Exposing Critical Race Theory and its concepts in Missouri School Districts
This document, as of June 14, 2021, contains a sampling of instances where critical race theory (CRT) or its concepts are being introduced to Missouri school children. This is only a sample; reports of occurrences in schools across Missouri continue to be compiled at an accelerating rate. This report is organized into four sections to document statewide concerns.

Section 1: Understanding the Language: Definition of Social Justice Terms - Infographic

*Environmental Justice
*Decolonization
*Systemic Racism
*Cultural Competence
*Critical Race Theory
*Inclusion
*Equity
*Racial Justice
*Bipoc folx
*White privilege/supremacy
*Diversity
*Social Justice

Source: Infographic: Responding to Social Justice Rhetoric, by Drs. Bruce Gilley, Peter Boghossian, and James Lindsay from the Oregon Association of Scholars

Section 2: Who Is Bringing This into Missouri Schools: Critical Race Theory Used by Consultants Hired by DESE, Missouri School Boards Association, and many Missouri School Districts to Train Teachers and Administrators and Create Curricula

1. Educational Equity Consultants

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Example 3: Webster Groves School District

*Racial Identity Survey Given to Second Graders

Section 4: This IS happening in Missouri: Additional Examples of Critical Race Theory or its Concepts Being Used in School Districts Across Missouri**

Clayton School District, Clayton, Missouri

Lindbergh School District, St. Louis County, Missouri

Springfield School District, Springfield, Missouri

Lee’s Summit School District (LSR7), Lee’s Summit, Missouri

Webster Groves School District, Webster Groves, Missouri

Rockwood School District, Eureka, Missouri

Kansas City School District, Kansas City, Missouri

Francis Howell School District, St. Peters, Missouri

Wentzville School District, Wentzville, Missouri

Hillsboro School District, Hillsboro, Missouri

Kirkwood School District, Kirkwood, Missouri

Ladue School District, Ladue, Missouri
Section 1: Understanding the Language: Definition of Social Justice Terms
Source: Drs. Bruce Gilley, Peter Boghossian, & James Lindsay

![Diagram showing definitions of social justice terms](image-url)
Section 2: Who Is Bringing This into Missouri Schools: Critical Race Theory Used by Consultants Hired by DESE, Missouri School Boards Association, and many Missouri School Districts to Train Teachers and Administrators and Create Curricula

1. Educational Equity Consultants

Educational Equity Consultants is a private company based in St. Louis that provides consulting services to educational entities. Their website, www.eec4justice.com, contains material consistent with critical race theory.

For example, under the “Just Resources” section of the website/“Confronting Oppression”/“Racial Equity Tools”/“Act”, they highlight this article by DiDi Delgado from the Huffington Post entitled, “Whites Only: SURJ and the Caucasian Invasion of Racial Justice Spaces.” Here is an excerpt from this article:

“Need I remind you of purple ketchup? The Spider-Man musical released on Broadway? George Zimmerman’s acquittal by jury? The Holocaust? All of these bad ideas started with a bunch of white folks sitting around a table being extra white. If history has taught me anything, it’s that there’s nothing more disappointing or dangerous than a room full of white people. With that in mind, I’d like you to consider why anyone would expect white-led anti-racism organizations to be any different.

If there’s one thing white people DON’T need, it’s more spaces reserved for their comfort at the expense and exclusion of people of color.

White-led anti-racism groups have existed for hundreds of years, and they’ve often been problematic, counterproductive, and just f***ing weird since their inception.”

Under their “Just Resources” section of their website, they highlight and celebrate Angela Davis in a “Truth Telling trailer.”

Angela Davis admits to being a Communist in this October, 2018 article at www.liberationschool.org entitled, “Angela Davis on why she’s a communist.” This is the video link: https://youtu.be/CB7Cch3Dx0k
Exposure in the Media and Subsequent Scrubbing of Websites

Example 1: EEC Scrubbing DESE and Missouri School Boards Association From Their Website Client List

On April 27, 2021, when the original version of this report was compiled, Educational Equity Consultants listed 29 Missouri entities as clients on their website. These clients included many Missouri rural, urban and suburban public school districts, private high schools, DESE, the Missouri School Board Association, and the University of Missouri – St. Louis School of Education, as documented by the screenshot below.
Missouri

Affton School District
Alta Vista School District
Aurora School District
Belton School District
Biome School
Brentwood School District
Clayton School District
DeSmet Jesuit High School
Ferguson-Florissant School District
Hazelwood School District
Human Relations Commission
Jennings School District
Kirkwood School District
Ladue School District
Lee's Summit School District
Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education
Missouri School Boards Association
North Kansas City Public School District
Parkway School District
Pattonville School District
Rockwood School District
Rosati Kain High School
St. John Vianney High School
St. Louis Professional Development Schools Collaborative
St. Louis Public Schools
University Academy
University City School District
University of Missouri St. Louis School of Education
Webster Groves School District
Educational Equity Consultants received negative attention after they were mentioned in a 4-28-2021 Daily Wire article about a nationally publicized incident that occurred in the Rockwood District. Here is an excerpt from journalist Luke Rosiak’s article:

“Faced with complaints from parents about the indoctrination of children, an official in Rockwood School District, Missouri, instructed teachers to create two sets of curriculum: a false one to share with parents, and then the real set of curriculum, focused on topics like activism and privilege, according to a memo obtained by The Daily Wire.

Natalie Fallert, EdD, 6-12 Literacy Speech Coordinator, wrote to all middle and high school principals that parents had repeatedly complained that “we are pushing an agenda,” “we are pushing Critical Race Theory (I had to look this one up!),” “we are making white kids feel bad about their privilege,” “we are stereotyping,” “we are teaching kids to be social activists,” and “we are teaching kids to be democratic thinkers and activists.”

The problem was that, for the first time, parents could see what teachers were telling their children thanks to virtual learning, where assignments were visible for at-home learners in a tool called Canvas.

Fallert’s solution:

*This doesn’t mean throw out the lesson and find a new one. Just pull the resource off Canvas so parents cannot see it …*

*Keep teaching! Just don’t make everything visible on Canvas. This is not being deceitful. This is just doing what you have done for years. Prior to the pandemic you didn't send everything home or have it available. You taught in your classroom and things were peachy keen. We are going old-school. …”*

In that same Daily Wire article, DESE and Missouri School Boards Association were listed as 2 of EEC’s Missouri clients:

“One firm alone, Educational Equity Consultants (EEC), says it has at least 30 clients in the state, including the state education office, the Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, and the Missouri School Boards Association. Rockwood has also hired EEC.

Webster school district, another EEC client, intends to revise its social studies curriculum to be based on “social justice standards” conceived by Learning for Justice.”

**EEC now has removed DESE and the Missouri School Boards Association from the public client list on their website; as of this writing, they list only 27 Missouri clients.**

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Example 2: Lindbergh School District Scrubbing EEC references from website

As recently as May 1, 2021, Lindbergh School District listed their affiliation with Educational Equity Consultants on the district website. The Lindbergh School District Inclusion, Equity, and Diversity webpage also used to reference a partnership with Educational Equity Consultants (EEC) as well as a workshop called Crossroads Analyzing and Understanding Systemic Racism. On its website, Crossroads states it partners with organizations and institutions to “dismantle systemic racism.” Crossroads’ Approach and Theory of Change align with the ideology of critical race theory. The screenshots below confirm Lindbergh’s partnership with both EEC and Crossroads.
However, all information Lindbergh School District used to have on their district website pertaining to EEC has now been scrubbed. **Sometime after May 1, 2021,** the entire Educator Resources section was scrubbed from the Lindbergh School District website, which used to include references to Robin DiAngelo’s *White Fragility* and Howard Zinn’s *Teaching A People’s History.* Howard Zinn was a member of the Communist Party USA according to FBI records (see [link](#)).

The following links also used to be on the Educator Resources section of the Lindbergh district website and have been scrubbed.

1. White Anti-Racism: Living the Legacy (Teaching Tolerance)
2. Teaching About Race, Racism, and Police Violence (Teaching Tolerance)
3. 40+ Books for AntiRacist Teachers (Culturally Responsive Leadership)
4. Smith: A Call to Action - Black Educators Need White Co-...(The74million)
5. A Guide to Equity and Antiracism for Educators (Edutopia)
6. What White Colleagues Need to Understand (Teaching Tolerance)
7. An opportunity for equity - Learning Forward (Learning Forward)
8. On the Podcast: Beyond Quick Fixes to Racial Injustice in...(Heinemann)
9. Creating an Anti-Bias Learning Environment (Anti Defamation League)
10. Social Justice Resources - ADVANCING RACIAL EQUITY...(Wustl)
11. Confronting Anti-Black Racism (PBS LearningMedia)
12. Teaching Materials - Zinn Education Project
13. The danger of silence Clint Smith (YouTube)
14. Robin DiAngelo on Educators’ "White Fragility" - Educational ...(Ascd)

This begs the question: why are districts who are entrusted with educating Missouri’s children removing evidence of their association with equity organizations once the information has been brought to public attention? Given these discrepancies, investigation into the contractual relationships that DESE and the Missouri School Boards Association have with EEC is warranted. Additionally, a complete listing of all Missouri school districts who have contractual relationships with EEC is needed.
2. The Core Collaborative: Floyd Cobb and John Krownapple

The founders of The Core Collaborative, Floyd Cobb and John Krownapple, authored a book entitled, *Belonging Through a Culture of Dignity: The Keys to Successful Equity Implementation*. The backgrounds of these authors demonstrate their experience with and promotion of critical race theory, as noted below in Dr. Cobb’s biography:

**Floyd Cobb** is an adjunct faculty member with the Morgridge College of Education at the University of Denver. His coursework focuses on teaching methods along with the intersections of race, class, power and privilege. He has held a leadership role in issues related to educational equity . . . he is the co-author of the book, *Interrogating Whiteness Relinquishing Power*.

The following exchange between the founders of The Core Collaborative provides insight into viewpoints held by Mr. Krownapple. Note the statement about whiteness.
Floyd Cobb is the author of the following study which cites using critical race theory in their work (see the red box below). Note meritocracy is described often by CRT as a “hallmark of white supremacy culture”
The Lee’s Summit School District (LSR7) contracted with The Core Collaborative for a supplement to EEC for $147,000. No public discussion occurred about the purchase and it was made after several parents spoke out against Critical Race Theory and Educational Equity Consultants. It is still CRT but is disguised as Social Emotional Learning (SEL). Core Collaborative is also being used in Wentzville, Lindbergh, and Francis Howell School Districts.

3. Dr. LaGarrett King (University of Missouri-Columbia)

Dr. LaGarrett King, a professor in the teaching college at the University of Missouri-Columbia, lists “race critical theories and knowledge” and “critical multicultural teacher education” as areas of expertise (seen in the screenshot). Dr. L. King served as a consultant in the implementation of the Webster Groves School District K-8 Social Studies curriculum – provided by the Southern Poverty Law Center - that was unanimously approved by the school board on April 22, 2021. Dr. King has also consulted with Ladue School District, Francis Howell School District, Rockwood, and possibly others.
Dr. King is the Founding Director of the University’s Carter Center for K-12 Black History Education at the University of Missouri – Columbia, which falls under the Department of Learning, Teaching, and Curriculum. In this position, he has influence over the training of Missouri educators. Below is a screenshot from their website citing research in “critical pedagogies” and critical race theory (see number 2 below). This is clear evidence of how when districts say they “aren’t teaching Critical Race Theory,” they are being less than honest; the curricula, lessons, and policies they use are built from the perspective of Critical Race Theory, and it has the effect of indoctrinating children into this worldview.

Dr. King is the author of numerous published articles in this field. He co-authored with Ryan M. Crowley the article, “Making Inquiry Critical: Examining Power and Inequity in the Classroom,” published in 2018 in the Journal Social Education, 82 (1), pp. 14-17. In this article, Crowley and King start off with the following:

“What does it mean to approach inquiry from a critical perspective? It is not quite as simple as it may sound. We use the word critical in a way that is distinct from the broader educational goal of encouraging critical thinking. Although critical thinking is a crucial skill, our use of “critical” refers specifically to the use of critical theory.”

Crowley and King (2018) proceed to describe the roots of critical theory, originating in the Frankfort School in 1920’s Germany. They note clearly that the goal of the Frankfort School was to extend Marxist theory into the culture as it pertains to social inequality. The
authors note that Marx’s “call to produce knowledge and to take action from the standpoint of the oppressed may be its greatest impact.” Crowley and King state on page 14 of the article that scholars and activists were “unembarrassed by the label ‘political’” when engaging in such endeavors. *Since the authors define critical theory as originating from Marx, one can substitute the word “Marxist” in place of “critical” in the rest of the article to see where the authors plan on going with this.*

The authors continue to outline sections in the article entitled “critical pedagogy,” “critical social studies pedagogy,” “making inquiry critical,” and “crafting a critical inquiry with the inquiry design model.” Examples of using this “inquiry design model” include carefully crafting questions of students, such as a question that would put capitalism in a negative light, and then providing them with reading materials that support this question and its intended answer.

They conclude the article as clearly in their purpose and intentions as they started it. Under “Concluding thoughts”, they write:

“In this article, we hoped to make it clear that one must be purposeful when designing a critical inquiry. It is not quite as simple as examining a topic (e.g., Jim Crow, Indian Removal, same-sex marriage, the gender wage gap, Islamophobia) that could connect to social justice issues. *To truly stay within the bounds of critical theory, there must be a focus on identifying unequal power relationships in society coupled with the goal of transforming those unjust social relations. To remain true to critical pedagogy, teachers should work to identify questions that are important to students’ lives and that encourage them to reflect on the ways that they are either privileged or oppressed by social dynamics. And, finally, to enact these concepts in the context of the IDM, the inquiry must ask critical questions, analyze sources from the viewpoint of the oppressed, and encourage action that can make a tangible contribution toward justice.*”

**Connection with the Webster Groves School District Social Studies Curriculum**

It should be noted that the newly revised K-8 social studies curriculum for Webster Groves School District calls for such collective action in their “Social Justice Standards” from the Southern Poverty Law Center. The standard, “Students will plan and carry out collective action against bias and injustice in the world and will evaluate what strategies are most effective” is going to be applied to students as young as first grade beginning in the fall of 2021. The district is using the “Inquiry Design Model” as well, as described by Dr. Shane Williamson, the Director of Diversity, Equity and Inclusion for the district in her April 8, 2021 presentation to the board [here](#), seen at the 1:04:52 mark. Despite the use of the major crux of Dr. LaGarrett King’s work as outlined in this article (action civics, inquiry design model), the use of Educational Equity Consultants, and the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Learning for Justice standards, the district claims not to be using critical race theory within the curriculum. Please refer to the Webster Groves School District reports in Sections 2 and 3 of this report for additional examples.
Section 3: Is This Against the Law: A Sample of Evidence (e.g., the Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment)

In his May 19, 2021 letter to U.S. Secretary of Education Miguel Cardona, Missouri Attorney General Eric Schmidt cited legal considerations of critical race theory in schools as it pertains to the proposed Biden Administration’s financial incentivization of state boards of education to teach CRT concepts. See the Attorney General’s letter here, also found on the website www.ago.mo.gov. If states receive federal dollars to promote critical race theory, this has the potential to have a greater influence on curriculum content than any efforts local individual districts might engage in to the contrary.

This section includes examples of likely violation of federal law, the Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment (PPRA) in Missouri schools. This is not an exhaustive list of potential legal violations related to CRT in Missouri.


The United States Department of Education's Student Privacy Policy Office (SPPO) reviews, investigates, and processes complaints of alleged violations of the Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment (PPRA). 20 U.S.C. 1232h and 34 CFR Part 98. PPRA is a federal law that affords certain rights to parents of students attending elementary or secondary schools with regards to any survey, analysis, or evaluation that asks students to reveal information of a personal nature. The rights afforded parents under PPRA transfer to the student when the student turns 18 years old or is an emancipated minor under applicable State law. PPRA also concerns marketing surveys, parental access to instructional material, as well as the administration of certain physical examinations to minors. A local educational agency (LEA), or school district, must provide parents effective notice of their rights under PPRA.

PPRA applies to the programs and activities of recipients of funds under any program funded by the U.S. Department of Education (referred to below as Department), such as LEA. It governs the administration to students of a survey, analysis, or evaluation that concerns one or more of the following eight protected areas:

1. Political affiliations
2. Mental and psychological problems of the student or the student's family
3. Sex behaviors and attitudes
4. Illegal, antisocial, self-incriminating, or demeaning behavior
5. Critical appraisals of other individuals with whom respondents have close family relationships
6. Legally recognized privileged or analogous relationships, such as those of lawyers, physicians and ministers
7. Religious practices, affiliations or beliefs of the student or the student's parents or
8. Income (other than that required by law to determine eligibility for participation in a program or for receiving financial assistance under such program.)
An LEA is required to obtain written consent before students are asked or required to submit to a survey that contains one or more of the eight protected areas listed above, if the survey is funded in whole or in part by the Department. For surveys that contain questions from one or more of the eight protected areas that are not funded in whole or in part with Department funds, an LEA must notify parents at least annually, at the beginning of the school year, of the specific or approximate date(s) of the survey and provide parents with an opportunity to opt their children out of participating, regardless of whether the survey is anonymous or whether participation in the survey is voluntary. If the LEA is unable to identify the specific or approximate dates of the survey (or other activity described below) at the beginning of the school year, it must provide this notification to parents once the activity or survey is scheduled. Parents should be provided reasonable notification of the planned activities and surveys and be provided an opportunity to opt their children out, as well as be provided with an opportunity to review any pertinent surveys. Please note that PPRA does not apply to surveys administered to students in accordance with the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. 20 U.S.C. 1400 et seq.

In addition to providing specific notification for surveys as described above, LEAs are also required to notify parents of these activities and provide parents with an opportunity to opt their children out of participating in the following activities:

- Activities involving the collection, disclosure or use of personal information collected from students for marketing purposes; and
- Any non-emergency, invasive physical examination or screening that is (1) required as a condition of attendance; (2) administered by the school and scheduled by the school in advance; and (3) not necessary to protect the immediate health and safety of the student, or of other students. This requirement does not apply to any physical examination or screening that is permitted or required by State law, including physical examinations or screenings permitted without parental notification.

LEAs must provide parents effective notice of their rights under PPRA, including the right to review, upon request, any instructional materials used in connection with any survey that concerns one or more of the eight protected areas and those used as part of the educational curriculum. For more information, see the model notification on our website: https://studentprivacy.ed.gov/resources/ppra-model-general-notice-rights.

LEAs are also required to develop and adopt policies, in consultation with parents, regarding these and other rights under PPRA. For more information, see https://studentprivacy.ed.gov/faq/what-policies-must-local-education-agency-lea-develop-under-protection-pupil-rights-amendment.

Lindbergh School District, St. Louis County, MO
Example 1: Identity Activity (3/30/2021) and Professional Development (4/23/2021)
In the summer of 2020, the superintendent announced via email a contract the district made with Educational Equity Consultants (EEC). In September of 2020, a family wrote a letter to the superintendent expressing serious concern about EEC’s definition of racism: “Racism is a complex system of beliefs and behaviors, which are both conscious and unconscious; personal
and institutional. They result in the oppression of people of color and benefit of the dominant group. It is a system grounded in the presumed superiority of the white race. A simpler definition is: Prejudice + Power = Racism.”

On February 3rd, 2021, the district held a "Round table" discussion on this specific topic (Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion) with several key employees of the district (https://youtu.be/Ges9-3bVsmc). There, the discussion was managed with identity markers at the beginning (2:55 point). Toward the end of the discussion, the moderator of the round table encouraged "especially elementary teachers" to engage these conversations of self-awareness and identity in a casual way - even as hallway conversations (57:00-59:00).

On March 9th, a district family sent a citizen statement to the Board of Education. In this statement the family requested to have an opt out option for any EEC based curriculum in the school, if such would be introduced to the students. It also urged to keep the school as a place of unity. The BOE replied with a written response that the district is teaching unity.

On March 30, 2021, their daughter came home with a picture she took on her Chromebook. The school required all students to engage in an "Identity Activity" where they presented ideas of how identity works, explaining that some identities are visible and some are invisible. They gave papers to be filled out “anonymously.” The students were asked to complete 7 sentence statements: "I am...", "I can...", "I have...", "I remember...", "I like...", "I will..." and "I believe...

Students were provided with suggestions on how to fill out the sentence stems with the following identity markers: gender, race, socioeconomic status, relationship status, family size, education, ethnicity, religion, language, parent/childless, sexual orientation, and career.

March 30, 2021:

*Family contacted administration, asking to see the presentation shown to their child. The administration complied and sent it, stating the activity’s purpose was to encourage open conversation between students.
*Family requested to have their child’s paper removed and pointed out that it was a violation of privacy. The administration responded that it was anonymous.
*Family explained if survey answers could reveal the identity of the person who filled it out, it was still considered to be a violation of the privacy law. No further response was given by the school.

April 12, 2021:

*One of the parents gave an in-person statement at the Board of Education meeting, reporting the details of the Identity Activity assignment. The parent urged the board to stop focusing on identity and urged the school to focus on unity and common ground of the students. The parents received no response from the board.
April 23, 2021:

The district was closed for students for a professional development day for teacher training. Only a few days before the Board of Education meeting on May 11, 2021, it was discovered that the students' Identity survey papers from March 30 were used for the teachers' Professional Development Day on April 23 for “Identity training.” Per the PowerPoint (see screenshots below), teachers used the students' surveys to discuss how the school, curriculum, and community are seen in the eyes of the students, including minority students.

May 11, 2021:

The parent provided an in-person statement at the Board of Education meeting. The statement is at the 1:09 point in this following video: https://youtu.be/bW04pI9_xPs

The Identity Activity and its survey were not announced to the parents (and therefore no consent/ opt out was possible). According to the Professional Development PowerPoint handout, the identity activity material was from the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Learning for Justice website, seen here. In addition, the students were not told that the teachers would be analyzing and discussing their survey responses in an upcoming professional development training.
The parent provided links from the U.S. Department of Education showing that parents must be informed of the use of private information (religious and political beliefs, sexual orientation) in an educational setting), and consent must be provided by the parents.

Response & Status: The administration of the school district responded with their own investigation. The district concluded that the survey was indeed covered by the U.S. Department of Education’s Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment (PPRA). Therefore, the district self-reported this incident to the Student Privacy Policy Office. According to the Lindbergh High School principal’s e-Note which was sent on 5/23/2021, the district states “this activity was a valuable exercise for both students and staff as we work to create a more inclusive school community.” The school has not addressed the betrayal of the students’ trust who filled out the survey without the knowledge of planned professional development. Their answers had been planned to be the source of discussions at the time of the survey. The agenda of 4/23 was already planned out on 3/30 when the student’s family reached out to the high school administration.

Example 2: Webster Groves School District, Webster Groves, MO
Political Affiliation Surveys Used in Government Classes Traceable to Individual Students

Surveys have been administered to Webster Groves High School students without parental permission/consent. The surveys were intended to determine the student’s political affiliation and required answers to sensitive questions about gay marriage, abortion, and prayer in schools, among others. These surveys were traceable to the student (e.g., through school issued Chromebook using personally identifiable school email accounts).

Students taking required Government class at Webster Groves High School were required to submit the results of 2 surveys regarding their political affiliation and political ideology.
https://www.isidewith.com/political-quiz

Students were required to “answer the following questions to see how your political beliefs match your political parties and candidates.” When a student clicks on the website, the exact questions may vary, but the questions are always of a political nature. Here is an example from the website.
Political Quiz/Political Ideology Survey:  
http://www.youthleadership.net/econgress/political_ideology_survey

The answers to this E-Congress Political Ideology Survey were used to determine the student’s likely political party affiliation, which was then emailed to the teacher. Screenshots of the actual survey questions the student answered are found below. Students were asked questions about their stance on abortion, gay marriage, and school prayer, among other topics.
E-CONGRESS

Political Ideology Survey

Which political party do you belong to?

Many factors contribute to a person's choice of political party. Research indicates that the strongest factors are family and community influences. The platforms and positions of the two major parties can also have an influence, but these can change and evolve over time. For that reason, it is helpful to examine contemporary issues to be sure that your party preference matches your political ideology, or personal beliefs about government.

Take the survey below to help you determine your political party preference. You must take this survey before moving forward.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Federal Government places too many restrictions on modern corporations.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Union workers receive wages and benefits so high that they damage their company’s ability to compete.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. High government taxes hurt the economy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Only people who cannot work should be eligible for welfare programs.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Illegal immigration lowers wages and increases crime.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. New government programs should be created to further assist poor people in the United States.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. The wealthy should be taxed at a higher percentage than the lower and middle classes.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. One of the best ways to help the poor is to set policies that help businesses earn a profit and create new jobs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Government programs discourage able-bodied people from helping themselves.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. The government should not restrict abortion and other reproductive decisions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. The government has a special responsibility to assist minorities.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Faith-based organizations should be used to improve poverty and crime in local communities.</td>
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<td>13. Public funding should not be used to support religious institutions including schools.</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Government should not financially support art projects that are morally objectionable.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The First Amendment should protect illicit materials from government censorship.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Free trade between the U.S. and other nations is generally beneficial.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. America’s high crime rate is directly traceable to a cycle of poverty, poor health care, poor education, and discrimination.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 3: Webster Groves School District, Webster Groves, MO  
Racial Identity Survey Given to Second Graders

Webster Groves School District 2nd graders were asked via written survey to identify their racial/ethnic background and answer questions about it in “My Identity Journal” assignment. After circling their racial identities, students were asked to respond in writing to the following questions: When is the first time you noticed that people can be different races from you? What did you notice? Do you feel more comfortable around people who look like you or does it not matter?
MY IDENTITY JOURNAL

TASK #10

Not everyone is the same race or ethnicity. That’s what makes our world and the people in it so unique and interesting.

- Alaska Native or Native American Tribe
- Asian
- Black or African American
- Bi-Racial (More than two races)
- Hispanic or Latino
- Multi-Racial (Three or more races)
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- White

When is the first time you noticed that people can be different races from you?
What did you notice?
Now.

Do you feel more comfortable around people who look like you or does it not matter?
Section 4: Additional Examples of Critical Race Theory or its Concepts Being Used in School Districts Across Missouri

Clayton School District, Clayton, Missouri

The "Wheel of Power and Privilege" was an assignment given in a 7th grade Literacy (English) class where students were asked to reflect how they were privileged or unprivileged. If you look at the chart below, you can see who is considered to have power and who is considered to be marginalized.

This is a screenshot of the identity map provided by the teacher as an example to students to then complete their own identity maps, which had to be turned into the teacher. It asks for considerable personal information consistent with CRT, like ethnicity, nationality, gender identity, religion, disability status, etc. The teacher provided her own examples of her connections to the words on the “Wheel of Power and Privilege” and describes herself in this...
example as an “activist” under the section, “Skills, Jobs and Interests.” The child was asked to complete these maps 2 or 3 times before her parent pulled her out of the class.

Lindbergh School District, St. Louis County, MO

The following is an email from a Lindbergh Middle School Health teacher surveying her students on which identity related topics they wanted to cover in class, based on the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Learning for Justice curriculum.

1. Email re: Learning for Justice in Health and Fitness Classes

From: konders@lindberghschools.ws
Subject: Learning for Justice in Health & Fitness
Date: March 12, 2021 at 12:54:11 PM CST

Hello Families!

We are dedicating 1 day a week to choice-driven topics through "Learning for Justice" lessons (formerly named "Teaching Tolerance") and some time for Self-Care.
This work began with kids creating word clouds of topics that are of importance to them at this time (attached). I'm asking that kids now rank the topics in order of personal importance this Virtual Monday using this FORM. I encourage you to view the form, so you are aware of the topics.

This work is sensitive, personal, and challenging. I want to be sure to honor each child and family by communicating topics being discussed ahead of time. Students will always have the option to excuse themselves if certain topics are triggering.

**Kim Onder**

*(she / her)*

*Health & Fitness Coach*

*Sperreng Middle School*

**FORM**: Learning for Justice Topics  
* Required

Email *

Your email

Rank the Learning for Justice topics in order of personal importance. 1 = top choice *

Race & Ethnicity  
Religion  
Ability  
Class  
Immigration  
Gender & Sexual Identity  
Bullying & Bias  
Rights & Activism  
Race & Ethnicity  

My Health & Fitness Hour *

1  
3  
4  
6  
7

Comments / Suggestions

**Social Emotional Learning classes planned for the school year 2021-2022**

Lindbergh School District held a webinar on 4/21/2021 to describe “Social Emotional Learning (SEL) in Lindbergh” (https://youtu.be/QF8lotM-iRg). There, the next school year’s counseling lessons were revealed: all K-12 students will have counseling class of one hour a week where
SEL will be taught. The course curriculum for Social Emotional Learning includes an ongoing enduring understanding that individuals will interact with others in ways that respect not only individual differences but also group differences. The groups are not specifically listed in the curriculum but Lindbergh has been using lessons and surveys that require students to identify as members of groups based on race, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, and/or socio-economic status. These activities force students to operate under the framework of critical race theory as a basis for engaging in social emotional learning. This could lead to discrimination against students with deeply held religious beliefs that run counter to this narrative. Students will be required to participate in these programs and be graded on such concepts (as was noted by the curriculum director at a Lindbergh School Board workshop). This sets the stage for indoctrination of material that could directly contradict the religious beliefs of students in the district.

Note the student survey scale shows both 1 and 5 on the 1-5 scale as referring to “strongly agree” (highlighted in green below), which calls into question the validity of these survey results.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Your School - Feb 2021</th>
<th>Typical YouthTruth school</th>
<th>Typical High poverty school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students from my school value people of diverse religions and faiths.</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from my school value people of diverse sexual orientations. (e.g. gay, straight, bisexual, etc.)</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from my school value people of different abilities. (e.g. people with disabilities).</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from my school value people of diverse gender identities. (e.g. Men, Women, Transgender, people who identify in a different way, etc.)</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from my school value people of diverse incomes. (how much money someone makes)</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from my school value people of diverse races/ethnicities.</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students from my school value people of diverse countries.</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. **Women in American History (Lindbergh High School elective course)**

The following is the description for this course which is offered by Lindbergh High School. This course seeks to explore what has (and has not) changed for American women from the founding of the country through the present day. This class isn’t about American women’s history as much as it is about groups of women based on race, sexual orientation, national origin, and socio-economic status – see highlighted section below. This is a promotion by Lindbergh of critical race theory in the curriculum and even specifically requires understanding the oppression matrix of critical race theory to understand American women’s history.

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**2365 - WOMEN IN AMERICAN HISTORY**  
(11-12; 5 credit; U.S. History, U.S. History PBL or AP U.S. History; teacher approval for 11th-graders)  
This course seeks to explore what has (and has not) changed for American women from the founding of the country through present day. By looking historically at the ideas and experiences of women in the United States, from the 1600s through to current times, this course will synthesize the experience of the American woman. The goal will be to understand not just what women have done but also how many fundamental moments and issues in US history – including the formation of the early republic, religious revival movements, reform crusades, slavery, war and race relations – have hinged on certain notions of gender. Studying women’s history also means being aware of the way women have been divided by class, race, ethnicity, and more, and that while the voices of white, elite women tend to predominate, the experiences of less privileged women and women of color have also had significant effects on shaping the American past, present, and future.

---

3. **Lindbergh School District’s internal training sample**

The following table was used during the “Diversity, Inclusion and Equity” committee of the district in February 2021. Attendees were instructed to use a “racial lens” and categorize people they know by their identity status (race, gender, sexual orientation, disability status).
Springfield Public Schools, Springfield, MO

June 11, 2021
A 6th grade Pershing Middle School teacher in Springfield, MO was caught on video verbally abusing a student over being straight and for asking questions about unicorn cupcakes. The teacher called the student an “ignorant, straight jerk” and a weasel, dip, and butthead, among other names.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eTWWDd2z8gg
June 9, 2021
Springfield Public Schools teacher Brooke Ely Henderson spoke to the Springfield School District Board of Education. In the video, the teacher discussed being told to vote for socialist politicians during mandatory training, being instructed to shame children, confirming the embedding of CRT in curriculum and required teacher training, and provided a tragic account of a student who attempted suicide related to bullying regarding his whiteness. The teacher was escorted from the podium by a resource officer when her time was up, just after sharing the information about the suicide attempt from the student.

Here is the link, cued to the beginning of her remarks:

https://youtu.be/wgblQ9ZWpDQ?t=1081

A full copy of her speech can be found in the article posted on www.ksgf.com.

The following 2 screenshots are taken from actual slides from Diversity, Equity and Inclusion staff training. The first slide encourages the use of LGBTQ symbols in the classroom.
Gender Unicorn slide from staff training. **Curriculum promoting this view of gender is under consideration for grades K-2 in the 2021-2022 school year.**

![Gender Unicorn slide](image)

Earlier this year, a retired Springfield police officer spoke at a Springfield Public Schools board meeting about a book titled, *Something Happened in Our Town*. According to the publisher, this book is written for children ages 4-8. Six elementary schools in Springfield have the book on their shelves. The book also appears on a reading list suggested to the teachers to implement in the classroom. The book appears as a suggested book to share with students in a slide from the online component of the staff mandatory DEI training.

![List of books](image)
Sample page from the book promoting negative stereotypes about police officers. It states that “cops . . . don’t like Black men.”

Slides taken from online component of mandatory faculty/staff DEI training that encourages employees to become "anti-racist", a concept closely connected to CRT.

Anti-Racist / Solo Write

Please take 5 minutes to do a solo write regarding the Anti-Racist statement. Answer the questions below:

How does this statement impact your role at SPS?
What steps will you take to become an Anti-Racist?
What tools/support will you need to be Anti-Racist?
Message sent to employee about the DEI Training. It is clearly mandatory.
January 19, 2021
Documented by investigative journalist Christopher Rufo in this article, “Anti-racism comes to the heartland” with whistleblower documentation, Springfield, Missouri public school teachers were forced to locate themselves on an “oppression matrix,” seen below. Teachers engaged in “social justice” work, starting with a “land acknowledgement” of land belonging to ancestral Native American tribes. Teachers were expected to accept the tenets of the training, which included oppression, white supremacy and systemic racism, and verbalize their confession publicly.

**WARNING: EXPLICIT MATERIAL IN LINK** A Springfield, MO grandmother spoke at the 3/23/2021 school board meeting to read out loud from a book used in her grandchild’s high school course. The official school board video shows the grandmother reading this graphic content to the board for informational purposes. This book read in the video contains sexually graphic content and should not be viewed in the presence of minors. Link to School Board Speech
LSR7 District, Lee’s Summit, MO

Below is an image on “Probing White Privilege” from a book used in the district written by leaders of Educational Equity Consultants called Becoming a Social Justice Leader:

How has White privilege impacted ...
• Where you live?
• Who you socialize with?
• How you cope or heal from pain and adversity in your life?
• Your ability to navigate obstacles in your life?
• Your current economic situation?
• The health care you get?
• The education you received?
• How safe you feel in everyday situations?
How has White privilege impacted ...
• Your sense of self-esteem and confidence?
• Your sense of your intellectual capacity?
• Your willingness to take risk and make mistakes?
• Your willingness to bend or break rules?
• Your ability to see yourself as a good educator?
How has White privilege impacted ...
• When planning a lesson?
• Providing interventions for your students?
• Developing a grading scale?
• Structuring or creating discipline policies?

Interacting with your students?
Interacting with your students’ families?
Making curricular decisions?
How has White privilege impacted ...
• Your willingness to talk about race and racism with People of Color?
• Your willingness to talk about race and racism with other White people?
• Your willingness to confront injustice?
• Your ability to excuse your inaction because of your righteous intention?

The purpose of this fishbowl experience is to open the dialogue for discovering the manner in which superiority and dominance have afforded White people privilege, entitlement, and advantage. As examined in Chapter 3, collusion for any system of oppression is often unconscious. Therefore, this is not an exercise to incite blame or shame, but instead to begin to understand and create a greater consciousness regarding dominance and privilege.
The Lee’s Summit North Counseling Department asked teachers to attend a five-week program based on the teachings of Dr. Dena Simmons and her article “How to be an Anti-racist Educator.”

Good morning,

The LSN Counseling Department would like to offer an additional opportunity to participate in professional development related to race and becoming an antiracist educator. This PD will run five weeks and will follow the same format as our fall group PD. Using Dr. Dena Simmons’ article, “How to Be an Antiracist Educator,” we will discuss the following topics:

Week 1: Self-Awareness (April 21)
Week 2: Acknowledging Racism and White Supremacy (April 28)
Week 3: Studying and Teaching Representative History (May 5)
Week 4: Talking About Race with Students (May 12)
Week 5: When You See Racism, Do Something (May 19)

If interested, please RSVP to me no later than April 16th. We will work with participants to determine the best meeting time for those participating. We feel it is important to attend all sessions for group unity and trust-building, but also understand if something comes up that prevents a participant from attending a session.

Thanks so much,

LSN Counseling Dept.

Antiracism would seem to mean that a person is against racism. However, it has a specific meaning in the modern definition, based on the writings of Boston University scholar Ibram X. Kendi. Antiracism in that sense does not mean “not being a racist.” To be an antiracist, one must continually prove they are not a racist by taking action against “systemic racism.” There is no such thing as being neutral; antiracism views everything through the lens of racism. It insists there is no end to racism, and it is anti-capitalist. It permits discriminating to make up for past discrimination, and it attributes racial disparities to racism as the only cause. See Ibram X. Kendi’s discourse on capitalism cited below:

“In How to Be an Antiracist, I identify racism and capitalism as ‘the conjoined twins.’ They essentially have the same body with different faces and different personalities. Because when you really look at the history of racism, it cannot be properly understood without grappling with the history of capitalism. The history of capitalism cannot be properly understood without understanding the history of racism. Racism and capitalism emerged simultaneously, they have grown together, they have ravaged together — and one day they’ll ultimately die together.”
The Lee’s Summit North teachers wore a t-shirt depicting a large black fist which stated, “This is How I Use My Teacher Voice.” This is, at minimum, a symbol of a political movement. Beyond that, the symbol has well-documented links to Marxism.

In June 2019, the Lee’s Summit R-7 Board of Education (LSR7) voted to approve a one-year contract with three possible renewals with Educational Equity Consultants (documentation). During the adoption of this program, the Senior Partner and Co-Owner, Phil Hunsberger, stated, “It would be disingenuous to say that EEC’s program would close the achievement gap.” Over the last two years of this program, LSR7 has shown an increase in the achievement gap and they have no data to show that it ever will close (Source).

Webster Groves School District, Webster Groves, MO

Anti-Bias/Anti-Racism (ABAR) Policy December 2020

In December of 2020 WGSD adopted an “Anti-Bias/Anti-Racism” board policy that brings the tenets and viewpoints of CRT into all aspects of the district and explicitly requires everything in the district to be viewed in a racialized manner.

- Explicitly presumes, without evidence, the presence of racism and bias in schools, children, and staff.
- Creates a “collective responsibility” that holds the community “accountable” for said racism.
- Creates a requirement for “equity” to be achieved, without identifying causes of inequities.
- Compels students and staff to be in ‘compliance with this policy’ thereby compelling them to agree with political opinions – including their guilt of racism - and an ideology many deeply reject.
- Students and staff committing undefined ‘racist acts’ are subject to additional ‘training.’
- Creates an anonymous reporting system of undefined racist acts, including microaggressions.
When parents requested board members amend the policy with language that specifically stated the district would not discriminate with this board policy and that no student or staff member would be presumed to be biased or racist based on their race or gender, they were refused.

K-8 Social Studies Revision
With the barest minimum of community input and discussion, the school board unanimously voted on April 22, 2021 to approve a K-8 equity and social justice based social studies curriculum, as noted in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, despite parents voicing concerns and the district offering no community discussion. The district is using the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Social Justice Standards www.learningforjustice.org. Dr. LaGarrett King, a professor in the teaching college at Mizzou, who describes himself as an expert in race critical theories, consulted with the district on the curriculum. The following account chronicles several concerns.

District Communication regarding Social Studies Curriculum Revision with Community
In the spring of 2020, the district delivered its bi-annual newsletter to every district resident, mentioning nothing about the social studies curriculum other than it was going to be “dismantled.”

On December 18, 2020, the day winter break began, district superintendent Dr. John Simpson sent out a survey requesting feedback on revising the K-8 social studies curriculum with social justice standards sourced from Southern Poverty Law Center’s www.learningforjustice.org. Sent as part of his bi-weekly email in his blog, the two-sentence paragraph was buried near the bottom of a long list of announcements, just below a notice to return library books (see screenshot below). The survey was open for two weeks until January 8, 2021.
After what few survey responses that were provided were overwhelmingly negative (discovered by community member FOIA request here), the survey deadline was extended via the same blog for 2 additional weeks from January 22, 2021 until February 5, 2021. The district also put the invitation to complete the survey on the district website, listed under Curriculum and Social Studies. Since it had not been advertised, no one would know to look for such a survey.

**K-8 Social Studies Curriculum Revision and Survey**

Since 2019, the WGSD has been working to revise the K-8 Social Studies curriculum. As part of our process, we will like to invite feedback regarding the drafts of our revised curriculum documents. The drafts of the revised curriculum and the feedback survey are available through the end of the day Friday, January 8th. We appreciate your time and any feedback you want to share at the link:

[https://www.western.ki2.mo.us/Page/23502](https://www.western.ki2.mo.us/Page/23502)

Equity Presentation at Board Meeting – DEI Director says there will be no opportunity for parent Q and A prior to the school board vote in April; parents could be put through an anti-racism training in the fall

On February 25, 2021 an equity presentation at the district board meeting was given by the district Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion director, Dr. Shane Williamson, beginning at 1:28:30 in the linked video. There is a brief mention of the social studies curriculum revision. There is no mention of community survey results, nearly 3 weeks after the closing of the survey, with the board fully aware of the results.

At 1:41:40 in the video, board member Kita Quinn asks if there will be plans to share the anti-bias, anti-racism (ABAR) work with parents who may have questions and concerns about what their students are going to learn and asked if there would be any community conversations. The reply from Dr. Williamson was that parents could go through a mini-version of the ABAR work in the fall.
Social Studies Curriculum Presentation at Board Meeting - Actual Survey Themes (discovered via FOIA request)

At the April 8, 2021 school board meeting there was a presentation about the social studies curriculum and inquiry based learning starting at 42:48. At 1:01:41, the community survey is discussed, including why the district is using the Learning for Justice Standards from the Southern Poverty Law Center. The district states they received 60 total surveys. The district shared a few general themes from the surveys regarding inclusion, social justice and inquiry-based learning. However, actual concerns from district residents, per the survey obtained by FOIA request here, include:

1. The overtly political and ideological source of the standards (SPLC)
2. Concerns about the district teaching critical race theory and identity politics
3. Concerns about potential violations of religious liberty
4. The district’s lack of efforts to communicate large changes in curriculum through typical channels despite being requested to do so over a long period of time by concerned community members
5. Lack of community Q and A
6. Concerns about what would be taught, as the vague curriculum included topics of identity in kindergarten (not defined), power and privilege in first grade, and taking collective action but was coming from an organization espousing left-wing viewpoints
7. Concerns about the potential for creation of a divisive and hostile environment for students in the schools

Most of those concerns were not addressed in the district school board presentation. Additionally, all board meetings held during the pandemic (including at present) have been livestreamed but live comments and discussion have been disabled for over 15 months; only written comments due by noon on the day of the board meeting are allowed. As of June 12, 2021, the district states they will not resume in-person board meetings that community members can attend until the beginning of the school year in late August 2021. Therefore, those concerns remain unanswered by the district.

Differences between past district communications vs. current on community wide issues
At the same April 8, 2021 board meeting, the district stated they have been working on this curriculum revision since 2018 (for the past 4 years). The district’s curriculum communication efforts are in stark contrast to the district's past behavior when they sent out surveys on topics similarly affecting the entire community (e.g., redistricting) via multiple channels (including use of the local community newspaper, The Webster-Kirkwood Times) and garnered hundreds and sometimes thousands of responses. As an example, multiple redistricting open forum sessions were advertised in the local print media and held with opportunities for face-to-face community question and answer sessions with district staff with survey responses of 1600.

On April 21, 2021, the night before the school board vote, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch published an article on the Webster Groves School District curriculum and legislative efforts in MO. For many district residents, this was the first time they learned that the curriculum was being revised...
and was controversial. The St. Louis Post Dispatch article on the curriculum [here](#) reported that the group Parents Defending Education had filed a federal [civil rights complaint](#) against the district.

On April 22, 2021, the school board unanimously approved the curriculum.

On April 23, 2021, the day AFTER the school board approved the new social studies curriculum, the Webster-Kirkwood Times reported that the district held a live Q and A with the [Alliance for Interracial Dignity](#) regarding this issue prior to the board vote. However, this was not advertised to school families or the community at large, despite many requests from parents to have a similar forum. Many families feel disenfranchised, and now that the school board has adopted this curriculum, there are serious concerns about how divisive this will be in the community.

Superintendent Dr. John Simpson retweeted the following in opposition to legislation in Missouri and other states that would ban the teaching of systemic racism and the 1619 Project.

---

[Retweet Image]

Dr. Charlotte V. Woods-Ijejii, L.P.C. @Cijeiparkwaysc1 Apr 23

Pending legislation in the Missouri House and 7 other states impacts presenting topics on diversity, equity and inclusion, racism, sexism+ in schools. Systemic racism can’t be taught. The 1619 project banned. Write your elected officials. Takes away your 1st Amendment right.

💬 3  ❤️ 5  🔴
The group, Avery Parents for Racial Equity (on official WGSD website, [https://www.webster.k12.mo.us/Page/18568](https://www.webster.k12.mo.us/Page/18568)), includes recommended reading material containing CRT content. **Writings by Ibram X. Kendi and the 1619 Project are recommended.**
Below is a screenshot of a Webster Groves High School English Language Arts assignment in which students were required to write about one of 3 topics, including identity (and gender identity) and mental health. **Students were required to use the curated “Gale in Context” database to search topics.** According to the Gale in Context website under “How we govern content,” they allow “for customer configuration of featured topics.” In this case, the school district is the customer. Searches using the database “Gale in Context High School” and “Gale in Context: Opposing Viewpoints” overwhelmingly return articles and sources from left leaning media outlets without providing even a pretext of balance or alternate viewpoints. For example, a search for “police” on the two aforementioned Gale databases brings the reader to a bolded “Police brutality” section. In contrast, a simple Google or Duck Duck Go search of the term “police” provides more balanced content.

**Requiring students to use such curated databases that limit the scope of searches to those with only one political viewpoint falls in line with teaching children what to think, rather than how to think. Students should be learning how to analyze content from different and opposing ideological viewpoints.** The First Amendment prohibits viewpoint discrimination.

The following abstract to the July 2010 article, *Inculcation, Bias, and Viewpoint Discrimination in Public Schools* by Lisa Shaw Roy, found on [www.researchgate.net](http://www.researchgate.net), highlights this issue as it was presented to the Supreme Court.

“The First Amendment prohibition on viewpoint discrimination, a particularly invidious species of content discrimination, represents a consistent theme in the U.S. Supreme Court’s free speech clause jurisprudence. In the elementary and secondary public school context, the Supreme Court has not explicitly applied the doctrinal framework of viewpoint discrimination to..."
a school practice or policy restricting speech. However, in *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*, the Court’s initial application of the First Amendment to student speech in public secondary schools, the Court stated that schools may not fashion students into “closed-circuit recipients of only that which the State chooses to communicate.” The Court’s language in *Tinker* leaves the reader to understand that there is a line between inculcation and indoctrination – and that the Court can, if called upon, readily distinguish between the two. This article investigates the concept of improper indoctrination and makes a fairly narrow doctrinal point about how to interpret and apply the Court’s free speech doctrine in light of concerns about possible indoctrination. Part I of the article identifies the type of bias to which the Court’s jurisprudence is opposed, highlighting religion, political preference, and race as the most likely targets. Part II argues that particularly in the case of religion, free speech safeguards permit students to “push back” against official efforts to enforce orthodoxy and can be helpful for students’ developing identity. Part III applies the no-bias standard to a sampling of school speech cases.

**Rockwood School District, Eureka, MO**

An [email](mailto:example@example.com) went out to grades 6-12 principals and ELA principals in the Rockwood District in April 2021. It suggested concealing information about content from parents to avoid complaints and inquiries. The content in question appeared to have a social justice orientation. Authenticity of the email was confirmed by district personnel and has been widely reported in national media. An excerpt of this email can be found in this document in Section 1 on page 6 under Example 1: EEC Scrubbing DESE and Missouri School Boards Association From Their Website Client List.

Below are two posts from the “RSD Diversity & Equity” Twitter feed. The first post blames white parents for what is wrong with public schools. In the second post, the district representative invited members of the community to watch her conversation with author Nic Stone about the “decolonization of public education.”
The following essay by Black Lives Matter co-founder Alicia Garza was distributed to a 5th grade class at Westridge Elementary in Rockwood this spring, and students were encouraged to highlight what stood out to them. It contains the Critical Race Theory themes of power, “disruption” as “the new world order”, and the assumption of white supremacy.
Kansas City School District, Kansas City, MO

In April of 2021, the Kansas City School District was awarded a $5,000 grant to teach the 1619 Project. Details about this grant are documented here.

Francis Howell School District, Saint Peters, MO

*The district board passed this [resolution](linked) in August 2020 where they referenced systemic racism.

*Some middle school “challenge math courses” have been cancelled with disparity of outcomes among racial groups being part of the stated reasoning behind that. This speaks to equity being
applied in a way that harms students who are advanced for the purpose of achieving “equal outcomes.”

*The new, elective Black Literature course being developed by Francis Howell School District for high school students is focused on teaching identity. The curriculum references Learning for Justice Social Justice Standards from the Southern Poverty Law Center. The district consulted with Professor LaGarrett King of Mizzou (profile here) for the development of the black history curriculum.

The sample activities for the Black Literature Course Unit 1 include a “Community Circle Activity.” Suggestions about how to do this discussion are found in the linked Teacher Resource Document.

The first link in the resource guide is to a Teaching Tolerance Document called “Let’s Talk! Facilitating Critical Conversations with Students.” This Teaching Tolerance Document says (on page 2):

“So, what is a critical conversation? For the purpose of this guide, it’s any discussion about the ways that injustice affects our lives and our society. It’s a conversation that explores the relationships between identity and power, that traces the structures that privilege some at the expense of others, that helps students think through the actions they can take to create a more just, more equitable, world.”

The document lays out recommendations for having these “critical” conversations with students.

Please refer to Section 2 of this document in the section under Dr. LaGarrett King for an explanation of how he and co-author Ryan M. Crowley clearly link “critical” pedagogy, “critical social studies pedagogy”, and “making inquiry critical” to Marxist critical theory (p. 14) in his article, “Making Inquiry Critical: Examining Power and Inequity in the Classroom,” published in the journal Social Education, 82 (1), pp. 14-17.

The Teacher Resource Document also contains a suggested identity mapping activity. There is no mention of seeking parental consent for this activity – even though the suggested activity includes very personal information like “Gender Identity,” “Religion,” “Sexual Orientation,” and “Socioeconomic Status.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Work:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identity Maps - Create and Share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Treatment of ideological diversity**

One part of the Teaching Tolerance Document that raises an important concern is a section on page 25 that discusses “Fighting False Equivalencies.” The image of the entire segment is below for reference and refers to the handling of ideological diversity.

The question at hand is whether all ideologies are worthy of presentation and consideration. The example given is that the views of “Islamophobes” are not worthy of equal consideration. While most people would have a problem with Islamophobia, it is important to think beyond this one example and imagine how the logic expressed in the segment might be applied in the classroom. For example, how might religious viewpoints of students be handled? For example, in the case
of students coming from Judeo-Christian backgrounds, Biblical theology speaks to gender and sexuality. Many schools are including LGBTQ in equity and inclusion initiatives. Will educators acknowledge and give equal weight to students whose viewpoints on gender and sexuality are anchored in religious traditions and texts, or will they unilaterally decide to exclude this opposing viewpoint, justifying this by labeling such perspectives as “intolerant?” The screenshot seems to suggest giving educators considerable latitude to make such decisions that could prove discriminatory in practice.
In Unit 3 of the Black Literature Curriculum, students use this tool to view literature through an intersectional lens. Here are some of the sources of this material (note Decolonizing your Praxis from Françoise Thenoux, @thewokespanishteacher):

**Tiffany Jewell**
*This Book is Anti-Racist*
*A great book for the classroom library*

**Dr. Bettina L. Love**
*We Want to Do More Than Survive: Abolitionist Teaching and the Pursuit of Educational Freedom*

**Ibram X. Kendi**
*How to be an Antiracist*

**Françoise Thenoux**
*Decolonizing your praxis 101*
*The best PD I’ve ever participated in!*
Tenets of Critical Race Theory can be found in the new, elective Black History course being developed by Francis Howell for high school students. Technical terms to be studied include “Privilege,” “Hegemony,” “Identity,” “Intersectionality.”

It is noteworthy that no definitions for these terms are listed as a guide for teachers as part of the activity. Why would a curriculum be designed to teach such terms without giving educators definitions for the terms (perhaps concealing content from the public)?

The course incorporates specific Learning for Justice Social Justice Standards (seen in the last column: Identity 1, 3, 4, 5, and Justice 14) that focus on identity and power and privilege dynamics.

*The district planned to order 30 copies of the book, Fun Home: A Family Tragicomic by Alison Bechdel, with the intention of expanding diverse literature for English 1 book club. This book was slated to go before the board for purchase approval. A concerned citizen called out the fact that this graphic novel contained explicit images of oral sex, a male corpse with genitalia exposed, and masturbation. The curriculum director offered to temporarily postpone the order until an
investigation could be done, but then said it was an award-winning book and was only going to be used for a book club rather than classroom use. The superintendent said that their failure to catch this was a “lapse” and they are looking for ways to improve the screening of content. However, this incident demonstrates that the rush to expand diverse content supersedes the efforts being taken to ensure the protection of children from lewd content.

Wentzville School District, Wentzville, MO
The district board voted on April 22nd to enter into contract with The Core Collaborative, Inc. to train staff and ultimately to do an equity program with district students. In this video the instructor, John Krownapple, discusses “privilege” and “identity” (which are CRT components). In Section 2 of this report under The Core Collaborative, additional evidence is provided of this organization’s research on and promotion of CRT concepts.

Hillsboro School District, Hillsboro, MO
In Hillsboro, MO - a second grade class was taught about transgenderism before parents were notified.

Kirkwood School District, Kirkwood, MO

**WARNING: EXPLICIT CONTENT** Situation: The book, The 57 Bus, was recommended by the school librarian and teacher to 8th graders as an option for an English class assignment. Students were not told about the transgender topic and explicit language/content in the book. Some examples of this content are detailed descriptions of LGBTQIA+ terms, discussion of sexual experiences, profane and racist language (f*ck, sh*t, mother-f*cker, the “N” word, b*tch, p*ssy, let me suck your pr**k), and more.

Response & Status: When a student returned the book to the librarian & teacher because she was uncomfortable with it the parents were not contacted by the school. When the parents reached out to the school and requested a meeting with the teacher, librarian and principal about their daughter’s experience, only the principal attended. The parents were told by the principal that they are not allowed to talk with the teacher or librarian about the situation. Another parent requested an official review of the book through the District’s procedures. The review process was not transparent, and confidential information was shared and conflicts of interest were not explained when questioned. Despite the school administrators initially stating to this parent that this book “crosses a line,” once it became clear what the book was about it was defended. The review process resulted in the book being “retained without restriction” in the library (available for grades 6-8), and despite the current superintendent’s instruction that it is not to be recommended to students - it recently was on display on the “recommended reads” bookshelf in the school library. Parents have been told, “What some consider inappropriate others do not,” and questions about when this kind of content and language became appropriate (or even encouraged) in a school go unanswered.
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he showed the lighter to Lloyd and then swung to the opposite side of the silver pole, closer to Sasha.

He flicked the lighter by the hem of Sasha’s skirt. Nothing happened.

Lloyd was still shouting up to the front of the bus.

“Hey! Light-skinned girl!”

“Light-skinned girl.” Jamal kept repeating what Lloyd said, his deep voice like an echo from the bottom of a well.

Lloyd bounced up the aisle to where the girls were sitting, perching on the edge of a nearby seat.


Rebuffed by the girls, Lloyd returned to his companions, stopping in front of Sasha’s sleeping form to shout an abrupt, parrotlike “Hey!”

Sasha stirred, but didn’t wake.


Lloyd leaned close and screeched in Jamal’s ear. Richard laughed and slapped Lloyd’s head.

“Aw, nigga, you just broke my neck,” Lloyd yelled. “Damn, pussy, bitch, fuck!”

Richard brandished the lighter, pretending to light Lloyd’s sleeve. He looked at Jamal.

“Do it,” Jamal urged.

Lloyd danced between them, landing half on Jamal’s lap.

“Move, nigga! Get off me,” Jamal grumbled. He kept his eyes on Richard, his phone poised. “You might as well do it,” he said again.
**Situation:** Kirkwood School District hired a professional mediator to evaluate and navigate the broken trust between parents and the District resulting from controversial and age-inappropriate topics being taught to children. In February 2020 the mediator agreed that further facilitated discussion was warranted and necessary, and then there was absolutely no follow-up by the District or mediator.

**Response & Status:** No action has been taken, and repeated attempts by parents to understand why this was never continued have been met with dismissal by the administration.

**Situation:** There is a poster on a high school Social Studies classroom wall entitled, “Things you can do to eradicate gender or multiply it exponentially.” Suggestions on it include (among others): “spend a day in drag, refer to everyone by the incorrect pronoun, hang out with children and teach them how to cross dress Barbie and G.I. Joe, talk to a femme dyke about how she experiences power through her gender identity.”

**Response & Status:** Questions to the administration about how this is appropriate (or where the balanced/opposing view is represented) have been met with a response that the poster is connected to the AP Psychology curriculum that includes objectives on the nature of gender and gender roles. Requests for further discussion about the controversial suggestions on this poster have been ignored or dismissed.
**Situation:** Two policies were proposed that designate Kirkwood School District as institutionally racist and aim to identify and address all discriminatory practices, prejudices and beliefs with the intent to eradicate these behaviors. One policy also addresses gender and states, “Gender refers to the roles, behaviors, activities, attributes and opportunities that any society considers appropriate for girls and boys, and women and men. Gender interacts with, but is different from, the binary categories of biological sex.”

**Response & Status:** Community members who have expressed concern about the determination that Kirkwood School District is systemically racist have been dismissed or labeled as racist themselves. A discussion about seeking to understand which specific policies & practices are racist resulted in a KSD representative stating, “All policies that have been created since this country began in 1776 and even prior have been inherently biased and in many degrees racist.” Questions about why declarations about gender are rolled into a policy about educational equity have gone unanswered. {Note: The newly lodged Policy ACIB as of 4/27/21 changes some of the language but still states the intent to identify and address discriminatory practices and beliefs and eradicate these behaviors, without specifying exactly what this means).

**Situation:** 9th grade English students were assigned an article to read that glamorized sex, referenced nudity and pornography, and included live links to sites such as “lesbian erotica.”

**Response & Status:** Administrators acknowledged that the article was completely inappropriate, but it is the parents’ understanding that as correction teachers were told to assign articles as PDFs in the future rather than to use live links. There was no acknowledgement to families that their child had been assigned this inappropriate material, and the article remained on the online school platform for the duration of the semester.

**Situation:** Despite Policy IGAEB’s requirement, “In accordance with law, the district will notify the parents/guardians of each student enrolled in the district of the basic content of the district’s human sexuality instruction that will be provided to their student…all curriculum materials used in the district's human sexuality instruction [will be] available for public inspection as a public record prior to the use of such materials in actual instruction,” - health class at the high school this year taught the Sex Education unit without any prior parental notification.

**Response & Status:** Only after parents brought this to the administration’s attention did the school send out information to parents, and the letter provided included the very controversial "National Sex Education Standards: Second Edition" as one of the documents that guides Kirkwood School District’s instruction. The revised “National Sex Education Standards” was not approved by the Board and is debated on a national level, and the response from administrators about how and why it is being treated as a guiding document in Kirkwood School District was that it is used to “inform teachers, as a resource, given that Missouri has not updated its health education standards since 2007…and that the district complies with state statute and DESE guidelines.” The actual material taught in Health was appropriate based on the current Board-approved curriculum, but KSD slipping this resource in under the radar is very concerning.
**Situation:** “Mx.” is a gender-neutral title that a nonbinary teacher in the district would like all students to use to refer to them. After a Board meeting during which the request of the “Mx.” title being used by all students was publicly discussed, a parent told me very boldly and angrily when I challenged the request and stated that it went against what I know to be true about biological sex & gender that “You have your opinion, we have ours.” I stated, “Yes, you have your opinion and I have mine. But a teacher doesn’t get to teach my child his/her opinion as fact.”

**Response & Status:** Many Kirkwood School District leaders continue to seem to want to teach my children their opinion and insist that it is fact. This is a broader and bigger issue than just within KSD, but we must protect parents' rights and our role in our children's lives.

**Situation:** The book *Stand Up, Stand Out!: 25 Rebel Heroes Who Stood Up for Their Beliefs - And How They Could Inspire You* was recommended for classrooms in the elementary school. The book describes Marsha P. Johnson as a “Transgender Star” and explains what it means to be transgender. This lifestyle is celebrated, and views that disagree with it are presented as wrong (in the book).

**Response & Status:** Concerned parent met with school and district administration in Fall 2019 to express concern about age appropriateness and parents’ rights to address these topics with our children. By the end of the meeting the administrators stated that the book would be available to ALL grade levels (Kindergarten through 5th) at the school, even though the publisher recommended it only for age 10+.

**Ladue School District, Ladue, Missouri**

https://spotlight.ladueschools.net/2020/07/01/dr-lagarrett-king-leads-ladue-schools-in-ret hinking-black-history/

In Dr. LaGarrett King’s professional development workshop with Ladue teachers, the article notes he discusses areas where teachers could focus on, including “racialized spaces”:

“In his workshop, Dr. King addressed several areas in which teachers can re-focus their efforts; topics included racialized spaces versus safe spaces, answering the question, “What is Black history?” and learning a new framework for teaching Black history in schools.”

Boston University Scholar Ibram X. Kendi refers to the concept of racialized spaces in his book, *How to Be an Antiracist*. He notes that a space can be racialized depending on who is in the space and depending on who “holds power in that space.” Kendi advocates for spaces segregated by race.