

ETHNIC STUDIES

How Oregon Education Went **Woke**



an investigation from the oregon **education** project



On February 18, 2021 the Oregon State Board of Education approved the adoption of the 2021 Social Science Standards with integrated **ETHNIC STUDIES** Standards. Districts were told these standards were *required* and *must* be adopted by the 2026-2027 school year — yet they can use them *immediately*.

Oregon thus became the first state to adopt such standards.¹

The Board further noted that “effectively implementing the new standards will mean the introduction of *new content knowledge* in social science as well as *pedagogical moves* that help to create an *inclusive classroom*.”²

Three specific resources were provided to assist with implementation:

- a list of ethnic studies non-textbooks for teachers and students;
- a list of ethnic studies library books;
- a racial justice text tool.³

Educators were to draw from these resources and develop classroom curriculum consistent with the standards’ new “*content knowledge*” and “*pedagogical moves*”. Upon examination, these resources reflected a *narrow perspective* which guided the creation and delivery of the standards from conception through to adoption. They rely on **critical theories** of ethnicity, race, sex, and more from Marxist-inspired activist academics to select and frame the new “*content knowledge*”.

As for “*pedagogical moves*”, the resources direct educators toward the *focus* of the new “*inclusive classroom*”: helping students’ develop **critical consciousness**⁴ —

“... developing a *critical lens* to see the world, and to be *politically, socially and economically conscious* about their personal connections to local and national history by *understanding systems and power at the root of American society*.”⁵

Further inquiry into the creation of the standards confirms that:

“Members engaged in meaningful and relevant discussions about the critical components that must be included in the ethnic studies standards.

Group members expressed intentional teaching and learning experiences that centered on *understanding whiteness: Euro-centricity, white privilege, white fragility, white dominance* (white solidarity, white ally ship), *understanding systems of power and oppression*, legitimate and illegitimate, from basic interpersonal conflict to state-inflicted violence and everything in between, *intersectionality*, age, disabilities, sexual orientation, *gender identity*, religion, race, gender and national origin equity.”⁶

The legislators who directed the Oregon Department of Education to add **ETHNIC STUDIES** to the curriculum said nothing about *any* of that. A bipartisan committee of Senators and Representatives simply expressed a long-standing desire to have Oregon’s ethnic and social minorities “see themselves” in the curriculum — to have their histories, contributions, and perspectives included.⁷ But from its inception, **House Bill 2845** added a stipulation that went beyond *publicly expressed* legislative intent. This stipulation empowered a narrowly-selected group of activist-educators to redefine **ETHNIC STUDIES** and create a platform that would *transform* Oregon Education through the pervasive embrace of “woke” ideology.⁸

This is the story of How Oregon Education Went Woke:

How social justice activists created a platform for political indoctrination.



¹ “Blue” states with Progressive Democrats in control have been working to achieve this goal for many years.

² ODE March 2021 Newsletter (emphasis added.)

³ This tool was lifted from Teaching Tolerance’s Reading Diversity Tool and Teaching For Change’s Selecting Anti-Bias Books. It was designed to assist in reviewing and selecting material for classroom use, to ensure it represents the perspectives students need to be taught.

Teaching Tolerance is an education effort by the Southern Poverty Law Center, a notable anti-Conservative, far-Left activist group with an aggressive political agenda. They’ve now rebranded as Learning for Justice.

Teaching For Change is a non-profit organization whose mission is “building social justice, starting in the classroom.”

⁴ **Critical Consciousness** is a Marxist-inspired social and educational concept that leads students to “awaken” and act on social and political issues — “social justice”. Students learn to think deeply about “inequitable power structures and systems”, feeling empowered to change them through political action.

It was developed by Brazilian educational theorist Paulo Freire, whose 1970 book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is the most widely assigned in schools of education.

⁵ House Bill 2845 Ethnic Studies Standards Report to the Oregon Department of Education (emphasis added).

⁶ *ibid*.

⁷ See video of Joint Committee On Ways and Means discussion on June 2, 2017.

⁸ See Oregon Education Project Broadside Woke Education.

How It All Began

“In 2016, a group of students from **Portland metro area schools** organized and advocated for the creation of high school ethnic studies courses. In testimony to local school boards and the Oregon Legislature, students identified the need to *see themselves reflected in social science classrooms*.”⁹

Getting more inclusive social science content into Oregon K-12 education has been a bi-partisan goal of the legislature for decades. When the **Joint Committee On Ways and Means** met June 2, 2017 to consider **House Bill 2845** the hope was this time ODE might finally deliver something substantive. Black Republican Senator **Jackie Winters**,¹⁰ a strong supporter of the bill, expressed irritation that it had taken so long to heed the legislature’s many requests to add the stories of black pioneers — and other overlooked minorities — to Oregon history classes.

HB 2845 required ODE to “convene a 13-member advisory group to review the current curriculum standards for social science and identify opportunities to recognize histories, contributions, and perspectives of ethnic and social minorities.”¹¹

The **Ethnic Studies Advisory Group**¹² was to identify where current standards fall short and develop new standards to “increase cultural competency and promote critical thinking *regarding the interaction between systemic social structures and ethnic minority or social minority status*.”¹³ They were then to submit a report that proposes a new set of K-12 Social Science Standards for mandatory statewide adoption.

The latter stipulation (in italics, above) seems to have avoided any public scrutiny. There was no public discussion about *systemic social structures* among committee members sending the bill to the House and Senate for deliberation and a vote. Nor was there any testimony given that cited it prior to the legislature’s adoption. Yet it was undoubtedly among the primary reasons 15 Republican Representatives and 1 Republican Senator voted against the bill.¹⁴

What are Systemic Social Structures?

While the bill itself did not specify their exact meaning, the Oregon Education Association captures the broad *understanding* of the teachers charged with instructing students about them:

“institutional racism and cultural marginalization caused by long standing practices of white supremacy {that} have long created barriers and disparities for many of Oregon’s students and educators of color.”¹⁵

This echoes the charge given by then Governor Kate Brown when she formed Oregon’s Racial Justice Council in 2020:

“Leaders in the public sector, business community, and non-profit sector must work with Black, Indigenous and People of Color to dismantle the **structures of racism** that have created grave disparities in virtually all of our social systems and structures.”

The idea of institutional, structural, or systemic racism — summarized as “systemic oppression” throughout the Standards¹⁷ — has its origin in Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality.¹⁸ It proposes that **American laws, policies, procedures, and programs** function as a whole to produce racial inequality: they produce a racial hierarchy in which white people, as a group, do better than nonwhite groups even though such laws, policies, procedures, and programs do not have racial subordination as their purpose or design. In short, they *unwittingly* promote white supremacy.¹⁹

Critical Race Theory + Intersectionality frame the new Social Science Standards.²⁰



⁹ House Bill 2845 Ethnic Studies Standards Report to the Oregon Department of Education (emphasis added).

¹⁰ Winters was elected to the Oregon House of Representatives in 1998, and became the first black Republican ever to serve in the Oregon Legislative Assembly. She was elected to the Oregon State Senate in 2002.

¹¹ House Bill 2845.

“Ethnic minorities” means individuals who are Native American or Americans of African, Asian, Pacific Island, Chicano, Latino or Middle Eastern descent.

“Social minorities” means women, people with disabilities, immigrants, refugees and individuals who are lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender.

¹² HB2845 directs who shall be on the board. See Appendix.

¹³ HB2845 (emphasis added).

¹⁴ See <https://gov.oregonlive.com/bill/2017/HB2845/>

¹⁵ “Our Commitment to Equity: Every Oregon student should feel welcome, safe, and seen in their public school.” Oregon Education Association website.

¹⁶ State of Oregon Racial Justice Report, 2022.

¹⁷ See Oregon Education Project Explainer **Systemic Oppression**.

¹⁸ “Critical Race Theory (CRT) is an analytical framework that can be used to explain or examine facts or events.” Khiara Bridges **Critical Race Theory: A Primer**.

Intersectionality extends Critical Race Theory to embrace other “marginalized identities.”

See Oregon Education Project Investigations on **Critical Theory and Victim Culture**.

¹⁹ Khiara Bridges **Critical Race Theory: A Primer**.

²⁰ It defines “systems and power at the root of American society” foundational to their implementation.

Creating the Standards

Governor Kate Brown signed HB2845 into law in June 2017. The Ethnic Studies Advisory Group was created and met 15 times between November 2017 and June 2019. Kendra Hughes, an ODE Education Equity Specialist²¹, was appointed to be Group Facilitator. Her professional focus on **culturally responsive teaching**²² — which relies on Critical Race Theory + Intersectionality — and social justice advocacy matched the direction the group was to take in creating the standards.

Group members themselves broadly shared a similar focus, being drawn from activist groups focused on social justice for the particular groups they represented. The two academics in the group also shared their progressive political orientation.²³

Important: The group had no meaningful representation from more conservative members of the various ethnic and social minorities HB2845 outlined. Nor was there representation from the rural areas of Oregon, where social justice activism and progressive politics has much less influence. This **lack of viewpoint diversity**²⁴ explains the narrow, ideological focus of their work noted earlier in this investigation:

“Group members expressed intentional teaching and learning experiences that centered on understanding whiteness: Euro-centricity, white privilege, white fragility, white dominance (white solidarity, white ally ship), understanding systems of power and oppression, legitimate and illegitimate, from basic interpersonal conflict to state-inflicted violence and everything in between, intersectionality, age, disabilities, sexual orientation, gender identity, religion, race, gender and national origin equity.”²⁵

The Process

The group began by redefining “ethnic studies” as written in HB2845, drafting a new definition for consideration by the Oregon Department of Education.

ORIGINAL DEFINITION

“Ethnic studies means instruction of public school students in kindergarten through grade 12 in the *histories, contributions and perspectives* of ethnic minorities and social minorities.”²⁶

This definition reflects both the original “ask” from Portland area students as well as the publicly-expressed intent of Legislators who passed HB2845.

ADVISORY GROUP REDEFINITION

“Ethnic studies are a compelling way to examine identity, race, ethnicity, community, religion, nationality, and culture in the United States. It equips students with a more robust historical narrative that *centers on the histories, contributions, and perspectives of historically, traditionally and/or currently marginalized communities and individuals* who are Native American or Americans of African, Asian, Pacific Island, Chicano, Latinx, or Middle Eastern descent, women, people with disabilities, immigrants, refugees and individuals who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender, as well as *assist students in developing a critical lens to see the world, and to be politically, socially and economically conscious about their personal connections to local and national history by understanding systems and power at the root of American society.*”²⁷

This definition reflects the Critical Race Theory + Intersectional framework that the new standards build upon, drawn from HB2845’s stipulation that they “*increase cultural competency and promote critical thinking regarding the interaction between systemic social structures and ethnic minority or social minority status.*”²⁸



²¹ See her LinkedIn profile.

²² See the Oregon Education Project Explainer on Culturally Responsive Teaching.

²³ See Appendix. In addition to the Advisory Group’s stated members, six more individuals acted as advisors.

An additional ODE employee, Social Science Specialist **Amit Kobrowski**, also contributed and has gone on to oversee the implementation of the standards. Mr. Kobrowski has been very helpful in providing personal insight that has contributed to this OEP investigation, through email and phone contact.

²⁴ See Oregon Education Project Broadside Viewpoint Diversity.

²⁵ House Bill 2845 Ethnic Studies Standards Report to the Oregon Department of Education (emphasis added).

²⁶ HB2845 (emphasis added.)

²⁷ House Bill 2845 Ethnic Studies Standards Report to the Oregon Department of Education (emphasis added).

²⁸ HB2845 (emphasis added.)

Discovery

Discovering “where the current statewide social studies standards fail to recognize the histories, contributions, and perspectives of ethnic minorities and social minorities.”²⁹

Throughout the process of creating their report, the Advisory Group reflected on the goals set forth in the legislation, highlighting³⁰ the group’s key concerns:

- There is not a clear distinction of the history and contributions and the roles of women as well as members of the LGBTQ community, particularly from communities of color. We cannot gloss over this piece if we are looking at “ethnic studies”.
- The existence of *multiple family formations and gender identities* across cultures in history is absent.
- There is a need to differentiate between gender identity, gender expression, and biological sexual orientation.³¹
- The impact of {generational} *trauma* needs to be considered.
- Teachers need to understand that some information may be difficult for students to understand, given *the myth of a colorblind society*³² or family belief system.
- How are the standards integrating *systems of power*?
- Ethnic Studies cannot just be about race and ethnicity. Students must be provided opportunities to engage in conversations about immigration, migration, *decolonized systems*³³ or communities, and *oppression*.

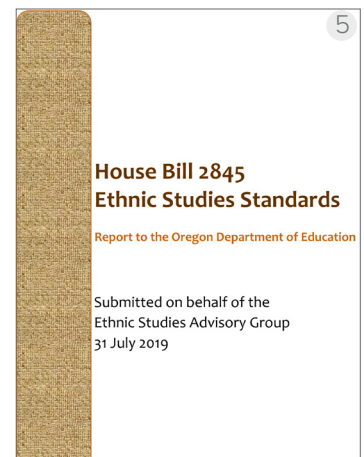
In other words, the standards must embrace the Critical Race Theory + Intersectional framework with the end goal being “educational equity” and social justice. This was reinforced by Advisory Group member Alejandra Barragan speaking at the Oregon Education Association’s 9th Annual Education Symposium Conference in February 2019. Her topic was “Transforming our Schools: Creating Pathways Toward Racial Justice for our Students”.³⁴ That’s what the new standards were designed to do:

transform schools.³⁵

On July 31, 2019, the Advisory Group submitted its final report³⁶ to the Oregon Department of Education. Upon receiving the report, ODE created a working group³⁷ of educators — especially social science teachers — from around the state that would use the report to create the actual standards. According to Amit Kobrowski, who by then had assumed an oversight role, the process was completed in less than the normal time and faced obstacles due to the onset of Covid and the inability to meet in person. They recommended ODE conduct a series of listening sessions with educators to obtain feedback on their needs and opportunities related to teaching ethnic studies.³⁸

Throughout the process, according to ODE’s reporting, there is no indication that any research was used — especially to analyze the *age appropriateness* of the concepts introduced. Important insights from Cognitive Psychology regarding “the science of learning” seem to have been set aside in favor of political inculcation.

A side-by-side comparison of the existing 2018 Standards with those created by the Content Panel reveals they assume a level of cognitive complexity that ignores research on what children of different ages are able to learn.³⁹ That comparison also reveals the degree to which blatant indoctrination with Critical Race Theory + Intersectionality was to occur.



²⁹ HB 2845.

³⁰ House Bill 2845 Ethnic Studies Standards Report to the Oregon Department of Education.

³¹ The embrace of Gender Psuedoscience framed through the lens of intersectionality would add a further transformative influence that would become controversial in its own right.

See Oregon Education Project Broadside **Gender Confusion**.

³² Critical Race Theory rejects the Liberal idea of a “colorblind” society, seeing it as a bad faith effort to ignore the reality of ongoing racial oppression.

It further rejects Liberalism (focused on individual rights) as a whole, advocating for social democracy (focused on group rights) and a reorientation of American governance away from its “racist” Constitutional origins. See Oregon Education Project Broadside **Colorblind Realism**.

³³ See Oregon Education Project Broadside **Conquest & Culture**.

³⁴ Saturday, February 23, 2019.

³⁵ “The Oregon Department of Education is transforming K-12 schools into centers for social justice activism,” as stated by Oregon Education Project.

³⁶ HB 2845 Ethnic Studies Standards Report to the Oregon Department of Education.

³⁷ ODE Ethnic Studies Content Panel.

³⁸ Private email correspondence with Amit Kobrowski.

³⁹ See Oregon Education Project Investigation Education Science.

2018 Standards

Kindergarten

Civics and Government

- K.1 Explain why rules reduce conflict and promote fairness.
- K.2 Use and identify respectful dialogue, taking turns, and explain how rules are different in different settings.
- K.3 Describe roles of self and family members.

Geography

- K.9 Identify, compare, and contrast pictures, maps and globes.
- K.10 Locate, identify, and describe places of importance to self, family, school, and culture.
- K.11 Explain how people can care for our environment (such as classroom, playground, library, etc.)
- K.12 Use terms related to location, direction, and distance (such as over/under, here/there, left/right, above/below, forward/backward, between).

Historical Thinking

- K.15 Distinguish between past and present.
- K.16 Understand and create timelines to show basic personal events in a sequential order.
- K.17 Make connections (similarities and differences) between self and others.
- K.18 Compare and contrast past and present events or practices.

2021 Standards

Kindergarten

Civics and Government

- K.1 Engage in respectful dialogue with classmates to define diversity comparing and contrasting visible and invisible similarities and differences.
- K.2 Use and identify respectful dialogue, taking turns, and explain how rules are different in different settings.
- K.3 Develop an understanding of one's own identity groups including, but not limited to, race, gender, family, ethnicity, culture, religion, and ability.

Geography

- K.9 Identify, compare, and contrast pictures, maps, and globes.
- K.10 Locate, identify and describe places of importance to self, family, school, and culture.
- K.11 Examine culturally significant traditions, celebrations, days, and places including those from cultures that are currently and historically marginalized.
- K.12 Use terms related to location, direction, and distance (such as over/under, here/there, left/right, above/below, forward/backward, between).

Historical Thinking

- K.15 Distinguish between past and present.
- K.16 Understand and create timelines to show basic personal events in sequential order.
- K.17 Make connections identifying similarities and differences including race, ethnicity, culture, disability, and gender between self and others.
- K.18 Compare and contrast past and present events or practices.

2018 Standards

Grade 1

Economics

- 1.3 Identify sources of income (some examples could be gifts, borrowing, allowance, work wages, government assistance).
- 1.4 Compare and contrast the monetary value of items. (Some things cost more than others do.)

Historical Knowledge

- 1.11 Understand that families have a past.
- 1.12 Identify songs and symbols commonly associated with the United States of America.
- 1.13 Understand, affirm, respect, and celebrate the diversity of individuals, families, and school communities.
- 1.14 Make connections between the student's family and other families, the student's school and other schools.

2021 Standards

Grade 1

Economics

- 1.3 Identify sources of income (some examples could be gifts, borrowing, allowance, work wages, government assistance).
- 1.4 Define **equity, equality, and systems of power.**

Historical Knowledge

- 1.10 Understand that families have a past.
- 1.11 **Identify, affirm, respect, and explain the diverse cultural heritage, songs, symbols, and celebrations of my community and the diverse social and ethnic groups in Oregon and the United States of America.**
- 1.12 **Describe how individual and group characteristics are used to divide, unite, and categorize racial, ethnic, and social groups.**
- 1.13 **Examine and understand your own self-identity and how it fits with the identity of the family, school, and the local community.**
- 1.14 **Identify and explain the perspectives of racial, ethnic, and social groups in our community on local issues including individuals who are American Indian/Alaska Native/Native Hawaiian or Americans of African, Asian, Pacific Island, Chicano/a, Latino/a, or Middle Eastern descent; individuals from all religious backgrounds; and individuals from traditionally marginalized groups.**

2018 Standards

Grade 2

Civics and Government

- 2.1 Compare personal point of view with others' perspectives when participating in rule setting.
- 2.2 Identify services provided by city government.
- 2.3 Evaluate how individuals, groups, and communities manage conflict and promote justice and equity.
- 2.4 Give examples of and identify appropriate and inappropriate use of power and its effect.

Financial Literacy

- 2.9 Explain various methods of saving and how saving can help reach both short and long-term financial goals.
- 2.10 Explain how wealth and scarcity connect to decision making about personal savings and spending.

Geography

- 2.13 Identify cultural characteristics of the community.

Social Science Analysis

- 2.26 Use listening, consensus-building, and voting procedures to decide on and take informed action.

2021 Standards

Grade 2

Civics and Government

- 2.1 Compare personal point of view with others' perspectives when participating in rule setting and **addressing issues of fairness**.
- 2.2 Identify services provided by the city government.
- 2.3 **Explain and** evaluate how individuals, groups, and communities **identify and** manage conflict and promote justice and equity.
- 2.4 Give examples of and identify appropriate and inappropriate use of power and its effect **in creating outcomes for diverse groups**.

Financial Literacy

- 2.9 Explain various methods of saving and how saving can help reach both short and long-term financial goals.
- 2.10 Explain how **inherited** wealth and scarcity affect **individual and group power and the ability to make** decisions about personal savings and spending.

Geography

- 2.13 Identify the cultural characteristics of **my group identity, (including race, culture, and gender) and** of the **local** community.

Social Science Analysis

- 2.26 Use listening, consensus-building, and voting procedures to decide on and take informed action **to interrupt injustice or promote justice in their community**.

2018 Standards

Grade 3

Social Science Analysis

- 3.17 Use a variety of historical sources including artifacts, pictures and documents to identify factual evidence.
- 3.18 Identify and compare different ways of looking at an event, issue, or problem with an emphasis on multiple perspectives.
- 3.19 Analyze different ways that people, other living things, and the environment might be affected by an event, issue, or problem.

Grade 4

Civics and Government

- 4.1 Investigate the organization and functions of Oregon government.
- 4.2 Explain how Oregon achieved statehood and identify the stakeholders involved.

Economics

- 4.3 Analyze how wealth and scarcity connect to personal, community, regional, and world resources.

2021 Standards

Grade 3

Social Science Analysis

- 3.17 Use a variety of historical sources including artifacts, pictures and documents to identify factual evidence.
- 3.18 Identify how **systems of power, including white supremacy, institutional racism, racial hierarchy, and oppression** affect the perspectives of different individuals and groups when examining an event, issue, or problem with an emphasis on multiple perspectives.
- 3.19 Analyze different ways that people, other living things, and the environment might be affected by an event, issue, or problem.

Grade 4

Civics and Government

- 4.1. Investigate **how the establishment, organization, and function of the Oregon government, its Constitution and its laws enforced and/or violated democratic conceptions of equity and justice** for individuals and groups including Native Americans, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, and other immigrant groups.
- 4.2 Explain how Oregon achieved statehood and identify the stakeholders involved.
- 4.3 **Examine the Government and Constitutions' of the nine federally recognized Oregon tribes.**

Economics

- 4.4 Examine the consequences of **power and privilege** on issues associated with poverty, income, and the accumulation of wealth.

2018 Standards

Grade 5

Civics and Government

- 5.1 Analyze how cooperation and conflict among people contribute to political, economic, religious, and current social events and situations in the United States.
- 5.2 Summarize and critique how colonial and new states' governments affected groups within their population (such as citizens, enslaved peoples, foreigners, nobles, religious groups, women, class systems, tribes).
- 5.3 Compare and contrast tribal forms of government, British monarchy, and early American colonial governments.
- 5.4 Identify principles of U.S. democracy found in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights.
- 5.5 Describe how national government affects local, state, and Oregon tribal governments.

Grade 8

Historical Knowledge

- 8.24 Examine the cause and effect of social, political, and economic factors that motivated westward expansion, invasion of indigenous peoples, institutions, and the resulting impacts.
- 8.25 Evaluate the influence of the intersections of identity, including but not limited to gender, age, race, ethnicity, religion, and class on the experiences of peoples, groups, and events.

Review the entire set of standards here:
<http://OregonEd.info/2018sss.pdf>

2021 Standards

Grade 5

Civics and Government

- 5.1 Analyze how cooperation and conflict among people contribute to political, economic, religious, and current social events and situations in the United States.
- 5.2 **Examine** and critique how colonial and new states' governments **established, limited or denied rights and responsibilities of specific groups and individuals** with particular attention to, citizens, enslaved peoples, foreigners, nobles, religious groups, women, class systems, tribes.
- 5.3 **Compare and contrast the British monarchy, American colonial governments, and Tribal governments through their various interactions.**
- 5.4 **Identify the mechanisms of power and the principles of democracy found in the ideas and laws of the founding documents of the U.S. Government.**
- 5.5 Describe how the national government affects local, state, and Oregon tribal governments.

Grade 8

Historical Knowledge

- 8.24 Examine the causes of westward expansion, **the resulting cultural and physical genocide**, and the methods of **resistance, change, and adaptation**, by indigenous peoples in **response to the invasion** of their lands.
- 8.25 **Evaluate the impact of the intersectionality of what constitutes identity including**, including but not limited to, gender, age, race, ethnicity, religion, **physical and mental disability**, and class on the living histories and experiences of peoples, groups, and events.

Review the entire set of standards here:
<http://OregonEd.info/2021sss.pdf>

Basic Analysis

Rather than simply realizing legislators' long-standing desire to have Oregon's ethnic and social minorities "see themselves" in the curriculum — to have their histories, contributions, and perspectives *included* — the new Standards are designed to "**decenter whiteness**". This is accomplished by bringing non-Western perspectives to the *forefront* of students' thinking — "decolonizing".⁴⁰

The new Standards "**center on the histories, contributions, and perspectives of historically, traditionally and/or currently marginalized communities and individuals.**"⁴¹

As was noted earlier in this investigation, the perceived problem of "Eurocentricity" was foremost in the minds of the Ethnic Studies Advisory group as they initially met:

"Members engaged in meaningful and relevant discussions about the critical components that must be included in the ethnic studies standards.

Group members expressed intentional teaching and learning experiences that centered on *understanding whiteness: Euro-centricity, white privilege, white fragility, white dominance ...*"

This builds on and extends the 2018 Standards' inclusion of Multiculturalism⁴² into the curriculum. Supporters of multiculturalism argue that all cultures are equal in terms of their relative success or failure; none is better and all have strengths and weaknesses to consider. Thus the culture of "white people" should no longer have the central determining role in shaping students' thinking in Oregon schools. **The new standards — above all else — are a corrective to "white supremacy."**

This framing profoundly *misrepresents* the historical reality of "whiteness" and "white supremacy". And it ignores the unique role Western European *culture* played. As Harvard Scholar Joe Henrich⁴³ points out, the Western European creation of modernity — notably the prosperity and technological + moral + governmental advancement it generated — is primarily due to *a different way of thinking* from the rest of Europe, the Americas, Africa, and Asia. The source of that was Western Europe's Christian and Enlightenment *culture*; not its ethnic or racial makeup. This *way of thinking* proved *universal*: not tied to "blood and soil" but only *originating* among ("white") people who continue to benefit disproportionately from creating it.

Following Henrich and his multidisciplinary team of scholars, so-called "whiteness" is better framed as "**WEIRDness**" — *it reflects the unique psychology of Western, Educated, Individual, Rich, and Democratic societies.*⁴⁴ Non-Western people who were aculturated with this **WEIRD mindset** prospered to the same degree as those among whom it originated. Former slaves like Frederick Douglas and Booker T. Washington intuitively grasped this and promoted **aculturation** as the way *all succeed* in America.⁴⁵ To conflate that with the *truly* racist ideology of American White Supremacists like Presidents Jefferson Davis and Woodrow Wilson is a serious intellectual *error*.⁴⁶

"All cultures are not equal. Or at least they are not equal in preparing people to be productive in an advanced economy."⁴⁷ The culture that *created* the United States is the key to understanding our unprecedented success and, by extension, the kind of education *required* to participate in that success over generations. All things being equal, it is *not* essential for Oregon K-12 students to understand the culture and government of the 12 recognized Oregon tribes. It *is* essential to understand the *republican* principles of American self-government — which the standards "decenter" along with "whiteness". An anthropologist from Mars reading the new standards would never know that the United States is *in fact* a Liberal Democratic **Republic**.

"Decentering whiteness" effectively erases the WEIRD cultural mindset and values of the United States, thus decentering successful American Education.



⁴⁰ "Decolonization seeks to challenge and change white superiority, nationalistic history and 'truth.'" The Conversation: What is Decolonization?

See Oregon Education Project Broadside **Conquest & Culture** and Explainer **Settler Colonialism**

⁴¹ House Bill 2845 Ethnic Studies Standards Report to the Oregon Department of Education.

⁴² **Multiculturalism**: support for the presence of several distinct cultural or ethnic groups within a society. In a multicultural society, there is not an official culture that is decided by the people in charge for everyone. Instead, different cultures are similarly respected.

The 2018 Standards contained a relatively benign version of Critical Multicultural Studies. The 2021 Standards' addition of Ethnic Studies provided the means to expand that further using the interpretive lens of Critical Race Theory + Intersectionality.

⁴³ **The Weirdest People in the World: How the West Became Psychologically Peculiar and Particularly Prosperous** by Joseph Henrich. He argues that Westerners are psychologically peculiar compared to the rest of the world, and that is the key to understanding their success. See Oregon Education Project Broadside **Weird People**.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ See Oregon Education Project Broadside **American Slavery**.

⁴⁶ See Thomas Sowell **Intellectuals and Race** and **Ethnic America**. Like Confederate President Jefferson Davis, Wilson firmly rejected the American Founders' self-evident principle of the basic equality of all people no matter their ethnic or racial ancestry. In his view, Blacks (and Women) were to be subordinated to white men due to *innate inferiority*. **THAT** is white supremacy; not the centering of WEIRD culture.

⁴⁷ "Paying the price for breakdown of the country's bourgeois culture" by Amy Wax & Larry Alexander.

Decentering American Education

12

The decentering of American Education by the erasure of its cultural mindset and values⁴⁸ can be seen immediately by comparing the 2018 version of the kindergarten standards for Civics and Government with the **2021 changes**:

K.1 Explain why rules reduce conflict and promote fairness.

K.1 Engage in respectful dialogue with classmates to define diversity comparing and contrasting visible and invisible similarities and differences.

The new standards begin by erasing the principle of rule-following which is foundational to establishing the Rule of Law as a guiding principle. Internalizing rules is an essential component of republican self-government. Engaging in “dialogue” among members of disparate groups prepares students for Social Democracy (group rights), not Liberal Democracy (individual rights).⁴⁹

K.3 Describe roles of self and family members.

K.3 Develop an understanding of one’s own identity groups including, but not limited to, race, gender, family, ethnicity, culture, religion, and ability.

The new standards continue to center the group (Social Democracy) over the individual (Liberal Democracy) and now erase the primary role of the family in the student’s development. As Henrich and colleagues confirm, individualism and the nuclear family are the foundations of **WEIRD culture**⁵⁰ and *successful* American Education.

K.17 Make connections (similarities and differences) between self and others.

K.17 Make connections identifying similarities and differences including race, ethnicity, culture, disability, and gender between self and others.

Instead of being color *blind*, as Martin King’s “I Have A Dream” speech promoted it, kindergartners are to become color *conscious*⁵¹ — adding other “identities” to the mix. The framing of Critical Race Theory is fundamental, like Southern “Jim Crow” laws, replacing the percentage of racialized blood with degress of intersectionality.⁵²

This is further demonstrated as we move to the Grade 1 standards for Economics:

1.4 Compare and contrast the monetary value of items.
(Some things cost more than others do.)

1.4 Define equity, equality, and systems of power.

Here students are removed from the real world of *objects* with value to the *ideas* of intellectuals. Setting aside the obvious indoctrination, one has to ask whether this is remotely age-appropriate: Can 6- and 7-year-olds grasp such abstractions?

Grade 2 **Economics** extends this line of thought:

2.10 Explain how wealth and scarcity connect to decision-making about personal savings and spending.

2.10 Explain how inherited wealth and scarcity affect individual and group power and the ability to make decisions about personal savings and spending.

This leads students to think a certain way, priming them for the argument that Black people (and perhaps others) need *reparations* — which proponents of CRT propose. It’s an example of the anchoring bias⁵³ found throughout the new standards.

Grade 2 **Social Science Analysis** establishes the end goal is social justice activism:

2.26 Use listening, consensus-building, and voting procedures to decide on and take informed action.

2.26 Use listening, consensus-building, and voting procedures to decide on and take informed action to interrupt injustice or promote justice in their community.

The standards privilege critical theory’s drive for “liberation” over critical thinking.



⁴⁸ American Education prepares students’ minds and develops their skills to be productive citizens of the American Republic.

American Education reinforces the republicanism of our nation’s founding: individualism, liberty, the protestant work ethic, the rule of law, the right to private property, and hostility to concentrated power. It promotes individual merit, prudence, practical knowledge, subordination of feelings to evidence and reason, accountability, intellectual scrupulousness, and honesty.

See Oregon Education Project Broadside **American Education**.

⁴⁹ The US is a Liberal Democratic Republic, grounded in the Rule of Law — a Constitution and Bill of (Individual) Rights. Under progressive state government, Oregon has effectively become a single party Social Democracy held together as a coalition of disparate identity groups. The new standards reflect that.

⁵⁰ **The Weirdest People in the World: How the West Became Psychologically Peculiar and Particularly Prosperous** by Joseph Henrich.

⁵¹ The Advisory Group’s derisive comments about “the myth of colorblind society” demonstrates their *rejection* of the Liberal vision of race that was central to the 1950/60s Civil Rights Movement. See Oregon Education Project Broadside **Colorblind Realism**.

⁵² **Intersectionality**: the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies.

⁵³ **Anchoring bias** occurs when we rely heavily on the first piece of information we receive — called “the anchor” — even when subsequent information becomes available. In this example, students are not asked to consider the *possible* effects but to *assume* them. That is indoctrination.

Critical Thinking vs Critical Theory⁵⁴

The need for students to engage in critical thinking and viewpoint diversity was emphasized throughout the process of creating the new standards.

“Encouraging historical thinking and analysis is a key component of the Social Science Standards. Throughout the content standards and highlighted in the Essential Disciplinary Practices are the skills of collecting, interpreting, and evaluating primary and secondary sources from multiple perspectives.”⁵⁵

Indeed, the original legislation itself frames proposed Ethnic Studies as needing to “promote *critical thinking* regarding the interaction between systemic social structures and ethnic minority or social minority status.”⁵⁶

Yet the Advisory Group neglected that themselves, being composed — as we saw earlier — of like-minded activist educators. Rather than leading by example, through exercising critical thinking and promoting viewpoint diversity in the Standards, they narrowly appealed to their ideological priors and engaged in critical *theorizing*. A comparison of Grade 3 Social Science Analysis exemplifies this:

3.18 Identify and compare different ways of looking at an event, issue, or problem with an emphasis on multiple perspectives. {Critical Thinking}

3.18 Identify how **systems of power, including white supremacy, institutional racism, racial hierarchy, and oppression** affect the perspectives of different individuals and groups when examining an event, issue, or problem with an emphasis on multiple perspectives. {Critical Theory}

Critical Theory has been substituted for Critical Thinking — as is true throughout the Standards. Students are to *assume a set of beliefs* which then anchors any emphasis on multiple perspectives. That’s textbook **indoctrination**.⁵⁷

It’s blatantly asserted in Grade 4 Economics:

4.4 Examine the consequences of **power and privilege** on issues associated with poverty, income, and the accumulation of wealth.

Students can’t possibly think critically when a singular perspective is *assumed*. It’s begging the question, in its proper meaning.⁵⁸ **It’s not critical thinking.**

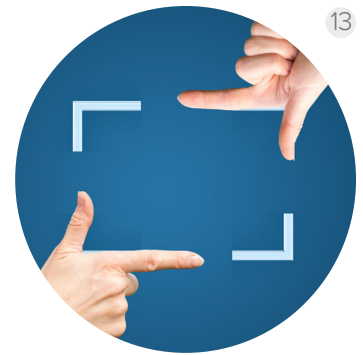
Perhaps the most egregious example is in Grade 8 Historical Knowledge:

8.24 Examine the causes of westward expansion, **the resulting cultural and physical genocide**, and the methods of **resistance, change, and adaptation, by indigenous peoples in response to the invasion** of their lands.

This is a clear example of selection and framing bias. According to the Oxford Dictionary, “Genocide is the deliberate and systematic killing or persecution of a large number of people from a particular national or ethnic group with the aim of destroying that nation or group.” The Standards frame the plight of American Indians as a genocide committed by “white” people. Yet the empirical data does not comply with that view: there were far more massacres of white settlers by Indians than the other way around, certainly before the 1830s and the empowering of land-hungry political actors pressing for removal — which was done partly for their *protection*.⁵⁹

There was no policy to destroy tribes, only to see them (eventually, over time) assimilated into the American Republic — which many tribal leaders advocated. In fact, it was tribal leaders’ embrace of **WEIRD culture and technology**, alongside the loss of 80-90% of their population to disease, that destabilized tribal culture and led to its demise. Along with that was their selling of land to settlers to obtain goods they *wanted*. Most of the land taken over by settlers was lawfully purchased.⁶⁰

The actual history is more complicated, with *both* sides sharing a measure of blame.



⁵⁴ It’s important to distinguish between Critical Thinking and Critical Theory.

Critical Thinking is objective analysis and evaluation designed to form good judgment. The operative goal is to understand what is *demonstrably* true. It takes a skeptical stance and engages with multiple points of view, using *disconfirmation* as a tool to ensure good judgment. It’s an example of non-motivated reasoning, has roots in the Enlightenment, and is the methodology of science.

Critical Theory is “theorizing about the world with the goal of liberating human beings from the circumstances that enslave them” (Max Horkheimer). It is an interpretive lens through which we frame the world as a conflict between oppressor and oppressed; a lens of grievance on behalf of the victims of oppression; an analytical framework that is used to explain or examine facts or events. It’s an example of motivated reasoning and has its roots in the postmodern *rejection* of the Enlightenment perspective. Critical Theories frame the new standards *entirely*.

See Oregon Education Project Investigation Critical Theory.

⁵⁵ House Bill 2845 Ethnic Studies Standards Report.

⁵⁶ HB2845 (emphasis added.)

⁵⁷ Indoctrination is the process of teaching a person to accept a set of beliefs uncritically.

⁵⁸ Critical Theory operates in the same manner as Evangelical Biblical Hermeneutics: There is an assumed framework; a set of beliefs upon which to think. One sees events through the lens of Oppression, the other through the lens of Providence. Neither can be said to be objectively *true*; both require a kind of “faith.”

⁵⁹ See *Not Stolen* by Jeff Fynn-Paul.

⁶⁰ *ibid*.

The 2024 Revision

A complete structural and content revision to the Standards was approved by the State Board of Education in June 2024. As Amit Kobrowsky explains:

“The 2024 Oregon Standards were developed by a committee of K-12 educators from across Oregon. The committee worked to ensure that the standards included legislative requirements and were accessible to teachers. Adjustments to the standards were made following public comment and the State Board of Education approved the final version of the standards in June of 2024.”⁶¹

Much to their credit, ODE got input from a more diverse set of educators, “from across Oregon”, who judiciously removed blatant examples of indoctrination. They also heard from the public, notably people worried about CRT influence. But the overall selection and framing of the standards remains the same — just less explicitly *doctrinal* in the actual content. From the introduction:

“The ten Essential Disciplinary Practices outlined below provide a framework for teaching the social sciences. By emphasizing skills like chronological reasoning, seeking diverse viewpoints, combating digital misinformation, and *empathizing with a range of identities and lived experiences*, the practices help students *become informed and empowered agents of change*.

These practices, integrated with the grade-level standards, equip students with content knowledge and skills to address *systemic injustices*, advocate for a more *equitable world*, and uphold the *aspirational ideals* of our democratic society.”⁶²

The focus remains implanting **critical consciousness**⁶³ (“wokeness”) in students so they become aware of “systemic oppression”, transforming themselves into *change agents* for “equity” and “social justice”— *political* aspirations.⁶⁴

Again to their credit, they emphasize critical thinking and viewpoint diversity:

“Encouraging historical thinking and analysis is a key component of the Social Science Standards. Throughout the content standards and highlighted in the Essential Disciplinary Practices are the skills of collecting, interpreting, and evaluating primary and secondary sources from multiple perspectives.”⁶⁵

Yet the recommended resources⁶⁶ accompanying the 2024 Revision still reflect the *narrow perspective* which guided their creation and delivery from conception to original adoption and now revision. They still privilege critical theories of ethnicity, race, sex, and more from Marxist-inspired activist academics to select and frame the new content knowledge. There are no multiple perspectives provided to educators.⁶⁷

They seem to have transferred their “woke energy” into **Oregon’s Transformative Social Emotional Learning Framework and Standards**, adopted in June, 2023.⁶⁸

Oregon’s Transformative SEL Framework is intended to enact ORS 329.045⁶⁹ and help build capacity for strengthening *equity-focused school cultures* that support student and adult well-being. A focus on Transformative SEL enables students and adults to be *affirmed in their identities*, where they can develop a sense of agency and belonging, engage in collaborative problem-solving, and deepen their curiosity about *the kind of society they want to make a reality*.⁷⁰

TSEL is now the preferred means of implanting critical consciousness in students. That involves “culturally responsive practices”⁷¹ and “systemic approaches”⁷² “providing students with opportunities to reflect upon and understand the root causes of emotions related to our biases, stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination” and “nurturing student agency and voice (including non-verbal ways) to communicate as necessary parts of the educational process, *supporting students to take actions that challenge and change systems*.”⁷³



2024 Oregon Social Science Standards

K-12 Social Science State Board Adopted Version
Final version
Version Update: June 7, 2024

⁶¹ Private email correspondence with Amit Kobrowski — who is *managing* the adoption of the Standards by school districts.

⁶² 2024 Social Science Standards.

⁶³ Becoming critically conscious is an ongoing process in which a learner engages in reflective activities to reach new levels of awareness about oppression and take action within their social reality. *That* is becoming “woke.”

⁶⁴ See Oregon Education Project Information Brief.

⁶⁵ Private email correspondence with Amit Kobrowski.

⁶⁶ See Social Science Instructional Materials and Resources.

⁶⁷ See Oregon Education Project Handout *Ethnic Studies Resources* for a more *diverse* set of resources that will inspire critical thinking.

⁶⁸ Oregon’s Transformative Social Emotional Learning Framework and Standards are referenced in the 2024 Revised Standards as an accompaniment.

For an analysis of TSEL see the Oregon Education Project’s forthcoming *Broadside Feeling Machines That Think* and *Investigation Transformative SEL*.

⁶⁹ ORS 329.045 is part of the Oregon Educational Act for the 21st Century; Educational Improvement and Reform enacted by the Legislative Assembly during its 2024 regular session

⁷⁰ Oregon’s Transformative Social Emotional Learning Framework and Standards.

⁷¹ See Oregon Education Project Explainer *Culturally Responsive Teaching*.

⁷² See Oregon Education Project Explainer *Systemic Oppression*.

⁷³ Oregon’s Transformative Social Emotional Learning Framework and Standards.

Decentering WEIRD Culture

15

Following the lead of the Ethnic Studies Advisory Board that initiated the new Social Science Standards, Oregon's TSEL Framework is designed to "decenter whiteness":

Schools often reflect the values and worldviews of the *dominant culture*; these in turn influence the behaviors of students and adults and the relationships and interactions between them (Milner, 2017). Historically, SEL has been based on *white, middle-class, American values* (Hoffman, 2009) *with a focus on emotions as individual states separate from the influences of culture* (Mesquita, 2022), *the social inequities in society*, or the climate of the learning environment.⁷⁴

This is the set up that will reinforce ODE's commitment to correcting the problem of "white supremacy", grounded in the non-science-based ideology of "social constructivism" — what Harvard Cognitive Psychologist Steven Pinker critiques in his groundbreaking book *The Blank Slate*.⁷⁵ It is a decentering of **WEIRD culture**.

This has led to a focus on *adult control and student compliance* grounded in a belief that emotions need to be managed and interventions need to target issues that are within the child and not within their school environment or larger society (McCall et al., 2022).⁷⁶

In the woke mindset, the cause of "bad behavior" is social, not individual. The traditional role of the teacher as an authority figure with students being subject to that authority needs to be replaced⁷⁷ — a further decentering of **WEIRD culture**.

These traditional approaches to SEL have been used against students who are not members of the dominant culture as a way to reinforce the social, cultural, linguistic, and behavioral norms of the dominant culture (Allen et al., 2013; Jagers et al., 2019).⁷⁸

Following the influence of **disparate impact**⁷⁹ theory, the well-documented and disproportionate punishment rate for "students of color" is not due to behavior; it's due to racism — the imposition of white supremacy in education settings.

As noted earlier, a central goal of American Education is promoting *assimilation* into the basic principles of republican self-government supported by the **WEIRD mindset** that makes it work. Woke Education *opposes* that — it's *against* traditional American Education. It should therefore be no surprise that states like Oregon that embrace the woke perspective "decentering whiteness" are losing ground in student success. And it points to the underlying cause of the surge in behavioral issues that disrupt K-12 classrooms in Oregon: the dismissal of student agency and accountability.⁸⁰

Oregon's Transformative SEL framework, built on the same foundations as the 2024 Standards, create a perfect storm of indoctrination that will add to the already fragile mental health of many K-12 students today. It's a woke trojan horse.

While the Social Science Standards are no longer the preferred way of implanting critical consciousness, they remain an important component. The centering of identity within the framework of CRT + Intersectionality begins in Kindergarten:

"Recognize and develop an understanding of the components of a person's *identity* including race, gender, family, ethnicity, culture, religion, and ability" (K.C.IR.2).

"Examine how the decisions of *those in power* affected those with less political/economic power in past and current movements for equality, freedom, and justice with connections to the present-day" (5.H.CC.3; 5.H.CEP.9).

"Examine the consequences of *power and privilege* on issues associated with poverty, income, and wealth accumulation" (4.E.ES.1, p. 25; and see 2.E.ES.2; 5.E.IC.9; 6/7. E.IC.9; 8.E.ES.6; 8.E.MI.9; HS.E.ST.15).⁸¹



⁷⁴ Oregon's Transformative Social Emotional Learning Framework and Standards (emphasis added).

⁷⁵ Social Constructivism is a sociological theory that states that knowledge is constructed through social interactions and that human development is socially situated.

See Oregon Education Project Explainer **Social Constructivism**.

⁷⁶ Oregon's Transformative Social Emotional Learning Framework and Standards (emphasis added).

⁷⁷ This reflects the moral psychology of people who are political progressives. That includes people who advocate for Woke Education and the centering of social justice. As Psychologist Jonathan Haidt notes, these people have a strong bias against traditional hierarchical relationships due to the rejection of the **authority** moral foundation. This partly explains why progressive Democrats in Oregon are reluctant to punish criminality, a phenomenon experienced in major urban areas throughout the country driven by like-minded progressive prosecutors.

See Jonathan Haidt *The Righteous Mind*. Also see the Oregon Education project Broadside **The Partisan Brain**.

⁷⁸ Oregon's Transformative Social Emotional Learning Framework and Standards (emphasis added).

⁷⁹ **Disparate Impact** a legal term that describes when a policy or practice has a disproportionate negative effect on a group of people with a protected characteristic

See Oregon Education Project Explainer **Disparate Impact**.

⁸⁰ It mirrors what is happening in criminal justice with the rise of woke prosecutors; see Oregon Measure 110 debate.

⁸¹ Oregon's Transformative Social Emotional Learning Framework and Standards (emphasis added).

Recommendations

A letter sent from the National Association of Scholars to ODE Director Charlene Williams captures our own assessment of the 2024 Revised Standards, making a recommendation with which we concur:

“We conclude that the Draft Standards does a great disservice to the citizens, students, and teachers of Oregon. The Draft Standards possesses virtually no content knowledge. It consists largely of radical polemic. **The Oregon Education Department should rescind the Draft Standards and replace it with a content-rich, unpoliticized social studies standard** that replaces inculcation of radical polemic with teaching the history of Western Civilization, America, and Oregon.”⁸²

According to NAS, the Standards contain **pervasive radicalization**:

“The Draft Standards incorporate identity-politics ideology polemics throughout, and scant or subordinate actual social studies instruction to that ideology ... These ambitions are antithetical to actual social studies instruction, which should not seek to impose a *narrow, radicalizing, and factually inaccurate* ideology on students.”⁸³

We recommend ODE ask policymakers to rescind the legislation that led to creating the Standards. The publicly-expressed intent of that legislation was to realize a long-standing desire to have Oregon’s ethnic and social minorities “see themselves” in the curriculum — to have their histories, contributions, and perspectives included. But HB2845 added a stipulation that went beyond that, empowering a group of activist-educators to create a platform for pervasive radicalization of students.

ODE should ask Oregon’s policymakers to appoint an independent commission to redraft Oregon’s social studies standards. Effective revision of the Standards must be carried out by a commission independent of the Department personnel; one that represents *diversity of thinking* — not simply of race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation.

In the short run, local school boards need to work effectively to **balance, modify, and replace** politicized content and approaches that undermine student success.⁸⁴ As ODE’s Amit Kobrowski notes:

“As districts work to implement these standards, they have *significant flexibility to select materials and approaches* that best serve their communities while addressing the identified required knowledge and skills.”⁸⁵

It is this immediate work that the Oregon Education Project was created to serve. Our goal is to provide a “prophylactic” between ODE and local schools, bringing school boards and content providers together to *resist* “the woke mind virus.”



⁸² Letter: Comment on Oregon Draft Social Science Standards from the National Association of Scholars + Civics Alliance; May 2024 (emphasis added).

The NAS Letter provides examples drawn from the Revised Standards that demonstrate their main critique that the standards consist “largely of radical polemic.”

⁸³ *ibid* (emphasis added).

⁸⁴ See Oregon Education Project Information Brief.

⁸⁵ Private email correspondence with Amit Kobrowski.

SPECIAL THANKS to Amit. He was helpful and professional. Disagreements about pedagogy and policy should remain amicable — however difficult.

The Oregon Education Project is committed to “smart” resistance: intelligent, reasonable, strategic opposition to school policies and practices that undermine student success. We don’t demonize the people with whom we have disagreements. We *persuade*.

I have made a ceaseless effort not to ridicule, not to bewail, not to scorn human actions, but to *understand* them.
Baruch Spinoza

Investigations Learn to Think Critically About the World

Long-form research providing in-depth analysis of a particular topic, point of view, or situation. They include links to online references, resources, and a basic bibliography (in the digital versions).



Rob Schläpfer is a retired social science educator who spent over a decade conducting classes and community conversations to bridge Oregon’s deep political divide.

A former pastor, professor, and publisher, for 40+ years he’s focused on Critical Thinking, Civics, and Cultural Studies.

He created the Oregon Education Project to restore high-quality American Education centered on merit, excellence, and success.

APPENDIX

The Ethnic Studies Advisory Group

MEMBER, ASSOCIATION & BACKGROUND

- 1 **Ahlam Osman and Thidapech Lam**
Public school students in grades 7 through 12 or recent high school graduates
- 2 **Valerie Switzler**
The Commission on Indian Services Representative
- 3 **Helen Ying**
The Commission on Asian and Pacific Islander Affairs Representative
- 4 **Joy Alise Davis**
The Commission on Black Affairs Representative
- 5 **Dr. Joseph Gallegos**
The Commission on Hispanic Affairs Representative
- 6 **Dr. James Davis**
The Oregon Disabilities Commission Representative
- 7 **Ami Patel**
The Commission for Women Representative
- 8 **Jessica Arzate**
The Commission for Women Representative
- 9 **Scott Ryan**
Representative of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community
- 10 **Dr. Darryl Tukufu**
Representative of the Department's Education Equity Unit
- 11 **Alejandra Barragan**
Educator of public school students who serves on a committee of the Oregon Education Association
- 12 **Dr. Shirley Jackson**
One Oregon college or university professor of ethnic studies
- 13 **Dr. Robert Liebman**
One expert or professor in the field of Middle Eastern studies or Jewish studies

