

Antisemitism and the Politics of Ethnic Studies in CA's K-12 and Higher Education Classrooms

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Corresponding Slides ([Here](#))

Introduction

In 2013, only 1% of California's high schools offered a course in Ethnic Studies. By 2025, a mere dozen years later, 100% of the state's public and charter high schools are supposed to be offering, and all of its students required to take, a course in ethnic studies that's likely to contain explicit and implicit antisemitic content, almost guaranteed to incite bigotry towards Jewish students and the Jewish community.

I'll be speaking today about why this warp-speed transformation was set in motion, how it's been unfolding, the antisemitism at the heart of it, and what, if anything, can be done about it.

But first, a caveat. In this presentation I'll be telling you a story. Let's call it the CA Ethnic Studies Saga. And as with any story, the storyteller has to make choices about how to organize a large number of events and an enormous number of details. She has to decide where to begin and end the story, what events to highlight, what details to include and omit. The story I'll be telling you is one of many that could be, and have been, told about ethnic studies in California. This story differs from those in its singular goal of attempting to understand what is really driving the push for ethnic studies in the state, an understanding that I believe is pre-requisite for developing effective strategies to address it.

I. The Birth of Ethnic Studies

This story begins in 1968 at San Francisco State, one of the first campuses of the California State University system. In November of that year, students from the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front initiated a five-month strike -- the longest in U.S. history. The strike resulted in the immediate establishment of the nation's first departments of black and ethnic studies -- including La Raza, Asian American, and Native American studies -- to be housed in a separate school of ethnic studies. These were the key demands of the strikers who believed these programs would revolutionize the "white, racist," "elitist" institution and provide students of color with tools to achieve self-determination and fight the oppression of their communities.

In order to understand the antisemitism that would ultimately spring from this new discipline, it's important to appreciate the following ways in which ethnic studies, as it was established at San Francisco State, was a radical break from long-standing scholarly tradition:

II. Ethnic Studies – A Radical Break from Academic Tradition

- **Established through Force** – First, unlike other disciplines that entered the academy by proving their scholarly worth, ethnic studies was established as a response to the threats of its student proponents, many of whom were closely allied with armed para-military groups such as the Black Panthers and the Brown Berets.
- **Political Mission** – Secondly, ethnic studies was the first discipline to enter the academy with an explicitly political rather than scholarly mission, that was rooted in a fusion of separatist nationalism with a Third World Internationalism that united nationalist groups in the service of anti-colonial struggle. Ethnic studies was never intended to study and teach *about* specific ethnic groups, rather, its goal was to *contribute toward the liberation of these groups* by revolutionizing both society and its educational institutions.
- **Politicized Curriculum** – Third, the new discipline's liberatory goals were expressed in highly politicized curricula, promoting revolutionary

nationalism, Third World Marxism, and Post-colonialism. These political philosophies create a binary division of society into oppressed and oppressor groups based on race and economic privilege, vilify oppressor groups, and promote the overthrow of systems of oppression, including through violence. Ethnic studies curricula were also rooted in critical pedagogy, championed by Paulo Freire, which aims to bring these political worldviews and calls to action, known as "critical consciousness," into education. This is why the discipline is often called "critical" ethnic studies.

- **Ideological and Political Coercion** - Finally, unlike other disciplines in the academy, which seek to provide students with the analytical tools to objectively evaluate knowledge and arrive at their own conclusions, Critical Ethnic Studies starts with a set of foregone conclusions and ideological commitments that are imposed on students and must be adopted by them without question or debate. These include the acceptance of revolutionary political ideologies and their moral valuations and prescribed activism. Students who do not accept these will generally not find themselves welcome in a critical ethnic studies classroom.

III. The Antisemitism of “Critical” Ethnic Studies

Now let’s look at the different ways in which the introduction of this highly politicized discipline opened the door to antisemitism in the academy and beyond.

- **Conceptual Antisemitism** - The basic conceptual framework of ethnic studies – its division of society into oppressed and oppressor groups based on race and economic privilege – easily merges with antisemitic tropes of Jewish power, privilege and malevolence to provide ready-made examples of Jews – as individuals, an ethnic group or a nation state - as the quintessential white privileged oppressor preventing national groups of color from achieving self-determination. These antisemitic tropes have been used in a few different ways by ethnic studies practitioners:
 - **Black Nationalist Antisemitism** – Antisemitic portrayals of Jews as “rich power brokers” and “bloodsuckers,” and false canards about Jews financing the Atlantic slave trade, which are frequently associated with individuals like Louis Farrakhan and black nationalist

groups like Farrakhan's Nation of Islam, were expressed by prominent Black Studies scholars in the 1990's.

- **Postcolonial Anti-Zionism** – More commonly in recent years, however, the antisemitic expression of critical ethnic studies practitioners derives from the antisemitic portrayal of Zionism as a “racist,” “settler-colonialist” “system of oppression” that engages in the genocide, ethnic cleansing and apartheid of an indigenous people of color, namely, the Palestinians. According to ethnic studies scholars themselves, such antisemitic portrayals of Israel as the prototype of the evil settler colonial state have been a mainstay of the discipline since its inception.

Add to these antisemitic portrayals the disciplinary imperative to vigorously fight the oppressor and dismantle oppression, and it's not hard to see why many ethnic studies faculty not only engage in anti-Zionist activism and BDS advocacy, but also promote such activism as legitimate disciplinary expression in their classrooms, departments and professional associations.

In fact, ethnic studies is among *the* most anti-Zionist disciplines in the academy. Consider the following:

- More than one-third of all U.S. faculty who support an academic boycott of Israel have a primary or secondary affiliation in a university Ethnic Studies program.
 - More U.S. departments of Ethnic Studies were headed by academic BDS-supporters than any other discipline.
 - All 13 members of the founding board of the Critical Ethnic Studies Association signed petitions endorsing BDS.
 - And the Critical Ethnic Studies Association and three of the four professional organizations of “foundational groups” that make up the discipline – the Latino, Asian and Native American associations – have all passed resolutions endorsing academic BDS.
- **Backlash Antisemitism** – The final kind of antisemitic expression that critical ethnic studies practitioners have engaged in is what I call

Backlash Antisemitism. It occurs when Jewish complaints of antisemitism in the discipline or among its practitioners are met with further antisemitism that draws on classic tropes of Jewish power and malevolence. For example, after Wellesley College Black Studies professor Tony Martin was widely criticized for promoting the antisemitic lie about Jews controlling the slave trade, he wrote a book, *The Jewish Onslaught*, in which he accuses Jews of racism and trying to halt the progress of African Americans.

More recently, numerous ethnic studies faculty who support the implementation of critical ethnic studies curricula in CA K-12 classrooms have called Jewish organizations and leaders “racist,” “white supremacist,” and “terror-baiting” and for criticizing antisemitism in the curricula.

- **Antisemitism in Effect** – Critical ethnic studies’ negative portrayals of Jews and the Jewish state have undoubtedly contributed to campus antisemitism for many years. For example, in the 1990’s, San Francisco State was known as the most antisemitic campus in the US, largely because of the antisemitic activity of the Pan African Student Union, a group with strong ties to the school’s College of Ethnic Studies.

In the 2000’s, San Francisco State was again dubbed the most antisemitic campus in America, this time because of an anti-Zionist student group, General Union of Palestine Student (GUPS), that engaged in extensive antisemitic activity involving the denigration and harassment of Jewish students on campus. GUPS, too, was closely affiliated with the College of Ethnic Studies, particularly the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas (AMED) program, which joined the College in 2007, and since then, has been a non-stop source of antisemitic courses and events, and together with GUPS, has been responsible for campaigns to shut down Zionism and pro-Israel expression on campus.

Now I want to return to the CA Ethnic Studies saga, and look at what happened to this highly politicized discipline in the years and decades after it was forced into the academy.

IV. The Politics of Ethnic Studies

In the decade following the San Francisco State strike, 20 ethnic studies units were established on 15 Cal State campuses, but ethnic studies growth significantly slowed in the following decades. And when dramatic cuts to the CSU system in the mid-2000s disproportionately affected Ethnic Studies departments, many struggled to survive.

Things came to a head at the beginning of 2013, when the president of CSU Long Beach proposed “downgrading” the school’s department of Africana Studies to a program because of under-enrolled classes. In response, the department chair, Maulana Karenga, launched what he called a “critical struggle” to save the department, which developed into a bold campaign to not only save his department, but to secure the place of ethnic studies throughout Cal State’s 23 campuses, by making the discipline essential to the university system.

As we’ll see, the campaign had two prongs: the first involved efforts to make ethnic studies courses a system-wide requirement on all campuses, thereby guaranteeing student enrollment. The second involved efforts to bring “critical” ethnic studies to K-12 classrooms, thereby ensuring a reliable pipeline for providing Cal State ethnic studies majors with employment opportunities as K-12 ethnic studies teachers.

The campaign to secure ethnic studies was loosely modeled after the 1968 strike at SFSU, with some key differences.

While the 1968 campaign was almost wholly student driven, the 2013 campaign was orchestrated by a small group of Cal State faculty, who were also very well-connected professional activists. There are three individuals in particular who have played central roles in the ethnic studies campaign, and all three have espoused antisemitic and anti-Israel rhetoric.

- **Maulana Karenga**, the CSULB Africana Studies Chair, who seems to have set everything in motion, is an important figure in the Black Power/Black Nationalist movement. He founded the organization US, which rivaled the Black Panthers in California in the mid-1960s. In 1994, Karenga publicly defended a prominent Nation of Islam member, Khalid Muhammad, after

he was criticized by the ADL for calling Jews "blood-suckers of the black nation." More recently, Karenga published an op-ed accusing Israel of "racial supremacy," "settler apartheid," "ethnic cleansing," "savage oppression" and "radical evil".

- **Melina Abdullah**, a Cal State LA professor and long-time chair of Pan African Studies, is a central figure in the Cal State ethnic studies campaign. She has stated that ethnic studies is "the intellectual arm of the revolution" and that her role, and that of other "authentic" ethnic studies "scholars," is to use their academic positions to promote liberatory political movements. Abdullah herself is co-founder and leader of the LA chapter of Black Lives Matter, and she provides course credit to students who participate in BLM political activities. In 2020, Abdullah organized and led the BLM protest that turned violent in the largely Jewish Fairfax community, resulting in several synagogues, schools and Jewish markets being looted and vandalized with antisemitic graffiti. When asked about the looting and violence of the demonstrators that day, Abdullah said, "We were very deliberate in deciding to disrupt spaces of white affluence. We want to make sure that it's not just black people who are suffering at the hands of white supremacy".
- **Theresa Montano**, who also plays a key role in the K-12 prong of this campaign, is Prof. of Chicano studies at CSU Northridge and a former K-12 educator. Montano calls herself "an active unionist", and has been on the executive committee, board or staff of just about every major teachers union in CA. In 2021, Montano co-founded and continues to head the Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium, a fee-for-service educational consulting group that develops curricular material for teaching what they call "liberated", or critical, ethnic studies, as well as professional development and teacher training services. Some of the first curricular material posted to the group's website was called "Preparing to Teach Palestine: A Toolkit," which included several webpages that used classic antisemitic tropes of Jewish wealth and power to vilify pro-Israel Jews and Jewish organizations, smeared Israel with false charges of "settler colonialism" and "apartheid," promoted the work of anti-Zionist organizations that call for dismantling the Jewish state, and offered advice on "how to start your own BDS campaigns." Montano herself has endorsed

the academic boycott of Israel, and she has accused Jewish leaders and organizations of being racist and white supremacist for criticizing antisemitism and anti-Zionism in curricular materials she helped develop.

As we'll see, these three Cal State professor-activists very effectively used their connections with faculty and students, K-12 educators and administrators, outside political organizations, and, importantly, with powerful teachers' unions and state legislators, to achieve their ambitious goals.

Back to our timeline, which I'm now going to bifurcate, in order to show how the two prongs of this campaign – one playing out at CSU and the other in the K-12 system - progressed.

Let's start with the CSU timeline:

In the summer of 2013, Karenga and Abdullah's friend and former colleague, state assembly member and head of the Legislative Black Caucus, Shirley Weber, who had founded the African American Studies program at San Diego State and taught there for more than 40 years, introduced an assembly resolution supporting the continuation of the state universities' Africana studies programs, which passed unanimously.

As a result of the resolution, the Cal State Chancellor promised a moratorium on cuts to ES and established a Task Force on the Advancement of Ethnic Studies at the University, to which both Karenga and Abdullah were appointed.

In 2016, the task force recommended CSU make courses in general ethnic studies or focused on one of its "core groups" – African American, Chicano, Asian American or Native American Studies – a general education requirement.

The university not only ignored the recommendation, but in 2017, the Chancellor issued an executive order *eliminating* a general education requirement that included ethnic studies courses. This, of course, infuriated the task force, including Melina Abdullah, who went back to state legislators for support.

In 2019, encouraged by Abdullah, Shirley Weber introduced a bill requiring all CSU students to take an ethnic studies course in order to graduate. In an act of

unusual candor, Weber justified the need for the bill in the legislative record by stating, “Unless this bill becomes law, ethnic studies courses will be decimated.” Weber was effectively admitting that the primary purpose of a bill requiring all CSU students to take a course in ethnic studies was NOT to benefit *students*, but to ensure that ethnic studies faculty and departments would survive. This, of course, was the primary goal of the faculty activists who had launched the campaign.

Weber’s bill was sponsored by the CSU faculty union (CFA) and supported by Black Lives Matter - the first bill BLM officially supported, according to Melina Abdullah.

Importantly, the bill was OPPOSED by the administration of every Cal State campus and the CSU academic senate, on the legitimate grounds that the state legislature has no business dictating academic policy and programming to a state university. It’s a violation of the basic tenets of academic freedom and it’s antithetical to how a university is governed.

But the state legislature sided with the ethnic studies activists and passed the bill, which the Governor signed into law, making CA the first state in the nation to mandate such a graduation requirement in a 4-year public university, and the first time CA state legislators ever mandated the academic programming of one of its universities. Although it was a frightening demonstration of state over-reach, it was a HUGE victory for ethnic studies faculty activists at Cal State.

In the academic year after this bill was passed, there were more than 40 new ethnic studies faculty searches carried out on Cal State campuses.

Because of the new law, Ethnic Studies at Cal State went from being on the proverbial chopping block in 2013, to being one of the most essential departments on campus less than 10 years later. And as at the birth of ethnic studies at SFSU in 1968, these changes were forced onto the university against the will of administrators – this time, not by physical force, but by legislative force, which, as before, left the university no choice but to comply with the will of ethnic studies activists.

Now let's consider the parallel but interrelated timeline of the progression of ethnic studies initiatives at the K-12 level. While the Cal State prong of the ethnic studies campaign was primarily driven by faculty in Africana Studies with the assistance of allied state legislators, as we'll see, the K-12 prong was primarily driven by Latino political groups assisted by allied legislators, whose efforts were seamlessly integrated into the campaign to strengthen ethnic studies at Cal State.

In 2014, Southern California high school teacher Jose Lara, a leader in Union del Barrio, an organization that works towards "political revolution" and "the fundamental liberation of all raza, from Chile to Alaska," established the Ethnic Studies Now Coalition (ESNC), a group of K-12 and higher education ethnic studies educators, students and community members, dedicated to establishing ethnic studies graduation requirements in high schools throughout the state. Cal State's Maulana Karenga, Melina Abdullah and Theresa Montano were all part of these efforts, whose first big victory was in November 2014, when Los Angeles Unified School District – the largest in the state - adopted a resolution making ethnic studies a high school graduation requirement.

In 2015, Jose Lara took the campaign to the next level, with efforts to secure state legislation mandating an ethnic studies requirement for ALL California high schools. These efforts were to unfold in two steps. The first was making sure that the ethnic studies curriculum adopted by schools for their required classes was based on "critical pedagogy." Only then would a state-mandated ethnic studies requirement – the focus of the second step of the campaign – be assured to carry out the original goals of ethnic studies activists.

ESNC members helped to draft a bill mandating the development of a state-approved ethnic studies model curriculum for high schools, which state assembly member Luis Alejo, chair of the Latino Legislative Caucus, introduced. The bill was officially supported by the largest teachers union in the state - the California Teachers Association - at a time when Cal State's Theresa Montano was one of three members of that powerful union's executive committee. It was also supported by Cal State's faculty union, the California Faculty Association, on whose board of directors Montano sat. The bill was signed into law in **2016**, encouraging ethnic studies activists to press for the next step of their campaign - a state-mandated graduation requirement.

So in **2017**, Shirley Weber, with encouragement from ESN, started things rolling, by introducing a successful house resolution to formalize the assembly's will to mandate an ethnic studies graduation requirement for all high school pupils.

For the next few years, the K-12 campaign would proceed on two fronts: legislative and curricular.

On the curricular front, efforts to ensure that the state-mandated model curriculum would embrace "critical pedagogy" began in earnest towards the end of 2018, when the Instructional Quality Commission (or IQC), to which Jose Lara had been appointed, was tasked with selecting ethnic studies educators for an advisory committee to help draft the state's model curriculum. Lara made sure a majority of committee members were from his ESN group, including Theresa Montano.

Things took a fateful turn for the activists when the first draft of the state's model ethnic studies curriculum, developed by the IQC-selected advisory committee, was released for public comment. It generated public furor, particularly in the Jewish community. Steeped in critical pedagogy, the draft centered on the 4 core "critical" ethnic studies groups at the university level – Black, Latino, Asian and Native American - plus one new group that was added at the last minute – Arab Americans. The draft's ideological framework divided society (and students) into oppressed and oppressors, called for connecting students to "resistance movements" in order to fight oppressor groups, and it called for "challenging" all "imperialist/colonial hegemonic beliefs".

Although many in the Jewish community were dismayed that Jewish Americans were excluded, what really triggered the community were sample lessons on Arab Americans that suggested Jews controlled the media, condemned the Jewish state and included a glossary depicting BDS as a "global social movement ... to establish freedom for Palestinians living under apartheid conditions."

Twenty thousand individuals and almost every Jewish organization in the state submitted comments decrying the anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist bias of the draft. The California Legislative Jewish Caucus argued the curriculum would "marginalize Jewish students and fuel hatred and discrimination against the Jewish community," and Governor Newsom vowed the draft would "never see the light

of day.” Soon after, the State Board of Ed rejected the draft and set to work on a new one.

Furious at the rejection of their curriculum, which was a crucial piece of their larger plan, in Fall 2019 several members of the advisory committee, particularly those suggested by Jose Lara, launched an activist campaign they called “Save CA Ethnic Studies,” demanding the State Board of Ed adopt the original draft curriculum.

In 2020, the Save Ethnic Studies group asked dozens of school districts to approve a resolution supporting the rejected first draft of the model curriculum, including its lessons on Arab Americans. And by the end of summer, more than 20 schools did.

Early **in 2021**, the Save group organized a final push to get the State Board of Ed to reconsider their rejected first draft by presenting a petition signed by 25K individuals, as well as the all of the Cal State ethnic studies departments, the Cal State Faculty Union, and the California Teachers Association.

Nevertheless, in March, the Board of Ed adopted a fourth draft of the model curriculum, which the first drafters had decried as being “inauthentic,” “diluted” and “superficial.” Interestingly, although the final state-approved model curriculum was scrubbed of overt antisemitic and anti-Zionist content and included lesson plans on Jewish Americans and antisemitism, it also contained a set of critical pedagogy-infused Guiding Principles that were almost identical to those in the first draft. Informed by these principles, a motivated teacher could easily adapt the state-approved model curriculum to include content with antisemitic portrayals of Jews and the Jewish state.

Switching now to the Legislative front, in **2020** a bill requiring all high school students to take an ethnic studies course based on the state’s model curriculum was put forward by assembly member Jose Medina, a member of the Latino Legislative Caucus and chair of the assembly’s higher education committee. The bill, which was supported by the Cal State faculty union, passed the legislature but was vetoed by Gov. Newsom, largely because of his concern about which curriculum would be used by high schools.

In January 2021, Assembly member Jose Medina introduced another attempt at an ES high school graduation requirement bill (AB 101), which was co-sponsored by the California Teachers Association. However, concerned that school districts might not adopt the state-approved model curriculum but instead, prefer the rejected first draft or an even more objectionable Liberated curriculum from Theresa Montano's group, who had been aggressively marketing their services throughout the state, members of the concerned legislators pressed for the addition of guardrails into the bill to discourage school districts from adopting the rejected first draft or similar curriculum.

With the help of these guardrails, Medina's bill passed in the legislature and was signed into law by the Governor, who, in his signing message, stated that he appreciated that guardrails had been added to the bill "to ensure that courses will be free from bias or bigotry and appropriate for all students."

But as the legislators and Governor knew well, not *one* of the bill's several guardrails would actually be able to stop a school district from adopting the rejected first draft or Liberated curriculum. What lawmakers and the Governor likely did *not* know, however, was how quickly the Liberated group would be able to infiltrate districts throughout the state with their biased and antisemitic version of ethnic studies – all thanks to the new ethnic studies graduation requirement.

Looking back on the multifaceted campaign to ensure the survival of ethnic studies at Cal State – what I have been calling "the politics of ethnic studies" – we can see the enormous success of faculty activists. Not only did the legislatively-mandated Cal State ethnic studies graduation requirement manage to secure ongoing funding for their departments and rapidly expand their faculty lines, the state mandated *high* school graduation requirement would mean even more student interest in their departments. And *some* Cal State faculty, like Theresa Montano, have even managed to grow a lucrative educational consulting group while promoting a Liberated curriculum that further advances the faculty activists' vision.

V. Lessons Learned

So what does all this mean for those of us concerned about antisemitism in K-12 and college classrooms? I believe there are crucial lessons that we can learn from the CA ethnic studies saga, which can help us move forward.

First, a careful consideration of the audacious scope of the faculty activists' successful campaign, which was fully supported by powerful teachers' unions and the state legislature, gives us a good sense of what we're up against in trying to combat the proliferation of antisemitic critical ethnic studies in CA schools. Simply put, we are outmanned and outgunned. But *recognizing* this – appreciating that there are some battles we probably can never win - is the first step in developing strategies that *can* succeed.

Second, understanding the ultimate goal and basic strategy of the faculty activists' campaign, along with its antisemitic aspects, can help us formulate and prioritize our own efforts.

Let's recall the activists' campaign in its broadest strokes: their ultimate goal was to save their ethnic studies departments from being eliminated. Their strategy was to make their departments valuable, even essential, to the university, by finagling ethnic studies graduation requirements at Cal State, and in all CA high schools. At the high school level, an additional step was needed to ensure that what was being taught was "critical" ethnic studies, consistent with what is taught in Cal State classes, and not some other version of the subject that would not require their expertise.

I want to suggest that each part of the activists' game plan can, and *should*, be challenged, on two grounds.

First, its very legitimacy must be called into question because of its use or promotion of antisemitism. Starting with the most accessible part of the game plan, the "critical" ethnic studies curriculum or approach, we should be arguing that any curriculum whose conceptual framework includes explicit or implicit antisemitic portrayals of Jews or the Jewish state, and is likely to lead to anti-Jewish bigotry in the classroom and beyond, such a curriculum is simply illegitimate. So, too, any state requirement that forces *all* students to take a

course likely to use such an antisemitic curriculum, and thereby incite antisemitic bigotry statewide, cannot be a legitimate requirement. Lastly, any plan to strengthen university departments, whose faculty regularly traffic in antisemitism and transmit it to their students and colleagues, claiming it is part of their disciplinary mission – is an illegitimate plan.

The second way we should challenge the activists' game plan is by questioning its value to respective stakeholders, helping them to see that, as the expression goes, "the juice isn't worth the squeeze". At the curricular level, for instance, we should be pointing out that the single study repeatedly cited to show that ethnic studies has academic benefits, has been roundly debunked by prominent scholars. Given the public controversy surrounding a critical-pedagogy-infused curriculum, why would a school district opt to use it, when it offers students no proven educational benefits?

With respect to the "requirement" part of the plan, the squeeze is even more obvious: the state legislature has estimated implementing this requirement will cost \$250 million *a year*. As CA faces a \$25 billion deficit and a large majority of its high school students, already overwhelmed with requirements, can't meet state standards in literacy or math, why would the state want to implement such an exorbitantly expensive, academically empty and divisive requirement?

And finally, we should be asking Cal State officials: Does critical ethnic studies – a highly politicized, coercive discipline, whose practitioners engage in antisemitism that they claim is consistent with their disciplinary mission - does such a discipline have enough value to the university to justify its continued funding? It's a fair question, and it seems that not long ago, Cal State officials believed the answer was no.

These are just some general ideas about formulating strategic approaches to the problem. I'd be happy to share details about how my organization has tried to implement them, and what more can be done, in the Q&A.

I also want to remind you that what I've shared today is just one story, not the *only* story, about the CA ethnic studies controversy, and in order to tell that one story there was much I omitted. Some of these omitted details, too, can be

shared in the Q&A, or you can find them in one of the [many pieces](#) I've written about this topic over the last few years.

Thank you for your attention and your interest in this topic!