

INTRODUCTION

Government spending is often associated and synonymous with ‘waste, fraud, and abuse.’ Bills are routinely signed into law that result in spending that is unrelated to the law’s stated purpose. Take a look at the American Rescue Plan (ARP), a \$1.9 trillion emergency COVID relief package, which ended up funding projects around the country that have absolutely nothing to do with COVID and are wholly inconsistent with the rationale for passing the bill in the first place.¹ When the government allocates taxpayer dollars for emergency COVID relief, taxpayers rightfully expect it to be spent on COVID-related initiatives—vaccines, masks, tests, air ventilation, and, for schools, reopening. They do not expect the money to be spent on unrelated, vanity projects.

ARP allocated over \$120 billion for the Elementary and Secondary School Emergency Relief Fund (ESSER). President Biden and his Congressional allies sold this funding to the American people as “a matter of life and death,” arguing it was desperately needed to reopen schools and keep students, teachers, and staff safe from COVID.

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The U.S. Department of Education (DOE) required each state to submit plans outlining how they intend to spend the federal funding. In these reports, many states and school districts revealed that they are planning to use the funding to deeply ingrain tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) in school curricula across the country. DOE even urged states to do this with their ARP ESSER funds.

In 2021, as Congress debated ARP and reopening schools, two of the largest and most active teachers unions—American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association—spent millions on political donations, lobbying in support of ARP, and ads thanking politicians who voted for it. Instead of focusing on reopening schools, they touted ARP as an opportunity to transform public education in America. These unions also support teaching CRT in schools and offer resources to help their members teach it.

CRT can be defined as “an academic discipline that holds that the United States is a nation founded on white supremacy and oppression, and that these forces are still at the root of our society. Critical race theorists believe that American institutions, such as the Constitution and legal system, preach freedom and equality, but are mere ‘camouflages’ for naked racial domination. They believe that racism is a constant, universal condition: it simply becomes more subtle, sophisticated, and insidious over the course of history. In simple terms, critical race theory reformulates the old Marxist dichotomy of oppressor and oppressed, replacing the class categories of bourgeoisie and proletariat with the identity categories of White and Black. But the basic conclusion is the same: in order to liberate man, society must be fundamentally transformed through moral, economic, and political revolution.”²

Central tenets of CRT—anti-racism, bias training, social emotional learning, anti-oppression, culturally-relevant pedagogy, among others—pervade the state plans. States are also employing and consulting with outside groups that openly promote CRT to help them implement it. Furthermore, two of CRT’s most prominent advocates—Drs. Ibram Kendi and Gloria Ladson-Billings—have intimately influenced several of the plans.

X Fox News: “California, New York, Illinois used COVID-19 relief funds to push CRT in schools”³

X Fox News: “Blue states blasted for ‘appalling’ move to use COVID relief money to fund CRT: ‘A trojan horse’”⁴

X The Daily Wire: “Schools Got \$130B To Re-Open. Some Of It Went To CRT. Now Many Are Closed.”⁵

Kendi is an author, professor, and activist who has written several books supporting the CRT principle of anti-racism. He teaches that humans begin “internalizing racist ideas” as babies; America is a fundamentally racist nation; the state must actively discriminate against “privileged” racial groups; and capitalism is racist.⁶ He also said that CRT was “foundational” to his work.⁷ Ladson-Billings is a professor who was one of the first to apply CRT in education.⁸ According to her writings, “critical race theory favors a full rejection of capitalism as its primary endgame” and educators should “align our scholarship with the philosophy of Marcus Garvey: race first!”⁹ Not only is this race-based Marxism infiltrating school curricula, but administrators are spending federal taxpayer dollars provided through ARP COVID relief to do it.

ARP: “A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH”

President Biden and his Congressional allies sold ARP’s education funding to the American people by framing it as “a matter of life and death” that was the only way to reopen schools safely and address learning loss. Biden himself tied the relief funding to his goal of opening schools in his first 100 days in office.¹⁰ According to the White House, ARP education funding was meant primarily to “provide schools the resources they need to reopen safely.”¹¹ The White House later claimed ARP ESSER funding would focus on “providing schools with the resources they need to safely reopen and fully serve their students.”¹² Then, the U.S. DOE claimed that ARP ESSER funding was meant to help states “safely reopen schools for in-person learning and address the needs of students.”¹³



“We can [open schools] if we give school districts, communities, and states the clear guidance they need as well as the resources they will need that they cannot afford right now because of the economic crisis we are in.”¹⁴

—Pres. Joe Biden

X White House: Biden is committed to “providing schools with the resources they need to safely reopen and fully serve their students.”¹⁵

The White House continued its messaging drum beat for months after the passage of ARP, claiming that “funding is being used to help schools safely operate, implement high-quality summer learning and enrichment programs, hire nurses and counselors, support the vaccination of students and staff, and invest in other measures to take care of students.”¹⁶



“My priority right now is to safely reopen as many schools right now, as quickly as possible.”¹⁷

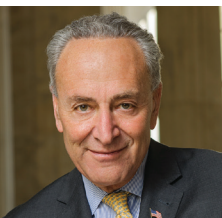
–Ed. Sec. Miguel Cardona

Naturally, Biden’s Congressional allies helped parrot the message of how the funding would be used for COVID-related expenses. From Senate floor speeches to a flurry of press releases, they relentlessly pushed ARP as an emergency COVID relief bill.



“This is one moment in which it’s very clear that public policy is quite literally a matter of life and death. ... More than \$4 billion to the state of Georgia’s K through 12 schools to ensure students, teachers, and staff stay safe and healthy, and to address learning loss.”¹⁸

–Sen. Raphael Warnock (D-GA)



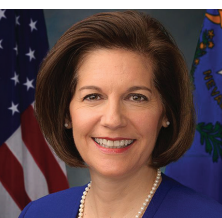
“Let me say it again: through the American Rescue Plan, Senate Democrats delivered the single largest investment in American education ever—ever. \$170 billion to help repair the damage caused by this pandemic, three-quarters of which will go directly to K through 12 education, prioritizing school districts that need it the most. This will help schools update ventilation, hire more nurses and janitors, make classroom sizes smaller, and make getting kids to and from school safer. In short: the American Rescue Plan will greatly accelerate the safe and effective re-opening of schools.”¹⁹

–Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-NY)



“New Hampshire’s plan details how the state is using and plans to use ARP ESSER funds to safely reopen and sustain the safe operation of schools and equitably expand opportunity for students who need it most.”²⁰

–Sen. Maggie Hassan (D-NH)



“I worked hard to make sure the American Rescue Plan included funding to get kids back into classrooms and help Nevada’s teachers and schools get the resources they need to support our students every day.”²¹

–Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV)



“Many students have fallen behind after a difficult school year, and it’s crucial they get the support they need. Thankfully, AZ schools will be receiving additional funding from the American Rescue Plan I supported to help students catch up on learning.”²²

–Sen. Mark Kelly (D-AZ)



“Since the start of the pandemic, I’ve been laser-focused on getting Washington state students—and students across the country—back in the classroom safely as quickly as possible, with their friends, coaches, counselors and teachers, because I know how important that is for their learning. That’s why we worked so hard to pass the American Rescue Plan—to provide schools the resources they need to re-open safely, address learning loss, provide mental health resources, and provide masks, tests, and improved ventilation. ... Getting our students back in the classroom safely is just step one—now we need to focus on keeping them there. So I’m going to be monitoring closely to make sure these resources are used carefully to help students recover from these incredibly tough years, and keep them safe and in the classroom.”²³

–Sen. Patty Murray (D-WA)



“These funds were specifically directed by Congress to help schools reopen safely and enable in-person learning to thrive. Putting students back in Connecticut classrooms is critical to overcoming the setbacks and learning gaps resulting from the pandemic. Our approving this American Rescue Plan funds is a game changing step, and I look forward to continuing to work with the Biden Administration to ensure our schools remain open and safe for students, teachers, and staff.”²⁴

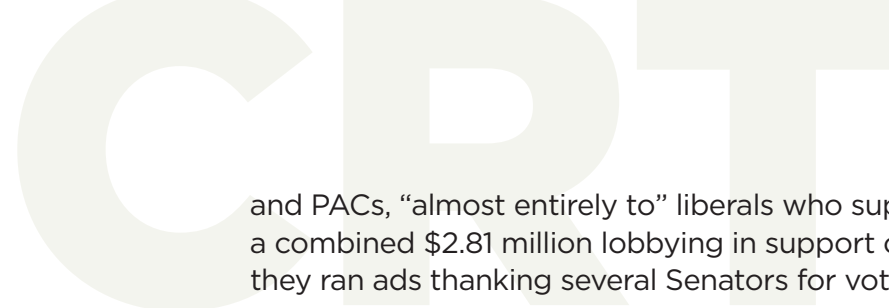
–Sen. Richard Blumenthal (D-CT)



“I’m glad we were able to secure critical resources to support students, teachers, and school leaders in the American Rescue Plan as they have faced challenge after challenge during the COVID-19 crisis. Now with Colorado’s education plan approved, our state will be able to use almost \$390 million to ensure a safe and supportive learning environment for our kids and address the toll the last year took on students, educators, and our communities.”²⁵

–Sen. Michael Bennet (D-CO)





News outlets reported the Administration’s stated purpose for the funding far and wide, claiming it was “to safely reopen as many schools right now, as quickly as possible.”²⁶

- X **CBS:** “Biden administration says \$122 billion of COVID relief will go to schools: ‘This spring, we want our students back in school’”²⁷
- X **NPR:** “Biden Administration Proposes \$130 Billion To Help Schools Reopen”²⁸
- X **MarketWatch:** “As part of his \$1.9 trillion COVID-19 relief proposal, Biden is urging Congress to provide \$170 billion to educational institutions, including \$130 billion to assist K-12 schools in reopening safely...”²⁹

When it was all said and done, ARP passed through both houses of Congress on a partisan basis with only Democrat votes.³⁰

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT URGED STATES TO IMPLEMENT CRT-BASED CURRICULA

After ARP was signed into law, the U.S. DOE published a report outlining strategies for how states should use ARP funds, which advised them to “select and implement strategies designed for systemic change at the local and school level.”³¹ It also urged schools to undertake “a culture shift” by establishing “equitable practices.”³² To implement this “culture shift,” the DOE used Chicago’s “Curriculum Equity Initiative” as an example for states to follow.³³ According to the Chicago Public Schools website, “at the core of the initiative is a...culturally relevant collection of curricular materials...”³⁴ The initiative also called for class work to be “fair across race, religion, ethnicity and gender; and culturally relevant with the mindful integration of diverse communities, cultures, histories and contributions.”³⁵

The initiative resulted in the development of a CRT-based, “culturally responsive curriculum” named Skyline.³⁶ The curriculum begins its indoctrination in Pre-K, where students are taught “principles of culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogy.” According to the lesson plan, children begin to internalize racism at the age of three, so they are taught “to use their voice to take action” and “to see themselves as important community members who stand up for justice and human rights.”³⁷ In essence, it teaches preschoolers to become social justice warriors and political activists. The lesson plans for K-12 continue working to build the CRT-based narrative that America is a systemically racist country that oppresses minorities.³⁸

TEACHERS UNIONS SUPPORT ARP AND CRT

In 2021, the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association launched a massive influence and lobbying campaign to get ARP through Congress and onto the President’s desk. They donated a combined \$1.97 million during the first quarter to politicians

and PACs, “almost entirely to” liberals who supported ARP.³⁹ Throughout the year, they spent a combined \$2.81 million lobbying in support of ARP.⁴⁰ Then, once they got what they wanted, they ran ads thanking several Senators for voting for ARP.⁴¹

- X “The uptick in donations, almost entirely to Democrats, came as the debate over remote schooling became political fodder.”⁴²
- “We thank President Joe Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris, Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Majority Leader Chuck Schumer and every single one of the Democratic members of Congress who voted for this bill—for having the imagination to go bold, the courage to go it alone, and the conviction to meet the needs of Americans at this moment.”⁴³

–AFT President Randi Weingarten

Both unions publicly touted the package as an opportunity to reshape public education. They were less concerned with the COVID relief aspect to reopen schools and keep students, teachers, and staff safe. AFT called it a “once-in-a-generation investment” that “is more than a COVID relief bill,”⁴⁴ and NEA similarly described it as “an unprecedented opportunity to reshape the future of public education.”⁴⁵

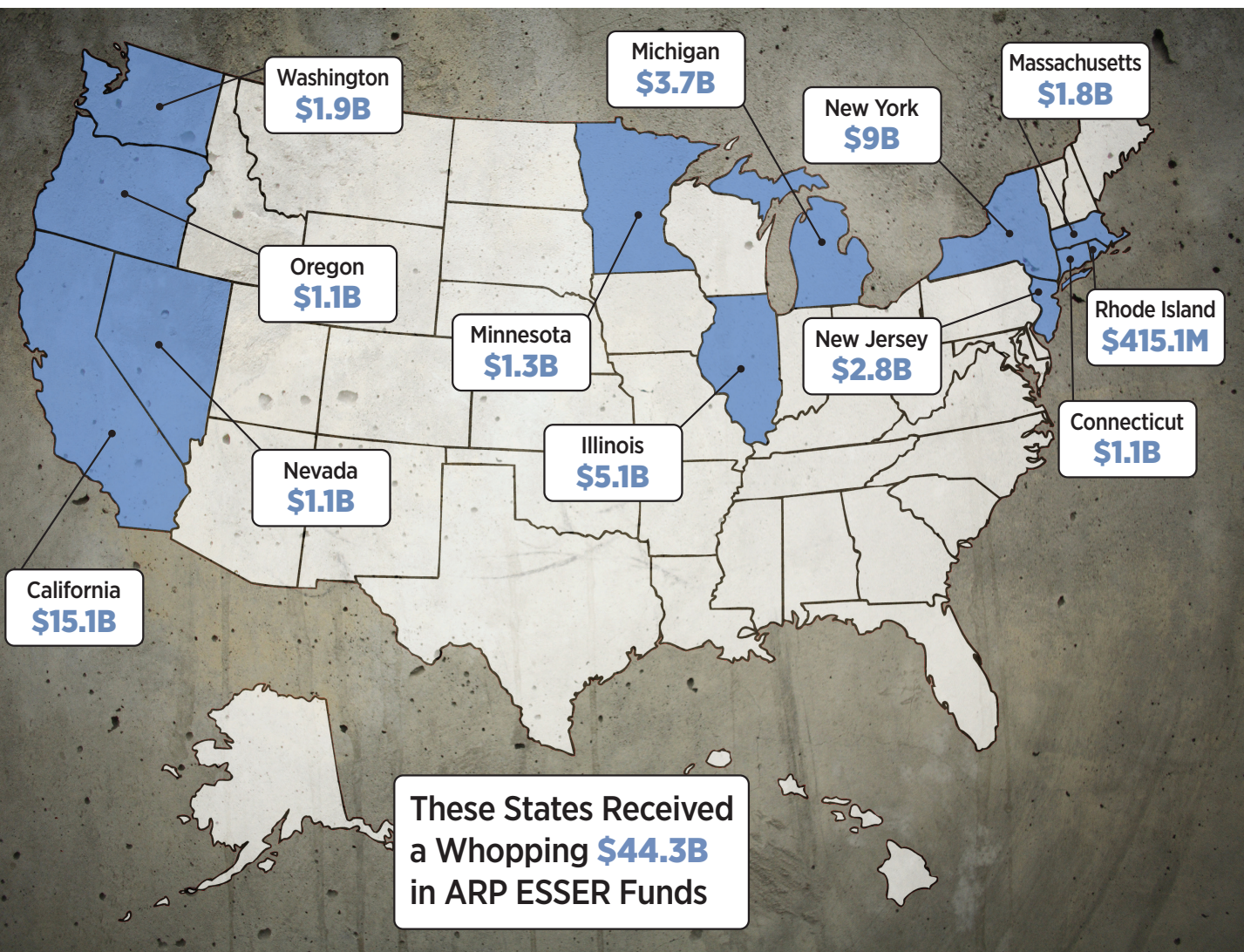
- “This historic legislation...makes extraordinary investments that will lift countless children and families out of poverty and works to address the immense inequities that have systematically affected the most vulnerable students and communities of color.”⁴⁶

–NEA President Becky Pringle

Coincidentally, both unions support teaching CRT in schools. Somehow, it seems they knew the ARP ESSER funding would help them do that. In July 2021, AFT and Weingarten hosted Ibram Kendi for a discussion on CRT entitled “Anti-racist education benefits all of us.”⁴⁷ While speaking with Kendi, Weingarten defended CRT and claimed that “building an anti-racist society is vitally important.”⁴⁸ AFT also announced that it is distributing one of Kendi’s books, *Stamped: Racism, Anti-racism, and You*. Likewise, NEA offers several training programs to help educators learn to teach CRT.

- X **AFT:** “Anti-racist education benefits all of us”
- X “NEA offers several resources and trainings on how to teach anti-racist curriculum.”⁴⁹
- X **New York Post:** “Teachers union president defends critical race theory as ‘accurate history’”⁵⁰

12 STATES USING ARP FUNDING TO IMPLEMENT CRT-BASED CURRICULA IN SCHOOLS



While researching this project, we examined 12 state plans from around the country. These states were California, New York, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Washington, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oregon, Connecticut, Nevada, and Rhode Island. For the most part, they all shared the same CRT-oriented priorities and they all used an ‘equity lens’ to decide how to spend ARP ESSER funding. Many outside groups that openly advocate for and teach CRT were consulted to help allocate ARP spending. Local school districts in these states also provided eye-opening insight into how the federal funding is being spent to implement CRT. What we found, and detail in the pages of this report raises serious concerns about public servants at the highest levels of government misleading the public, government oversight capabilities, and the public school system’s ability to educate our children free from political influence and indoctrination.

CA: \$15,079,696,097

California’s state plan outlines efforts to implement tenets of CRT in schools. It also reveals that the state is partnered with outside groups that are publicly urging state and local governments to use ARP funding to implement CRT-based curricula. \$1.5 billion was allocated to provide local education agencies (LEA) with resources for woke programs like implicit bias training. Additional funds were allocated to train educators in CRT staples like anti-bias strategies, ethnic studies, and LGBTQ+ cultural competency.⁵¹

- X “\$1.5 billion...to provide LEAs with training resources for...implicit bias training.”⁵²
- X “Additional one-time funds are also provided to increase educator training and resources in...anti-bias strategies, ... ethnic studies, and LGBTQ+ cultural competency.”⁵³

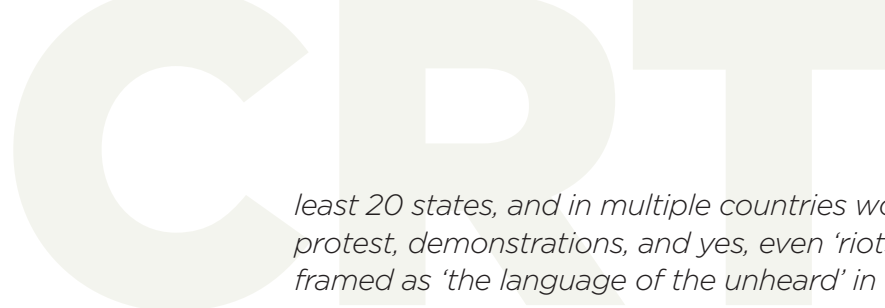
In developing its plan, the California DOE consulted with three outside groups—Education Research Strategies, Results for America, and the Annenberg Institute—to build “a more equitable educational system.”⁵⁴ Education Research Strategies and Results for America plainly state on their websites that ARP ESSER funds should be used to make teaching and learning more equitable. Education Research Strategies is urging states to allocate ARP funding based on “an equity-centered approach” that will “build toward better, more equitable approaches to teaching and learning.”⁵⁵ Results for America published a report arguing that COVID relief money should be used “to make progress in advancing racial and economic equity.”⁵⁶ The Annenberg Institute lists its core mission as addressing “inequities in educational opportunity and justice,”⁵⁷ and advocates for “culturally responsive teaching” and culturally relevant pedagogy,⁵⁸ a term coined by Gloria Ladson-Billings.⁵⁹

- X ERS: “So as school system leaders across the country plan for how to invest ESSER funds, they need to target resources in ways that meet students’ differing academic and social-emotional recovery needs, and build toward better, more equitable approaches to teaching and learning.”⁶⁰
- X RFA: “The American Rescue Plan (ARP) gives states and local governments \$350 billion to make progress in advancing racial and economic equity...”⁶¹
- X AI: “We develop our core initiatives in response to inequities in educational opportunity and justice...”⁶²

NY: \$8,995,282,324

New York’s plan prioritizes building a curriculum based on CRT and racial division. The state’s Civic Readiness Taskforce built a curriculum that will teach students about “their identities,” “privilege,” and “implicit bias” while using selected “texts that reflect students’ backgrounds.” State policy even compels the promotion of “diversity, equity, and inclusion in all NYS districts and schools through the budgeting process.”⁶³ This is merely at the state level. Looking closer at how local school districts are spending the money is much more revealing.

Breitbart: “New York used federal American Rescue Plan (ARP) coronavirus relief funds to advance critical race theory indoctrination in elementary and secondary public schooling.”⁶⁴



In Corning, NY, the school district allocated \$130,000 from ARP to pay for its “contract with the Equity Collaborative for equity coaching and professional development.”⁶⁵ Using “an approach that turns critical race theory into practices for building equitable learning environments,” the Equity Collaborative’s stated “goal is to help organizations develop...the capacity to create educational equity, to further social justice, and to stand up to bias and oppression.”⁶⁶ In its presentation entitled “Introduction to Critical Race Theory,” the Equity Collaborative instructs teachers that racism is “an inherent part of American civilization, privileging White individuals over people of color...” and it attacks “the ideas of color-blindness, the neutrality of the law, incremental change, and equal opportunity for all.” It then concludes with a breakout session prompt for teachers to discuss: “How might you use CRT to identify and address systemic oppression in your school, district or organization?”⁶⁷

X The Equity Collaborative “turns critical race theory into practices for building equitable learning environments.”⁶⁸

Buffalo Public Schools is planning to spend \$1.2 million from ARP for its Office of Culturally & Linguistically Responsive Initiatives (CLRI) to implement an “Emancipation Curriculum” that is focused on anti-racism, culturally responsive pedagogy, and the destruction of the nuclear family. The curriculum “is framed by Black Lives Matter guiding principles” and teaches students “all white people play a part in perpetuating systemic racism.”⁶⁹ It even teaches fourth and fifth grade students “to question the importance of the nuclear family.”⁷⁰

X Emancipation Curriculum: “all white people play a part in perpetuating systemic racism.”⁷¹

Buffalo provided a line-item breakdown for how the COVID relief is being spent, and it is quite telling. \$962,954 to hire staff who will focus on “anti-racism and equity inclusion curriculum” and “create...a curriculum that is aligned to anti-racist and culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogy.” \$112,000 for professional training “that focuses on anti-racism and CLRI.” \$104,366 for “emancipation curriculum materials,” podcast and newspaper equipment, and computer software, including \$4,000 to buy “costumes for Diverse Theatre productions.” \$43,960 for staff travel expenses to attend conferences.⁷²

\$1.2 million for Buffalo’s CRT-based curriculum

Dr. Fatima Morrell, who leads CLRI, personally believes that America “is built on racism” and that all Americans are guilty of “implicit racial bias.”⁷³ She based the “Emancipation Curriculum” on the teachings of Gloria Ladson-Billings and praised her work “as a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge and develop skills.”⁷⁴ Her office even justified and encouraged violent riots after George Floyd’s murder by invoking Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr:

“It was with great grief, confusion, and anxiety that we observed the national murder of Minneapolis citizen, father, and brother, George Floyd. ... As we and our students engage in this national pain and trauma, old wounds are reopened as the Black community relives the intergenerational trauma dating back to 1619, of bondage, chattel slavery, Jim Crowism, lynching, economic inequities, housing inequities, police brutality, mass incarceration, educational neglect, hopelessness, an inability to have our voices heard, or to be afforded the basic rights of humanity. Hence, we have witnessed the mass public outcry to address these recent painful and traumatic killings played out on national television and social media in at

least 20 states, and in multiple countries worldwide. This outcry has manifested as peaceful protest, demonstrations, and yes, even ‘riots’ have occurred, which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. framed as ‘the language of the unheard’ in 1967.”⁷⁵

The reality is, Dr. Morrell, a radical ideologue, now has a seven-figure budget to indoctrinate tens of thousands of students. She is using taxpayer-funded COVID relief for it, as schools struggled to reopen.

X “[Morrell] argued that ‘America’s sickness’ leads some whites to believe that blacks are ‘not human,’ which makes it ‘easier to shoot someone in the back seven times if you feel like it.’”⁷⁶

IL: \$5,058,601,934

The Illinois state plan continues the trend of bringing a ‘woke’ curriculum into schools. While emphasizing “equity and diversity,” Illinois is spending ARP funds to incorporate “anti-racism” into the curriculum.⁷⁷ On a more local level, Chicago Public Schools has allocated \$32 million from ARP to advance its Curriculum Equity Initiative and Skyline—a CRT-based “comprehensive, culturally responsive universal curriculum.”⁷⁸ This comes after Mayor Lori Lightfoot publicly endorsed CRT and vowed to “support the implementation of CRT in the public education curriculum.”⁷⁹ Chicago has touted the initiative’s focus on diversity and “comprehensive, culturally responsive curriculum.”⁸⁰ Keep in mind that this is the model curriculum that the U.S. DOE promoted in its guidelines for how states should spend ARP funds.

X IL State Board of Education: “Areas of focus will include racism & equity (incl. anti-racism)...”⁸¹

MI: \$3,722,478,258

In Michigan, ARP funding is being allocated using an “equity lens” with “direct input from...the department’s Anti-Racism Student Advisory Council.” The state also encouraged local school districts to make implicit bias training for teachers a priority. In doing so, they partnered with the Culturally Responsive School Leadership Institute (CRSLI) to help “educational leaders at all levels to humanize students and communities in schools.”⁸² This sounds innocent enough, however, a quick look under the hood shows a program that is deeply influenced by and aligned with CRT.

While Michigan did not spend much time detailing CRSLI’s program, CRSLI’s website provides all the dirty details. The program begins by encouraging school leaders to “unlearn and then rethink” traditional policies that are “oppressive.”⁸³ One oppressive school policy example that they provide is clothing restrictions. In other words, they teach that students are oppressed by clothing policies. The CRSLI program “challenges Whiteness and hegemonic epistemologies in school,” uses “equity audits to measure student inclusiveness, policy, and practice;” helps schools reform their “curriculum to become more culturally responsive;” and helps educators “translate histories of oppression...into viable and sustainable, educational leadership practice.”⁸⁴

X CRSLI “challenges Whiteness and hegemonic epistemologies in school.”⁸⁵

In a CRSLI promotional video, the program’s founder breaks down the focus and goals of each unit. The first unit is focused on “the history of oppression in schools,” and the second is focused on “self-reflection” to help teachers understand that they themselves are oppressors:



*"The first two days is about the history of oppression in schools. Really is a deep dive as to why we have these achievement gaps today, what's caused them, what's reproducing them, and how we can think differently about that. The second two days is about leadership for critical self-reflection. We're really trying to then analyze, ok now if we have an understanding of the problem, we have to then analyze what are our roles in contributing to that problem."*⁸⁶

To summarize, Michigan is using federal COVID relief funding to teach teachers that they oppress students.

NJ: \$2,766,529,533

New Jersey is spending its ARP funding to implement CRT-based initiatives in the classroom. These include "culturally responsive teaching practices" and "social and emotional learning."⁸⁷ The state is also requiring local school districts to use the funds "to advance educational equity." For instance, Newark Public Schools' first priority for spending ARP funds is developing a new curriculum based on and "informed by culturally sustaining pedagogies in order to sustain linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism for positive social transformation and revitalization."⁸⁸

WA: \$1,852,501,071

Instead of considering how to keep students, teachers, and staff safe from COVID, Washington is distributing ARP funds using a "lens of educational equity." The state's Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction will only disburse funding to school districts that adequately address equity and plan to implement long-term systemic changes.⁸⁹

X "Where the SEA has control to make targeted investments with ARP ESSER funds, we will be doing so through the lens of educational equity..."⁹⁰

Seattle Public Schools (SPS) passed this test with flying colors, whose plan was "guided by" the CRT tenets of "anti-racism" and "cultural responsiveness."⁹¹ The state hastily approved Seattle's plan, making the school district eligible for ARP funds.⁹² SPS' plan reveals that the district is working with Panorama Education, a company that promotes CRT in schools and provides surveys that ask students (PK-12) about inappropriate topics for younger students, including sexuality and drugs. In June 2020, Panorama's CEO wrote a blog post committing the company to changing America's institutions by "dismantling systemic racism" and "spreading anti-racist practices" in schools.⁹³

X "[Panorama's] surveys reportedly give justification for new curricula in schools which parents have recently taken issue with, such as critical race theory."⁹⁴

Prior to receiving federal COVID relief, CRT had already been entrenched Seattle's public school curriculum. In 2020, SPS claimed that the U.S. education system is committing "spirit murder" against black children. In other words, American schools "murder the souls of Black children every day through systemic, institutionalized, anti-Black, state-sanctioned violence."⁹⁵ To remedy this supposed injustice, SPS has been training teachers to reject whiteness and become anti-racist educators. The school district has even deployed racial equity teams throughout schools.

SPS has also instituted a Black Lives Matter At School Week of Action for students, teachers, and parents "to examine social justice and equity in education" and learn "the truth about structural racism and other forms of oppression."⁹⁶ The lessons learned during BLM Week "aim to help students understand inequities based on race and to promote the belief that every person has a responsibility to work for equity as a core idea."⁹⁷



X "SPS is working to dramatically improve academic and life outcomes for students of color by disrupting the legacies of racism in our educational system."⁹⁸

MA: \$1,831,416,990

Massachusetts' plan allocates ARP funds to incorporate anti-racism and other CRT tenets into their school curriculum. With equity being "the main goal of our work,"⁹⁹ Massachusetts will use "a portion of the ARP ESSER funds to...create a culturally responsive, anti-racist and welcoming environment" in schools.¹⁰⁰ This includes anti-racist professional development for teachers and administrators.

X "Using a portion of the ARP ESSER funds to...create a culturally responsive, anti-racist and welcoming environment."¹⁰¹

To accomplish this, the state is focused on using programs like the Kaleidoscope Collective for Learning to "engag[e] in robust agency-wide anti-racism training and development of an equity planning tool, as part of inclusive practice."¹⁰² Within a Massachusetts education initiative called 'Deeper Learning,' Kaleidoscope is a pilot program that is centered around a "belief in equity."¹⁰³ This Deeper Learning initiative "draws directly from research on Culturally Responsive Teaching, which is defined as teaching that leads to academic achievement, cultural competence, and socio-political awareness."¹⁰⁴ In essence, the program trains teachers in CRT and brings politics into the classroom.

MN: \$1,321,564,450

Minnesota's priorities for spending ARP funding are full of CRT-based initiatives. Among them are creating an "inclusive curriculum," fostering "culturally responsive social-emotional learning," "disrupt[ing] and eliminat[ing] racial bias and racial stressors," and "examin[ing] gender bias."¹⁰⁵ The state is also working with a coalition of education advocacy groups that want ARP "funding for schools to purchase culturally affirming textbooks and for schools to invest in diverse meals in order for students to learn about nutrition from other cultures."¹⁰⁶ Minneapolis Public Schools has already gotten started, and is planning to spend \$600,000 from ARP to implement its "anti-bias curriculum."¹⁰⁷

X "...funding for schools to purchase culturally affirming textbooks and for schools to invest in diverse meals in order for students to learn about nutrition from other cultures."¹⁰⁸

OR: \$1,121,814,984

Oregon plans to spend its ARP funds "to apply an equity-informed, anti-racist, and anti-oppressive stance to promote culturally sustaining and revitalizing educational systems that support every child."¹⁰⁹ For instance, part of the funding will be used to promote programs like the Racial Justice Institute, which provides "anti-racist communities of practice for educational leaders."¹¹⁰ The state is even considering segregating teachers and students by race because it is "a key facet of developing anti-racism in today's schools and society."¹¹¹

CT: \$1,106,696,657

Connecticut makes it crystal clear from the beginning that they have no intention of spending ARP funds on anything related to COVID relief. They argue that the first two rounds of ESSER "created the opportunity to survive" and "to thrive," while "ARP ESSER is Connecticut's opportunity to transform."¹¹² Transform how? By spending the federal funding to train teachers

with CRT. The state is focused on “providing professional learning to mitigate implicit bias and promote equity.”¹¹³ Funds will also be dedicated to “professional development opportunities” that include “examining cultural sensitivity and racial bias.”¹¹⁴

X “ESSER I created the opportunity to survive, ESSER II created the opportunity to thrive, and ARP ESSER is Connecticut’s opportunity to transform.”¹¹⁵

NV: \$1,072,783,189

In Nevada, schools had already reopened by the time ARP funds were made available. As such, the state openly admitted that “the majority of education funding” would not address “health and safety protocols”¹¹⁶ and declared “equity is the focus” for determining how to spend the money.¹¹⁷ The plan includes “equity and diversity training and professional development for school staff.”¹¹⁸ It also allocates \$380,000 to hire 20 “restorative justice/practices” trainers in order to “advance equity and to decrease disproportionality in student discipline.”¹¹⁹

X “\$380,000...to create a cadre of 20 trained trainers in the area of restorative justice/practices...”¹²⁰

While developing its plan, Nevada consulted with the National Equity Project (NEP) “to equip educators to respond to system racism and inequities.”¹²¹ NEP teaches CRT and develops educators into anti-American “rebel leaders” who will “abolish unjust systems and catalyze positive change.”¹²² They believe that “our current systems perpetuate inequity by design.”¹²³ What is a rebel leader? As defined by NEP, “rebel leadership requires us to make inequities visible; disrupt discourse, practices and policies that perpetuate harm; and create new ways to engage and co-design with our communities so that each of us and our children can develop, thrive and experience a sense of belonging.”¹²⁴ Despite what NEP believes, a teacher’s job description does not include political indoctrination of children.

X NEP: “In fact, it is the unwillingness of America to reconcile, repair and heal from its past and the deadly consequences of white supremacy that impedes our capacity to realize the possibility of a true democracy.”¹²⁵

The Washoe County School District has similar plans to spend ARP funds on CRT initiatives. This includes “equity and diversity training” for teachers and hiring an “Equity and Diversity Specialist” who will develop strategies to incorporate “multicultural and equity education proficiency and awareness into the curriculum.”¹²⁶ Washoe County has also been partnered with Panorama Education since 2012, so this has been infused in the county’s curriculum for a decade now.¹²⁷

RI: \$415,145,839

Rhode Island’s plan uses CRT tenets like “cultural responsiveness,” “anti-racism,” and “equity” as the guiding principles in deciding how to spend ARP funding. It states that “all actions” will be centered “from an orientation of cultural responsiveness and anti-racism.”¹²⁸ With this as the main strategy, the funding will be used “to address...the deep systemic inequities that existed beforehand”¹²⁹ and to develop “implicit bias training modules for new and existing teachers.”¹³⁰ On top of the CRT elements, Rhode Island plainly states that the COVID relief funding will be used to address issues that existed before the pandemic.

X RI: COVID relief funding will be used “to address...the deep systemic inequities that existed” before the pandemic.¹³¹

Rhode Island also consulted with seven outside policy, research, and advocacy organizations that promote CRT initiatives and progressive politics—City Year Providence, Generation Citizen, Providence After School Alliance, Rhode Island KIDS Count, the Annenberg Institute, Chiefs for Change, and the Rhode Island Foundation.¹³² City Year Providence, touts being “an anti-racist organization” that “has a responsibility to our community to combat systematic racism.”¹³³ City Year’s Executive Director even wrote an op-ed urging Rhode Island’s schools to use ARP funding to “address this injustice.”¹³⁴ Generation Citizen, a civics education group, is committed to “racial and socioeconomic equity”¹³⁵ and encourages students to promote progressive political issues in the classroom.¹³⁶ Providence After School Alliance offers youth programs that are centered around environmental activism, social justice, and drag.¹³⁷ Rhode Island KIDS Count believes “that persistent, unacceptable disparities by race, ethnicity, and immigration status result from structural racism which must be dismantled.”¹³⁸ As discussed earlier, the Annenberg Institute’s core initiatives work to address “inequities in educational opportunity and justice.”¹³⁹ Chiefs for Change publicly advocates for CRT-based curricula and Gloria Ladson-Billings’ “culturally relevant pedagogy” in schools.¹⁴⁰ Finally, the Rhode Island Foundation paid Ibram Kendi \$15,000 to speak to community members and students “about the advantages of eliminating merit-based admissions exams, promoting ‘equity’ and ‘anti-racist’ school curriculum and encouraging students to social justice activism.”¹⁴¹

X To determine how to spend ARP funding, Rhode Island consulted with seven outside groups that advocate for CRT initiatives and progressive politics in schools.¹⁴²

CONCLUSION

The examples outlined in this report are just the tip of the iceberg, as they represent a snapshot of a larger trend that has been years in the making. Now, taxpayer-funded emergency COVID relief is being funneled to left-wing bureaucrats and educators so they can indoctrinate American children with race-based Marxism and turn them into progressive political activists. ARP passed through Congress on a partisan basis with only Democrat votes, and a few months later, the same Senators, except Senator Joe Manchin (D-WV), voted against prohibiting the use of federal funds for CRT in schools.¹⁴³ The Biden administration urged states to spend the money this way, and it approved all the state plans with these initiatives in place.

ARP ESSER funding was explicitly sold to the American people as emergency COVID relief. President Biden and his Congressional allies pleaded for it as “a matter of life and death,” but the receipts prove that was just a performative talking point. Throughout the entire process, they intentionally and deliberately misled the public. They claimed to need the money for health and safety reasons so that schools could reopen, not to force their Marxist curriculum into schools across the country.

These states and school districts that spent the taxpayer dollars to implement CRT-based curricula clearly did not need it for health and safety purposes. Therefore, Congress should immediately work to claw back the funding and repurpose it for something useful. Since ARP was signed into law, COVID has continued to cripple daily life, inflation has reached a 40-year high, gas prices have hit all-time highs, illegal immigration at the southern border has surged to record numbers, and Europe’s largest land war since WWII has broken out. Any of these problems present a more worthy and important use of these funds.

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