white by others. Therefore, Jews often experience a divergence between internal identity and external classification" (ESMC, 2023). This lesson plan further complicates the ways in which Jewish identity does not fit into contemporary racial and ethnic categories and affirms the prior scholarly literature. The fact sheet goes on to add "White supremacists continue to racialize Jews as nonwhite. This was evident when participants at the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville chanted "the Jews will not replace us," with "us" referring to white Americans" (ESMC, 2023). This important display of conditional whiteness being connected to recent events is helpful in engaging the students and giving them examples attached to the theory. It continues to say that "Light-skinned Jews may experience the benefits of conditional whiteness on the basis of their appearance, for example, safer encounters with law enforcement, but also experience antisemitic prejudice and discrimination on the basis of their Jewishness from both extremes of the political spectrum. Jews of color, like all communities of color, face systemic racism and also face antisemitic prejudice and discrimination on the basis of their Jewishness" (ESMC, 2023). The nuance they add into the different ways Jews are perceived based on intersecting identities goes into the points Larks (2023) makes about Jews being multiethnic and multiracial and that contributing to the different kinds of antisemitism they face. However, the piece concludes the fact sheet about racialization with this quote, "Jews of all skin colors who are visibly Jewish, from their appearance, name, self- identification, or religious clothing or symbols, such as a Star of David necklace, experience more overt antisemitism" which is one of the most powerful statements in the lesson as it ensures that Jewish identity remains being defined as a peoplehood and that regardless of the intersections each person may have within their identity, being 'visibility' Jewish can be dangerous (ESMC, 2023).

In terms of activities for students, the lesson has one activity, the iceberg activity, in which students reflect on their own visible and invisible identities, and another where students read personal accounts from Jewish figures of what being Jewish means to them. By centering a diverse group of Jewish voices, students can then see how Jewish identity differs based on people's lived experiences and other identifiers, and by having students reflect on their own identities, they can personally relate to the material even if they are not Jewish (ESMC, 2023). While this lesson is merely a sample and not a required part of the curriculum, it is still doing some amazing work at giving a free, accessible, and fully formed lesson plan that educators can use with their students once the requirement for Ethnic Studies curriculum is implemented in the 2025-2026 school year.

As districts move towards fully adopting and implementing Ethnic Studies into their curriculum, we can look to those who are at the forefront and those who are just now beginning the work. I've chosen to review the general approach being taken in Northern California by reviewing programming in the San Francisco Unified School District as a result of the district already having Ethnic Studies programs implemented, prior to the passing of Assembly Bill 101.

San Francisco Unified School District is at the forefront of incorporating Ethnic Studies at the highschool level. They launched their programming in 2010, specifically for students entering the 9th grade with a GPA below 2.0 (Teach for America, 2022). Propelled by the success of this

pilot program, Ethnic Studies programming expanded to all of their high schools in 2014 as an elective (Teach for America, 2022). In March 2021, the Board of Education "approved a change to SFUSD's graduation requirements to include at least two semesters or 10 elective credits of Ethnic Studies, beginning with the class of 2028" (SFUSD, 2021). The many years of programming have provided enough data to support the positive impact these courses have had, and continue to have on their students.

In 2022, researchers at Stanford University found that "SFUSD's Ethnic Studies courses helped high school students increase their educational outcomes, attendance, and likelihood of postsecondary enrollment" (SFUSD, 2022). Below is a snapshot of the additional results from the research conducted from the SFUSD website (2022):

- Increased 5 year graduation rate by 15 percentage points (from 75% to 90%)
- Reduced unexcused absences by 5-7 percentage points
- Increased credits earned in high school 2, 3 and 4 years later
- Increased post-secondary enrollment 5 and 6 years later by 13.4 and 14.9 percentage points respectively.

In order to improve their courses, SFUSD also has their students complete pre and post surveys regarding their experiences with the Ethnic Studies curriculum (SFUSD, 2022).

Dataset 2: Indiana Public Schools

After reviewing the data on the legislation and standards for California public schools, I decided to see what other states were implementing Ethnic Studies in some capacity. Indiana, a historically more politically conservative state, was on the list. Due to the findings of the

literature review showing how antisemitism and a lack of knowledge on Jewish identity comes from both the right and the left, it felt very important to include data from both liberal and conservative states on their respective Ethnic Studies models.

The Indiana Academic Standards for Ethnic Studies created by the Indiana Department of Education (IDOE) in 2018, and subsequently updated in 2020, gives a clear set of standards for Ethnic Studies courses (IDOE, 2020). It also states on their website that schools are required to provide an Ethnic Studies elective course at least once a year (IDOE, 2018). Below are the standards from the IDOE (2018; 2020), however there are no specifications for which exact groups would be covered in these classes.

Ethnic Studies				
Standard 1: Cultural Self-Awareness				
ES.1.1	Students describe and defend the appropriate terminology including but not limited to race, ethnicity, culture, cultural practices, bias, implicit bias, and critical consciousness.			
ES.1.2	Students identify and analyze their social, ethnic, racial, and cultural identities and examine societal perceptions and behaviors related to their own identities.			
ES.1.3	Students evaluate how society's responses to different social identities lead to access and/or barriers for ethnic and racial groups in relation to various societal institutions, including but not limited to education, healthcare, government, and industry.			

Ethnic Studies				
Standard 2: Cultural Histories within the United States Context and Abroad				
ES.2.1	Students investigate the origins of various ethnic and racial groups, examining the historical influence of cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic contexts on those groups.			
ES.2.2	Students explain the reasons for various racial/ethnic groups' presence in the U.S. (indigenous, voluntary, or forcible).			
ES.2.3	Students compare and contrast how circumstances of ethnic/racial groups affected their treatment and experiences (indigenous, voluntary, forcible) as a response to the dominant culture of the time.			
ES.2.4	Students examine history and the present to make predictions about what role the dominant culture plays in the loss of racial/ethnic culture and cultural identity.			

Ethnic Studies		
Standard 3: Contemporary Lived Experiences and Cultural Practices		
ES.3.1	Students identify and explore current traditions, rites, and norms of an ethnic or racial group(s) and how they have or are changing over time.	
ES.3.2	Students assess how social policies and economic forces offer privilege or systematic oppressions for racial/ethnic groups related to accessing social, political, and economic opportunities.	

Ethnic Studies			
Standard 4: Historical and Contemporary Contributions			
ES.4.1	Students examine historical and contemporary economic, intellectual, social, cultural and political contributions to society by ethnic or racial group(s) or an individual within a group.		
ES.4.2	Students investigate how ethnic or racial group(s) and society address systematic oppressions through social movements, local, community, national, global advocacy, and individual champions.		

These standards above, while seemingly positive, do not show any substance regarding what the classes will be about and which identities will be included. Chalkbeat (2023), a "nonprofit news organization committed to covering one of America's most important stories: the effort to improve schools for all children, especially those who have historically lacked access to a quality education" has an Indiana specific site, Chalkbeat Indiana, where they discuss this Ethnic Studies policy (Chalkbeat, 2023). In an article titled, How Indiana's new approach to ethnic studies goes beyond slavery and stereotypes, Shelby Mullis (2018) discusses the new implementation of Ethnic Studies electives in Indiana public schools. She writes, "Beech Grove High School offered the course to students for the first time this fall, but failed to receive any interest, the district communications director, Melody Stevens, told Chalkbeat" (Mullis, 2018). She goes on to mention multiple other schools that have also begun offering the classes but are not seeing interest from students. Whether this is because it is being offered as an elective or if it because the content is not exciting to the student's is unclear, however with Indiana being a historically more conservative state and the current debate surrounding Critical Race Theory, the implementation of any standardized Ethnic Studies is something worth noting.

In order to get a better understanding of what the Ethnic Studies elective looks like in an Indiana public school, I found one high school in particular, Highland High School, that offers the course and provides an outline of the curriculum to the public. On their website, the Social Studies department has a list of the classes they offer. On that list, under Ethnic Studies, there is a short video of a teacher explaining what the class is and its purpose. He states that they examine race, ethnicity, and gender in order to give students "tools to build a better world" (Highland High Social Studies, 2023). The structure of the course is split into four units, 1. Introduction to Ethnic Studies, 2. Migration and Movement, 3. Power and Oppression, and 4. Social Movements (Highland High School Ethnic Studies 1516, 2023). The full course outline is shown in the chart below:

Unit 1 Introduction to Ethnic Studies (5 weeks)	 Stereotypes Discrimination Prejudice Race/Ethnicity and Racism Equality/Equity /Tolerance
Unit 2 Migration and Movement (4 weeks)	 African American Hispanic Asian Native American Middle Eastern India (Indian)
Unit 3 Power and Oppression (4 weeks)	PowerPrivilegePrestigeOppression
Unit 4 Social Movements (5 weeks)	 Civil Rights Movement Black Power Movement Chicano Movement American Indian Movement Asian American Movement Gender Equity LGBTQ New Social Movements in America Black Lives Matter (Ex.) Me 2 Movement (Ex.)

Within these four units², while there is no direct mention of Jewish identity or antisemitism, there are a solid amount of diverse groups included. The curriculum even includes a section on gender equity and the LGBTQ+ community, and on modern movements such as Black Lives Matter and the #MeToo Movement. There are multiple places where Jewish identity could fit into this framework, and it is overall very compelling to see such an inclusive curriculum being taught in Indiana.

Dataset 3: Diversify Our Narrative - Accessible Curriculum Outside of Legislation

Diversify Our Narrative (DON) is one of the emerging programs in the U.S. that advocates for DEI, ethnic, and multicultural understanding and lessons in the classroom, and, through a network of students and educators, creates curriculum and makes the lessons accessible. Their mission is, "To fight to be anti-racist and encourage a productive dialogue on race and identity among our student bodies through the inclusion of racially diverse, anti-racist texts in USA Schools; to work towards racial justice, educational equity, and community power" (DON). Along with lesson plans, they offer pedagogical tools, webinars, and intensives for educators. Not only do they include a plethora of resources, but their focus on intersectionality leads to such rich topics that are exactly the types of lessons that Rubin (2023), Vernikoff, et al. (2022), and Muller (2022) are calling for. Examples of lessons that specifically include Jewish diversity and antisemitism are below³:

² All information in this chart is directly from the Highland High School Ethnic Studies 1516 curriculum.

³ All information in this chart was provided by Diversify Our Narrative.

Topic	Created By	Suggested Grade(s)
Exploring Classroom Identities and Intersectionality through an Asian Jewish Lens	Gabby Le and Rose Clubok in partnership with OCA-Asian Pacific American Advocates	6-8th Grade
Mizrahi and Sephardic Storytelling	Rose Clubok	6-8th Grade
Misogynistic and Antisemitic Coding in TV and Film	Rose Clubok and the Jewish Women's Archive	AP Classes and/or Grades 11-12
The History of Jewish American Women's Activism	Rose Clubok and the Jewish Women's Archive	AP Classes and/or Grades 9-10

It is important to note that their focus on diversifying curriculum runs deep and these lessons all list the standards that they satisfy so that teachers can feel confident bringing these lessons into their classroom spaces as part of 'normal' curriculum without fear of straying from the state standards (DON). It is noted on their website that they have already reached over 800 school districts across the nation and over 5000 students across the globe (DON). While they do not have an exact count, there is a map on their website that shows where all of the different DON Chapters are around the world. All of the lesson plans on their website, including these, are completely free and easily downloadable for educators and students alike to both learn and teach the material. It is programs like these that are completely student-run—both high school and college students—that are making big waves in this field.

In order to give a snapshot of the structure of the lesson plans provided on DON, I have selected the lesson for *Misogynistic and Antisemitic Coding in TV and Film* to do a deep dive into. The reason for choosing this lesson plan in particular is because it is not only about antisemitism, but

also highlights intersectionality, specifically with misogyny. As seen in the literature review, understanding the nuance to intersecting identities within the Jewish community and how that impacts the antisemitism they face is very important in giving a holistic perspective on Jewish experiences. Additionally, the combination of patriarchal oppression and white supremacy that Jewish women face adds nuance to the conversation surrounding diverse Jewish experiences, particularly with antisemitism.

As a Jewish woman who is studying Gender and Feminist Studies, my own positionality and lived experience is key to my understanding of the intersection of gender identity and Judaism. I have firsthand experience of the difference in perception of Jewish men and women and the tropes that are applied to Jewish women in terms of physical characteristics, mannerisms, and personality. Reading through the lesson plan, I recognized many similarities between the tropes in the films and stereotypes I have seen in my own life. Many of the archetypes pointed out in the TV shows and films mentioned in the lesson plan are ones that young people grow up seeing which returns to Larks' (2023) idea of perceptions—in this case—of Jewish women being shaped by media, pop culture, and social media misrepresentations.

In her book, *Misogynoir Transformed: Black Women's Digital Resistance*, Moya Bailey (2021) coined the term misogynoir. She defined it as "the ways anti-Black and misogynistic representation shape broader ideas about Black women, particularly in visual culture and digital spaces" (Bailey, 2021). This concept of how the intersection of race, ethnicity, and gender leads to more nuanced experiences with marginalization and oppression, particularly through visual spaces, is the same theory presented in the lesson plan from DON. While there is currently no

coined term for the ways antisemitic and misogynistic representation in visual spaces shape ideas of Jewish women, this lesson plan is, in its entirety, addressing this very concept.

Firstly, the lesson includes readings for the instructor to do prior to teaching in order to familiarize themselves with the material. The readings that are recommended are *Jewish Gender Stereotypes in the United States* by Riv-Ellen Prell (2021), *La Belle Juive* by Yaëlle Azagury (2018), *Battling Stereotypes of the Jewish Mother* by Adina Kay-Gross, Carla Naumburg, and Judith Rosenbaum (date not accessible), and *The Antisemitic History of Witches* by Emma Shachat (2020). These readings all touch on different aspects of the misogyny that Jewish women face and the tropes, archetypes, and stereotypes attributed to Jewish women historically in art and film. The lesson plan also provides a full slide deck along with instructions on how to move through the slides with the students. It prefaces the lesson with a message of the importance of creating a safe classroom environment, especially for the Jewish students, prior to beginning the class discussions. There is even a link to a DON webinar on the lesson plan that provides educators with information on how to create a safe classroom space. It then walks the teacher through how to present the slides and distribute the pre-made worksheets along with how to facilitate the discussions and activities embedded in the slides.

While this is just one lesson that DON provides amidst an expansive selection of lesson plans that cover many identities within all standardized school subjects, it is an excellent representation of the work they are doing. In seeing how invested students and educators from across the country are in creating free, accessible lesson plans that bring DEI and ethnic/multicultural

education into classroom spaces, it feels like only a matter of time before these transformative classroom frameworks become the norm.

Chapter 2 Discussion

In seeing the three different frameworks for implementing Ethnic Studies curriculum in public schools, there is a clear benefit for both students and educators. Although these curriculum standards have a long way to go, and more states still need to start including Ethnic Studies as a requirement, it is certainly uplifting to see how after so much debate and legislation, these courses are coming to fruition in the near future. Going back to my research question on the relationship between Jewish identity and ethnic/racial categories in the United States, it is apparent in the Ethnic Studies curriculum that there is not a consensus on where Jewish people fit into these models. Despite the existence of more transformative models, like Diversify Our Narrative, with clear lesson plans that incorporate Jewish identity in diverse, intentional, and intersectional ways, the typical state standard is still only focusing on "African American, Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x, Native American, and Asian American and Pacific Islander studies" (California Department of Education, 2023). While there are Jewish people who are a part of all of these categories, the current focus of these main groups would leave the Jewish aspects of a student's identity invisible in these spaces.

Chapter 3

INTEGRATING THE STUDY OF JEWISH IDENTITY IN DEI FRAMEWORKS AND ETHNIC STUDIES EDUCATION

Inclusion of Jewish Identity & Antisemitism

In order to integrate Jewish identity and antisemitism awareness into DEI frameworks and Ethnic Studies curricula, it is important to look to others who have already taken some first steps. Also, I find it key to take notice of what the current understanding is relating to antisemitism and the Jewish people amongst young people. Without having the historical context of antisemitism, these young adults will be ignorant to the full scope of Jewish culture and oppression at large.

Cox (2021) writes about the findings of a state-by-state survey conducted in the United States that shows "more than 63% of all respondents between the ages of 18–35 did not know that more than 6 million Jews were killed during the Holocaust" (Cox, 2021). With information like this, it comes as no surprise that "antisemitic hate crimes have risen to an 18-year peak in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago" (Cox, 2021) and that so much of this is going unnoticed. She brings up how the COVID-19 pandemic has caused an uptick in antisemitism through online action and social media. It is important to pause here and notice the ways in which this can be seen as an area of growth. She goes on to say that "the very invisibility of antisemitism in social work education in itself has been viewed as evidence of anti-Semitic attitudes" (Cox, 2021), and that stereotypes play a large role in the implicit bias and discrimination that Jewish people face. Recognizing invisibility and bias can be an admirable first step in changing the culture surrounding whose voices matter in this work. Additionally, if Jewish experiences were included

in implicit bias trainings, there may be more awareness for educators to recognize when this happens in their classrooms or in their interactions with students and families.

While laying the groundwork for people to start understanding antisemitism and situating Jewish identity into their modern perspectives, she also explains why this inclusion of Jews is so important. Dara Horn (2021) speaks to this in that it is common for people to use the Holocaust as a point in history to learn from, but rarely actually think of living Jewish people. By only situating Jewish identity in History curriculum, it invalidates the experiences of living Jewish people and only situates their identity from the lens of war and oppression. Additionally, it then does not recognize antisemitism as connected with other forms of discrimination. Antisemitism is connected to other forms of discrimination, and once someone is made aware of one type of discrimination, many others become visible. Of course, that is still with the understanding that the experiences will differ, however being able to recognize when oppression is present will certainly help guide an individual to ask more questions and be more open to hearing the experiences of the person and/or group facing the oppression. This is a fitting piece to the puzzle of Ethnic Studies and DEI work. In order to truly understand the interconnectedness of diverse groups and their experiences with oppression, it is critical to first pave a way for understanding each identity from a modern and historical perspective through its own individual lens.

Almost every single scholar from the literature review, in some capacity, concludes their work by suggesting ways to teach about Judaism, Jewish people, and antisemitism. Cox (2021) even gives a comprehensive list of what educators can cover in order to teach people how to intervene with macro and microaggressions while also fostering awareness and creating cultural competency.

Providing these additional resources encourages readers to continue their studies, and in giving examples of other programs and readings to look to, it makes starting the learning process less overwhelming.

The fact that both Jewish and non-Jewish scholars who discuss antisemitism are calling for more education on the topic speaks volumes to the need for Jewish identity to be included in Ethnic Studies programs. By situating it as an obligation of the education system as a whole, my hope is that teaching about Jewish identity becomes not only normalized, but is seen as a necessary component to the overall goal of combating antisemitism along with all forms of oppression.

Synergy of Marginalized Groups

Making connections across marginalized groups and the discrimination that they face is a way to make the material more personal for students, create common ground among differences, and nurture a sense of belonging and relatability across human experiences. It is of course important to also acknowledge and clearly lay out the ways in which systems of oppression differ and impact people differently. However, by focusing on the interconnectedness of oppression and white supremacy, we can better recognize when injustice is occurring and come together to stop it. For example, in his book, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon shows comparisons and differences between antisemitism and anti-Blackness. One key comparison is that for Black people, the exterior (body/skin) is scrutinized whereas for Jewish people, it is the interior (mind). He outlines ways in which both of these forms of discrimination can be dangerous for the groups on the receiving ends in very different ways. He goes on to say how while the Jewish person may not initially be discriminated against due to their Judaism being unknown, once they are 'found

out' there is a great risk to their safety. This idea that Jewish people need to declare their identity or will otherwise be labeled as dishonest or sneaky feeds into harmful stereotypes about the 'Hidden Jew' and the conspiracy that Jewish people are everywhere and are in control of everything. This idea that Fanon posed in 1952 feels extremely relevant to conversations occurring in the United States today.

However, in discourse occurring in 2023, rather than comparing antisemitism and anti-Blackness, it is more analogous to see similarities in the discrimination Jews and other invisible identities face, particularly the experiences of transgender people. Due to an increase in discriminatory bills and laws highly scrutinizing the trans body, it is important to see this as a parallel issue of safety for both Jews and LGBTQ+ folks. For Jewish people who are 'visibly' Jewish (ex. wearing a yarmulke or a Star of David), there has been a rise in physical attacks, whereas for people who can hide their Jewish identity, they may see less personal violence occurring. For transgender people today who are perceived as the gender they identify as, there is an added illusion of safety, however if they are discovered or outed as transgender, that safety is immediately stripped from them and an extremely physically dangerous situation could follow. It also propels the disgusting conspiracies⁴ that are created today about transgender people. Most recently, there have been neo-Nazi groups showing up to drag shows and spaces of trans inclusion. As recently as April 29th, 2023, a group of these neo-Nazis showed up to a drag

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⁴ A contemporary example of this is when the antisemitic, transphobic congresswoman, Marjorie Taylor Green was speaking about transgender content creator, Dylan Mulvaney (she/her). On Greene's podcast, *MTG Battleground*, Greene said, "I'd like to bring up one of the biggest pedophiles in America today. His name is Dylan Mulvaney, and I won't be referring to him as a she or her" (Greene, 2023). This disturbing conspiracy and stereotype that transgender people are 'pedophiles' is mimicked in the rhetoric of the neo-Nazis in Columbus, Ohio who chanted "pedophiles get the rope" outside of a drag show on April 29th, 2023.

brunch in Columbus, Ohio, waving flags with giant swastikas and 'heiling' in unison. They held a sign that read 'there will be blood' and chanted phrases such as "no transgenders on our streets" (Filby, 2023). This was an attack on both groups and, as Fanon would see it, truly an attack on every marginalized group. Fanon (1952) wrote, "It was my philosophy teacher from the Antilles who reminded me one day: "When you hear someone insulting the Jews pay attention; he is talking about you" (Fanon, 1952).

This push from oppressive hate groups and legislation to hide who you are is unjust and inequitable, but also very reminiscent of history. This experience feels very tied to the Jewish experience, and in seeing similarities of the two while still acknowledging difference, there is a powerful connection formed to take on a sense of responsibility to stop discrimination in all forms against all marginalized groups. As referenced in the literature review, Dara Horn's (2021) theory that Jewish people need to hide who they are in order to be accepted by society feels intrinsically tied to the current plight of the transgender community. These two groups, transgender and Jewish, for example, are scrutinized and are expected to hide their identities in order for greater acceptance but are also discriminated against once discovered. The relationality of Jewish identity and LGBTQ+ identity—particularly relating to queer and transgender people—is a strong one and one of the most fascinating emerging conversations I found within my research. Marc A. Fajer (2001), a professor and legal scholar, wrote an article titled A Better Analogy: "Jews," "Homosexuals," and the Inclusion of Sexual Orientation as a Forbidden Characteristic in Antidiscrimination Laws (Fajer, 2001). While this piece pertains to discrimination laws surrounding sexuality, his main argument is that there should be a shift from using racial analogies for LGBTQ+ folks and instead use comparisons and links with the experiences of Jewish people. One quote in particular that affirms Horn's (2021) point about hiding, states, "A properly nuanced law of antidiscrimination would protect the decisions of both "Jews" and "homosexuals" to come out of the closet by focusing on the mind-set of the actors outside the closet door and the consequences of their actions, not on the details of the identity of the person huddled fearfully inside" (Fajer, 2001). 'Coming out' as both a commonality and societal expectation for Jews and queer people depicts how these groups are still seen as unconventional abnormalities of society that must label themselves—and make that label known—in order for others to decide how to feel about their existence. This all connects with Crasnow's (2020) concept of the Pass/Fail Binary and the trap that normative assimilation poses to both transgender and Jewish people (Crasnow, 2020). An ethnic, multicultural, DEI focused classroom would make these connections and dive deeper into this analysis in order to better understand both groups for their similarities and differences. Additionally, it would add to the students' engagement with the material and understanding by tying it to identities that they may belong to.

The synergy between groups coming together to see our collective struggle as one, I believe, is wildly powerful and such a key element of DEI and Ethnic Studies work. Classroom spaces are perfect environments for students to see this collaboration in action and allow for a deeper understanding of how diversity brings more interconnectedness, rather than more marginalization. By creating lesson plans that give depth to the colorful and rich histories of marginalized people while also showing the ways in which these identities intersect (ie. someone who is LGBTQ+, Latin(o/a/x), and Jewish), students can begin to see more mirrors in their education and resonate more with the materials being presented to them. Additionally, this will

allow for windows for students who do not identify with some of the groups, giving them the opportunity to take part in appreciating a new culture, ideology, or group.

Chapter 3 Discussion

Incorporating Jewish identity and antisemitism into Ethnic Studies curricula would provide meaningful, expansive, and impactful lessons for students, and it aligns with the already emerging curriculum. Based on the research and scholarship in the field, it is not only valuable, but essential to include Jewish identity and antisemitism in Ethnic Studies courses in order to get a full scope of racial and ethnic categories in the United States. By including an intersectional approach of Jewish identity that takes into account not only race and ethnicity, but also gender and sexuality, the Ethnic Studies curriculum can begin to really dissect the ways in which individuals exist and relate to one another through culture, celebration, diversity, oppression, and liberation.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSION

Based on my research, there is a wide gap in Jewish identity and antisemitism education in schools in the United States. Not only is this gap in curriculum ignored, the reason for or acknowledgement of its absence is hardly discussed. Despite there being more standards and developing options for teaching ethnic, multicultural, and DEI studies in academic spaces, there is still no uniform standard across the nation—or across individual states—in terms of which groups should be included in these lessons. In understanding the historic and modern experiences Jewish people have with being racialized in the U.S, along with the rise in antisemitism, it is clear that there is a distinct need for Jewish identity and experience to be included within the framework of DEI and the curricula of Ethnic Studies. By including an array of lessons that display the diversity and positionality of the Jewish community, uplifting Jewish voices when there are instances of antisemitism, and reframing the ways in which we situate Jewish identity, there is the potential for a more inclusive and holistic Ethnic Studies curriculum that acknowledges both the rich culture of Judaism and the oppression that Jewish people face.

In reimagining futures in which Ethnic Studies courses and DEI work is not only required, but normalized in all public schools, there is the potential for a more radical, inclusive, culturally rich, and accepting future for the nation. Despite pushback and debate surrounding this curriculum, as more studies emerge displaying the benefits of this work and the positive impact it is having on students both academically and socially, it is my belief that these programs will diversify and expand across the country in transformative ways.

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