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Holocaust Education in Arkansas:
An Exploration of Policy Process and Implementation

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Public Policy

by

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Abstract

The Holocaust was the attempted extermination of the Jewish people--a fact previously considered to be common knowledge. However, recent national surveys find that Arkansas students have the lowest levels of knowledge of the Holocaust in the United States. A recent law mandated the teaching of the Holocaust for 5-12th grade public school students in Arkansas, however, little is known about the policy process and implementation of such a mandate. Given the magnitude of the gaps in the literature on this topic, this dissertation uses a three article format to address specific gaps and make specific contributions to the literature by addressing three following research questions: (1) what does the current literature say about Holocaust education policy for grades K-12 in the United States? (2) How did Holocaust education legislation pass in Arkansas? And, (3) How interculturally aware are Arkansas teachers, and do they hold any antisemitic biases?

First, we know very little about state Holocaust education policy, not only in Arkansas, but really of any states in the United States. The gap is a national gap in knowledge for the United States, so a scoping review was used for the first article, to understand what the literature says about Holocaust education policy for K-12 in any state. The findings from this article indicate that what little research exists on the topic is not centered in public policy, but rather in teacher education. Thus, this article offers a unique contribution to the field of public policy, adding the social justice component of re-centering policies on historically marginalized communities. Building on this knowledge, the second article makes a unique contribution to the field of public policy with a case-study of the stakeholders involved in passing the Holocaust education mandate in Arkansas. Findings indicate that a grassroots coalition of Jewish activists, inspired by a Holocaust survivor, engaged faith and political communities to pass Holocaust education

legislation, despite having less than 2,000 Jews in the entire state. Finally, the third article addresses the question of implementation, and how interculturally aware Arkansas teachers are, examining if they hold any antisemitic bias. Not only have previous studies not examined a relationship between antisemitic bias and intercultural competence, but this has never been examined in teachers tasked with implementing Holocaust education. There was a strong relationship between antisemitic bias and a lack of cultural competence, which makes sense—if one expresses more bias and hatred towards one group, they would likely have lower cultural competence. Findings indicate that the sample of Arkansas teachers in this study were not interculturally competent, and many hold antisemitic views. While these are concerning results, this was a small sample, and reinforces a conclusion of all three articles: more research is needed on this topic.

Each of these three articles offer independent contributions, however, when taken together, there is an understanding of the lack of attention given to Holocaust education and the concerning pitfalls of doing so. There are simply too many gaps in knowledge at such a critical moment of policy passage and implementation to warrant a one-article dissertation, necessitating a three-article format to ensure a strong contribution could be made to the literature.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Carol and Robert, who sacrificed more than I'll ever know to ensure I succeeded. This dissertation, and this degree, is a small token of appreciation and validation for the hard work they put in to raising and maintaining a strong, independent, critical thinker.

I would also like to dedicate this to the future Dr. Samuel Klein, my twin brother, who has never let me give up on myself.

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Article 1: Holocaust Education Policy in the United States

Introduction

The Holocaust was a global genocide that spurred the phrase “never again,” indicating a collective desire for humanity never to repeat an attempted extermination of a group of people. While the Holocaust is not always an easy topic to learn about or discuss, a large body of literature is dedicated to it. Indeed, the circumstances leading up to and causes of the Holocaust are quite well-documented (Brustein 2003; Littoz-Monnet 2013). Previously, the Holocaust was taught as a topic of history, typically in the social studies curriculum, because simply learning about the Holocaust was thought to be important to improving civic engagement and empathy among students (Allgood and Shah 2021; Cowan and Maitles 2007; Davis and Rubinstein-Avila 2013; Dobrick 2008; Donnelly 2006; Foster 2020; Friedlander 1979; Mitchell 2004; Richardson 2021a; Short 2000; Spalding, Savage and Garcia 2007). More recently, however, Holocaust education has emerged as a field dedicated explicitly to pedagogy on teaching about the Holocaust (Haefeli 2020; Harbaugh 2015; Totten and Riley 2005). In this context, school teachers, and especially middle school teachers, have been commonly studied as a means of Holocaust education in public schools (Allgood and Shah 2021, Cowan and Maitles 2007, Dobrick 2008, Donnelly 2006, Donvito 2003, Haefeli 2020).

Historically, Holocaust education legislation has received bipartisan support and has not been regarded as a politically divisive topic (Fallace 2008). In 1990, Illinois became the first state to pass a bill mandating the teaching of the Holocaust (Ellison and Pisapia 2006). Within 20 years, 16 states, including the Southern states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and West Virginia, passed bills requiring a commission on teaching the Holocaust; Arkansas was not one of those original 16 states (Ellison and Pisapia 2006).

Holocaust education can be a sub-genre of social justice policy, but is often grouped with education policy rather than a social justice policy (e.g., diversity, equity, and inclusion policies). The field of education policy is one of the newer policy fields and has quickly become more legalistic and critical or social justice-oriented, with consulting firms being asked to construct and analyze policies that meet state laws and criteria (Gabriel and Paulus 2015). Additionally, education policy as a research field has increasingly focused on developing learning metrics enabling the quantification of learning (Cooper, Levin and Campbell 2009). While the quantification and measurement of learning have their place in the education policy field, the model for “proving” learning outcomes is too narrow to understand the complexity of learning about social justice issues that tend to include an emotional component. Although, as a society and as researchers, we contend with important social justice issues (Charmaz 2020), the role of education policy scholars, especially social justice scholars interested in examining the role of state legislators and educators in developing social justice-related policies, has been shrinking (e.g., (Apple 2019; Zajda et al. 2006)). Moreover, apart from being challenged in several states, recent attempts to enrich social justice education, such as the 1619 Project or inclusive education related to social orientation or gender identities, cannot be measured by standard testing or other simple metrics (Hannah-Jones and Watson 2021). Similarly, the ethos of Holocaust education, which has critical and complex socio-emotional components, cannot be assessed or studied using the metrics developed to assess the learning of math, English, geography, or physics (Stevick and Michaels 2013b).

While Holocaust education can be classified under the umbrella of education policy, Holocaust education as a field also exists independently, although this is more recent. In the U.S., Holocaust education as a field did not exist until the 1980s. Haynes (1998) argues that this

has left American teachers wildly underprepared and under-equipped to teach the Holocaust. The picture painted by Haynes (1998) is rather bleak, with conclusions indicating a need for continued and enhanced teacher training. Still, the recommendations for the future seem realistic—the best approach is to find a home for Holocaust education in the curriculum and then empower and enable other teachers to view it as a collaborative topic that they can continue to discuss with the students (e.g., social studies and English). Haynes does warn how the Holocaust can be skewed by detractors as a single issue or a “Jewish issue” rather than something that needs to be taught as an important historical event affecting multiple populations. The idea that the Holocaust is a “Jewish” issue reflects the antisemitic belief that Jews are responsible for their suffering and self-determination (Ben-Bassat 2000). Haynes joins many scholars in acknowledging that Holocaust is a new field that often engages in the classic battle of minorities trying to justify the need for resources (Ben-Bassat 2000; Davis and Rubinstein-Avila 2013; Foster 2020), which complicates the positioning of this social justice policy within an increasingly bureaucratic education policy arena. These complexities are vital when understanding how and why a policy can get passed. Understanding potential roadblocks to legislation can allow policy proponents to tailor their message and messaging to achieve their policy goals.

Despite a plethora of empirical literature on Holocaust education in the United States as a field (Adler 2008; Brand 2013; Huttenbach 1988; Kurtzer and Sufrin 2020; Rich 2019b; Schweber 2008; Stevick and Michaels 2013a), little known in the literature is that laws have been passed mandating Holocaust education on a state level. We know that there appears to be a minimal critique on the merit of Holocaust education policy in general; however, according to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (2022), only 21 states require its teaching,

including Arkansas. There appears to be a consensus that teaching the Holocaust is good (Allgood and Shah 2021; Starratt et al. 2017; Stevick and Michaels 2013b), but little consensus exists on how to get these laws passed.

Specifically, given the plethora of information about and strong support for Holocaust education, it is surprising that so little is known about the processes leading to policies that require the Holocaust to be taught. To address this gap, this scoping literature review will explore the gap in understanding policy processes related to passing state-level Holocaust education mandates. The guiding research question for this scoping review is: What does the current literature say about Holocaust education policy for grades K-12 in the United States? Through this scoping review, information and analysis from what little exists will contribute to a more extensive understanding of the gaps future research needs to address. The following chapter will address these questions, contributing evidence and understanding how Holocaust education policy is represented in the extant literature.

Positionality

While gathering top-line data from extant literature may not present opportunities for bias, analysis inherently does. As such, it is important to acknowledge the role that I play as a researcher in this scoping literature review. I was born Jewish, and I have held public leadership positions in the Jewish community, including during the time of this research when I served as the co-President of the only Jewish place of worship in town. The perspective that I bring is not only personal, but also academic. I received a Bachelors of Arts in Jewish Studies, a degree I received with honors after defending an undergraduate thesis on intermarriage among grandchildren of Holocaust survivors in the United States. In both academic and personal spaces, my perspective has been minimized given the inherent “bias” I allegedly have. My lived

experiences include antisemitism in both personal and professional spaces—I know what Jew hatred is, what it has looked like for centuries, and I certainly understand it in a modern context.

Jewish values and the knowledge that my work will be scrutinized even more given my identity empower me to be judicious in my research and strive for academic excellence. The unique experiences I have enable me to understand nuances and subtleties in language that may be coded for a Jewish or non-Jewish audience. Biases are important to recognize and address, and I'll make mine clear—I am biased against Nazis, I am not partial to them and I find their ideology reprehensible. In this context, the illusion of true impartiality can be understood. My bias does not make me impartial, but it does allow me to be both sensitive and critical to nuances that those without my background likely would not note.

Framework

Scoping Review

Systematic and scoping reviews help identify gaps in knowledge and information and provide insight into why those gaps may exist. Systematic and scoping reviews can provide a synthesis of information that single publications cannot and ultimately contribute to a more holistic understanding of the topic or research question (Gottschalk et al. 2022; Pham et al. 2014). Scoping reviews are specifically used as a means of identifying gaps in the extant literature and are broader in scope than systematic reviews (Moher 2010; Pham et al. 2014). This broader scope is often used for more nuanced and/or novel topics that warrant further investigation and analysis (Munn et al. 2018; Peterson et al. 2017). According to Peterson (2017),

The end product of a scoping review is typically a narrative presentation, with minimal or limited statistical information. The intent is to synthesize the research in the topical area

by mapping or articulating what is known about key concepts derived from an array of sources, such as results from research studies, gray literature, and expert opinion. The process of mapping or diagraming information about the topic illustrates what is known and points at which there are gaps in knowledge (p.13).

This method is not unheard of with a Jewish population, as scoping and systematic approaches have been used to better understand Jewish and Holocaust-surviving populations. For example, one recent systematic literature review found that Holocaust survivors were more likely to experience late-onset cancer than non-survivors (Virgilio et al. 2021). Nuanced findings like these are possible through a culmination of synthesis and analysis of not only what exists and is documented but what does not exist and perhaps should. Thus, scoping reviews advance their fields by contextualizing extant data and providing empirically grounded recommendations for the future.

To address the research question “What does the current literature say about Holocaust education policy for grades K-12 in the United States?” while focusing on the states that are in similar socio-geographic and institutional/religious contexts, the original goal of this scoping review was to understand how Holocaust education policy has been enacted in the socio-geographic South of the United States. However, with a dearth of research on the passage of Holocaust education policies, in general, let alone the South specifically, geographic parameters were removed. The expansion of the review beyond the literature focused on the southern states allowed us to preserve the original intent of contextualizing how Holocaust education passed in Arkansas, with arguably more opportunities for comparison. While Arkansas did rank last in the nation on reported Holocaust knowledge (2020), Arkansas is not a monolith and while unique, it needs to be understood in context. Put simply by one author, “[systematic literature reviews]

form the basis for developing practice guidelines, and they provide information on gaps in knowledge, thus informing future research efforts” (Shamseer et al. 2015).

Method

While scoping reviews are open and nuanced, there is an order or stage progression to them. My protocol, like other scoping reviews (Tricco et al. 2016a), uses the Arksey and O'Malley framework for scoping reviews. Arksey and O'Malley (2005: 8-9) stated the following stage progression for scoping reviews, “Stage 1. Identifying the research question; Stage 2. Identifying relevant studies; Stage 3. Study selection; Stage 4. Charting the data; Stage 5. Collating, summarising and reporting the results.” The following section covers stages 2, 3, and 4 as defined by Arksey and O'Malley (2005: 8-9) in conjunction with a systematic review tool called the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-analyses (PRISMA), which is an evidence-based matrix used in qualitative research (Beller et al. 2013; Cohen et al. 2021; McInnes et al. 2018; Moher 2010; Moher et al. 2015; Rethlefsen et al. 2021; Shamseer et al. 2015; Welch et al. 2012). PRISMA, according to their own website, “is an evidence-based minimum set of items for reporting in systematic reviews and meta-analyses. PRISMA primarily focuses on the reporting of reviews evaluating the effects of interventions, but can also be used as a basis for reporting systematic reviews with objectives other than evaluating interventions (e.g. evaluating etiology, prevalence, diagnosis or prognosis)” (2022). The PRISMA diagram for this specific search can be found in Figure 1. According to the stage model, stages 2 and 3 for a scoping review are to identify relevant studies and explain their selection (Arksey and O'Malley 2005). To accomplish this, I followed Arksey and O'Malley's 2005 model and used PRISMA to diagram the selection process.

With the assistance of an experienced librarian, I searched for articles that included a version of the phrase “policy” and “Holocaust education” and “United States.” As indicated in figure one, policy was not adjusted to “polic*” as a stand-alone search phrase, given that the addition of the letter “e” makes the word “police,” which resulted in irrelevant articles. Thus, the final search terms were specific enough to gather relevant articles without losing nuance (Moher 2010).

This search aimed to find empirical articles about the Holocaust education policy process in the United States (see figure 1). Examples of search phrases to find the final phrase can be seen in figure 2. A scoping search (see figure 1) was conducted to identify relevant studies in three academic databases: Academic Search Complete, EBSCO and Web of Science (WoS). A search log was used to decide the final search phrases and databases (see figure 2). The final search phrase was: TI:((Holocaust or anti-semit* or antisemit*) AND ti:("united states" or america or usa or u.s. or "united states of america" or state*)) AND ti:("Public polic*" or policy or policies or mandate* or legislat*)) AND TI: (educat* or learn*). A total of 421 articles were found across all 3 databases, with 149 being removed in Endnote during duplicate detection. This new total of 272 article abstracts were uploaded to Rayyan for the next round of screening, abstract reviews. After a full-text screening process, a total of 14 articles were selected for inclusion in this study because they met the following criteria: the article included discussion of policy in the United States (federal or state) in relation to antisemitism or Holocaust education.

Eligibility Criteria and Article Selection

Three of the largest databases were searched, using the same Boolean search phrase (see Appendix). This search phrase included three distinct categories: the Holocaust, Education policy and the United States. The initial attention to the search phrase ultimately acted as a

screening process, by introducing an awareness of what articles would be included depending on search and selection criteria.

Inclusion criteria were:

--United States based: Articles that discussed American/United States policy were included, even if written by non-American authors. The focus of the article and the population must have been the United States, so all articles that referenced other nations or countries were excluded.

--Published in English: The purpose of this scoping review is to better understand American Holocaust education mandates, so only articles in English were included. While I am not a monolingual scholar and the United States has no official language, American policies are written in English so only articles written in English (or translated into English) were included.

--Policy relevant: If articles addressed antisemitism or the Holocaust without mentions to policy, law or implementation, they were included. Included articles included discussion of both policy and the Holocaust or antisemitism. The entire focus did not need to be on policy, however, it needed to at least briefly mention policy.

--About the Holocaust or Antisemitism: Articles were excluded if they did not focus on the Holocaust or antisemitism. While some articles mentioned the Holocaust briefly, only articles that centered the topics were included.

--Peer reviewed: This dissertation may ultimately be submitted for publication, so the standard of academic rigor, peer review, was selected. Non-peer-reviewed materials included book chapters/books, films, biographies, etc. were not included. Interestingly, obituaries appeared in the search, and were not included in the final analysis, given the peer-reviewed criterion.

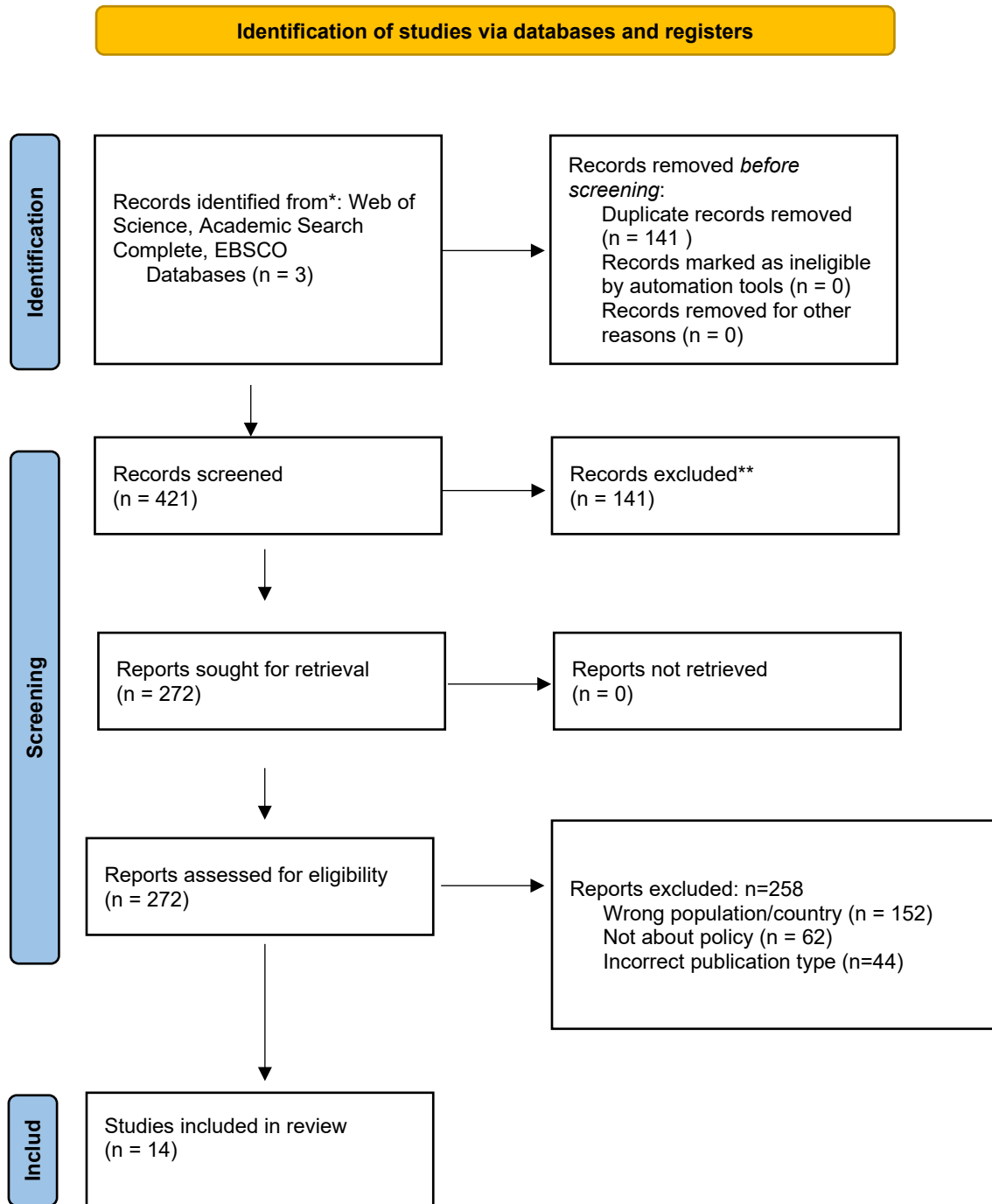
Consequently, included articles were specific to the U.S. and addressed some aspects of public policy process regarding Holocaust education. Given that Holocaust education as a field

emerged in 1970, and the first law mandating Holocaust education did not exist until 1990, there were no year limitations placed on the scoping review. There is so little research on the Holocaust education policy process that limiting by year would likely have reduced an already small sample.

This search was run in October 2021, and then re-run in October 2022 to ensure newer published articles were not missed. Many studies discussed policy implications of other countries—ranging from Poland to Australia. However, very few of the empirical studies examined focused entirely on a United States based policy, and the ones that did often referenced or mentioned the Holocaust without further analysis or discussion—these articles comprise the majority of those included in analysis. The selection and screening process via PRISMA can be seen in Figure 1. The search process is also outlined in Appendix A and Appendix B.

Specifically, a total of 421 articles were retrieved through both searches, and after excluding articles for things like wrong country, language, etc., I had 272 articles. I screened those 272 abstracts, and I excluded several articles because they were about the Israel/Palestine conflict (wrong country) rather than the policies related to teaching the Holocaust in the U.S. Even with specific search criteria and parameters, of course articles that do not fit that description are included in large database searches (Arksey and O'Malley 2005; Munn et al. 2018; Peterson et al. 2017). Comprehensive hand-screening processes ensure that results from the initial search that do not meet specific criteria are not included in the final analysis. This included the initial abstract search, and then a full-text search to ensure that the key phrases flagged in the abstract were an accurate summary of the entirety of the article.

Figure 1. PRISMA



PRISMA flow-chart for SLR exclusion process (Page et al. 2021)

Data Classification and Coding

After finalizing the selection in Rayyan, the final 14 articles were exported to Endnote, and then Nvivo for coding and classifications. Given that scoping reviews are rather new and there are no set methodological standards, transparency in methodology is increasingly important (Pham et al. 2014). Classifications provide a means of organizing top-level information (Dahlberg 1982), and are quantified and contextualized below to answer the question: what is known about the extant literature on Holocaust education policy in the United States?

The following classifications were obtained from each article: 1) education population of article, 2) geographic focus of article, 3) journal subject area, and 4) year published. Scoping literature reviews are intended to be grounded in the field or content area they explore (Arksey and O'Malley 2005; Pham et al. 2014; Tricco et al. 2016a), and the following rationales and figures are intended to provide transparency of process in grounding this methodology in relevant Holocaust education literature.

Articles were also coded for definitions of key terms like the Holocaust and antisemitism to better answer the question, what does the extant literature say about Holocaust education policy in the United States? Finally, an open coding structure was used (Khandkar 2009), resulting in two emergent codes: implementation concerns and assessment. This coding structure was for the contents of the article not captured in topline data, or the themes emerging in the data (Khandkar 2009). Through a series of primary, secondary and tertiary coding, overarching themes ultimately emerge as a means of making sense of the data (Khandkar 2009). It is important to note that while the search was for articles relating to policy, very few focused on any significant policy component. Rather, most articles focused briefly on policy, as a means of then discussing teachers implementing legislation

Results

1. Education Population

What is known about extant literature on Holocaust education policy in the United States is that teachers comprise the primary population studied. The limited data we do have do not come from students or policy makers, but rather teachers. This fits in with a larger understanding of the literature, that focuses on teachers as conduits of education policy, rather than education policy makers (Honig 2004; Hupe and Hill 2007). Nine of the fourteen studies studied teachers, with five specifically focusing on pre-service teachers. Studying teachers rather than students is consistent with other education policy research that examines teachers as street-level bureaucrats (Hall and Hampden-Thompson 2022; Usman et al. 2021). However, this specific classification adds nuance to the field of Holocaust education policy in the United States by contextualizing that studies on learning outcomes focus on students (e.g., low levels of Holocaust knowledge (2020)) but extant studies on Holocaust education policy focus on teachers. More will be discussed on the importance of teachers as street-level bureaucrats in the following articles.

Figure 2. Population focus

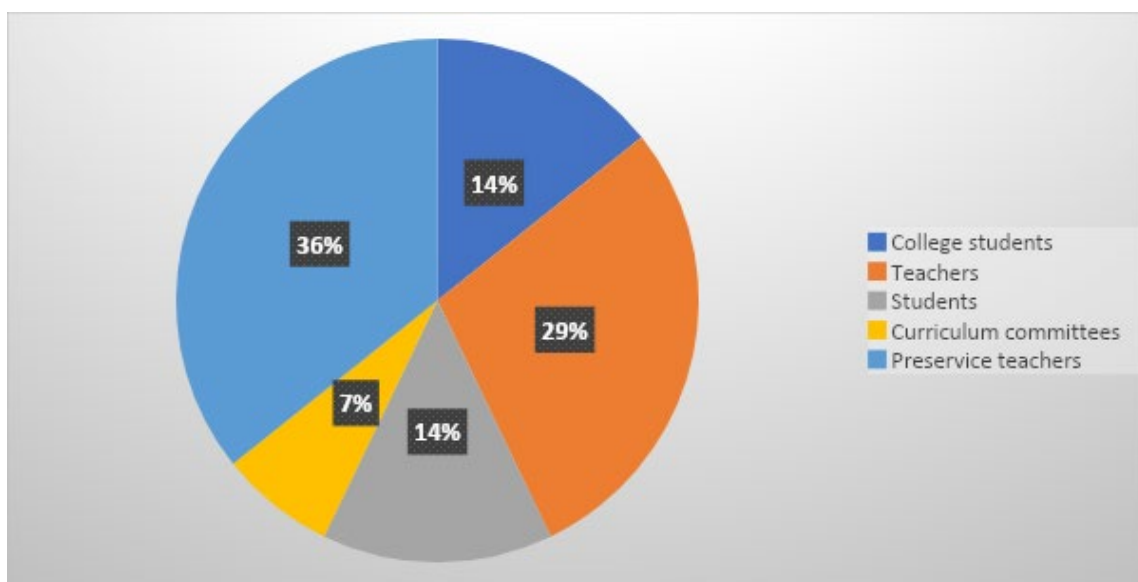
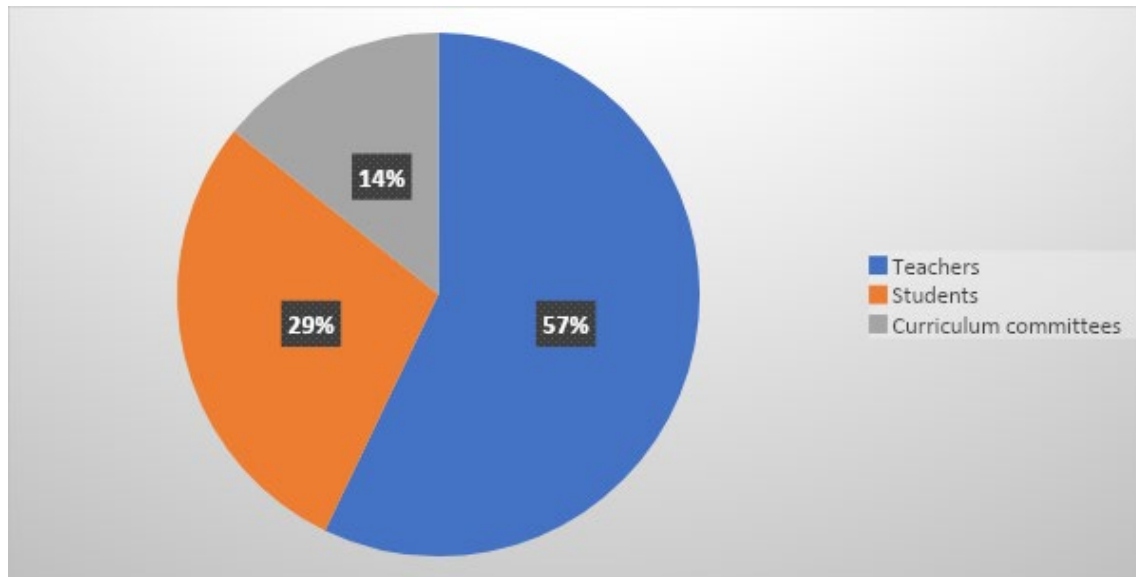


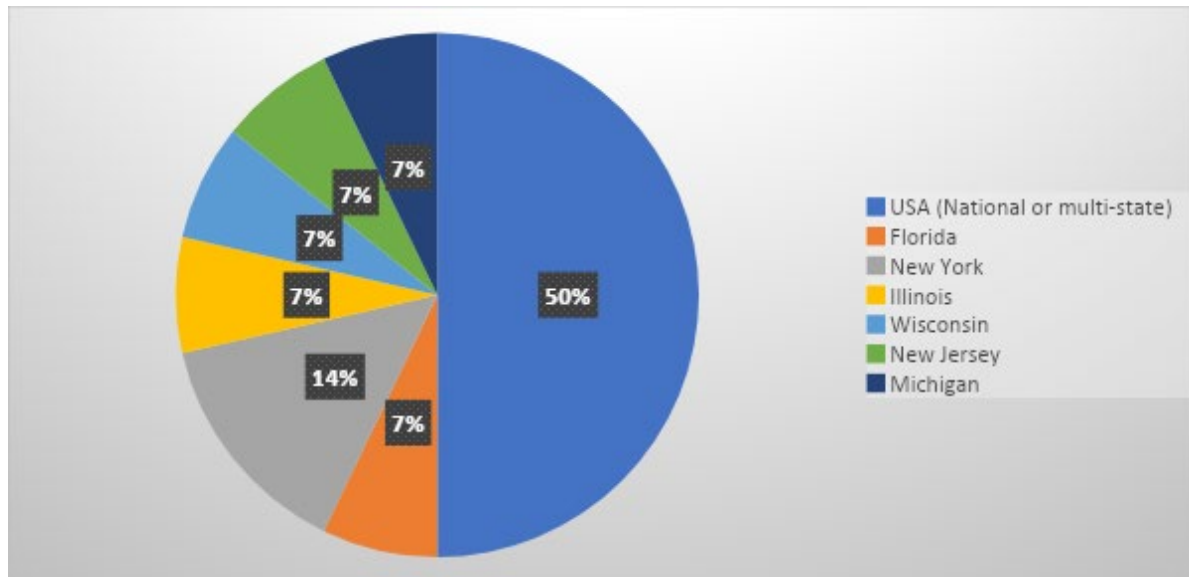
Figure 3. Consolidated education population focus of article



2. Geographic focus

Extant literature provides very little information or focus on specific states' passage of Holocaust education mandates. Half of the included articles focused on one specific state, while the others focused on either several states (two articles) or more general United States policy (five articles). According to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (2023c), 21 states have Holocaust education mandates at the time of writing. However, there appears to be minimal empirical literature on the majority of states' mandates. Notably, Illinois and New Jersey were the first two states to mandate Holocaust education (Donvito 2003; Ellison and Pisapia 2006; Rich 2019a), and it is not surprising that empirical literature has also focused on these two states. It is further not surprising where the focus of the articles appears to be, given the corresponding high Jewish population centers in states like Florida, Illinois, New Jersey and New York. There literature on states with lower Jewish populations, like Arkansas, for example.

Figure 4. Geographic focus of article

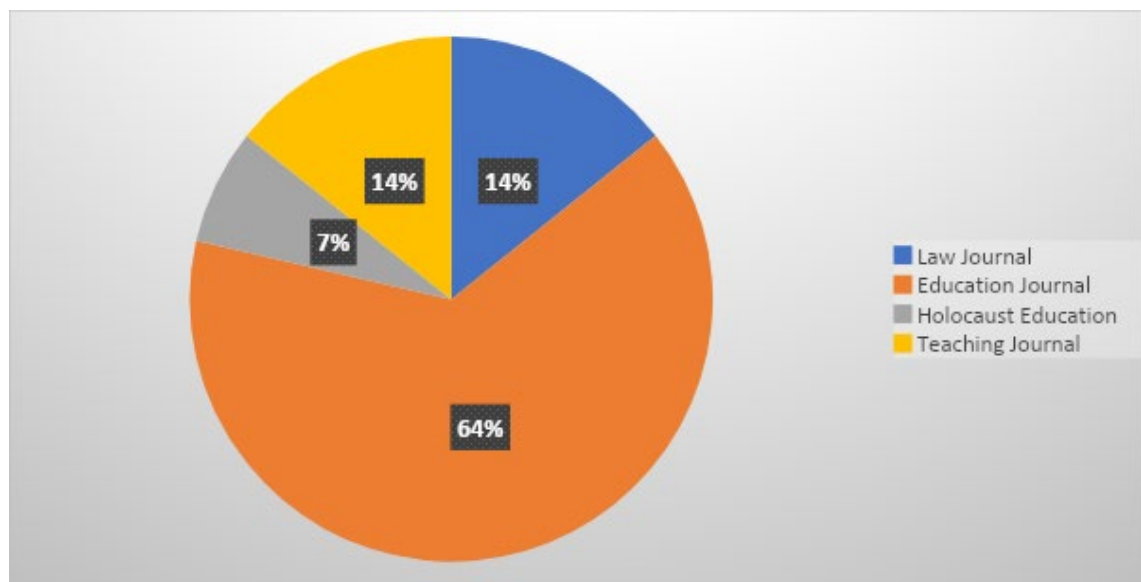


3. Journal subject area

The important takeaway is that articles on Holocaust education overwhelmingly appear in teaching and education journals, rather than Jewish studies or Holocaust specific journals. Holocaust education and the policies relating to the topic are positioned at several academic intersections. Notably, these intersections include the types of journals the included articles were published in: education, teaching, law and Holocaust studies. Historically, topics on Jews or by Jews were not always welcome in traditional American academic spaces, leading to the emergence of Jewish journals (Thompson 2019). However, American Jews have increasingly found acceptance among a more secular audience, including in academia (Levenberg 2021). Additionally, it should be noted that studies indicate American Christians are especially intrigued with the Holocaust (Skiles 2021). This further contextualizes how it would be unexpected for articles on Jewish people to only be in Jewish journals, and more likely they would be in more traditionally mainstream publications.

One theory for this is that Jewish immigrants arriving to America around the time of the Holocaust sought assimilation as a means of survival, and the acceptance of Jewish topics into mainstream journals is an extension of that assimilation dream (Alba 2006; Cohen and Haberfeld 2007). However, another theory is that the Christian gaze has had more of a desire for Jewish content, normalizing the inclusion of Jews and Jewish subjects. Rather, the “Christian gaze,” as one author describes it, is reflective of Christians distancing themselves as ethical “would have been upstanders if we were in Nazi Germany” consumers of Holocaust knowledge (Wilson 2019). More about this concept is addressed in the discussion section on Judeo-Christianity.

Figure 5. Journal subject area

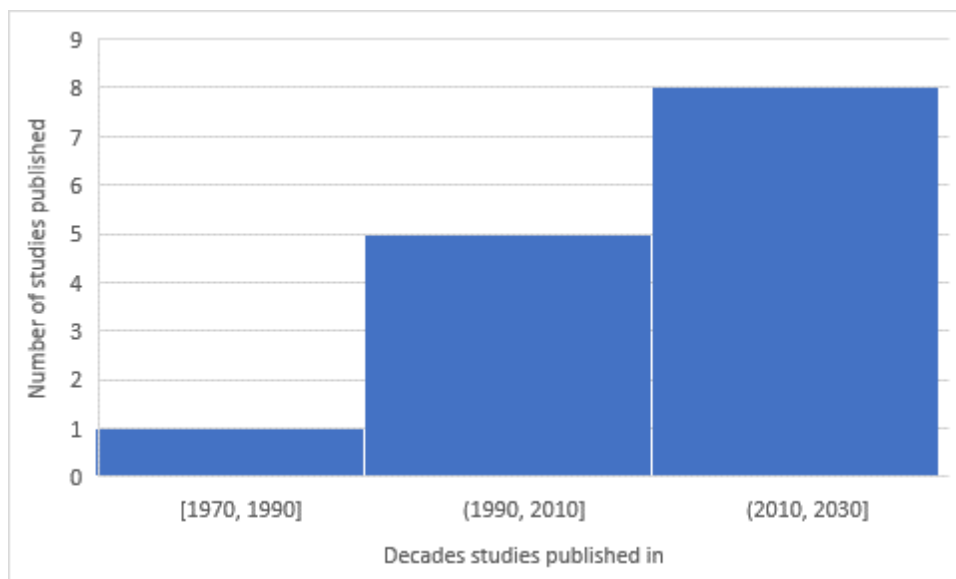


4. Year of publication

Year of publication was classified into three periods, 1970-1990, 1990-2010 and 2010-2030. As seen in the corresponding figure, the year of publication range begins with 1970, which is also the same year Holocaust education as a field emerged in the United States (Stevick and Michaels 2013a). Additionally, 1990 is when the first Holocaust education law was passed (Dobrick 2008; Riley and Totten 2002b). Thus, these classifications are not random, but

reflective of content-specific dates. Only one study included in the final analysis was published before 1990, and was the oldest study included, having been published in 1970. Additionally, despite running the search in both 2021 and 2022, no articles published in 2022 were included in the final sample, because none met the search criteria. The majority of the articles were published between 1990 and 2022, at the time of writing. These years of publication are not surprising, given the first mandate of Holocaust education by a state began in 1990, and the long process of academia and academic publishing.

Figure 6. Article publication year



Qualitative Coding and Quantitative Charting

One of the final stages of a scoping review is to “*list and define all variables for which data were sought and any assumptions and simplifications made*” (Tricco et al. 2016b)..

Traditionally, definitions of the Holocaust and/or antisemitism are offered in articles to establish a shared understanding of a concept or theme (Huttenbach 1988; Warsch 2006). Interestingly, only nine of the fourteen included articles offered definitions, which could be attributed to two concerns in Holocaust education: collective amnesia and saturation of memory (Hassan 2018).

These seemingly competing, yet complementary concepts identify the over-confidence that Americans appear to have about their knowledge of the Holocaust (Allgood and Shah 2021) known as saturation—the knowledge that there is so much information about the Holocaust available.

However, studies indicate that despite there being a plethora of Holocaust education content available (Bertovsky et al. 2020), Americans are still experiencing societal amnesia regarding the Holocaust (2020; Baum 1996; Hassan 2018; Starratt et al. 2017). Given this seemingly liminal space between a plethora of Holocaust education material available (Baum 1996; Bertovsky et al. 2020; Brand 2013; Dobrick 2008; Gallant and Hartman 2001; Johnson and Pennington 2018; Schweber 2008), definitions can thus become all the more important to ground a shared understanding.

So, what do the articles define? Primarily, they focus on defining the Holocaust, and a few focus on Jews/antisemitism. To be clear, there is no one universally accepted definition of the Holocaust or antisemitism, however, there are commonly used and commonly cited ones (e.g. IHRA definition of antisemitism).

Antisemitism Definitions

Schaffer (2021) cites the commonly used International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition on antisemitism on page 75, adding, “antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities”. Notably, one other included article did not give an explicit definition, but addressed how decentralization during the 1960s exacerbated underlying racial tensions between the Black and Jewish communities (Scher 1970). In failing to

define antisemitism explicitly, Scher (1970) did position a definition of antisemitism as one that is in relationship to other races, implying that Jews are (if not entirely, at least) a race.

Understandings of Jews as a race are better understood in a European context than an American one (Brustein 2003; Davis and Rubinstein-Avila 2013; Gilman 2020; Salvio 2020), which is of course where the Holocaust happened, so perhaps the date of this article is reflective of that previous, Euro-centric perspective. Indeed, one article cited something similar when defining Jews, noting on page 8, “Two essential analytical elements guide the discussion of antisemitism during the 1933~5 period: the transition from a religious to a racial definition of Judaism under Nazism; and acknowledging the lone voices of opposition to Nazism offered by individuals within the churches” (Gallant and Hartman 2001). The definitions appear to concentrate on topics like time and race to contextualize bias against the Jew, as another article from 2002 cited an older definition of Jews, “The Nuremberg Laws were adopted in which Jewish status was defined and segregated them from the non-Jewish population, called ‘aryans’ by the Nazis...Under these laws, Jews were removed from civil service, courts, and commerce, schools and universities. Marriage between Jews and non-Jews was banned, as was the employment of female non-Jewish servants by Jews (p.9, Lesson 3; (Riley and Totten). The concepts present here appear to be race, religion and the word that appears to encompass both: antisemitism. It must be noted that there is no one universally agreed upon definition, and these articles appear to seek contextualization and understanding, rather than centralization and generalization.

Holocaust Definitions

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the majority of the articles that offered definitions did so for the Holocaust. Perhaps most simply, Lincoln (2020) offers the following definition of antisemitism

“The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) defines the Holocaust as the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators” (p. 45). This reflects the commonly used USHMM definition of the Holocaust, which appears to be most common alongside the IHRA’s definition. Brand (2013) cites this same USHMM definition, but includes the following longer version, “The most widely used definition of the Holocaust as defined by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) reads: The Holocaust is the state-sponsored systematic persecution and annihilation of European Jewry by Nazi Germany and its collaborators between 1933 and 1945. Jews were the primary victims- six million were murdered; Roma and Sinti (Gypsies}, people with mental and physical disabilities, and Poles were also targeted for destruction or decimation for racial, ethnic, or national reasons. Millions more, including homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war, and political dissidents, also suffered grievous oppression and death under Nazi Germany” (p.299).

Interestingly, some authors even describe the challenges in even attempting to define the Holocaust, adding on pages 5 and 6, “The authors of this piece find the inclusive nature of Nazi hate to be particularly important to understand, and suspect that helping students appreciate how anti-Semitism is often closely linked to contempt for other groups of people can actually aid in the fight against anti-Semitism. The latter point is one that can be taken up empirically as we examine through research how students respond to different definitions of the Holocaust and to delineating the boundaries of what is taught as the critical context of the Holocaust are implemented. As Davis and Rubinstein-Avila (this issue) show, major organizations that promote historical understanding differ in their approaches to defining the boundaries of the Holocaust. As researchers, we are less concerned with advancing a particular boundary dividing

the central events of the Holocaust from what might be characterized as its context than with understanding how these delineations are enacted into policy and practice and understood by educators and students. We do believe, however, that the increasing focus on the Roma/Sinti and their experiences is critical, and we are pleased that this issue includes important new contributions in this area” (Stevick and Michaels 2013b).

Two authors dedicated several sections to defining the Holocaust and genocide more broadly, specifically saying the following on page 228, “The Holocaust (with a capital H) refers to the murder of millions of people, the majority of whom were Jewish, during Nazi control in the years prior to and during the Second World War (Fallace, 2008; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.; Jones, 2011). The word is also written as holocaust (with a lower-case h) to denote “great human destruction, particularly by fire” (Jones, 2011, p. 22). American and Israeli Jews adopted the term Holocaust to describe the events of the Second World War in the 1960s. Holocaust is derived from Latin and means “total destruction by fire” or “burnt offering” (Fallace, 2008). Jones (2011) defined Holocaust as the “attempted destruction of the Jews” (p. 22), but it notes that Nazi H/holocaust is often used to encompass all victims of Nazis.

More recently, Jones (2011) used the term holocaust to denote “particularly severe or destructive genocides” (p. 22): for those who reject the sacrificial undertones to the term Holocaust, the word Shoah (Hebrew for catastrophe) is contextually preferred (Jones, 2011). In this present work we prefer Fallace’s (2008) definition of Holocaust because he emphasizes the Jewish population who was principally targeted but also alludes to the inclusion of others who were victims of Nazi policy, such as the Roma-Sinti, homosexuals, Jehovah’s witnesses, Communists, those with mental or physical disabilities, and others” (Johnson and Pennington 2018).

Emergent Themes: Assessment & Implementation

Two clear themes emerged from the data: a need for assessment of current Holocaust education curriculum and a fear of implementation. This makes logical sense, as most policy articles are focused on outcomes, rather than the content of the policies themselves. As the field of Holocaust education only continues to grow, the extant literature states an explicit need for more assessment of content and pedagogy: “[there is the] outstanding need for systematic evaluation across the educational spectrum in terms of educational resources, the delivery of the material, and the desired outcomes” (Gallant and Hartman 2001, p.3).

Rather, [Holocaust Education] is multi-layered and requires extended study. In other words, students should experience what we refer to herein as “authentic pedagogy,” which includes authentic learning and authentic assessment. However, what one finds in an examination of state-mandated Holocaust materials is a wide range of weak pedagogical strategies and problematic curricula” (Totten and Riley, 2005, p.128).

One article pointed out that the assessment of Holocaust education also becomes especially tricky when considering the ultimate goal. Is the goal of Holocaust education to produce more informed citizens? Or is the ultimate goal to prevent future genocides, and if so, how is that a measurable or even fair outcome?

Certainly, Holocaust educators and advocates bear some responsibility for these outsized expectations, and maintaining this clarity between moral and empirical claims can prevent confusion such as in this case. If we could reasonably expect a few hours of education to prevent massacres, then education generally and Holocaust education in particular would have truly exceptional potential. But, it is a very different thing to argue that a moral – and instrumental – purpose for Holocaust education is the prevention of

genocide, and that an empirical outcome of Holocaust education will be the prevention of genocides. In any sober assessment of everything that would be necessary to prevent or to stop genocide, the answer does not consist of a single factor, and certainly not a set number of class hours dedicated to anything. (Stevick 2020) p. 7.

The emergent themes indicate that policy makers are not viewed as implementers of Holocaust education policy, as the articles focus on teachers, not politicians. Additionally, there is concern about this implementation of policy, and what the ultimate goals are. Little data addresses policy process, and the majority focus on the outcomes expected of policy, present in the emergent codes on assessment and implementation.

Discussion

The original research question for this scoping review was: what does the current literature say about Holocaust education policy for grades K-12 in the United States? The initial plan was to focus on the South, however, given the dearth of research, articles from the United States, regardless of region, were included. Interestingly, the initial assumption that studies done in and on the South would yield different results appears to be incorrect. Rather, as further discussed later in this section, studies on Holocaust education policy in the South appear similar to those from the rest of the United States. Further, it is important to note that while all articles address the topic of the Holocaust and/or antisemitism, not all added definitions for terms. This may reflect a belief that the Holocaust is common knowledge, despite recent studies indicating this may not be the case (2020; Ellison and Pisapia 2006).

Education Population

Despite these studies being included in the original scoping search because of the phrase “policy or mandate” most of the articles appear to be focused on teachers, and for a teaching

audience, rather than a lay or law audience. What is known about Holocaust education policy literature is that it is primarily written for and about teachers and educators. As seen in figures 2 and 3, the population focus of the included articles overwhelmingly is on teachers, with distinctions made that pre-service teachers were often the focus or studied population. Chapter three will further explore the role of teachers as street level bureaucrats, building on this finding that teachers are viewed in the literature of gatekeepers to Holocaust education. Notably, studies on teachers do not quantify the learning outcomes of their students, so future studies may want to examine the impacts of teachers' role as street level bureaucrats and measure the output of student knowledge. Right now, the status quo is that extant literature on Holocaust education focuses on teachers, and that these same articles reference how teachers have a desire, but not enough resources, to teach the Holocaust (Allgood and Shah 2021; Rich 2019b; Stevick and Michaels 2013b).

Geographic Focus

One of the original goals of this scoping review was to better understand geographic differences in Holocaust education policies in the United States. However, this goal was changed due to a dearth of information and available empirical literature. Thus, of the fourteen included articles, there did not appear to be any marked differences in Northern versus Southern states. This may be due to Florida's presence in the South, which hosts a strong Jewish population unseen in other Southern states. While only one of the included articles focused on Florida, several other articles that mention the U.S. more broadly briefly address Florida and their history with Holocaust education (Riley and Totten 2002b; Totten and Riley 2005). Rather, there appears to be so little published on Holocaust education policies in the United States that there

does not appear to be enough data to make any meaningful conclusions about differences in states, specifically on geography.

What is known about Southern states' Holocaust education policies? The short answer is not much, unless Florida is the sole metric of the South. Given that Florida passed a Holocaust education mandate in 1994, Florida is often used in the Holocaust education literature as a convenient case study. Scholars are quick to point out that the amount of time Florida has had the mandate is less relevant if teachers are still unprepared to implement and teach the curriculum. Indeed, one included article notes on page 21, "The effective-ness of the Florida mandate's integration and the quality of the curriculum and methodology for genocide studies rest on the preparation of teachers" (Allgood and Shah 2021). This reinforces the understanding from education population focus, that Holocaust education success is reliant on street-level bureaucrats, or teachers. The conclusion drawn from this article and several others referencing Florida does not appear to add any nuance to an understanding of Southern states. Rather, articles referencing Florida (and subsequently the South) appear to affirm studies based on other regions across the United States. While the South is still unique socio-politically for many reasons (Davis, Dowdle and Giammo 2021; Rozell 2021), articles in this scoping review do not confirm that in the context of Holocaust education policy. The overwhelming consensus across the United States continues to be that Holocaust education is needed, and teachers need and desire adequate resources to implement it.

We know that empirical literature on Holocaust education centers itself around states that have had Holocaust education mandates the longest. Indeed, most of the empirical literature included in this scoping review focus on states like New York, Florida, New Jersey and Illinois (2011; Allgood and Shah 2021; Brand 2013; Gallant and Hartman 2001; Lincoln 2020; Rich

2019a; Riley and Totten 2002a; Scher 1970; Totten and Riley 2005). These findings indicate a dearth of empirical research on not only Southern states, but specifically on states with newer Holocaust education mandates. Thus, there is a need for further research to examine Holocaust education policies in states who either do not have a mandate passed yet, and/or have only recently passed a mandate.

Journal Subject Area

Jewish studies journals are not the primary place of publication for literature on Holocaust education legislation. Interestingly, of the fourteen articles included in the final analysis, only one article was published in a Jewish or Holocaust related journal and only two were published in Law journals. The rest, and subsequently the majority in this sample, were published in either Social Studies journals or Education and/or teacher-specific journals. This is consistent with previous research that indicates Holocaust education is a broad, interdisciplinary field of study (Dobrick 2008; Foster 2020; Stevick and Michaels 2013a). Key Jewish groups may not be privy to information about Holocaust education due to the limited number of articles being published in Jewish journals, and instead in more mainstream education journals.

Year Published

While there does not appear to be a lot of relevant empirical literature on the topic of Holocaust education policy in the United States, what does exist appears to be from more recent years. As seen in figure 6, most of the literature has been published since 1990, and the trend appears to indicate that we should expect to see more studies published in this area in the coming years. It is unsurprising that there is little written about Holocaust education policy prior to 1990, given that there were no laws in the United States requiring it. However, the number of articles on the subject has not matched the pace of the number of states with mandates.

Assessment and Implementation

There is concern about how Holocaust education is taught, and there has been for decades (Cowan and Maitles 2007; Rich 2019a; Scher 1970). There are no set standards for teaching or assessing Holocaust education in the United States, leading to clear concerns about implementation. Given that Holocaust education is so value-laden, a lack of rigor and assessment could have dangerous consequences. Additionally, framing the goal of Holocaust education appears to be more critical than ever.

Conclusion

What is known about Holocaust education policy in the United States is that it appears to have widespread support from educators and lawmakers alike, however, the focus appears to be on teachers, not policymakers. Indeed, all fourteen articles emphasized the importance of Holocaust education and emphasized the importance of Holocaust educators. While there were differences in how and when Holocaust education should be taught to students, there was no debate as to whether or not the subject should be taught. Additionally, it is known that a fair amount of “whataboutism” is included in Holocaust education discourse. Indeed, two articles included in the final analysis discuss the teaching of other genocides and question why other subjects are not included in Holocaust education mandates (Johnson and Pennington 2018; Riley and Totten 2002a).

One article even addresses how neither the United States nor Germany have a good legal strategy for Holocaust denial either, with one author stating on page 149, “Americans will always look at Holocaust revisionists as potential clients of the ACLU. Germans will always see a new Hitler ready to topple the state. So long as this remains the case, change is unlikely” (Kahn

1998). What is known about Holocaust education policy is that there is a fear of saying the wrong thing, and some authors believe this will lead to stagnation in Holocaust education.

However, there is some hope, as one museum scholar notes on page 299, “The Illinois Holocaust and Genocide Education Mandate (K-12), which states that every public elementary and high school shall include in its curriculum a unit of instruction studying the events of the Holocaust, has been in effects since 1990 and was expanded in 2005 to include an additional unit of study on other acts of genocide across the globe. The most widely used definition of the Holocaust is defined by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum” (Brand 2013). There do appear to be conflicting opinions on whether change is possible in the context of Holocaust education, with some more hopeful about changes in both social policy and legislation than others. In sum, we know that Holocaust education policies are generally viewed positively by lawmakers and teachers; however, there is debate on the effectiveness of these policies and if positive change is possible.

At least one (if not more) of the three thematic categories of antisemitism, Judeo-Christianity and race were referenced in all of the 14 articles included. All but one article explicitly referenced antisemitism as a lens of understanding the Holocaust, and rooting the Holocaust in an understanding of who was oppressed and how that continues to manifest. However, it is important to note that none of the articles focused on these three topics as a primary topic of analysis. Rather, it was more common for articles to address race via how the Nazis racialized Jews in 20th century Europe than to address more Americanized understandings of race.

Themes of Judeo-Christianity were certainly present in the included literature, as the Jewish population never had enough power or people to pass Holocaust education legislation on

their own. Rather, articles referenced the kindness of Christians to assist Jews in mandating teaching the Holocaust. This positivity-spin on the relationship between Jews and Christians in America again reinforces the notion of Christian superiority and “allyship” with Jews as a means of virtue signaling. The thematic categories, while important, are also reflective of an American version of Holocaust storytelling—a seemingly toned-down tale of Christian Americans as benevolent actors who would have saved Jews during the Holocaust, and now require its teaching as a sign of their goodness. A lack of focus on these three thematic categories also may be indicative of a desire to teach the Holocaust as a siloed event.

Limitations

This article offers by no means a comprehensive understanding of Holocaust education policy in the United States. It is very possible that articles that should have been included were missed due to not being in one of the three databases searched. Additionally, there may have been gray literature, dissertations and/or theses that address the research question but were excluded in this review due to a lack of peer review. Some scholars advocate for the importance of the inclusion of gray literature in scoping reviews (Pham et al. 2014), however, there is no consensus on the benefits or necessity of this.

Summary

Little is known about Holocaust education policy in the United States on a state level. The majority of the literature focuses on teachers, rather than on policy makers. There appears to be overwhelming support for the idea of Holocaust education, and a desire by Holocaust scholars, educators, and lawmakers alike for Holocaust education to be effective. Most of the extant literature appears to be published in education journals, and is geared for teachers. Most of this literature has also been published since 1990, when the first Holocaust education mandate

was passed in a state. There does not appear to be one set standard for assessing or implementing Holocaust education in the United States, nor does there appear to be a shared definition for the Holocaust or even antisemitism. Articles included in the final analyses often present Holocaust education as imperative, while acknowledging teachers as implementors are under resourced and in a precarious position to teach. Findings from this scoping review indicate a gap in the literature on how Holocaust education policies were passed, specifically from states with more recent or upcoming Holocaust education mandates. Future studies should examine how Holocaust education policies were passed, and emphasize who was passing and implementing these policies. Further examination of who is involved in the policy process and why they are may lead to a more nuanced understanding of Holocaust education policy in the United States both present and future.

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Article 2: The Passage of Holocaust Education Legislation in Arkansas

Less than 80 years after the attempted extermination of the entirety of the Jewish population in a global event known as the Holocaust, antisemitism in the United States is rising ((ADL) 2021; Steinacher 2020). Interestingly, the Pew Research Center found that those with less knowledge of the Holocaust were more likely to hold antisemitic views than those with more knowledge of the Holocaust (Bronfman 2020). Further, a national study found that Arkansas students rank last in the nation in their knowledge of the Holocaust (2020). With the rise in antisemitism and the concerning statistics regarding Holocaust knowledge in Arkansas, there have been recent efforts made to ensure Holocaust education is taught in the state of Arkansas. While there is no shortage of empirical articles on policy analysis, there are few on the policy process. With the third lowest Jewish population in the United States and the lowest reported knowledge levels of the Holocaust, there is a need to better understand how Holocaust education legislation passed in Arkansas. Grounded in a public policy approach and framed by the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), this article seeks to answer the research question: how did Holocaust education legislation pass in Arkansas?

Introduction

While Arkansas was once known for being a solid Democrat or Blue state (e.g., former Arkansas Governor and later President of the United States, Bill Clinton), it is now a profoundly Republican state. Arkansas is run and ruled by a Republican supermajority (3/4+ of the state legislature), indicating perhaps less of a chance for bills to be bipartisan. Although Arkansas has one of the shortest legislative sessions compared to other states in the United States, it has one of the highest numbers of legislation introduced during each session (Hoffman and Reese 2019).

Recently, Arkansas passed a Holocaust education mandate (SB160) that resulted in a rare feat in this Republican supermajority state: overwhelming bipartisan support. Public policy scholars, politicians, and lay people alike often seek to understand issues and causes that unite people with differing political ideologies (Iyengar et al. 2019; Kerr, Panagopoulos and van der Linden 2021), and Holocaust education appears to be such a cause, at least in the state of Arkansas (2021). Given the dearth of research on the policy process regarding Holocaust education, we need to understand the process that enabled a bill in Arkansas to receive rare unanimous bipartisan support.

The reality is that Holocaust education legislation was passed in a strongly Christian state during a legislative session when the vast majority of elected officials were Republicans. Jews are societally perceived as liberal in the United States (Gilman 2020), and the voting habits of Jews only confirm this perception (Becker 2020; Becker 2021). In a state like Arkansas, this perception of liberal Jews seeking to pass legislation could result in a social/ideological clash derailing coalition efforts. Indeed, studies find that cause-based coalitions in the United States are fragile, especially with differences in religion and politics (Orr and Huber 2020; Seyoum 2021). This known coalition fragility reinforces the importance of not relegating Holocaust education to a “Jewish issue” as it not only may highlight potential division but also minimizes the reality of the necessary, non-Jewish majority coalition that ultimately passed this legislation. The coalition work leading to the passage of SB160 is examined here through analyses of the qualitative interviews with select coalition members. (Alba 2006; Cohen and Haberfeld 2007).

Specifically, we need to understand how a religious minority (Jews in Arkansas) group formed a strong coalition to mandate the teaching of the Holocaust in public schools in Arkansas.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is a lens through which the Holocaust education legislative process can be understood.

Specifically, this article uses qualitative interviews to understand long-term coalition opportunities, short-term constraints, and the policy subsystem. At the same time, the previous chapter focuses on the relatively stable parameters and external subsystem events (e.g., the release of a study finding that Arkansas had the lowest levels of reported knowledge in the United States). Additionally, how we both write and teach about the Holocaust throughout time can reflect the social attitudes of the nation or institution teaching them at the time (Pearce 2019). Thus, documenting the policy process and who was specifically involved in the process can be instrumental in advancing social science and contextualizing Holocaust education throughout time and region.

Framework

Traditionally, public policy is understood through a five-stage lens known as the policy cycle (Bridgman and Davis 2003; Capano and Pritoni 2020; Jann and Wegrich 2017). Harold Lasswell is credited with first coining this term and policy stage model in 1956 (Lasswell 1956; Lasswell and Lerner 1965). Through agenda setting, formulation, adoption, implementation, and evaluation, the policy is an active and ongoing process, but one with clearly marked stages. The policy cycle is central to most public policy research, and most empirical literature situates itself within one of the five stages. However, there has been debate about a sixth stage, called the support/maintenance (Capano and Pritoni 2020; Jann and Wegrich 2017). Despite the widespread use of the policy cycle, authors and frameworks within the public policy field still use alternatives to understand and explain the policy process. Perhaps the most extensive critique

of the policy cycle is that it does not consider stakeholders' attitudes or interests, which some argue are the root cause of policy change.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is a public policy tool created in the 1980s that has grown in popularity and is used among public policy scholars and social scientists because it takes into account attitudes and interests as the root of policy decisions (Jenkins-Smith et al. 2014; Pierce and Hicks 2019; Pierce and Osei-Kojo 2022; Sabatier 1988; Wagner and Ylä-Anttila 2018; Weible et al. 2020). The framework is mainly used to understand how beliefs and attitudes affect policy change. Indeed, the founder of the ACF explains that advocacy coalitions are:

people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system – i.e., a set of fundamental values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions – and who show a nontrivial degree of coordinated activity over time (Sabatier, 1988, p.139).

Additionally, Sabatier (1988) also defines a policy subsystem within this framework as “a ‘set of actors’ including advocacy coalitions, ‘who are involved in dealing with a policy problem’” (p.138).

An updated chapter on the ACF from Sabatier and Weible (2019) notes that:

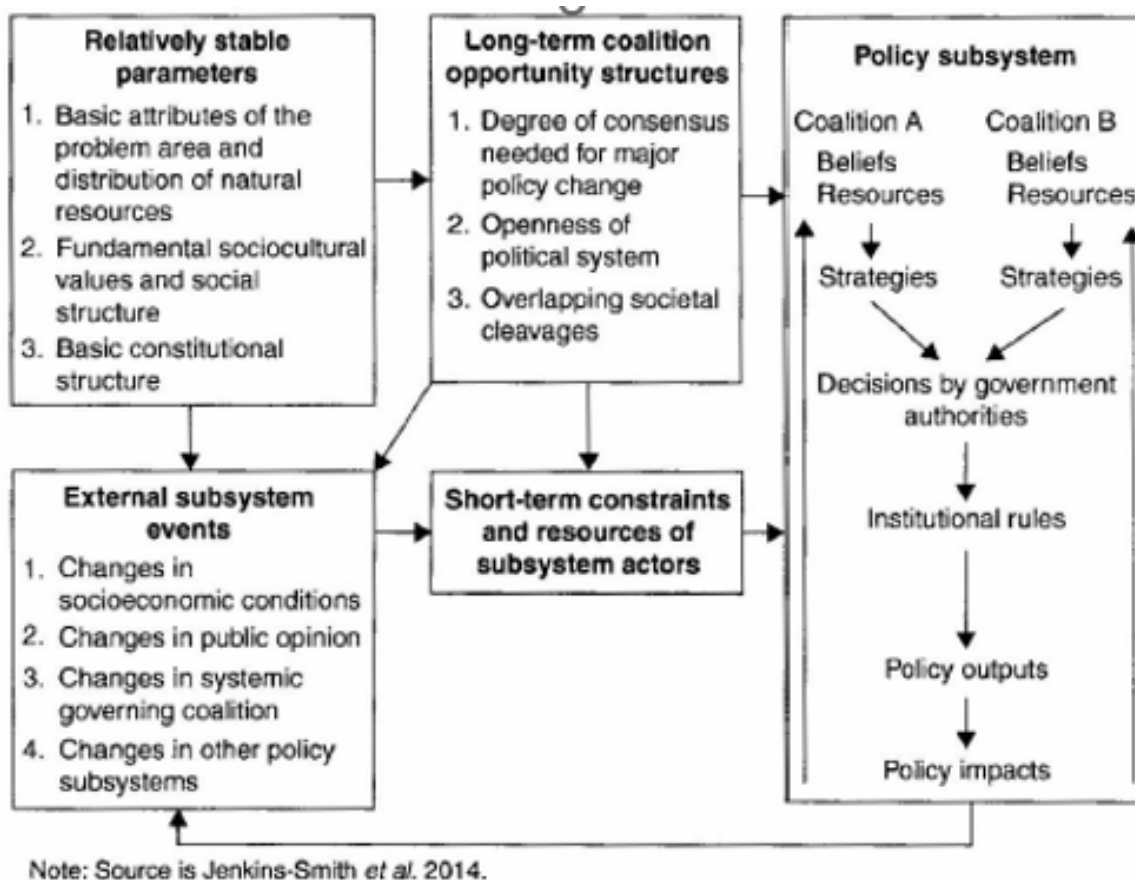
The ACF assumes that policymaking in modern societies is so complex, substantively and legally, that participants must specialize if they hope to be influential. This specialization occurs within policy subsystems composed of participants who regularly seek to influence policy within a policy subsystem, such as California water policy (p.189).

The ACF organizes beliefs into three categories: deep core beliefs, deep policy beliefs, and secondary aspects (Jenkins-Smith et al. 2014; Sabatier 1988; Sabatier and Weible 2019). Through qualitative interviews, these beliefs will be explored, with a goal of understanding the ultimate policy outcome, as the ACF model describes. The model contends that beliefs ultimately drive allocation of resources, which can then build into a policy outcome. Topics like the Holocaust are often very emotion and belief-laden subjects, especially for those with a strong faith background who empathize with the attempted genocide of a racialized group (Moffic 2019; Skiles 2021). Given the status quo of a Republican supermajority, and powerful Christian, belief-focused majority in the Arkansas legislature (Chamberlain and Yanus 2021; Hoffman and Reese 2019), policy outcomes alone may not present a clear understanding of how and why legislation was successful. Thus, qualitative interviews with key stakeholders about their beliefs and role in the process may provide information vital for future policy formulation and implementation.

While the entirety of the framework will be addressed, the focus of this analysis is on the policy subsystem, which examines coalitions' beliefs and resources that ultimately impact outcomes, is the primary focus of this chapter. In Figure 1, this section of focus is the policy subsystem, the right-most box in the figure. The goal of this research, and its contribution, is to understand the policy subsystem—specifically the beliefs, resources, and subsequent strategies that enabled the Holocaust education mandate to pass in Arkansas (Jann and Wegrich 2017). Given the nature of the topic of the Holocaust, beliefs are important to examine in a process policy context, as less than 100 years ago, beliefs about Jews in Eastern Europe, for example, influenced much different policies towards Jews (Gallant and Hartman 2001; Harbaugh 2015). With this in mind, the research question posed by this study, “How did the Holocaust education

mandate pass in Arkansas?” will be addressed via qualitative interviews and analysis. Through the ACF model, the beliefs of those in the grassroots coalition advocating for this legislation are examined as they are essential to understanding the policy outcome.

Figure 1. ACF model



Method

Positionality

Reflexivity is essential to successful qualitative interviews (Watt 2007). This means that the author must reflect on themselves and their positionality when considering qualitative interviews as a methodology. I am a Jewish woman, and that positionality is directly related to my involvement with coalitions of local Jewish activists. I moved to Northwest Arkansas in 2019 for graduate school and immediately began attending religious services regularly. With only one

Jewish place of worship in town and only 2,000 Jews in Arkansas, I met and became close to the already close-knit Jewish community. I know many of the coalition members personally, and I even know their families. All coalition members knew I had personal and professional interests in the legislation and legislative process. Many Jewish community members knew me first as a Sunday school teacher for their kids, for example, rather than as a researcher. My involvement is built on a sense of trust and is likely why I was granted permission for the interviews.

Given this closeness of community, I knew the demographic characteristics of the coalition members before the interviews (e.g., age, race, gender, religious affiliation, etc.). Coalition members were not new to me—I had been working with them for over three years to write and introduce a bill mandating Holocaust education. The participants knew from the outset that I would be doing my dissertation on the topic of the legislative effort, which was never hidden from them. While working with this advocacy coalition, I helped write some of the language included in the legislation in conjunction with some of the people interviewed for this article. Not only did I aid in writing this legislation, but I also actively sought support from faith leaders, educators, and other community members. My rapport with the participants allowed me to gain valuable information from qualitative interviews.

Empirical literature confirms the power of trust and shows that trust (including in the Jewish community) is stronger within a religious community and that members are more likely to trust someone in their religious community when compared to an outsider (Lancee and Dronkers 2011; Sosis 2005). Interestingly, one study found that Christians (except for liberal Protestants) tend to trust people with no religion less (Daniels and von der Ruhr 2010). Rising antisemitism ((ADL) 2021; Burke, Diba and Antonopoulos 2020; Klug 2013; Kressel and Kressel 2016) impacted how the coalition members interacted with me. Jewish coalition

members likely trusted me because we shared the same religion. The Christian Coalition members trusted me more because I was firmly committed to a religion, even if it was not theirs.

Interview Participants

Participants were selected if they met two key criteria: over 18 and significantly involved in the Holocaust education legislative process. Given my involvement in this legislative process and presence on a coalition led committee, I knew who was heavily involved in this process/ in the coalition and invited them directly to participate in this research. To mitigate my emic bias, I invited coalition members to share with me if and who they felt should be interviewed for this research and included one participant whom I had not previously known to participate based on this feedback.

A total of ten people were selected to be interviewed. All ten stated they aimed to pass Holocaust education legislation in Arkansas. However, participants can be understood in two distinct coalitions:

Coalition A comprises the grassroots group of lay leaders advocating for Holocaust education legislation, primarily those on the Holocaust Education Legislative Process (HELP) committee. Six of the ten participants interviewed were part of this coalition, including a Holocaust survivor, a former Arkansas public school teacher, and a current Arkansas public school teacher. This coalition was primarily Jewish (four out of six) and had an active or past background in teaching (four out of six). One coalition member was not interviewed because he was under 18. While exact ages were not recorded, three participants have grandchildren (and some great-grandchildren), and three have adult children.

Coalition B comprises the legislators and those with institutional power (e.g., a business leader). This included the one participant who preferred to remain anonymous and the two

legislators who introduced the bill in both the House and the Senate, respectively (2021). The fourth participant was a policy professional at the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the oldest and largest organization dedicated to combating Jew hate in the United States. All four participants are white and have young children (under 18)—this group on average was younger than the other coalition.

Interview Procedure

IRB approval was received, and ten interviews were conducted with stakeholders involved in the SB160 process in the winter of 2021 via Zoom. Participants were asked about their involvement in this legislative process, if they had been involved in other legislative processes like this, and why they were personally involved. Questions also ask about their religious identity when they first recall learning about the Holocaust and its impact on them. All participants described their thinking and emotions about why they felt it necessary to mandate Holocaust education. Two participants were emotional to the point of crying briefly during the interview. Collectively, these interview questions contributed to answering the larger research question of how Holocaust education legislation was mandated in Arkansas, with additional pertinent information about who was involved in the process.

The interviews lasted between 45 and 75 minutes, and all but one participant agreed to have their name published. Participants were selected based on their involvement in the legislative process, and via participation in what became known as the “HELP Committee,” referred to in the interviews. This acronym was created by Dr. Barry Brown, and stands for Holocaust Education Living Proposal, although other committee members referenced it as the Holocaust Education Legislative Proposal committee. The HELP Committee references those community stakeholders involved in the writing and advocacy of the bill; the committee did not

include legislators and had no formal jurisdiction but rather was the name of a group of lay leaders.

Semi-structured interviews have been used by authors previously in conjunction with the ACF, as the ACF is value-derived, and semi-structured interviews allow for a natural gathering of value-rich data (Biermann et al. 2021; Hagawe et al. 2023). Qualitative interviews allow more abstract concepts like values to be examined and used to answer questions, rather than relying on traditional quantitative data (Krippendorff 1986). Additionally, qualitative methodology is often preferred for historically marginalized communities, as quantitative research has historically excluded them (Kenning et al. 2017; Liu et al. 2015; Renn et al. 2019).

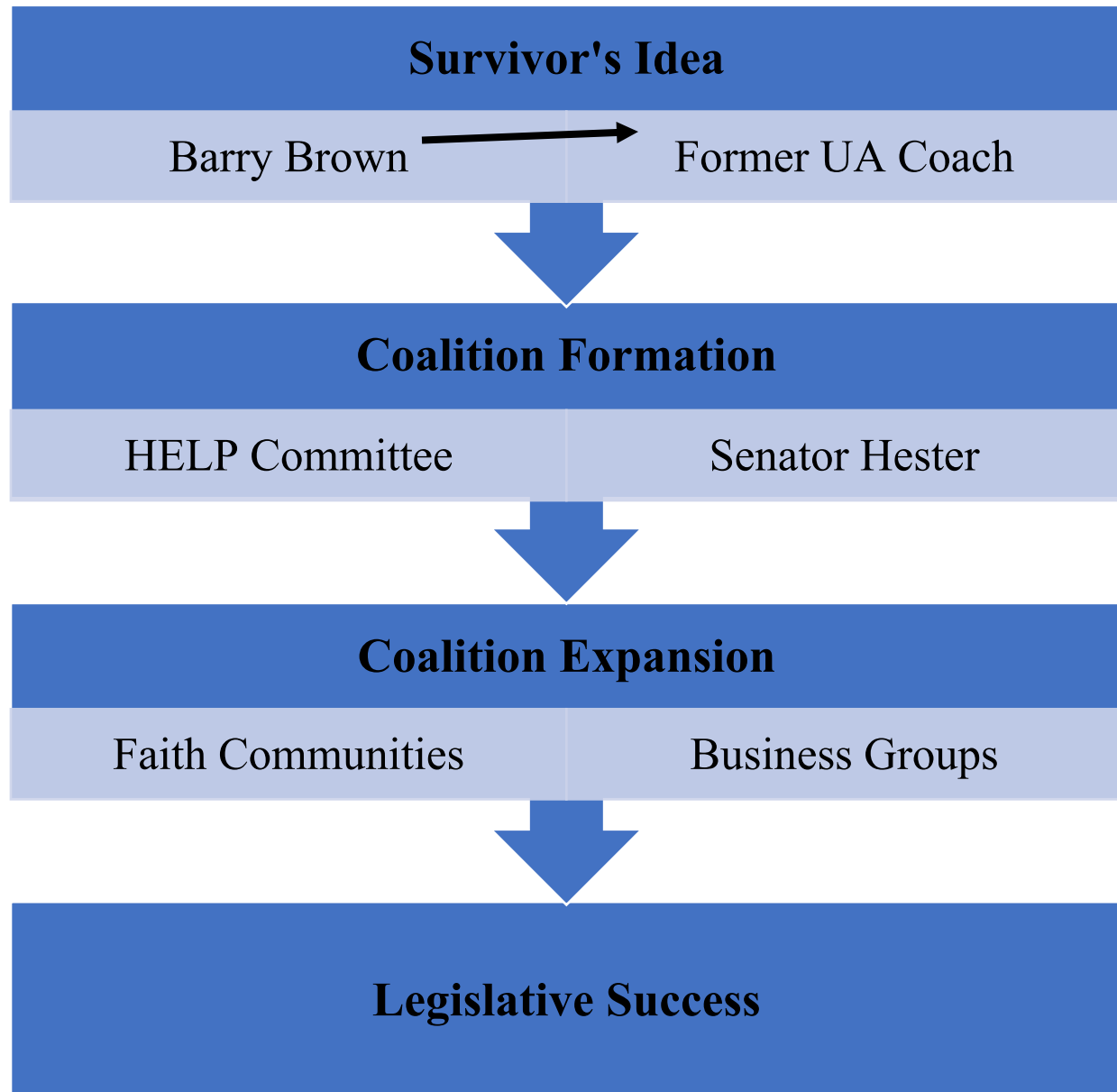
Results

A grassroots coalition believed Holocaust education needed to be mandated and worked to ensure that it was. As seen in figure 1, the ACF can be understood through knowledge of coalitions and the beliefs and resources they have. Both coalitions had similar beliefs—that teaching the Holocaust was important, often ~~se~~ because of a religious obligation. The strategies of each coalition were different but can be summarized by lobbying efforts, meaning the use of their groups' resources to rally support for this legislation. The decision by the Arkansas state legislature was a unanimous vote in favor of Holocaust education, resulting in a state mandate. However, policy outputs and impacts are still emerging. The Arkansas Department of Education has not released its Holocaust education curriculum as of this writing, despite the law starting in the 2022-2023 school year.

This research answers the question: how did the Arkansas Holocaust education mandate pass? As seen in Figure 2, the mandate passed because of a Holocaust survivor's idea. A grassroots coalition, whose policy process is mapped below, ultimately drafted this idea into

legislation and lobbied for its passage. However, the Holocaust education mandate would not exist without the idea of Pieter Kohnstam, one of the respondents participating in Coalition A.

Figure 2. Stage progression of education mandate process



How did Holocaust Education legislation pass?

The interview data is clear: Holocaust education was passed because of a grassroots coalition in Arkansas. It was championed by those who had Holocaust-surviving family

members and those who had only learned of the Holocaust in their adult life. But most notably, Holocaust education started with a survivor. Indeed, one of the questions I asked participants was when they became involved in the legislative process. When I asked Holocaust survivor Pieter Kohnstam, he had four simple words: “I created the idea.” When asked if there was more to it, Pieter said, “That’s it. End of story.” Grassroots activism started with a survivor, and the idea was then shared with a chance visitor at his synagogue, Barry Brown.

Unknown to Pieter, Barry was traveling from Northwest Arkansas to speak with Holocaust survivors they could then invite to the Northwest Arkansas Holocaust Education Conference. Unbeknownst to Barry, the door greeter at the synagogue he chose to attend that night shook his hand and introduced himself as a Holocaust survivor. Months later, Pieter spoke at the conference, and local media covered some of the events.

How did the idea go from Pieter to Barry to fruition? If you ask the leader of the HELP committee, Barry, the power of community is what ultimately helped this bill get off the ground, let alone pass:

And then I went to planet fitness in Fayetteville to work out and was riding the bike. And Norm DeBryne comes up to me and I’ve known Norm for 50 years it just one of the most phenomenal human beings you’ll ever meet he’s just fantastic so humble, and he really started the whole baseball program at the U of A. He really did, and he doesn’t get credit for it, he should. He said he just read an article about Pieter Kohnstam. And that he was interested in seeing if they could develop some kind of bill in the state of Arkansas I said well that’s very nice and he said, well, maybe I can be of help. So well how could you be of help? he said, well one of his former baseball players was Bart Hester. And he’d be happy to contact him that day and tell them to see if he’s got any interest, so I pretty much

blew it off. Because, even though I know Norm and he's a straight shooter I figured okay won't be any big deal so worked out went home that evening I got a call from Bart Hester.

The grassroots HELP coalition actively sought and required assistance from the coalition with legislative and institutional power. Barry noted that his passion for Holocaust education is what got him involved, “And this is what got me involved in the legal process because I had zero, I mean zero political or legal background at all, so I was really dependent on people such as Bart.” As seen in figure 2, Pieter’s idea was delivered to Barry in a kismet fashion, similar to Barry running into his friend Norm at the gym. They then became the unofficial leaders of their respective coalitions—the grassroots group (Barry) and the institutional leaders (Bart Hester).

The grassroots coalition also included Steve Ronnel, a former chief of staff for a former Senator and longtime political analyst. Steve discussed the intricacies of using language and wording that would be well-received by all. The goal was to not have the bill amended, so the grassroots coalition sought to include clear and effective language. Steve said of the intricacies:

Anything from as simple as the definition of the Holocaust you need to have to have a legal definition of the Holocaust, because the Holocaust is a legal term and state the definition so. You know, we had to pull there, there was really no there were no two definitions that were alike and so and then from that it became do we require this in all schools or do we require this just in public schools, would this be appropriate to require it with what grade level or by what age, Do we want to specify specific curriculum, do we want to leave it generic do we want to focus on and specify that it'd be literature based education that it'd be social studies based education or leave a generic and you know all these things were hashed out to be as you recall, in our help committee process and it

was a very, very healthy process led by you know really great group of smart people who had a tremendous background, not only in Holocaust education, but also just in you know, social justice, or you know. academia, you name it, I mean we had we had the waterfront covered, it was a really great group and I don't think we ever really stopped to appreciate that, as a group, just how you know how well we came together and work together to present a you know, a unified front.

Nearly everyone interviewed spoke with the same reverence for the grassroots coalition that worked on this legislation. That includes Senator Hester, who introduced the bill on the legislative floor. It also included Steve, who had a long history and knowledge of both state and federal politics. The process was collaborative and informed by a variety of people, as Steve said, from social justice perspectives, academic/teaching, etc. The diversity in the coalition was believed to be a strength, according to Steve. This sentiment is shared by all of the committee members interviewed, and shared the belief that an interfaith coalition was essential to this bill's passage.

Discussion

The policy process here is clear—the grassroots coalition, in collaboration with the coalition with institutional power, drafted Holocaust education legislation. This started with a Holocaust survivor and ended with a mandate in the state of Arkansas to teach 5-12th grade public school students about the Holocaust in a manner that is conducive to promoting tolerance and respect for diversity (2021). The term 'grassroots' indicates a lack of power, which is true of the coalition—they had no power individually to bring this mandate. However, through several people coming together (and one asking their friend to ask their formal baseball player to help introduce a piece of legislation), this became a community-driven grassroots process. The ACF

indicates that this process is important, but the beliefs and values ultimately drive the distribution of resources that enable a policy outcome. The process is crucial to understanding how this bill was passed, including through the examination of coalition members' values.

Faith

Respect for those who have a faith or religious tradition was a core belief among all interviewed participants. The ACF indicates that beliefs and resources ultimately shape strategy and legislative success. The stakeholders involved in this policy process shared different but strong personal connections to their faith as a reason for supporting this legislation and process. Members from both coalitions spoke about this during their interviews. For example, the lead sponsor of this legislation, Senator Bart Hester, shared his reason for supporting the Jewish community:

To be as detailed as possible, I would identify myself as a born-again Christian. You know, I believe that Jesus Christ came and died for my sins and I've asked him to go live in my life and be my savior and so I identify as a as a Christian and because of that. You know and understanding the faith of the Jewish people are like say god's chosen god's chosen people and they've been through many journeys and some good and some bad and you know, through the Holocaust was a bad time, but I believe. Working with protecting helping in any way the Jewish people is a responsibility of mine.

Personal responsibility rooted in deep religious convictions ultimately led Senator Hester to sponsor this legislation. Senator Hester contextualized his support for this specific legislation in the larger context of support for the Jewish people in general. This makes sense in context. Indeed, deep commitment to the Christian faith as a reason for supporting the Jewish

community may have impacted support for this legislation. Interestingly, according to the Pew Research Center, 70% of Americans identify as being Christian, whereas in the state of Arkansas, 79% identify as Christian (Hackett et al. 2014). With a stagnant Jewish population of 2,000 over the past 100 years in Arkansas ((ADL) 2021), support for Jewish causes will likely need to come from Christians, the overwhelming majority in the state. This is a potential coalition partner for other states seeking to pass Holocaust education legislation in states with large Christian populations.

A belief in respect for others' religious observance was seen not only in interviews with legislators but also with teachers. One grassroots coalition partner was Ricky, a Social Studies teacher who grew up in Northeast Arkansas, taught in Northwest Arkansas, and now currently teaches in Central Arkansas. His passion has always been teaching the Holocaust, and when asked if his faith impacted that, Ricky, said:

I've been a member of the church of Christ, for a long time, and so you know I you know that's I think that's one thing that compelled me to teach the Holocaust because I do a lot of religious speaking at my church, you know that as well. It's just the idea that people will die for their beliefs, because I would die for my beliefs, you know that's how strong, I am in my beliefs and the idea that I believe the things I believe... And knowing people did die just for that, it makes it even worse. But when I teach, my education motivation, that's more my morality in my spirituality that prompts me to do the work I do.

For both Ricky and Senator Hester, their commitment to Holocaust education was an extension of their faith. They both saw it as part of their own personal religious obligation and moral requirement to teach the Holocaust or aid in the process of its teaching. This religious connection arguably has nothing to do with Judaism but rather reflects the bond that Christians

often feel towards the Jewish community, as best understood by the term Judeo-Christian (Cohen 1969; Cohen 1971; Hoffman 2020; Nathan and Topolski 2016; Warne 2012).

When asked why she chose to be the lead sponsor on this legislation, Representative DeAnn Vaught said,

and again, you know, have one of these that thinks with my heart, instead of my mind and most people their think with their mind you know what I mean and so it's just, god's blessed me and allowed me to be there for things such as this and I truly do believe that which is and it blesses me It reminds me one how lucky I am, that my family hasn't had to go through something like that and that none of my ancestors had to go through anything like that.

Representative Vaught is, of course, referring to her Christian faith with reference to God, and also appears to recognize the privilege in not having a family religious lineage rooted in the Holocaust, as many Jewish families do. As a result of her values and beliefs in Holocaust education and the power of religion, Representative Vaught worked to ensure this mandate passed in the Arkansas House of Representatives.

Faith in Action

Values of faith led to this legislation having a sponsor in the other legislative chamber in Arkansas. Indeed, the lead sponsor in the House, Representative DeAnn Vaught, said that she was invited to lead this legislation by Senator Hester because of her strong Christian faith, adding,

the kids said to ask him to ask me to be the House sponsor and then they called and asked me, would I please do it, and I was like Of course I will I'm honored that you're asking me to do this it's not I mean. Thank you, thank you, thank you, you know for asking me

and I couldn't understand why they asked me, and they said it was because of my Christian stance is why they wanted to ask me to do this to do it, and I was very honored that they asked me.

Representative Vaught was known to share similar Christian values and was thus approached by Senator Hester. This shared value then manifested in shared resources, ultimately determining the strategy for this legislation, which of course, is the ACF in action.

Grassroots faith coalitions ultimately led to the success of Holocaust education being mandated in Arkansas. The shared beliefs (respect for those with differing religions) impacted resource allocation and strategy very clearly: our faith communities overwhelmingly supported this legislation. As Grace Donoho, founder of the Arkansas Holocaust Education Committee, stated, “We have the power of people here; we have the power of diverse coalitions, of the Muslim Imam writing a letter of support, and the Jewish Community Center and the Christian organizations writing letters of support and having superintendents write letters of support.” Grace is an active member of the Christian faith and knows the power of turning to faith communities for letters of support. The shared beliefs of the coalition led to the use of their resources, which included asking their faith leaders to write letters of support to their elected leaders.

When asked who specifically offered support for this legislation, Irene Spalter, a retired educational psychologist and active Jewish community member, stated, “Mostly, the right-wing religious community or individuals or smaller groups I don't think the Catholic Church came forth with support but the other different Protestant groups, the Baptists. I think those were our strongest allies, and it was a no-brainer for these people.” Irene indicated “these people” as those in the majority in Arkansas—Christians with right-wing political beliefs. That includes

Representative DeAnn Vaught and Senator Bart Hester, both Christian Republicans. This also reflects an understanding that the coalition was comprised of faith partners advocating for a cause based on a shared belief; this is the advocacy coalition framework in action.

Jewish Perspectives

While the majority of Arkansans and their elected leaders are Christian (Katz 2015), it was Jewish Arkansans that were the driving force behind this legislation. It can be assumed that of course Jews have a reason to support Holocaust education legislation. These assumptions, however, can result in the erasure of the importance of not only their answers, but also asking the question. Throughout history, marginalized communities, including the Jewish community, have been burdened with solving their own oppression. Irene noted this in her interview, when asked when she recalled learning about the Holocaust in her New York public school 30 years after the Holocaust, she noted the difficulty in hearing that her people had seemingly walked into slaughter, or “understanding how European Jews did not attempt to save themselves and why? Because they had been so assimilated into European society”. Holocaust scholars argue that by not teaching about Jewish acts of resistance during the Holocaust, antisemitic tropes of the Jews as feeble and weak (which can potentially increase vulnerability) paints a dangerous picture of Jews as willing participants in their own genocide (Lipstadt 2020). Lived experiences like Irene had with Holocaust education prior to any kind of mandate add to an existing body of published literature on the dangers of teaching the Holocaust incorrectly. In this understanding, cultural sensitivity or intercultural competence becomes all the more important.

Jewish values drove Steve Ronnel to advocate for Holocaust legislation, because his commitment to raising Jewish children in the state of Arkansas was threatened.

So for me personally, or just you know of course my son had encountered Anti semitism growing up Jewish in class. In Arkansas, where you know he's just such a minority we're such a minority, religion and and there's you know kids are kids say terrible things and he experienced some some pretty. Pretty pretty terrible stuff. You know, physical, emotional abuse. Anyway, that as a parent...it was pretty hard to watch, and hard to console.

Steve is Jewish, and Steve is also a father. Those are identities that are inextricably tied for him, for very understandable reasons. His son was physically assaulted at school, for the “crime” of being Jewish. While sharing personal details like this is not easy, it is important that these facts are known. The assumption from many people is that antisemitism exists, and that it continues to happen, perhaps making this quote less surprising. However, that indicates the normalization of antisemitism, with the expectation that Jews have personal anecdotes of antisemitism, which according to the ADL (2023), most do. Highlighting this lived reality of a Jewish student experiencing physical violence in an Arkansas public school system because of his religious identity underscores the understanding of his father advocating to learn about previous historical violence against Jews.

Jewish values have long driven social change, both in Jewish communities and non-Jewish communities, often through concepts like “Tikkun Olam” or ‘repairing the world’ (Crone 2017). Through this understanding, rooted in the Torah or the Jewish scripture, it can be understood why so many Jews feel compelled to engage in changemaking efforts—they are required to leave the world better than they found it. We cannot assume that these things happen by accident, but rather, understand the unique Jewish values that empower lay leaders like Steve, Barry, Irene and Pieter to all engage in such strong social change.

ACF and Holocaust Education in Arkansas

The ACF assumes a shared understanding, like a clear policy problem definition. The ACF notes that actors need not have similar beliefs but rather be able to unite around a single issue that can be moved forward through a policy process. It is not uncommon, however, for coalition groups to engage with one another on other topics, as often these groups share similar values (Weible et al. 2020). There is also an argument that if one group acts to advance one's interest, they are one policy actor, not a coalition (Knoepfel et al. 2011).

In the case of this specific Holocaust legislative process, there were people at various hierarchical positions working together to advance the coalition's interests, showing that a one-actor framework does not fit as well. Instead, there were multiple actors with diverse backgrounds (e.g., Christian, Jewish, lay leader, state senator, etc.), indicating a better fit with the ACF. A broad group of actors from varying coalitions across racial, political, age, gender, and specifically religious lines formed an intercultural coalition to mandate Holocaust education.

Relatively Stable Parameters

1. Basic attributes of the problem area and distribution of natural resources
 - a. The stated problem for the advocacy coalition was Arkansas' ranking last in the nation in the knowledge of the Holocaust, according to a national survey (2020). However, Arkansas is a state with a complicated education system history, not only due to consistently ranking among the worst in the nation for education (Hustedt et al. 2007), but also with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that Arkansas had violated federal policy by having an education system that was unconstitutionally inequitable (Ritter 2005). There are still stagnant disparities along racial and socioeconomic lines in Arkansas, typically seen via achievement

gaps between white and non-white students (Barnett, Jensen and Ritter 2008; Hustedt et al. 2007; Ritter 2005). The distribution of public dollars for education still appears to be divided among lines of affluence, and the status quo of the education system may explain Arkansas's ranking lowest in the nation in the knowledge of the Holocaust.

2. Fundamental sociocultural values and social structure

- a. Arkansas remains a Red state with traditional, conservative values (Davis, Dowdle and Giammo 2021; Dowdle and Weekin 2009; Thompson 2010). Political candidates often use explicit Christian rhetoric in their campaign messaging and continue and amplify this rhetoric if elected into office (Shumate 2015). The sociocultural structure of Arkansas is built and upheld by conservative American Evangelical Christianity.

3. Basic constitutional structure

- a. Arkansas's basic constitutional structure is a state legislative system that convenes once every two years (Goss 2011). A supermajority is needed to overturn the Governor's veto (Feher and Titiunik 2014), and Arkansas has a long history of introducing more legislation in its legislative session than is typical of other states (Feher and Titiunik 2014; Fuller and Smith II 2022; Hustedt et al. 2007). The Speaker of the House leads the Arkansas state senate. The second-most powerful position is the President Pro-Tempore, currently held by the lead sponsor on SB160, Senator Bart Hester (Wickline 2023).

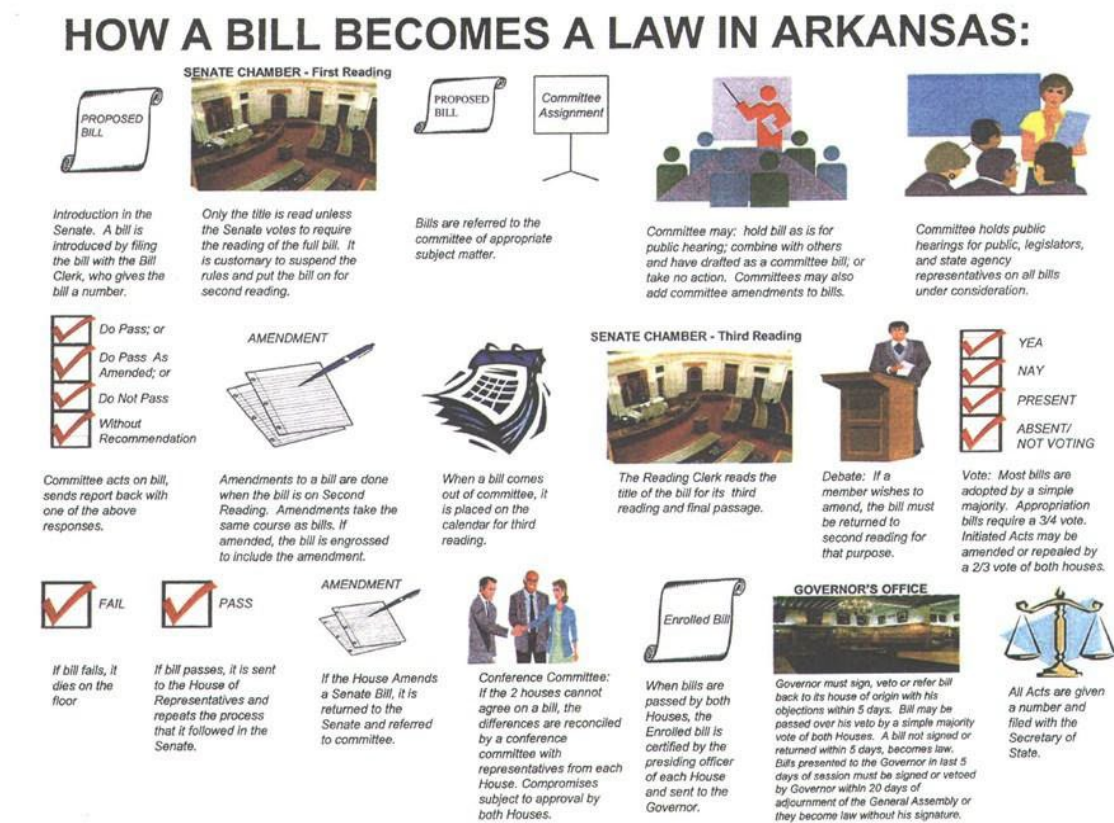
External Subsystem Events

The ACF framework encourages understanding changes in the external subsystem of events, including 1) Changes in socioeconomic conditions, 2) Changes in public opinion, 3) Changes in governing coalition, and 4) Changes in other policy subsystems. Put simply, Arkansas does not appear to have any changes in either of these four categories. Instead, Arkansas has remained in largely the same position economically, educationally, socially, and politically for the last ten years, if not longer (Davis, Dowdle and Giammo 2021; Feher and Titiunik 2014; Hoffman and Reese 2019; Shumate 2015; Thompson 2010; Thurston 2015; Wickline 2023).

Long-Term Coalition Opportunity Structures

1. A degree of consensus is necessary for significant policy change.
 - a. As seen in Figure 3 (taken directly from the Arkansas Senate website, 2023), appropriation bills require $\frac{3}{4}$ of the vote in the House and Senate, and initiated acts (the majority of legislation) require $\frac{2}{3}$ of the vote in the House and Senate. Thus, the strong majority has the power to make a major policy change, in this case, the Republican party.

Figure 3. Bill to law process via Senate.Arkansas.Gov (2023d)



2. The openness of the political system

- a. Arkansas has no open political system; it is mainly dominated by families of influence in Arkansas politics, including the Clintons and the Huckabee-Sanders (Barth and Parry 2021; Dannenfelser 2020; Delacey 2022). This lack of openness indicates that change comes from within and from well-respected political elites.

3. Overlapping in societal cleavages

- a. One scholar defines, “The term “cleavage” denotes a specific type of conflict in democratic politics that is rooted in the social structural transformations that have been triggered by large-scale processes such as nation building, industrialization, and possibly also by the consequences of post-industrialization” (Bornschieer

2009, p.1). In Arkansas' case, overlapping societal cleavage could be the intersection between more progressive education and traditionally conservative social attitudes and conservative political perspectives on education and education funding. There appears to be a strong overlap point where everyone agrees that Holocaust education should be taught in Arkansas and also agrees that Arkansas scoring last in the nation is unacceptable.

Overall, Arkansas can be understood as a conservative state that does not appear to be changing anytime soon. Power appears to be concentrated more among political elites, and Republicans have long enjoyed the majority role in the Arkansas state House and Senate. While Jews are traditionally understood as more liberal (Adler 2008), the current Arkansas climate indicates the need for Republican support. Additionally, Arkansas' climate is relatively stable, meaning that with the assistance of a trusted Republican legislator, perhaps inroads could have been made to pass Holocaust education legislation. However, it would be unlikely that a Democrat would have the same power, so seeking a Republican proponent of Holocaust education legislation was the most efficacious strategy in Arkansas. The following section discusses the policy sub-system, including qualitative interviews, to better understand how Holocaust education legislation was passed and who aided in the process.

The term Judeo-Christian became more popularized in the American lexicon during the Cold War (Crone 2017) and was used as an antonym for communism (Cohen 1969; Cohen 1971). The term was associated with values of American identity politics as a means of virtue signaling positive faith values (Cohen 1969; Cohen 1971; Duff 2017). During the 1940s, the term was typically used to indicate a sense of solidarity between liberal Christians and Jews, who were otherwise ostracized as outsiders (Harvey 2016). In essence, the term Judeo-Christian has

been used as a term of convenient inclusion for the Jews when it benefits a social cause of a political group (e.g., opposition to communism during the Cold War, Christian liberals in the 1940s, Christian conservatives in the 2020s) often without active representation from the historically marginalized group they claim to include: the Jews (Nathan and Topolski 2016). This furthers the understanding that the term Judeo-Christian is rarely used by Jewish groups and is more commonly used by Christian groups seeking to virtue signal and ultimately gain sympathy by publicly including (at least in name) Jews in their coalition (Duff 2017; Gaston 2012; Harvey 2016; Nathan and Topolski 2016). Additionally, the term can be used by Christians to distance themselves from antisemitism by claiming innate shared values (Abdiel 2020; Duff 2017; Gaston 2012) and/or a relationship, in the prominent case of former President Trump invoking his Jewish grandchildren as a means of distancing himself from claims of antisemitism (Abdiel 2020; Smith 2021).

Several authors further assert that Christian fascists often weaponize the term Judeo-Christian to promote agendas antithetical to Jewish values, essentially tokenizing Jews to gain sympathy for their cause (Doktór 2004; Haynes 2017). As one author states, “the kinship between Jews and Christians is a new relationship that does not represent a shared identity, but rather a political ideology” (Hoffman 2020). In other words, this term asserts a positive relationship between two religious communities that have historically never been socially or politically equal (Duff 2017; Hoffman 2020). Considering who benefits from this term, it is logical to discern how the power imbalance continues to manifest in a whitewashing term used to implicate Jewish consent or complicity without actively receiving it. Christian nationalists have also been known to use the term while openly espousing antisemitic values, in the case of former President Trump's advisor Steve Bannon, (Smith 2019).

To be explicitly clear, Christian allyship towards and with the Jewish community is not inherently harmful. Malintent is not assumed; however, power dynamics are important when considering who benefits from that allied coalition. As Irene and Barry mentioned, the grassroots coalition needed those in power and could only have passed the legislation with them, specifically the Christian right wing. Coalitions are often positive spaces, and also, it is important to understand the history of power relations, especially with legislation addressing historical discrimination.

Economic Interests

Ultimately, economic leaders had much strategic influence that was believed to contribute to the legislation's eventual success. However, as indicated by the one anonymous interview belonging to a business leader (who granted permission to use the title and pronoun), the Northwest Arkansas economic leaders prefer to do things quietly. When asked about the influence that a big business group could have, there was resistance, as he noted,

Arkansas is a very conservative state and sometimes conservative doesn't necessarily mean pro-business or we love business. I think Arkansas is kind of similar it's done, they were, I think they respect the voice of business but also. I think, at least in the current environment that that I work in I found a lot of conservatives don't have a hugely high opinion of big business, I think they love mom and pop businesses, you know the small grocery store,

Despite this perception of less favorability towards big business, the NWA economic leaders continue to hold tremendous power and influence. Additionally, chambers of commerce are known for wielding quiet but large amounts of power in American life (Katz 2015). The reaction by this business leader as diminishing the power of the group appears to be on par with

the image many big businesses seek—as humble, people-forward, and not as the corporate giants overtaking mom and pops. It is possible that economic influences were minimal and that endorsements from groups like the Northwest Arkansas business council did not ultimately impact the passage of the legislation. This legislation had the support of one of the state's strongest political and economic entities, some of whom asked their institution and corporations not to be mentioned explicitly. However, it is noteworthy that only business leaders, not lay leaders, intentionally kept their support private.

Given the ultimate unanimous vote in favor of this legislation, it could be hypothesized that everyone's values were aligned. However, previous studies utilizing the ACF find that while social causes often draw people into coalitions, economic interests ultimately hold the same power as core values (Wagner and Ylä-Anttila 2018). In states like Arkansas, where religion and politics are deeply enmeshed, the separation of what ultimately contributed to the bill's passage is impossible to deduce. However, there is reason to believe that a combination of values and political interests converged for the passage of this legislation.

Tension

There were points of tension and disagreement between the coalitions. One was specifically on the topic of when to teach the Holocaust. The grassroots coalition had research that supported the understanding that teaching the Holocaust was effective for young students when done in an age-appropriate way. There was concern from Senator Hester that legislators would not support the legislation if it taught the Holocaust to children too young. This minor tension reflected a slight ideological difference, but ultimately the larger goal of teaching Holocaust education was still achieved through negotiation and compromise. The compromise became starting in 5th grade, which is ultimately what was drafted in the legislation.

Arkansas' history with coalition-based activism and policy change (Jones-Branch 2020) lends itself to an Advocacy Coalition Framework, or ACF (Weible et al. 2020). Weible notes that the coalition comprises actors with similar core beliefs (2020). Traditionally, the ACF has been used to understand complex and often divisive legislation. Given the bipartisan support for Holocaust education in Arkansas, this issue may not have appeared politically divisive on the surface; however, the ACF can still be applied to understand the bottom-up approach of grassroots, coalition-based policy advocacy. The actors involved in the policy process of SB160 shared the core belief that Arkansas students should learn about the Holocaust to prevent future genocide and that the state of Arkansas should mandate Holocaust education to help solve the problem of low reported levels of Holocaust knowledge.

Limitations

The two coalitions do not represent all of the beliefs or values of the coalition. While saturation of themes and content was the threshold for this article, it is possible that other interviews with others involved in the process may have yielded different results. The interviews might have yielded different results if the interviewer had been novel to them. I knew all the participants going in, and that may have impacted the answers they gave me, perhaps due to social desirability bias (Zack, Shrage and Sartwell 1998). Interviews were also conducted shortly after the bill was passed, which may have resulted in interviewees having a more favorable view of the process. IRB approval and subsequent data collection were conducted in a shorter timeframe to ensure the Holocaust survivor's interview could be included. Finally, while the semi-structured interviews had preset questions, additional questions were asked on a case-by-case basis, which may have impacted the data gathered. Again, it is essential to note that this is the one participant who did not want their name or organization appearing in publications. Other

leaders in this group were recommended to be interviewed but refused. This indicates that there may be economic influences not able to be captured in this study.

Conclusion

Holocaust education in Arkansas passed because of the shared beliefs of grassroots activists. The policy outcome is the result of this coalition's hard work and commitment to its values. This research addresses a gap in the literature about how Holocaust education legislation mandates are passed, and answers a call to action from social scholars to better understand policy processes (Dobrick 2008). Specifically, public policy scholars tend to focus on the analysis of policy rather than the policy process, which can minimize the importance of minority-led advocacy coalitions (Pierce and Hicks 2019; Sabatier and Weible 2019; Wagner and Ylä-Anttila 2018; Weible et al. 2020). This article highlighted Arkansas as a case study and uses the ACF to emphasize that Holocaust Education legislation passed in the state as a result of a dedicated grassroots coalition delivering on a Holocaust survivor's idea. Intersectional coalitions both emerged and were formed during this process. Business and faith coalitions were the strongest influences on this legislative success. The tensions did emerge between the coalitions, and concessions/edits were made to ease that tension, specifically regarding the age to teach the Holocaust. A Holocaust survivor's idea was transformed into a Holocaust education mandate by a dedicated, intersectional grassroots coalition—that is how Holocaust education got passed in Arkansas. Interestingly, this article's findings indicate that faith was crucial not only for Jewish but also for Christian support for Holocaust education. Values, based in religion and respect for others, appear to be crucial to this bill's successful passage.

Future work should expand on understanding how minority-based coalitions can pass legislation. This research contributes to a small but growing body of empirical literature on how

beliefs can translate into policy. It builds on the ACF framework, extending it to Holocaust education legislation. Additionally, future studies should examine if the public policy ACF model is appropriate for understanding other minority-led coalitions.

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Article 3: Implementation of Holocaust education in Arkansas

“These things need to be taught in schools. Being a Jewish teacher I’ve seen the hate form in students who haven’t been taught these things. Most of that hate comes from ignorance. The rest is them getting it from home.” (Current Arkansas teacher)

Introduction

Less than 80 years ago, an estimated 1.5 children were systematically murdered in the Holocaust (Krell 1993). A world and a lifetime away, nearly 500,000 public school children in Arkansas may have no idea that this occurred in our history. Calls of “Never Again” become more complicated if students are not only, not remembering, but arguably not learning. If students do report knowing about the Holocaust, what they “know” is concerning, as one study found that 1 in 10 young adults in Arkansas believe that the Jews were responsible for committing the Holocaust (Bronfman 2020). Further, according to a national survey, Arkansas students ranked lowest in the nation in their knowledge of the Holocaust (Bronfman 2020; Stillman 2023). These concerning statistics can be understood as a failed education policy outcome, regardless of the intention of educators and administrators. According to the Arkansas Department of Education, “Every Arkansan is equitably prepared, supported, and inspired to succeed in school, career, community, and life” (2023b). This article rests on the assumption that equitably prepared students have a comprehensive understanding of world history, and thus do not score lowest in the nation in knowledge of the Holocaust. Education policy can thus play a pivotal role in ensuring that Arkansans really are equitably prepared and supported, when compared to their peers across the country.

Traditionally, public policy is understood through the policy cycle, which has 5 stages: agenda setting, policy formulation, policy decision-making/passage, policy implementation, and

policy evaluation (Capano and Pritoni 2020). Public policy as a field tends to focus on policy outcomes and analyze the impacts of passed legislation (Campbell 2002). This makes logical sense, as outcomes often are what drives decision-making. Indeed, unsurprisingly, many public policy studies examine the policy outcomes (Burstein 1991; Danziger 2010; Manuel 2007; Wehner 2010). However, little research focuses on policy adoption and implementation processes. When the policy process is studied, upwards of 150 policy processes can be aggregated (Chen et al. 2022), which does not allow for an in-depth analysis of an individual policy. When it comes to sensitive and socially charged topics like the Holocaust, more attention is needed to capture the nuance of this social justice-related policy. Additionally, policy scholars argue that while often overlooked, implementation is an active and ongoing component of the policy process (Wehner 2010).

Perhaps in an effort to mitigate reported low levels of Holocaust knowledge, SB160 was signed into law by Governor Asa Hutchinson on Holocaust Remembrance Day, April 8th, 2021. The wording of the SB160 legislation indicates that bullying, bigotry, stereotyping, and discrimination are negative social values that the bill seeks to curb through Holocaust education. The language encourages tolerance and diversity. While much of the literature on Holocaust education focuses on what students know about the Holocaust (Baum 1996; Stevick 2020), there is a lack of research examining teachers' knowledge. The few studies that examine teachers' Holocaust knowledge often focus on pre-service teachers rather than teachers currently in the classroom (Allgood and Shah 2021; Nowell and Poindexter 2019; Rich 2019a). Importantly, research on teachers focuses on their knowledge rather than their cultural competence in understanding Jewish communities, families, and histories. Interestingly, Arkansas is a state where class content is closely monitored, and curriculum guides come from the Arkansas

Department of Education (ADE). Given Arkansas' ranking as last in the nation in knowledge and the recent legislation mandating Holocaust education (2021), we need to better understand how culturally competent Arkansas educators are about teaching of Holocaust history.

Additionally, this study builds on an earlier public policy study (Klein, 2023) examining the middle adoption stage of the Holocaust education policy process in Arkansas by focusing on policy implementation. Importantly, Arkansas teachers have little authority over the curriculum, so their attitudes toward issues and matters related to class content are crucial to understanding their role as implementers of legislation. Through an exploratory examination of current teachers' intercultural awareness and antisemitic attitudes, this research answers a question related to successful policy implementation: 1) how interculturally competent are Arkansas teachers? and 2) do they hold any antisemitic biases? And 3) Are these related?? Addressing these questions will enable a clearer understanding of whom students are learning from, which is important when considering Holocaust education implementation.

Using street-level bureaucrats as a policy frame to understand teacher positionality and power, this research analyzes data collected through intercultural competence and antisemitism surveys of Arkansas public educators (grades 5-12) to understand who is implementing Holocaust education legislation. No study to date has examined the relationship between intercultural competence and a measure of antisemitism, so this exploratory research seeks to understand that relationship in the context of Arkansas public school teachers. Specifically, this study contributes to the small field of policy implementation, closing the gap in knowledge about who will be shaping the policy outcomes. This study's findings may provide suggestions for more successful bill implementation.

Background

The policy cycle can be understood through five basic stages, beginning with agenda setting, then moving to formulation, adoption, implementation and finally evaluation (Bridgman and Davis 2003). One recent study examined the policy process leading up to a historic step of mandating Holocaust education and found that grassroots activism ultimately enabled the passage of this legislation (Klein, redacted). While qualitative research on the people involved in the successful legislative effort is important for future legislative processes, there is a need to more broadly understand who will now be tasked with implementing Holocaust education in the state with the lowest levels of reported knowledge (2020). Specifically, given that the public education curriculum in Arkansas is produced and distributed by the state (2023b), there is a need to understand how interculturally aware and ready teachers are to implement this new legislation. The 2020 senate bill that later became a mandate makes it clear that the focus on Holocaust is a vehicle for learning tolerance, diversity, and inclusion. The full bill can be seen in Appendix A.

Several studies examine teachers as street-level bureaucrats (Gilson 2015; Hall and Hampden-Thompson 2022; Usman et al. 2021), but not on topics related to the Holocaust. While not related to the Holocaust, previous studies have examined those in positions of power implementing policies related to sensitive topics, such as university Title IX coordinators and ethics supervisors, in their role as street-level bureaucrats (Lovell 2023; Meyer et al. 2018). Even these few studies examining those in ethically challenging roles as street-level bureaucrats did not examine intercultural competence, nor did they examine street-level bureaucrats who teach young children (Lovell 2023; Meyer et al. 2018).

This article presents novel research that advances public policy research because to date, no study has examined street-level bureaucrats' relationship with intercultural competence and

antisemitic attitudes. There is a significant amount of research on the implementation of social-justice related policy, and this research helps fill gaps in knowledge in traditionally conservative states. Additionally, at the time of writing, no other research had used a scale of antisemitism and the IDI in conjunction. This article contributes to the growing field of research that examines the role of religion and considers religious minorities in the field of intercultural education. There are ongoing debates in academic circles about whether or not religion or religious tolerance should be included in intercultural competency (Jackson and O’Grady 2019; Johannessen and Skeie 2019). Studies find that students can experience exclusion based on religion (Tkáčová et al. 2021), and that other street level bureaucrats (e.g., administrators, principals, etc.) report bias towards those from different religious groups. Despite this knowledge, there still is a notable absence of research examining the relationship between intercultural competence and antisemitic attitudes.

Theoretical Grounding

Implementation and Street Level Bureaucrats

Public policy scholars use a stage model as a means of understanding the policy process, often referred to as the policy cycle (Bridgman and Davis 2003; Capano and Pritoni 2020; Jann and Wegrich 2017). While critics claim this model created in the 1950s is overly generous and perhaps too simplified (Capano and Pritoni 2020), the policy cycle model remains widely used and public policy scholars agree that, “The [policy] cycle is usually divided into five stages: agenda setting, formulation, decision-making, implementation, and evaluation (p.6). This article focuses on the fourth stage of the policy cycle, implementation, as the decision has already been made for Holocaust education to be taught in Arkansas with the passage of SB160 (2021).

Beginning in the 1970s, public policy scholars began examining the fourth policy cycle stage (implementation) more closely, and as a result, different theoretical approaches to this stage emerged (Pülzl and Treib 2017; Rowe 2012). Notably, the implementation stage was broken down into two distinct approaches—top-down and bottom-up. The top-down approach of implementation has a goal of explaining policy primarily through analyzing outcomes and creating subsequent policy recommendations; the bottom-up approach has a goal of explaining the system, the outcome is less of a focus than the process (Gilson 2015; Mayo 2011; Rowe 2012). Perhaps most important is that the assumptions of each approach are fundamentally different, as the top-down approach assumes that the government structure is hierarchical and elitist, and the bottom-up approach assumes a more participatory type of democracy (Pülzl and Treib 2017).

This article uses a bottom-up approach to implementation by assuming that grassroots coalitions emerge and play a key role in government processes and decision-making. One of the theoretical leaders of the bottom-up approach to implementation was social scientist Lipsky (1980; 1993). According to Lipsky (1980; 1993), street-level bureaucracies are public institutions like schools, police stations etc., and street-level bureaucrats are the individuals implementing institutional policies. Lipsky notes (1980: xi),

interactions with street-level bureaucracies are places where citizens experience directly the government they have implicitly constructed. Unlike these other experiences, however, citizen encounters with street-level bureaucracies are not straightforward; instead, they involve complex interactions with public workers that may deeply affect the benefits and sanctions they receive.

The importance of this conceptual framework is that public policies are implemented by individuals who hold their own beliefs and value system, which can impact how they implement policy. Perhaps most importantly, Lipsky (1993) emphasizes that street-level bureaucrats are complex individuals with limited power to change policy, but substantial power in implementation of policy. As a result, policy implementation scholars use Lipsky's framework to better understand the beliefs and attitudes of street-level bureaucrats as these may impact the policies they implement (Davidovitz and Cohen 2022; Hupe and Hill 2007; Lovell 2023; Usman et al. 2021; Vedung 2015).

Teachers, as street-level bureaucrats, have very little power and are often challenging to study; however, their impact is crucial to understanding how education policy is transmitted to students. Arkansas teachers can thus be clearly understood as street-level bureaucrats. Additionally, when understanding street-level bureaucrats, it is imperative to understand the powerlessness of teachers. Arkansas teachers have a long history of being paid lower than teachers in any other U.S. state (Womack 1992), and at present, Arkansas teachers' starting salary is the third lowest in the nation, right above Montana and Mississippi (Carver-Thomas and Patrick 2022).

Crucially, the successful implementation of education legislation hinges on the intercultural competence of educators (Sorkos and Hajisoteriou 2021). These street-level bureaucrats have limited resources, and their own biases and how they show up are often reflected in student learning outcomes, with one study finding that students' perceptions of their teachers' intercultural competence impacted how much they trusted and learned from their teachers (Cheewasukthaworn and Suwanarak 2017).

In sum, teachers are street-level bureaucrats, which are the conduits of power who do not make decisions but have the authority to implement and gatekeep policies on the front lines. Teachers are education policy in action, with very limited power for structural change. It is also important to note that the framing of teachers as street-level bureaucrats is not without critique.

Framework critique

While widely used, there is warranted critique of the bottom-up approach in implementation, specifically with examining teachers as street-level bureaucrats. An article from 2004 clearly posits, “Bottom-up reform as a policy strategy for decades has faltered in implementation. This article starts from the premise that these disappointing results stem from researchers’ and practitioners’ almost exclusive focus on implementation in schools or on what some call “the bottom” of hierarchical education systems but not shifts in policy makers’ roles that might enable school change—the “up” in bottom-up reform” (Honig, p.527). In other words, there is a critique that much of the attention, and subsequent blame, is put on teachers as a result of viewing them as street level bureaucrats, and this takes the onus off of more powerful legislators who ought to bear the burden. This critique is valid, and the theoretical approach used does not disagree with that messaging. The street-level bureaucrat, bottom-up approach was used in this specific article because it is the most widely used model for teachers in a public policy model. Given the novelty of both the law in Arkansas and the dearth of research and the continued wide usage among public policy scholars, (Hall and Hampden-Thompson 2022; Lipsky and Hill 1993; Peters et al. 2014; Usman et al. 2021), this approach was still selected. This theoretical grounding enables a greater contribution to the field by filling the gap in the policy process of Holocaust legislation in states with low knowledge levels. Additionally, this

street-level bureaucrat approach may be more applicable to other scholars and activists seeking to learn more about implementation of education bills in states with low knowledge levels.

Teachers as Street Level Bureaucrats

Several studies examine teachers as street-level bureaucrats (Gilson 2015; Hall and Hampden-Thompson 2022; Usman et al. 2021), but not on topics related to the Holocaust. Even these few studies examining those in ethically challenging roles as street-level bureaucrats did not examine intercultural competence or use any other diversity metric, nor did they examine street-level bureaucrats who teach young children (Lovell 2023; Meyer et al. 2018).

Impact of Teaching the Holocaust

One study examined preservice teachers teaching the Holocaust as a means of understanding the relationship between social justice and future educators. This study found that the lessons learned by social justice educators are often morally similar to the lessons they teach their students about the Holocaust (Nowell and Poindexter 2019). In other words, they found that educating pre-service teachers on how to teach the Holocaust helped them become more well-versed in social justice and multiculturalism. Another study found a similar result, noting that pre-service Holocaust educators engage in important emotional work, allowing them to be more rounded citizens, not just classroom educators (Richardson 2021b). This furthers the case for teaching students about the Holocaust and emphasizing the importance of teaching educators about the Holocaust to improve their ability to engage with social justice and their communities outside the classroom.

Previous studies have repeatedly found that politics and policies rarely influence teachers. They are more influenced by their personal beliefs when teaching the Holocaust (Donnelly 2006, Ellison and Pisapia 2006, Mitchell 2004). This indicates that assessing personal values rather

than knowledge of laws may be a more effective way of assessing the potential likelihood of Holocaust education implementation. Further, another qualitative study of pre-service educators and current educators taking a trip to Poland to learn about the Holocaust found that teachers had expanded knowledge and confidence regarding social justice due to the trip (Spalding, Savage and Garcia 2007). These studies indicate that intentional learning about the Holocaust helps promote a more holistic understanding of social justice. Social justice is an appropriate place for discussions of Holocaust education because the Holocaust was an act of systematic persecution against a marginalized community of people (Lindquist 2009).

Holocaust education is essential to both teachers and students. Notably, research finds that Holocaust education effectively produces more civically engaged, empathetic citizens/students (Cowan and Maitles 2007; Haynes 1998; Kempner 2022; Starratt et al. 2017), which is also the goal of intercultural competence education (Ashwill 2004). In other words, when students are given the resources they need from teachers who are given the resources they need, the outcomes are positive. The problem is not a lack of student or teacher motivation but rather a lack of resources, especially given the changing cultural landscape in which students learn. One author argues that it is the responsibility of the teacher to make sure that these impacts continue, noting, “Ultimately, this is the challenge for us, as teachers, to ensure that these new contexts do not undermine the relevance of the Holocaust for our students in the world around them” (Monteath 2018). The new contexts in reference are the current events like 9/11 and the COVID-19 pandemic that change the lens through which students learn and teachers teach (Allgood and Shah 2021; Haefeli 2020; Stevick 2020). Thus, the goal for educators is to continue educating more empathetic students through teaching the Holocaust (Monteath 2018;

Stevick and Michaels 2013b). For this to happen, teachers ultimately need more support and resources than they appear to have in the status quo (Allgood and Shah 2021; Lorber 2015).

Interestingly, one new study found that not only did emotional empathy increase for all students as a result of learning about the Holocaust, but refugee students specifically had higher scores of emotional empathy in the context of learning about the Holocaust when compared to their non-refugee peers (Kempner 2022). This makes sense, given that different cultural experiences tend to allow someone to have a more multicultural perspective (Hammer and Bennett 2009; Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman 2003). Since intercultural competence is a vital part of Holocaust education, and this is a newly mandated curriculum, emphasis should be placed on teacher training, like intercultural competence training.

While studies that examine the relationship between social justice and the Holocaust among teachers and pre-service teachers are important, we also need to understand teachers' intercultural awareness better using a reliable instrument from a quantitative lens. The present study uses the IDI as the instrument of measure to understand better how interculturally competent Arkansas teachers are, specifically in relation to the new mandate to teach the Holocaust. The explicit goal of SB160 (2021) is for students to learn how to have a dialogue about discrimination, which rests on the assumption that teachers can facilitate this learning.

Legislators in Arkansas voted unanimously to mandate teaching the Holocaust in grades 5-12 (2021). The implementation of that now falls to the teachers, whose intercultural competence and potential biases may impact student learning. Promisingly, empirical findings show that intercultural competence improves not only for teachers who learn about the Holocaust (Allgood and Shah 2021; Nowell and Poindexter 2019; Rich 2019a) but also for students (Cowan and Maitles 2007).

Antisemitism

There is a dearth of research on the antisemitic attitudes of adults in Arkansas. Further, there appears to be no empirical literature examining the antisemitic attitudes of teachers in relation to intercultural competence, or really, at all. Given the exploratory nature of this research, a long-validated measure of antisemitism was used in hopes that future authors may seek to replicate this study in the same or similar populations. The scale to measure antisemitism was first published in the wake of the Holocaust and, interestingly, has been found to be a valid instrument even in a modern setting (Askew et al. 2008).

The Sanford-Levinson scale has been used for decades to measure anti-Semitism and has been found to be reliable in an even shorter version of the original questions (Askew et al. 2008; Jones-Wiley et al. 2007). Authors of the scale note the purpose of the scale clear, stating on page 344 “[The scale] attempts to clarify the nature of anti-Semitic ideology, making explicit the intrinsic irrationality and self-contradictoriness of its generalities and accusations; it could also provide a basis for democratic action with regard to any constructive criticisms of the Jews which, if accepted by the Jews, would enable them to participate more fully and effectively in a well-functioning democracy. (b). The scale seeks to clarify the relationship between "opinions" and "attitudes," that is, between one's conception of what Jews are like and one's attitude concerning the policy of non-Jews toward Jews (what non Jews should do to, for; or against Jews.” (Levinson and Sanford 1944).

While this instrument is not without ideological critique—by both open antisemites and Jews who feel Israel needs to be included in the measure of antisemitism, this scale of antisemitism has been used across decades and varying populations, proving accuracy with known Nazi affiliates and sympathizers (Dicks 1951; Ray 1989). The authors of the scale found

high reliability and accuracy of the scale (Levinson and Sanford 1944), which has yet to be disproven or even adequately critiqued. This is not to say that the scale is perfect, but rather that the measure does what it says it is going to do: assess antisemitic bias. Additionally, a recent study found that a shorter version of this scale was still reliable and valid, even among a population three generations removed from the Holocaust (Askew et al. 2008). Thus, given the dearth of research on the topic of antisemitic attitudes in Arkansas teachers, this scale was preferred as a stable, valid measure of antisemitic bias.

Intercultural Competence

Studies find that teacher's attitudes and positionalities can have an impact on student learning outcomes, with more interculturally aware teachers' producing higher-achieving students (Bradfield-Kreider 2001). This lends itself to an understanding that teachers' intercultural competence has at least some impact on student learning.

With the acknowledgment that there is no one universal definition of cultural competence, most people agree on a shared thematic understanding: "Cultural competence is most often defined as a set of congruent behaviors, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, organization, or among professionals that enables effective work in cross-cultural situations" (Jernigan et al. 2016). Even in this clear definition, the authors note that this is how the term is most often defined because there is no universally agreed-upon definition. This is important when contextualizing intercultural competence within a narrower system, such as the education system or even Holocaust education as a concept.

Given the inherent trauma associated with the Holocaust, it is no surprise that social work scholars have often engaged in Holocaust education research (e.g., (Gardella 2011; Garrett 2013; Lorber 2015; Rosenbloom 1995; Wardi 2014). Given this important disciplinary overlap and the

inherently interdisciplinary nature of public policy (Stone 1989), a definition of cultural competence from that background should be considered. One author with a social work background emphasizes, “cultural competence should be defined by the capacity to work across multiple paradigms to find ways to engage with clients” (Williams 2006). Further, this same author later gives the call to action, “Systems and organizations need to facilitate the availability of appropriate learning experiences, staff, pathways for advocacy, and time and space for culturally competent practice” (p. 2019). Thus, cultural competence can be understood as adaptability to work with people and all the intersections of identity that are inherently part of their personhood. This social work context is again vital given the Holocaust fitting in trauma studies. In other words, it is imperative that teachers teaching the Holocaust be culturally competent.

Intercultural Competence in Teacher Education

While it may be challenging to find one universally agreed upon definition of cultural competence in general, within the field of teacher education it is defined as a set of attitudes, behaviors, knowledge, skills, and abilities that one possesses to work and respond more effectively in cross-cultural work contexts (Cross, Bazron, Dennis, & Isaacs, 1989; Isaacs & Benjamin, 1991; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Williams, 2001); and for teachers, “to provide the highest-quality educational service to each of their diverse students” (Ukpokodu 2011). This reinforces previous understandings that intercultural competence must be contextually defined (Jernigan et al. 2016; Williams 2006).

If the problem is the teacher’s intercultural competence, we must understand this to find the solution. Ladson-Billings (2001, p. 202) states, “The primary goal of culturally relevant teaching is to empower students to critically examine the society in which they live and to work

for social change. To do this, students must possess a variety of literacies: language-based, mathematical, scientific, artistic, musical, historical, cultural, economic, social, civic, and political”(Ladson-Billings 2001). In addition, the author states (p. 211-212):

Culturally relevant teachers believe that knowledge is continuously recreated, recycled and shared by teachers and students.... Culturally relevant teachers view knowledge (course content) critically... Culturally relevant teachers are passionate about content... Culturally relevant teachers help students develop prerequisite knowledge and skills (build bridges or scaffolding) ... Finally, culturally relevant teachers see excellence as a complex standard which may involve some postulates but takes student diversity and individual differences into account (Ladson-Billings 2001).

Finally, there is a clear call to action:

It is time to think about ways that teacher preparation can become more responsive to the desires of preservice (and in-service) teachers to become more effective pedagogues with students who, heretofore, have not benefitted from schooling. If social studies are to realize its true mission—to prepare students to be active, responsible participants in a democratic and multicultural society—then social studies teachers (Ladson-Billings 2001).

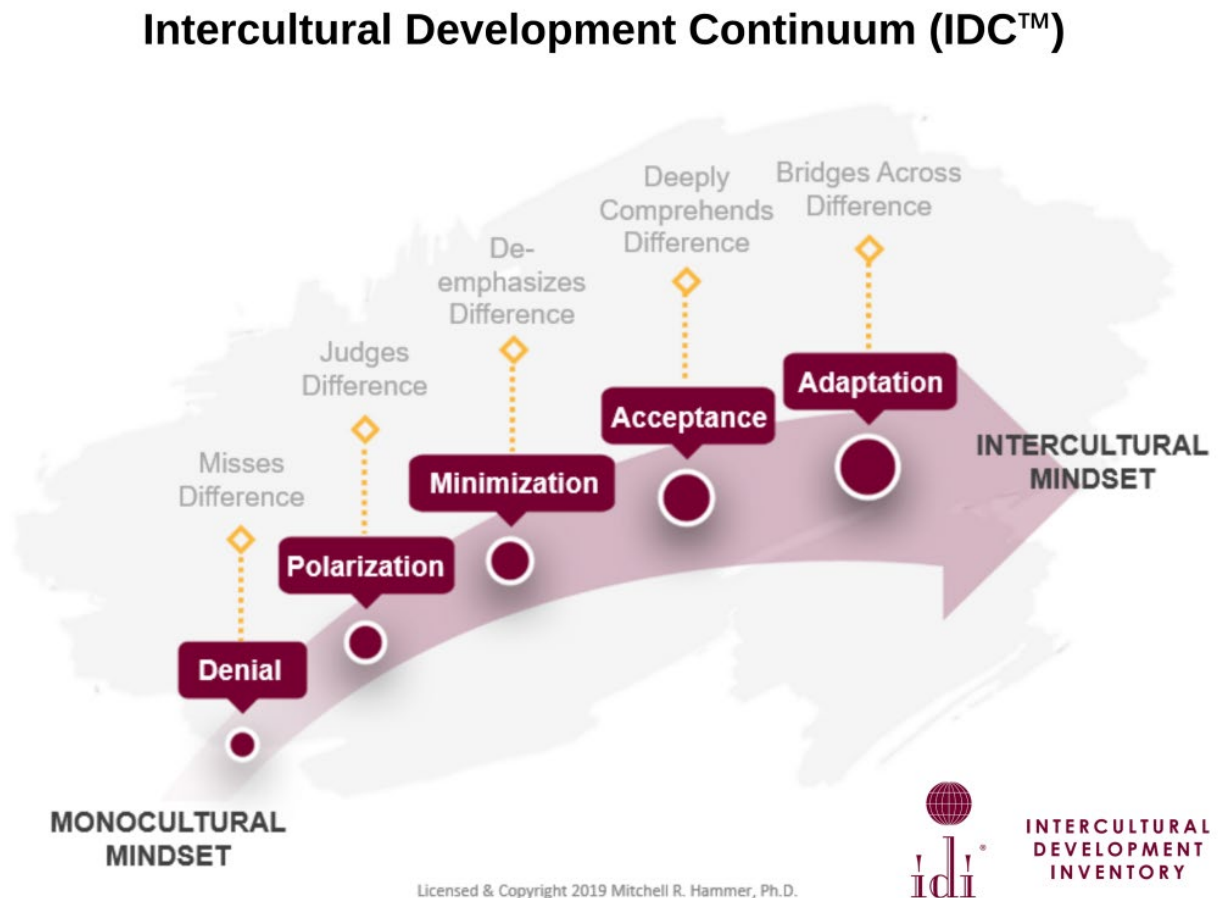
In sum, culture is inherently contextual, and so too, must be the tools to understand it better. Thus, this brief review of the empirical literature on definitions of intercultural competence in teaching demonstrates the importance of a tailored approach to teaching students and teachers if the goal is long-lasting intercultural competence. Tailored approaches become more challenging in a state like Arkansas, where curriculum guides are given by the state to the

teachers. And yet, the research is clear: interculturally competent teachers are critical for student success.

Intercultural Development Inventory

Intercultural competence can be challenging to assess. However, one instrument has been cross-culturally validated in different languages and across decades and is often used as a metric of intercultural competence: the IDI or Intercultural Development Inventory (Hammer and Bennett 2009). The instrument assesses individuals on a continuum, from denial to adaptation. The IDI is a 50-item questionnaire available online that can be completed in 15–20 minutes and includes questions regarding intercultural experiences based on (a) their cross-cultural goals, (b) the challenges that they confront while navigating cultural differences, (c) intercultural incidents that they face when they encounter cultural differences, and (d) the ways they address those cultural differences. Through this series of 50 trademarked questions, participants are assessed on intercultural awareness they believe they are, and how intercultural awareness others may perceive them as. These are also known as the Perceived Orientation (PO) and Development Orientation (DO) (Hammer and Bennett 2009; Hammer 2019). Most people tend to view themselves as more intercultural awareness than they are, and it is rare for POs to be lower than DOs. The DO is a score that places participants within one of five categories along the intercultural continuum: denial, polarization, minimization, acceptance and adaptation (Hammer 2019). Typically, only about 3% of people score in denial, whereas 16% score in polarization, 65% in minimization, 15% in acceptance and 2% in adaptation (DeJaeghere and Zhang 2008; Hammer and Bennett 2009; Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman 2003).

Figure 1. IDI



As seen in Figure 1, the IDI is a stage-progression model for intercultural competence. Those in denial have a monocultural view that often minimizes differences, and can manifest in others thinking they just ignore diversity. Polarization is the next stage on the continuum that acknowledges differences, but can manifest in two different sub-orientations: defensive and reversal. Those in polarization defensive often recognize differences, but are defensive of their own cultural mindset, often explicitly preferring it to others'. Those in polarization reversal tend to go the opposite direction—preferring others' cultures without offering clear and fair analysis (e.g., pedestalizing others' cultures rather than valuing them equally). Minimization is the midpoint on the cultural continuum, categorized by avoidance of differences. People in this

orientation may seek out the ways in which we are all similar and ignore differences that they feel may drive division. Those in the next stage, acceptance, understand that differences are not inherently negative, and that differences are normal, human and even good. Finally, those in adaptation, the final stage on the continuum, understand that differences are everywhere, and with a deep understanding and appreciation of those differences, seeks to build authentic bridges across cultures. This does not mean that those in other stages are not able to build bridges, but rather, posits that those who are interculturally competent are able to do so more effectively and with more frequency (Hammer 2019).

Those who take the IDI are given a report with their results, as well as an IDP, or an intercultural development plan. This plan offers strategies for people to increase their cultural competence, and advance along the intercultural continuum. This requires the individual to desire change first and foremost, and rests on the assumption that they would like to be more interculturally aware than what their Perceived Orientation indicated. Numerous studies have examined the IDI in an Arkansas education setting, (Estepp, Wiersma-Mosley and Shoulders 2021; Fanous et al. 2020; Wiersma-Mosley 2019; Wiersma-Mosley and Garrison 2022), indicating that there is widespread use of the instrument, even if not the IDP. However, authors of the IDI indicate that the IDP can be an effective tool to improve intercultural competence, and their published studies indicate those findings (Hammer and Bennett 2009; Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman 2003; Hammer 2019). While the IDI is not without critique, it remains a widely used instrument, and thus, makes sense to examine in conjunction with a less-used metric on antisemitism.

In sum, we understand that Holocaust education can produce more empathetic and civically engaged students and teachers (Allgood and Shah 2021; Baum 1996; Johnson and

Pennington 2018; Riley and Totten 2002b; Schweber 2008). We also know that Holocaust education was mandated in the state of Arkansas through SB160, which mandates teaching the subject in a way that enables students to have dialogue on topics of diversity, bullying, etc. Successful implementation of this bill rests on teachers, who act as street-level bureaucrats, with limited authority to change policy, but are gatekeepers to implementation (Lipsky and Hill 1993). Successful Holocaust educators need to be interculturally competent, several studies conclude (Haefeli 2020; Stevick and Michaels 2013a; van Baar 2011), and even more broadly, educators on any subject are expected to be interculturally competent (Cheewasukthaworn and Suwanarak 2017; DeJaeghere and Cao 2009; DeJaeghere and Zhang 2008; McBride, Bellamy and Knoester 2020; Sorkos and Hajisoteriou 2021; Taylor 2010). We know very little about the intercultural competence of those expected to teach Holocaust education in Arkansas, and further, we do not know if they bring in any antisemitic biases. Thus, the leading tool in intercultural awareness, the IDI, is used, in addition to a survey of antisemitic attitudes that has been validated across populations for over 80 years (Jones-Wiley et al. 2007; Levinson and Sanford 1944). This study examines those critical to successful Holocaust education implementation in the state of Arkansas—Arkansas teachers in the role of street-level bureaucrats.

Method

Funding

I received \$1,000 from the Gender Studies Bridge Program in 2021 and committed to seeking a gender-representative sample. The cost per participant was \$28, including the \$18 IDI assessment and \$10 Amazon e-gift compensation. Thanks to the funding, my final sample included 35 Arkansas public school teachers for grades 5-12.

Data Collection

Data collection occurred between December 12, 2022 and February 2nd, 2023. After receiving IRB approval, recruitment was sought for Arkansas public school teachers grades 5-12 to take two online surveys. This population was selected given that they as public school teachers in Arkansas could now potentially be tasked with implementing the Holocaust education mandate(2021). A flyer was sent asking Arkansas 5-12 teachers to participate in two surveys lasting no more than 45 minutes total in exchange for a \$10 Amazon e-gift card. The survey instruments were not disclosed in the initial information to potential participants. Recruitment primarily occurred through teachers I knew forwarding it to their teacher friends across the state, as well as through teachers sharing the flyer on social media. After confirmation of study eligibility, participants were given a code to ensure confidentiality. A total of 37 people filled out the first survey (Qualtrics) and a total of 35 completed both the Qualtrics survey and the IDI. Two participants were removed from the final sample after data collection due to incomplete data, leaving a final sample of N=33.

Procedure

Interested participants were emailed the IRB consent form for this study and acknowledged their reading and agreement with the consent form via the first of two online surveys. The first online survey was a Qualtrics survey, which included IRB consent form agreement, demographic information, and the Revised Sanford Levinson Anti-Semitism scale. Upon completion of both the Qualtrics and the IDI, participants were emailed their IDI report, their IDP, invited to schedule a debrief with a Qualified Administrator at no cost to them, and a \$10 Amazon e-gift card.

Data Instruments

The Sanford-Levinson revised scale consisted of 32 statements on a Likert scale, asking respondents to rank their agreement from 1 to 5, with 1 being strongly agree, and 5 being strongly disagree. Several of the items were reverse-coded, and attention-checks were used to ensure accuracy in data collection. Items from the scale included: *(1) A step toward solving the Jewish problem would be to prevent Jews from getting into superior, profitable positions in society, for a while at least;* *(2) One of the first steps to be taken in cleaning up the movies and generally improving the situation in Hollywood is to put an end to Jewish domination there;* *There is little hope of correcting the racial defects of the Jews, since these defects are simply in their blood.* Aggregate antisemitism scores were examined, resulting in each participant having a mean antisemitism score between 1 and 5 with 5 indicating lower antisemitism.

Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI)

The IDI is a 50-item questionnaire available online that can be completed in 15–20 minutes and includes questions regarding intercultural experiences based on (a) their cross-cultural goals, (b) the challenges that they confront while navigating cultural differences, (c) intercultural incidents that they face when they encounter cultural differences, and (d) the ways they address those cultural differences. It is a widely used instrument, especially common in academic institutions to better understand cultural competence (DeJaeghere and Cao 2009; DeJaeghere and Zhang 2008; McBride, Bellamy and Knoester 2020). Questions are subject to trademark, and cannot be included for the purpose of the dissertation.

Participant Demographics

In terms of gender, twenty women, twelve men and one non-binary person participated in the study. Twenty respondents were young, between the ages of 25 and 34 ($n=19$), and one participant was between 18 and 24. Twenty-two respondents identified as white/Caucasian, nine

as Black/African American, one as Asian and one as Indigenous Native American. All participants had at least an associate degree (N=33), and the majority of participants held at least a bachelor's degree (n=32), and eleven had a Master's degree. Additionally, four reported being currently enrolled in additional teaching degrees or certifications. The majority of participants had taught about the Holocaust in the past year (n=20), with thirteen reporting they had not. The majority of the participants identified as religious (n=22), and four identified as somewhat religious, with six saying they did not identify as religious. The majority of respondents identified as Christian (n=25), and of those, 17 were Christian (general) and five Catholic, one Church of Christ and one Orthodox Christian. There were equal numbers of Atheists and Jews (n=3, respectively), and two identified as Agnostic. Only four participants reported either not knowing or not being sure if they knew a Jewish person, meaning the majority (n=29) had reported meeting a Jew, or being unsure if they met a Jew.

Results

The research questions tested were how interculturally aware are Arkansas teachers, and do they hold any antisemitic biases? Based on IDI results, Arkansas teachers were considered low in their cultural competence, and based on the Sanford-Levinson antisemitic scale, teachers had clear antisemitic biases. There were no significant differences among gender, age, marital status, and education status for both the IDI and antisemitism scores. Starting with the IDI, most of the participants scored low in cultural competence; twelve participants scored in Denial, nine scored in Polarization and twelve scored in Minimization. The average IDI score was 76.87, ranging from 39.69 to 110.73. Typically, scores average in minimization (approximately 65% of individuals), so these results are surprising given that Arkansas teachers scored in polarization, on average.

Now examining antisemitism, the average aggregate antisemitism score was fairly neutral (3.326), with an aggregate range from 1.697 to 4.910. With a Likert scale ranking 1 as strongly agree and 5 being strongly disagree, and all statements being negative, the strongly disagree category is understood as *less* antisemitic. Generally, the aggregate group held fairly neutral opinions, with no real noticeable differences between questions. However, participants as a whole most strongly disagreed with the idea that nicer residential communities should exclude Jews to keep them nice, with an aggregate score of 4.000. The average score was 2.912 for the statement that for the most part, Jews are all the same. The average score of 3.326, and the low variation between the highest and lowest endorsed statement indicates that generally, antisemitism scores are fairly average. Authors of the scale would argue that social desirability may play a role in scores (Levinson and Sanford 1944).

Lastly, I tested the relationship between cultural competence (IDI) and antisemitism, and there was a positive correlation of $r = 0.5$, $p < .001$. This indicates that there is a significant positive association between antisemitism and intercultural development; teachers who scored lower in cultural competence were also more likely to hold antisemitic attitudes.

Additional Data Analysis

I wanted to qualitatively examine the data further to fully understand the relationship between cultural competence and antisemitism. One would expect that those in a higher cultural competence category (e.g., those in minimization in this study) would have lower antisemitism scores. However, the person who scored the lowest on the measure of antisemitism (average 1.697) also scored in minimization in the IDI. This result alone is interesting, given that one would perhaps expect someone with more cultural competence to exhibit more socially desirable behaviors. However, this score may indicate that higher antisemitism is correlated with higher

intercultural competence. This is only one individual, so further studies need to examine if this could be a trend, or if it is a replicable result. Interestingly, of the highest 10 antisemitism scores (indicating low levels of antisemitism), all but three were in minimization.

Immediately, it is both evident and interesting that those who scored in minimization were more likely to give open ended responses, and their responses tended to be longer. These responses reflected the idea of right and wrong, and of fair and equal treatment—a hallmark of the minimization orientation. People in this orientation tend to view the world as “colorblind” meaning that they can see each person as a human, and treat everyone with respect. However, that idea is precisely why the category is named such—it minimizes the importance in cultural differences that are essential to the culture itself. The response indicating that if *Holocaust education can be proven to reduce antisemitism it should of course be taught*, indicates the idea that justice is the norm. People in minimization tend to overemphasize the ways we are all similar, and may be hesitant to things like Holocaust education that emphasizes ways in which people were *not* treated equally or in a color-blind manner. However, this middle stage is pivotal between the monocultural and multicultural mindset. It is not surprising that someone in this orientation chose to share about their experience with a Holocaust survivor, as emphasizing commonality as a means of solidarity and allyship is expected with this orientation. Notably, this is the most common orientation, and where most participants would have been expected to be.

Taken altogether, these open-ended responses indicate a plethora of things, ranging from disbelief that antisemitism even exists, to blatant antisemitism by stating that the Jews should not be given more power. While the idea that absolute power corrupts is widely understood, the idea that Jews should not be given “all the power” reflects long-standing antisemitic tropes (Kressel and Kressel 2016; Musolff 2007). Most of the responses indicate support for the law, and several

address skepticism about how implementation will work. Some feared how a law supporting Jewish people would go over with an antisemitic area, and others questioned what successful implementation looks like, questioning what constitutes “adequately” addressing the Holocaust. The majority of those who left responses in the open-ended question appeared supportive of Holocaust education, albeit nervous about surrounding concepts like implementation and larger societal concerns of antisemitism.

Last, the final Qualtrics survey question asked, *“Is there anything else you would like to add? Specifically on the topic of antisemitism and Holocaust education.”* Not all respondents filled out the open-ended question. However, responses were selected from each of the orientations included in the dataset (denial, polarization and minimization) as a means of further understanding what someone in that orientation may say. These qualitative responses offer a more robust understanding of the IDI, understanding what someone in each of the categories may feel is socially appropriate to write about with this topic, specifically Jews and the Holocaust.

Denial (only focuses on similarities; avoidant of differences)

“No- I do think it needs to be taught in the public school setting, though.”

“Holocaust education maybe helpful to some students. Not all students will benefit from it.”

“It is essential to teach youths the holocaust education and to help them understand antisemitism”

“I support so much Holocaust education. It's good to learn history from Jewish on their burnt sacrifices.”

“The system will have to adopt.”

“Holocaust education is essential to the youths therefore its education should be emphasized”

These responses indicate support, but skepticism. This is expected from people in denial, although again, only 3% of people typically score in this range, which makes results from this study surprising, given the higher-than-expected number of scores in this range at 36%.

However, these scores indicate the black or white thinking common with this development orientation, with one response acknowledging the system will have to adopt. Additionally, one of the responses reflects a potential hostility known with this development orientation—the idea that it is good to learn about Jews as burnt sacrifices. That may reflect a monocultural mindset in which Jews are the outside culture, and potentially present a threat. Most Jewish allies would not use language about burnt bodies when expressing their support for Holocaust education. Thus, this would be characteristic of a denial mindset in which responses lack cultural sensitivity.

Polarization (only focus on differences; reversal)

“I believe that education about the Holocaust is an essential part of our history, world history, and our humanity. If we are learned in all aspects of it, we are less likely to repeat this kind of tragedy from recurring.”

“I think it is great for students to learn about the Holocaust and other religions other than Christianity. More education is needed to open minds and bring about positive changes. I have taught in 4 states plus the District of Columbia and Arkansas is the most close minded when it comes to religion. We cannot expect children to become more open-minded if they are not exposed to new things. I have personally known of people and businesses who will not even look at Arkansas as a place to relocate due to the population's lack of knowledge of other religions and the close minded anti-semites.”

“There is not a large Jewish presence in my area. However, I am aware of people who are antisemitic despite never having met a Jewish person. I wonder how this new law will go over.”

“I believe that education about the Holocaust is an essential part of our history, world history, and our humanity. If we are learned in all aspects of it, we are less likely to repeat this kind of tragedy from recurring.”

Defensive

“It will bring some unrest in schools, especially the mental unrest.”

“Good holocaust education can be productively linked to combating antisemitism, then we need to teach our youths.”

“I haven't seen any Jews seemingly superior in today's society. They seem to be just like everyone else, have their own opinions and beliefs, but they don't hinder our society.”

Polarization mindset typically includes people who are aware of diversity and the need for it, but are still uncomfortable engaging with it. IDI further breaks this down into two sub categories—reversal and defensive. Indeed, when faced with the realization that other cultures may not have had the same access to resources and advantages as you, feelings of comfortability and guilt can often emerge, categorized by one of two responses: reversal or defense. This defense is seen in the response about how a participant has not observed any Jews acting superior, perhaps as a means of defending the culture they exist in as not inherently antisemitic. This defense also acknowledges potential harms of change, as noted by the participant who said that this change will result in unrest.

Acknowledgement of cultural differences may be known, but the ability to engage with those topics in a sensitive and appropriate way are often lacking in people who score in this

orientation. Thus, one teacher acknowledging the public perception that Arkansas is a more socially regressive state is indicative of the knowledge of a cultural divide, but still emphasizes the discomfort with appropriately engaging with the topic. Additionally, this can also manifest in apathy, as seen with the teacher who said that Jews are just like everybody else—a seemingly colorblind approach to show allyship with the community, without explicitly stating any direct support or plans for engagement. Finally, those in this IDI category often do desire to be better, and the IDP may be a helpful tool for them. It is not uncommon for someone in this orientation to say things like “Never Again” while hoping antisemitism will dissipate, without continuing further learning or advocacy on the topic. This is often due to a discomfort of engaging with a cultural group outside ones own (Hammer 2022). Perhaps most emblematic of denial is the open ended response, “There is not a large Jewish presence in my area. However, I am aware of people who are antisemitic despite never having met a Jewish person. I wonder how this new law will go over.”. This reflects both acknowledgement and apathy, with perhaps a leading orientation towards minimization, because there does appear to be a curiosity about implementation, although this is not focused on the cultural group, but rather the law and other teachers’ reactions. This apathetic awareness may yield more socially desirable responses than those in denial, given their ability to understand more socially desirable intercultural behaviors. It is important to note that there are two types of polarization—reversal and polarization. Reversal can be observed as people feeling guilty, perhaps due to privilege (e.g., white guilt). The supportive responses may be reactionary to the guilt they feel from not being in the marginalized group here (the Jews). These responses also still reflect an othering and a skepticism, even as their intercultural awareness prevents them from saying anything blatantly antisemitic.

Minimization (focus on similarities, conflict avoidant, believe in equality, good hearts but poor impact; (Wiersma-Mosley and Garrison 2022))

“I think it is important to teach children our history so they don't make the same mistakes. They are growing up in a society where some think it is ok to discriminate based on race, religion, sexual orientation, sex, and/or any perceived difference. In my teaching career, I've seen each group of students know less and less about the atrocities endured by certain cultures, races, or religions.”

“I believe that Holocaust education is very important. If we do not teach history, it is doomed to repeat itself. It also makes people aware, so that we can prevent anti-Semitic groups from having a say in our world/government, which is a hinderance to the growth of a nation. As a resident who moved from out-of-state, I didn't realize the ties that Arkansas had to some WWII mentalities, such as interment camps for the Japanese. I think that the more one can read and learn about this terrible incident, the more people are conscious of racism, bias, and overall exclusions that STILL happen in our society today.”

“The jews shouldn't be give too much power. Absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

“The line of questions shocked me. I honestly have never thought of anyone Jewish with any of these characteristics. I got to meet a Holocaust survivor 25 years ago. It was an eye-opening experience that I wish my students could experience. Being from a small school, we were fortunate to get this encounter.”

“These things need to be taught in schools. Being a Jewish teacher I've seen the hate form in students who haven't been taught these things. Most of that hate comes from ignorance. The rest is them getting it from home.”

“I question the extent to which a particular lesson or unit of study would fit into/qualify as having sufficiently covered the Holocaust. For example, does reading a book aloud in which the setting of the book is the Holocaust qualify as having met the standard for my grade level? I’m not sure of the exact wording of the standard, and I do not feel like I have heard much if any concern for making sure that the standard is addressed. I could see several teachers and administrators suggesting the topic is covered through a read aloud such as this, particularly as social studies as a whole is considered addressed in an integrated approach at my grade level.”

“My students seem to have some accurate knowledge of the Holocaust even though they are mostly getting a Christian viewpoint (Boy In Striped Pajamas, edited Diary of Anne Frank, etc)”

“Good holocaust education be productively linked to combating antisemitism, then we need to teach our youths.”

“I think it is important to teach children our history so they don't make the same mistakes. They are growing up in a society where some think it is ok to discriminate based on race, religion, sexual orientation, sex, and/or any perceived difference. In my teaching career, I've seen each group of students know less and less about the atrocities endured by certain cultures, races, or religions.”

Those in minimization are clearly able to provide more socially acceptable responses as compared to those in denial. It could even be logical to assume that those in minimization may score lower on antisemitic bias scales because they can recognize that a response might be biased, and then choose the “correct” or most socially desirable choice (Zack, Shrage and Sartwell 1998). An understanding of the despair that the Holocaust brought to not only the Jewish community, but to the world, seems more common in the responses in minimization.

Scholars of the IDI posit that as one moves along the cultural continuum, they start to acknowledge differences more deeply and respect them, which may impact IDI scores. However, none of the teachers in this sample scored in an IDI development orientation higher than minimization, indicating the need for a larger sample to obtain a wider variety of all developmental orientations and the relationship with antisemitism.

Discussion

This study found that Arkansas teachers scored low in their cultural competence and average in their antisemitism. Given the low IDI scores on average, , additional investigation of Arkansas teachers' intercultural competence is warranted. Most participants do not hold explicitly antisemitic views, but some do hold explicitly antisemitic views. Studies on authoritarian attitudes find that Southern states, including Arkansas, have higher levels of permissibility towards authoritarianism than less conservative states (Kehrberg 2017). Several studies across decades and disciplines find that higher scores of authoritarianism are associated with lower levels of support for Jews/higher levels of antisemitism (Christie 1991; Frindte, Wettig and Wammetsberger 2018; Gottschalk et al. 2022; Kaufman 1957). Thus, it would be unsurprising to see higher levels of antisemitism in the state of Arkansas. There is no known teacher dataset of antisemitism scores from other states to compare the current results do, however, future research should consider surveying teachers for biases related to the content-topic they teach.

A perception that one must score close to 1 on the antisemitism scale in order to be antisemitic is an incorrect one, as antisemitism is the endorsement of antisemitic statements—there is no threshold for how many that needs to be. Indeed, antisemitism can still be present with an average score on the antisemitism scale, because, in a modern context, antisemitic bias

can be understood as the endorsement of one or more antisemitic tropes (Adler 2008; D’Acunto, Prokopczuk and Weber 2019; Klug 2013; Lange et al. 2019; Lipstadt 2020; Moffic 2019). Indeed, a 2023 report from the Anti-Defamation League found some concerning results after examining United States adults for belief in antisemitic tropes, noting on page 2 of the report, “Over three-quarters of Americans (85 percent) believe at least one anti-Jewish trope, as opposed to 61 percent found in 2019. Twenty percent of Americans believe six or more tropes, which is significantly more than the 11 percent that ADL found in 2019 and is the highest level measured in decades” (2023a). Thus, it is unsurprising that of the 32 antisemitic statements, at least one (if not more) respondent stated that they strongly agreed.

Overall, the results indicate that there is a relationship between antisemitism and intercultural competence. The qualitative and quantitative data in this study give a clear answer to the question: how interculturally competent are Arkansas teachers and do they hold antisemitic biases? Findings from this sample indicate Arkansas teachers are not culturally competent, and do hold antisemitic biases. However, given Arkansas’ ranking as last in the nation of the Holocaust, this may be less surprising. These results are alarming when taken at face-value, however, they could also be seen as a necessary starting point for improvement in Holocaust education and cultural competence within the state of Arkansas, with opportunities for teacher growth, and ultimately student growth in understanding Holocaust history.

Implementation

For Policy-Makers

While this research will not be conducted in time for a retro-active analysis of implementation of SB160 during the first implementation year (2022-2023), there is still a need to better understand the implementation of Holocaust Education policy in the United States, and

a way to study it with this dissertation. The proposed research answered the question: why should policymakers care about Holocaust education, and how can it be made easier for them to make meaningful change?

Legislators can find hope in the findings of one study done in Florida that found that teachers who had taken graduate courses were more likely to implement Holocaust education than those who had not (Dobrick 2008). Additionally, Dobrick argued that teachers who had been in public education longer were more likely to implement Holocaust education curriculum (2008). One national study found that the majority of teachers in the United States report teaching about the Holocaust in some form, but most also report having no training to do so (Donnelly 2006). Taken together, there is empirical support for teachers being more likely to implement Holocaust education curriculum with more resources.

Legislators may be incentivized to enact legislation if they learn about the benefits of Holocaust education on citizenry, which will be discussed in chapters two and three. Put simply, studies that examine Holocaust education implementation find that students have more desirable social qualities as a result of that education. Several studies have examined Holocaust education implementation in the United States, finding that overall, Holocaust education in the classroom contributes to more socially conscious and civically engaged students inside and outside the classroom (Cowan and Maitles 2007; Davis and Rubinstein-Avila 2013; Foster 2020; Salmons 2003; Wickam 2019). One specific study found that students who receive Holocaust education in a classroom environment are more likely to score higher on measures like compassion and tolerance not only immediately after, but up to one year after as well (Cowan and Maitles 2007). Students more knowledgeable on the Holocaust and teaching about this atrocity also appears to have socially desirable impacts as well. Policymakers should have an interest in a more civically

engaged society, so they should then prioritize Holocaust education as an empirical means of achieving that goal. This goes beyond a social argument for teaching tolerance, which may be beneficial to lawmakers who are seeking to make more of an academic, rather than social argument. Put differently, an Arkansas legislator in a deeply conservative state may find more favor in advocating for a policy that can increase students voting in the future, rather than advocating for a policy that promotes diversity. Framing tends to be important for socio-politically homogeneous states (Barth and Parry 2009), specifically around value-laden topics including the Holocaust.

Recent attention has been given to the ways in which institutions (e.g., legislatures) can be more intentional with social justice engagement, oftentimes in the form of diversity, equity and inclusion policy. Policy and decision makers can be skeptical if they are the best ones to put forth socially progressive policies if they themselves are not “woke” or feel themselves to be interculturally competent. However, research finds that, “Belief in the organizational and mission-related utility of advocacy was more important for helping managers overcome capacity-related barriers than a social justice orientation” (Mosley 2013). Policy makers are more successful when they consider the importance of advocating for the needs of marginalized communities in general, and need not be experts in every aspect of social justice to be effective agents of social change (Mosley 2010), if they make the choice to do so. This furthers the arguments made by other scholars (Barth and Parry 2009) that communicating messages in socio-politically homogenous communities (like Arkansas) is critical. Interestingly, an analysis of public health policy found that trauma informed care for marginalized populations, for example, was not only socially beneficial, but also economically advantageous (Bowen and Murshid 2016). One large budgetary study examining global social policies and their economic

and social benefits found that there was nearly always a positive correlation (Robinson 2006). This further debunks the myth that socially beneficial policies that may distribute financial resources to marginalized communities do not yield positive economic outcomes.

Implementation Concerns

Notably, some of these same earlier studies on Holocaust education implementation show a consistent need for increased teacher training (Allgood and Shah 2021; Foster 2020; Wickam 2019). Additionally, one study found that well intentioned teachers can still teach incorrect and potentially harmful material regarding the Holocaust, which can lead to a negative impact on the student and mitigate the goals of the education in the first place (Ben-Bassat 2000). Further, studies examining holocaust education implementation in other countries, like Romania for example, find the same results (Misco 2008). Overall, these studies support the shared understanding that Holocaust education is still a societal net positive, but there are increasing and often unmet needs of educators teaching about the Holocaust to students.

Implementation of Holocaust education, or as one put it “governmentalization of Holocaust education” is not without critique or consequence. For example, one author examines the way the European Union’s Holocaust education policies have often further marginalized Roma people (van Baar 2011), often through the use of outdated terminology. Van Baar’s critique is well placed within the larger context of one of the biggest critiques within public policy about implementation—implementation often happens long after policy has been written. In simpler terms, the implementation of a policy can be good, and that policy can still be racist and outdated, but implemented well. Those concepts are unfortunately not mutually exclusive. Despite critique, including Van Baar’s, the overall positive impact of Holocaust education outweighs potential negative implications. Further, Baar’s critique can further be contextualized

with the socio-political context of Europe and the United States with both the Holocaust and Roma people being drastically different. This critique is also based on a European Holocaust education system, which has existed significantly longer than the one on the United States (Foster 2020).

Additionally, there is critique on the wording of the bill, specifically the following: “Beginning in the 2022-2023 school year, Holocaust education shall be taught in all public schools in a manner that...” (2021). Critics argue that education legislation should be focused on student outcomes, not teacher performance (Ellison and Pisapia 2006).

Finally, a concern with implementation of any bill is the incentive. Often, incentive means financial backing. A potential pitfall of SB160 is that there is no financial component to it, or in other words, there is no additional money to supplement the additional request of the education system. Further, there is no money allocated for additional teacher education, which research says is vital to ensuring proper implementation of Holocaust education legislation (Allgood and Shah 2021; Wickam 2019). To discuss a policy without considering potential implications or consequences of it would not be considered an ethical public policy process. In other words, foresight and discussion matter with policy, even if the outcomes exceed targeted positionality timelines.

The status quo right now includes a highly advocacy-focused field of Holocaust education scholars, perhaps reinforced by the very wording of the policies they support. For example, SB160 states, “Beginning in the 2022-2023 school year, Holocaust education shall be taught in all public schools in a manner that: (1) Generates an understanding of the causes, course, and effects of the Holocaust; (2) Develops dialogue with students on the ramifications of bullying, bigotry, stereotyping, and discrimination; and (3) Encourages tolerance of diversity and

reverence for human dignity for all citizens in a pluralistic society.” (2021). The mandate to teach Holocaust education is not a value-neutral mandate. The expectations of the education legislation are clear, so one could argue that advocating for policies that promote Holocaust education is by proxy a means of engaging in Holocaust education (Stevick and Michaels 2013b).

Limitations

This study did not include a representative sample, and therefore the results are not generalizable to the state of Arkansas. Additionally, the choice to exclude private schools that are not impacted by the legislation does not capture a large population of students in the private and charter school system. It is important to note that the shifting population to private and charter schools has been made possible through consistent policy decisions that ultimately do not adequately fund the Arkansas public school system (Levin 2021; Stratton 1981; Woodson and Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives. 1989). Despite this, the decision was made to examine public school teachers in Arkansas, as this legislation only impacts them. Finally, the authors of the antisemitic bias scale note that social desirability may impact how people respond to the scale (Levinson and Sanford 1944).

Summary

There are concerns about students' reported levels of knowledge about the Holocaust in Arkansas, and there are also concerns about public school educators in Arkansas from the exploratory research addressed in this article. Findings from this study indicate low levels of cultural competence among Arkansas public school teachers sampled. Intercultural competence remains a critical component of preservice teacher training, and Holocaust education appears to be widely used to teach the topic (Allgood and Shah 2021; Nowell and Poindexter 2019; Rich

2019a). However, low IDI scores indicate that either teachers are more monoculturally minded or perhaps lack training and resources in understanding how to develop the skill of cultural competence. The open-ended responses reveal that Arkansas teachers believe in the importance of Holocaust education but remain wary about implementation. Additionally, it was through both the survey questions and open responses that some Arkansas teachers hold antisemitic biases. Antisemitism scores reflect that the majority of teachers do not hold explicitly hostile views towards Jews, however, some repeatedly expressed support for antisemitic statements. The findings overall overwhelmingly reveal that Arkansas teachers need more resources on intercultural competence.

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Conclusion

This dissertation builds on the fact that Arkansas has the lowest levels of Holocaust knowledge (Bronfman 2020). The first article sought to answer the question: what does the literature say about Holocaust education policy in the United States? The short answer is not much, and what does exist places the burden of responsibility on teachers, not policymakers. This article contributes to a small body of literature within public policy that addresses Holocaust education. The implications from this article can be concerning that only a little attention is paid to a problem many know about.

Given such limited knowledge of how Holocaust education policy is passed, the second article presents a unique case study contribution to the literature, examining how a grassroots coalition of activists engaged with existing power structures to help pass legislation. Some implications extend beyond the state of Arkansas, as this article presents a unique contribution about how a small, historically marginalized community was able to use a value-based coalition model to pass legislation. Arkansas is geo-politically similar to other states with Conservative majorities, so this advocacy coalition framework model may be helpful for others to build on. Even in a hyper-polarized political system, this case study advances the field of public policy through the use of the advocacy coalition framework. It presents opportunities for other researchers and activists to replicate in other states.

Finally, the third chapter examines the teachers that are now legally tasked with implementing Holocaust education legislation in the state of Arkansas. The findings present some windows for hope but primarily concerns. While this was a small sample of teachers, most respondents scored low on measures of intercultural competence. Interestingly, there was a strong correlation between antisemitism and low cultural competence. This contribution

advances the field of public policy by identifying related scales that can be used for those teaching the Holocaust. Additionally, the strong relationship between intercultural competence and antisemitic attitudes should be replicated in future studies and included in future measures of diversity, equity, and inclusion (measures of antisemitism/other religious bias).

The gaps in the literature are vast. These three articles present an ideological challenge as well. If we accept that knowledge levels are low (article one) and that education is the means of changing this (article two), then the conclusion we are left with in article three is that we are doomed to repeat the status quo. Our teachers are not culturally competent, and many hold antisemitic views. One of the goals of the mandate was to promote a sense of empathy, tolerance, and understanding among students, in addition to increasing knowledge about the Holocaust. The legislation's goals are to increase intercultural competence, but the findings in the study suggest that Arkansas teachers may not be prepared. Of course, findings are nothing without context and interpretation.

Analysis

The Republican supermajority in the state legislature has made itself clear—they do not support diversity, equity, and inclusion measures. Holocaust education currently exists in a gray space, where Christians feel allied with Jews on this issue, but not to the point of promoting diversity, equity, and inclusion. The legislature may have the education department provide a white-washed version of the Holocaust. However, Jews were racialized by Nazis, which means bans on the discussion of race can directly impact teaching the Holocaust accurately. Several pieces of legislation introduced and passed (but untested in Court) would make it impossible to teach the current legislation as it is written. However, the reality is that the Department of Education has yet to publish its curriculum for the subject, despite the mandate saying the

curriculum was needed a year prior. A cynical perspective would say that the legislation is merely an optic, and without funding or a reason for enforcement, the legislation is meaningless.

Holocaust education legislation is new, and almost no metrics exist to understand the strength or success of state policies. Future research should examine teachers across the United States to determine if Holocaust knowledge scores among students are correlated with how interculturally competent their teachers are. Policy as a means of addressing social issues is contentious at best.

There are no easy answers, but there is always hope, as Holocaust survivor Pieter Kohnstam says. He said there has to be hope, period. And while the situation may seem hopeless in Arkansas, with risks of the core tenets of the legislation being rendered illegal, there is hope in the bill's passage. There is hope among teachers who are excited to teach the topic and be given the needed resources. While challenging, there is hope.

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Appendix A

Boolean Search Phrase

Concept 1	Concept 2	Concept 3
Holocaust / Antisemitism	Education Policy/ies	United States
<i>Anti-semit*</i>	<i>Educat*</i>	<i>America</i>
<i>Antisemit*</i>	<i>Learn*</i>	<i>State*</i>
<i>Holocaust</i>	<i>Legislat*</i>	<i>United States</i>
	<i>Mandate*</i>	<i>United States of America</i>
	<i>Policies</i>	<i>U.S.</i>
	<i>Policy</i>	<i>USA</i>
	<i>Public polic*</i>	

Appendix B

Example Search Log

Database	Search Statement	Limiters / Expanders	# of Results	Notes
EBSCO (Academic Search Complete)	TI holocaust AND (united states or america or usa or u.s or united states of america)	n/a	1,070	Fairly large sample
EBSCO (Academic Search Complete)	TI holocaust AND (united states or america or usa or u.s or united states of america)	Limiters: scholarly/peer rev.	570	Scholarly only, reduces the sample by about half
EBSCO (Academic Search Complete)	TI holocaust AND (united states or america or usa or u.s or united states of america) AND (education or school or learning or teaching or classroom or education system)	N/A	213	
EBSCO (Academic Search Complete)	TI holocaust AND (united states or america or usa or u.s or united states of america) AND (education or school or learning or teaching or classroom or education system)	Limiters: scholarly/peer rev.	143	142 in English; 130 articles (rest were book reviews)

To: Toby L Klein
From: Justin R Chimka, Chair
IRB Expedited Review
Date: 10/22/2021
Action: **Expedited Approval**
Action Date: 10/22/2021
Protocol #: 2106339609
Study Title: Arkansas SB160 Stakeholder Interviews
Expiration Date: 09/30/2022
Last Approval Date:

The above-referenced protocol has been approved following expedited review by the IRB Committee that oversees research with human subjects.

If the research involves collaboration with another institution then the research cannot commence until the Committee receives written notification of approval from the collaborating institution's IRB.

It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval before the expiration date.

Protocols are approved for a maximum period of one year. You may not continue any research activity beyond the expiration date without Committee approval. Please submit continuation requests early enough to allow sufficient time for review. Failure to receive approval for continuation before the expiration date will result in the automatic suspension of the approval of this protocol. Information collected following suspension is unapproved research and cannot be reported or published as research data. If you do not wish continued approval, please notify the Committee of the study closure.

Adverse Events: Any serious or unexpected adverse event must be reported to the IRB Committee within 48 hours. All other adverse events should be reported within 10 working days.

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of this study, such as the procedures, the consent forms, study personnel, or number of participants, please submit an amendment to the IRB. All changes must be approved by the IRB Committee before they can be initiated.

You must maintain a research file for at least 3 years after completion of the study. This file should include all correspondence with the IRB Committee, original signed consent forms, and study data.

cc: Anna Zajicek, Investigator

IRB#: 2106339609 APPROVED: 12-Dec-2022 EXP: 30-Sep-2023

**Passing Arkansas Senate Bill 160 on Holocaust Education
Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Principal Researcher: Toby L.W. Klein
Faculty Advisor: Dr. Anna Zajicek**

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

You are invited to participate in a research study about the Arkansas Holocaust Education Bill (SB160) and the process of how it became law. You are being asked to participate in this study because you have been identified as someone involved in the formation and/or implementation of this bill.

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE RESEARCH STUDY

Who is the Principal Researcher?

Toby Klein
tklein@uark.edu



Who is the Faculty Advisor?

Dr. Anna Zajicek
azajicek@uark.edu



What is the purpose of this research study?

The purpose of this study is to understand how SB160 became law in Arkansas, and the processes involved in its design and implementation.

Who will participate in this study?

We plan on having between 5 and 15 participants in this study, all of whom have been involved with the policy process of Arkansas SB160, as community activists, legislators, etc. Only those who worked on (including those in opposition), voted on and/or were involved in the process of Arkansas SB160 are able to participate in this study.

What am I being asked to do?

Your participation will require the following:

- A Zoom account and working device to operate Zoom on, as the interview will take place on Zoom.
- Blocking out 1 2-hour session for the qualitative interview
- Engaging in oral communication (dialogue) and answering questions from the researcher about Arkansas SB160, personal involvement and implementation of the law moving forward.

What are the possible risks or discomforts?

During this study, participants may be uncomfortable by the emotional intensity of the Holocaust topic.

What are the possible benefits of this study?

There are no direct benefits to participating in this study. However, the possible benefits may include:

- Aiding in the understanding of the educational importance of teaching the Holocaust
- Assisting policy makers interested in successful implementation of similar legislation
- Building knowledge on how the policy-making process works on the state level, especially pertaining to inclusive education policies

**Arkansas K-12 Educators and Holocaust Education
Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Principal Researcher: Toby Klein
Faculty Advisor: Dr. Anna Zajicek**

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

You are invited to participate in a research study about Arkansas educators' intercultural awareness and attitudes towards teaching the Holocaust. You are being invited because you have been identified (or self-identified) as a public school (5-12 grade) educator in the state of Arkansas.

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE RESEARCH STUDY

Who is the Principal Researcher?

Toby Klein, MS
PhD Student in Public Policy, Social Justice Specialization
Email: tklein@uark.edu

Who is the Faculty Advisor?

Dr. Anna Zajicek
Coordinator, PUBP PhD Social Justice Specialization
Email: azajicek@uark.edu

What is the purpose of this research study?

The purpose of this study is to better understand Arkansas 5-12 grade teachers' intercultural awareness and attitudes prior to SB160 being implemented. SB160 is the law that requires 5-12th grade students be taught about the Holocaust in Arkansas public schools.

Who will participate in this study?

Arkansas teachers who have taught for at least 1 year in an Arkansas public school (5-12) are eligible to participate in this study. A total of 35 teachers, with a stratified sampling of gender, are expected to participate in this study.

What am I being asked to do?

Your participation will require the following two virtual components:

1. Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI)
(15-20 minutes)
2. Attitudes survey and demographic questions
(15-20 minutes)

Upon completion of both components, IDI results (including an Individual Development plan, explained below) will be emailed, in addition to a \$10 e-gift card.

By consenting to this research, you are also giving consent to be contacted 3-6 months after completion of this study for an invitation to retake the same surveys you took in this study. In addition, the follow-up e-mail may include a request for a 1:1 interview with the researcher.

IRB#: 2203392630 APPROVED: 24-May-2022 EXP: 30-Mar-2023