

SEPTEMBER 2025

LIBERATED

K-12 LIBERATED ETHNIC STUDIES INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

An investigative report by Defending Education.



DEFENDING
EDUCATION

See what's
really inside...

Contents

- Summary.....3**
- Key Takeaways.....4**
- Funding, Consultants, and Programs.....5**
 - State Funding and Grants.....5
 - Gibbs Smith Education.....6
 - Imagine Learning, LLC (Edgenuity).....8
 - Newsela.....10
 - University of California Berkeley.....13
- K-12 School District Contracts.....17**
 - Top Grossing Consultants.....17
 - California.....18
 - Pennsylvania.....22
 - Washington.....22

SUMMARY

The Money and Influence of Ethnic Studies

55

Total school districts

\$17,520,788.51

Total spent by districts
on ethnic studies

\$10,127,660.72

Total federal funds
(ESSER/Title funds) used

The purpose of this report is to expose the K-12 Liberated Ethnic Studies (LES) Industrial Complex and the various actors and pieces that are involved. The goal is to not only show how much money is being spent by school districts on far-left ethnic studies curriculum, textbooks, and professional development, but to also reveal how a small network of “experts” and professors influence the creation of lessons and curriculums for large education content providers.

Liberated ethnic studies pushes divisive, anti-American and anti-Western ideologies into K-12 schools hiding behind seemingly noble missions, pleasant sounding language, and academic jargon. Lessons and units often center around racial identities (intersectionality), an oppressor versus oppressed view of the world (critical consciousness), who has privilege (i.e. “white privilege”) and who does not, historical examples of

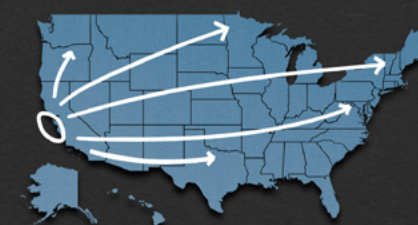
“resistance” to Western culture (Black Lives Matter), and engagement in social justice activism.

For example, the University of California Berkeley’s [The Puente Project](#) promotes its mission as assistance for underrepresented students in enrolling in two and four-year colleges. However, a review of the curriculum reveals it is steeped in far-left, radical ideologies such as critical race theory, decolonization, liberation, queer theory, and racial justice.

This is not a comprehensive report due to the ever growing and changing landscape of [liberated] ethnic studies. While this report includes some examples of consultants and content providers, it does not capture curriculum, lessons, or content created by school district staff and teachers internally.

To view district curriculums, go [here](#).

THE SPREAD OF “ETHNIC STUDIES” STARTED IN CALIFORNIA AND MOVED EAST
OFTEN SOLD TO THE PUBLIC UNDER THE GUISE OF “HISTORY.”



KEY TAKEAWAYS

- K-12 school districts have spent \$17,520,788.51 on ethnic studies professional development, curriculums, textbooks, and programming.
- Gibbs Smith Education's Voices: An Ethnic Studies Survey textbook includes content such as antiracism, climate justice and activism, decolonization, intersectionality, oppression, power, privilege, white fragility, and whiteness. One lesson features a subsection comparing parents in 2021 protesting at school board meetings to past protests over school desegregation (1960s) and the teaching of sexual education (1990s).
- Imagine Learning's **ethnic studies course** focuses on "deconstructing systems of power that perpetuate inequality" and includes content such as "white privilege," being "White in the US," and "Women and Femmes of Color in Oppressive Systems."
- Newsela's **California Ethnic Studies Collection Guide**, created by Community Responsive Education, features content such as colorism, environmental racism, implicit bias, intersectionality, patriarchy, and white supremacy. Lessons range from questioning national borders and citizenship to promoting movements and groups such as the Black Panther Party, Black Lives Matter, reparations, "land back," and environmental justice.
- According to board documents, Lynwood Unified School District **contracted** with 5M Legacy to provide a "Black History Matters 2U History Course" which included several "ethnic studies" workshops for male students only. The district has spent over \$160,000 on the consultant.
- Riverside Unified School District (CA) **spent** \$114,625 to send fourteen educators on a cross-country trip as ethnic studies professional development.
- San Diego Unified School District (CA) **allocated** \$9,400,000 in ESSER III **funds** towards developing its ethnic studies curriculum. In 2024, the district also signed a \$286,600 **agreement** with a university professor for an audit of the district's ethnic studies program and curriculums.
- University of California Berkeley's **The Puente Project** curriculum includes teaching middle and high school students critical race theory, decolonization, tenets of queer theory, white supremacy culture, and other far-left social justice ideologies. School districts have paid \$625,400 to the program.
- Pittsburgh Public Schools (PA) **approved** \$780,000 for Gibbs Smith Education's Voices: An Ethnic Studies Survey and Scholarus (now Education Elements) curriculums and instructional materials.

FUNDING, CONSULTANTS, AND PROGRAMS

The following includes brief overviews of funding and grants, consultants, companies, and university programs engaged in providing ethnic studies content and training to K-12 school districts.

State Funding and Grants

Some states offer, or have offered, K-12 school districts access to state funding and/or grants to help districts offset the costs of starting up ethnic studies programs or curriculums. In the past, California allotted state funding to help districts establish and implement ethnic studies. In May 2025, the Governor of California withheld funding set aside for the ethnic studies mandate, rendering the course requirement potentially not in effect.

In spring 2025, the Minnesota Department of Education released a [grant application](#) for “Ethnic Studies Course Development for Grades 5-12: Community-Centered Knowledge” with the expressed purpose of supporting “districts and charters in the development, evaluation, and implementation of 5-12 ethnic studies courses.” The state set aside \$1,300,000 for the grant program, allowing requests of up to \$50,000 in support of “inter-district, co-op, or tribal school collaborations to develop or implement ethnic studies courses” or “to support school-level applicants, which could support individual or teams of educators working with their building administration.”

Ethnic Studies Course Development for Grades 5-12: Community-Centered Knowledge – Competitive Grant – State Fiscal Year 2025

Under [Minnesota Statutes 2024, section 120B.251](#), legislation passed requiring all districts and charters to offer ethnic studies, including offering a high school ethnic studies course and integrated K-8 ethnic studies instruction. The purpose of the grant is to support districts and charters in the development, evaluation, and implementation of 5-12 ethnic studies courses as outlined in [House File 2497.5 section 64, subdivision 14](#).

All proposed grant projects must align with Minnesota’s definition of ethnic studies as stated in [Minnesota Statutes 2024, section 120B.25](#).

The grant will provide three levels of support:

- Grant requests of up to \$50,000 to support inter-district, co-op, or tribal school collaborations to develop or implement ethnic studies courses (which could include charter schools and their geographic district LEA).
- Grant requests of up to \$50,000 to support district-level applicants including charter and tribal schools which are independent LEAs.
- Grant requests of up to \$50,000 to support school-level applicants, which could support individual or teams of educators working with their building administration.

Total amount available: approximately \$1,300,000

Maximum grant request amount: \$50,000

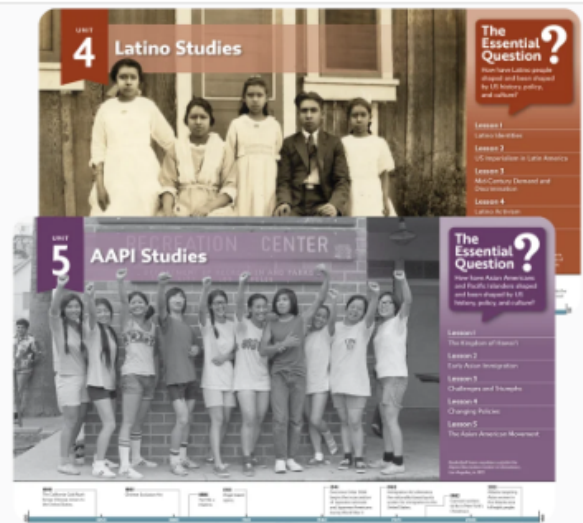
Gibbs Smith Education

Gibbs Smith Education's "[Voices: An Ethnic Studies Survey](#)" states that it "examines the experiences and contributions of Indigenous, Black, Latino, Pacific Islander, and Asian Americans. Students will learn the terms and tools they need to analyze the impacts of race and ethnicity in US history and the present day."

The textbook includes "counter-narratives of marginalized groups" and equips "students with the skills and knowledge they need to identify and overcome oppression."

Counter-Narratives of Marginalized Groups

Written by scholars in fields such as Black studies and Latino studies, *Voices*, from Gibbs Smith Education, examines the histories and cultures of historically marginalized groups in the United States. With the goal of equipping students with the skills and knowledge they need to identify and overcome oppression, *Voices* provides a counter-narrative to US history and dives into stories of discrimination, resistance, and resilience.



The unit "Understanding Race and Ethnicity" includes lessons on "Intersectionality," "Understanding Bias," and "Forms of Discrimination."

The timeline and images available online also feature Paulo Freire, author of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

According to excerpts and images obtained by [K12 Extremism Tracker](#), the *Voices* textbook includes lessons and content such as antiracism, climate justice and activism, decolonization, intersectionality, oppression, power, privilege, white fragility, and whiteness.



| Table of Contents | |
|---|-----|
| Unit 1: Understanding Race and Ethnicity | 2 |
| Lesson 1: Race and Ethnicity | 4 |
| Lesson 2: Intersectionality | 20 |
| Lesson 3: Understanding Bias | 30 |
| Lesson 4: Forms of Discrimination | 38 |
| Lesson 5: Ethnic Studies | 46 |
| Unit 2: Indigenous Studies | 56 |
| Lesson 1: Historic Nations | 60 |
| Lesson 2: Colonization and Displacement | 74 |
| Lesson 3: Boarding Schools | 92 |
| Lesson 4: The Indigenous Rights Movement | 102 |
| Lesson 5: Contemporary Resistance | 112 |
| Unit 3: Black Studies | 124 |
| Lesson 1: The Transatlantic Slave Trade | 128 |
| Lesson 2: Life of the Enslaved | 138 |
| Lesson 3: A Century of Challenge | 148 |
| Lesson 4: The Civil Rights Movement | 158 |
| Lesson 5: A Movement Continues | 164 |
| Unit 4: Latino Studies | 194 |
| Lesson 1: Latino Identities | 198 |
| Lesson 2: US Imperialism in Latin America | 208 |
| Lesson 3: Mid-Century Demand and Discrimination | 210 |
| Lesson 4: Latino Activism | 230 |
| Lesson 5: Latino Migration | 240 |
| Unit 5: AAPI Studies | 256 |
| Lesson 1: The Kingdom of Hawaii | 260 |
| Lesson 2: Early Asian Immigration | 274 |
| Lesson 3: Challenges and Triumphs | 286 |
| Lesson 4: Changing Policies | 300 |
| Lesson 5: The Asian American Movement | 310 |
| Unit 6: Race and Ethnicity Today | 322 |
| Lesson 1: Media Representation | 324 |
| Lesson 2: Persistent Inequality | 334 |
| Lesson 3: Contemporary Resistance | 348 |
| Atlas | 362 |
| Glossary | 364 |
| Glossary of People | 369 |
| Bibliography | 374 |
| Index | 377 |
| Photo Credits | 387 |

Image obtained from [K12trackers.substack.com](https://k12trackers.substack.com)

The unit titled “Understanding Race and Ethnicity” includes “luminaries” such as Ibram X. Kendia and Robin DiAngelo. An “Analyze & Answer” question asks students “How does DiAngelo’s description of White self-isolation reflect Kendi’s ideas about the complexity of racism and antiracism?”

The Unit 1 lesson “Forms of Discrimination” includes a page titled “Forms of Protest” which features a subsection titled “School Board Meetings” and states “Disagreement over issues such as the teaching of race and ethnic studies, masking during the COVID pandemic, and the rights of transgender students have led to events like the parents shown at this raucous school board meeting in Virginia.”

The subsection goes on to state that parent protests of school policies are “not just a recent phenomenon,” but are akin to the 1960s when “many White parents put their children into private schools in response to desegregation policies” and to the 1990s when “conservative parents protested the teaching of sex education in schools.”

Document N#2 School Board Meetings

In recent years, the news has been filled with angry parents protesting at school board meetings. Disagreement over issues such as the teaching of race and ethnic studies, masking during the COVID pandemic, and the rights of transgender students have led to events like the parents shown at this raucous school board meeting in Virginia. Parent protests of school policies are not just a recent phenomenon, however. In the 1960s, many White parents put their children into private schools in response to desegregation policies. In the 1970s, they protested bussing policies aimed at integration. In the 1990s, conservative parents protested the teaching of sex education in schools.




Defining “Whiteness”

So, what does it mean to be “White,” anyway? Whiteness can refer to a person’s race, but it can also be used to describe access to power and resources. When someone refers to a “White” person, they likely mean a person who is of European descent. In places where White people and their cultures have been dominant, being White can also refer to where one fits in the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic hierarchy.

In the United States, White people sometimes view themselves as “raceless” because they have grown up in a nation that views them as the norm. American Whiteness has been held up as the standard to measure everything else against. As writer Toni Morrison said, “In this country, American means white. Everyone else has to hyphenate.”

—Toni Morrison



In this country, American means white. Everyone else has to hyphenate.

A German anthropologist measures a man’s nose in Germany, 1932. The Nazi Party was particularly interested in establishing defined racial characteristics.



The 1862 song “No Irish Need Apply” by John F. Pooke reflects on the time in US history when Irish people were viewed as non-White and faced discrimination in hiring.

Understanding Race and Ethnicity 11

Image obtained from K12trackers.substack.com

All the Real Indians Died Off

Scholar and activist Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz (born 1938) is the bestselling author of *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States*. She also coauthored *All the Real Indians Died Off* and 20 Other Myths About Native Americans, a book that unpacks several common misunderstandings about Indigenous peoples and their history in the United States. She co-wrote the book with award-winning journalist and lecturer Dina Gilio-Whitaker, who is a member of the Colville Confederated Tribes. The work tackles topics such as sports mascots and state-sponsored genocide.

Old myths die hard, it is said, and few die harder than the Columbus discovery myth. The claim that Columbus discovered America is the original provocation that laid the foundation for a national mythology at whose center is the deliberate discursive erasure of Indigenous peoples. The statement itself is a misnomer. “America” as it is usually understood refers to the United States of America, but most people understand that in 1492 the United States was still 284 years into the future. ... If we are to be accurate about a national origin myth of discovery, it would be more appropriate to say that Columbus discovered the Bahamas, Hispaniola, and Cuba. Except that from an Indigenous viewpoint, he didn’t actually discover anything. Indigenous people assert instead (not necessarily humorously) that they discovered Columbus.

—Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *All the Real Indians Died Off* and 20 Other Myths About Native Americans, 2016



White Fragility

Written by sociologist and diversity consultant Robin DiAngelo (born 1955), *White Fragility* examines the discomfort and defensiveness White people experience when discussing racism. Using humor to disarm, DiAngelo, who is White, addresses why and how White people benefit by avoiding the topics of race and racism.

Whites consistently choose and enjoy racial segregation. Living, working, and playing in racial segregation is unremarkable as long as it is not named or made explicitly intentional. For example, in many anti-racist endeavors, a common exercise is to separate into caucus groups by race in order to discuss issues specific to your racial group, and without the pressure or stress of other groups’ presence. Generally, people of color appreciate this opportunity for racial fellowship, but white people typically become very uncomfortable, agitated and upset—even though this temporary separation is in the service of addressing racism. Responses include a disorienting sense of themselves as not just people, but most particularly white people; a curious sense of loss about this contrived and temporary separation which they don’t feel about the real and on-going segregation in their daily lives; and anxiety about not knowing what is going on in the groups of color. The irony, again, is that most whites live in racial segregation every day, and in fact, are the group most likely to intentionally choose that segregation (albeit obscured in racially coded language such as seeking “good schools” and “good neighborhoods”).

—Robin DiAngelo, *White Fragility*, 2018




Image obtained from K12trackers.substack.com

Imagine Learning, LLC (Edgenuity)

Imagine Learning's (parent company of Edgenuity) **ethnic studies course** for grades 9–12 states that it will “explore five key themes: (1) Identity, (2) Race and Ethnicity in the United States, (3) History and Movement, (4) Systems of Power, and (5) Social Movements and Equity” and will “critically examine the diverse cultural histories, social dynamics, and critical perspectives that shape the United States.”

The course will examine the “experiences of diverse ethnic groups, to deconstructing systems of power that perpetuate inequality, the course encourages critical analysis and empathy.”

Ethnic Studies
Syllabus



Course number: 04107

Grade level: 9–12

Prerequisite courses: none

Credits: 0.5

Course Description

In this one-semester course, students will explore five key themes: (1) Identity, (2) Race and Ethnicity in the United States, (3) History and Movement, (4) Systems of Power, and (5) Social Movements and Equity. Through a series of videos, texts, interactive lessons, case studies, and projects, students will critically examine the diverse cultural histories, social dynamics, and critical perspectives that shape the United States. From examining the experiences of diverse ethnic groups, to deconstructing systems of power that perpetuate inequality, the course encourages critical analysis and empathy.

Course objectives include a focus on the “formation of individual and collective identities,” investigating “resource distribution and environmental impact,” and analyzing “systems of power and inequality, including economic, political, environmental, and social.”

The course scope and sequence includes unites on “identity,” “race and ethnicity in the US,” “systems of power,” and “social movements and equity.”

Course Objectives

Students will meet the following goals in this course.

- Identify the factors that contribute to the formation of individual and collective identities.
- Compare the history and demography of various racial and ethnic groups in the US.
- Investigate the various ways societies change, focusing on economic, political, cultural, and social factors.
- Explain foundational elements of societies to understand how these elements define and shape societal functions.
- Investigate resource distribution and environmental impact.
- Analyze systems of power and inequality, including economic, political, environmental, and social.
- Analyze historical and contemporary social movements
- Develop civic engagement skills.

Scope and Sequence

When students log in to Edgenuity, they can view the entire course map—an interactive scope and sequence of all topics under study. The units of study are listed below.

| Course Units |
|--------------------------------------|
| Unit 1: Identity |
| Unit 2: Race and Ethnicity in the US |
| Unit 3: Movement |
| Unit 4: Systems of Power |
| Unit 5: Social Movements and Equity |

A more thorough [review](#) of Imagine Learning’s “CA-Ethnic Studies” scope and sequence includes topics such as “cultural erasure,” “white privilege,” being “White in the US,” “Women and Femmes of Color in Oppressive Systems,” “housing” and “economic” inequality, “environmental justice,” resistance movements, and activism.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Factors Shaping Identity | | |
| | | Identify the factors that contribute to the formation of individual and collective identities. |
| | | Explain the role of intersectionality in identity formation. |
| Assimilation, Acculturation, and Accommodation | | |
| | | Describe the processes, motivations, and effects of assimilation and cultural erasure. |
| | | Describe the roles of acculturation and accommodation in creating a multicultural society. |
| | | Explain the benefits and challenges of code-switching. |
| Circumstances and Choices | | |
| | | Analyze how circumstances influence personal and societal choices. |
| | | Explain the concept of White privilege. |
| CA-Ethnic Studies | | Scope and Sequence |
| Unit | Lesson | Objectives |
| | Middle Eastern and North African in the US | |
| | | Explain the history and demography of people of the Middle East and North Africa in the US. |
| | | Describe challenges faced by people of the Middle East and North Africa in the US. |
| | | Explain the cultural significance and impact of people of the Middle East and North Africa in the US. |
| | White in the US | |
| | | Identify demographic trends for the White population in the US. |
| | | Describe the evolving definition of the term "White" in the US. |
| | | Explain the dichotomy of being ethnic White. |
| | Analyzing Media Through an Ethnic Studies Lens | |
| | | Explain how to analyze media. |
| | | Explain how to analyze data. |
| | | Describe how to develop a multimedia presentation. |
| | | Analyze representations of race and ethnicity in media. |
| Systems of Power | | |
| | Systems of Power | |
| | | Explain various systems of power and how they interact. |
| | | Describe the historical development of systems of power and their implications in the context of the United States. |
| | Women and Femmes of Color in Oppressive Systems | |
| | | Explain the levels of societal oppression. |
| | | Describe how intersectionality shapes the distribution and exercise of power. |
| | | Examine the unique challenges faced by women and femmes of color within systems of oppression. |
| | Housing Inequality | |
| | | Explain the historical roots of housing inequality in the US. |
| | | Analyze the long-term effects of housing inequality on communities of color. |
| | Political Power, Political Inequality | |
| | | Explain the concept of political power and representation in the context of US governance. |
| | | Describe the historical barriers to political power for various ethnic groups. |
| | | Analyze current issues of political inequality. |
| | Economic Inequality | |
| | | Explain economic inequality. |
| | | Analyze the relationship between intersectionality and economic inequality. |
| | | Describe the benefits and limitations of programs designed to address economic inequality. |

DOWNLOAD

Edgenuity-CA-Ethnic Studies Scope_106941051aouhlev43wqlwrrmssc

California Ethnic Studies Collection Guide

The Newsela [California Ethnic Studies Collection](#) was created in “collaboration with Community Responsive Education” and is aligned to the organization’s curricular framework. Content featured in the collection include **colorism, environmental racism, implicit bias, intersectionality, patriarchy, and white supremacy**.

Additionally, many of the questions provided in the document appear leading and biased towards a far-left social justice view of the world.

The collection units are “organized around four core themes of Ethnic Studies: Identity, systems and power, community stories and narratives, and movements and solidarity.”

The document states that it is also a “living resources” and they will be “adding more content as we are able to source it: more diverse stories and histories, more voices of communities of color, more local California connections.”

The unit focused on “Systems & Power” includes having students “examine the role of racism in the founding of the U.S. system of government,” “trace the development of white identity and white supremacy in the United States,” and “examine the effect of patriarchal systems on American society, particularly women of color.”

| Unit Sequence at a Glance | | |
|---------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Unit Title | Compelling and Essential Questions | Number of Lessons |
| Who am I? IDENTITY | Compelling Question: Does understanding one's identity and the identities of others have the power to eradicate racism? Essential Questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Who am I? What shapes my identity? How do race, ethnicity, nationality/citizenship, and culture shape identity? How does one's identity impact their sense of belonging and their relationship to the world? | 11 |
| Why is the world the way it is? | Compelling question: Do individuals have the power | 29 |

| | | |
|--|---|----|
| SYSTEMS & POWER | to transform oppressive systems? Essential Questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> What are the systems at the root of our lives? What is my relationship to these systems? How have systems shaped the world around us? How have people acted to transform systems? | |
| Who are we? COMMUNITY STORIES & NARRATIVES | Compelling Question: Does studying the narratives of communities of color have the power to eradicate racism? Essential Questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Who is my community? Who are we? What has shaped us, how and why? What are the stories of communities of color in the United States? What might we make of our communities in the future? | 35 |
| What can we do? MOVEMENTS & SOLIDARITY | Compelling Question: How have communities of color organized themselves to resist oppression and fight for positive social change? Essential Questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> What is positive social transformation? How have people of color responded to oppression and injustice? What role do individuals play in the transformation of themselves, their communities and larger society? | 26 |

| | | |
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| United States political system | LO: Students will examine the role of racism in the founding of the U.S. system of government. Supporting questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can racism be considered a “founding principle” of the U.S. political system? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Race and the American Constitution: A struggle toward national ideals (The Glider Lehrman Institute of American History)</i> <i>The Electoral College has been divisive since day one (Smithsonian.com)</i> |
| System of white supremacy | LO: Students will be able to trace the development of white identity and white supremacy in the United States. Supporting questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How has white supremacy been defined and enforced in United States history? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>“We” and “they” in colonial America (Facing History and Ourselves)</i> <i>Opinion: The history of eugenics in the United States (Washington Post)</i> <i>The case of Ozawa v. U.S. and its effect on immigration (Asian American History: A Very Short Introduction)</i> <i>Oregon's shameful history as an “all-white” state (Washington Post)</i> <i>“White flight” began a lot earlier than we think (Washington Post)</i> |
| System of patriarchy | LO: Students will examine the effect of patriarchal systems on American society, particularly women of color. Supporting questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How has the system of patriarchy shaped American society? How do women's experiences of patriarchy differ by race? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Elizabeth Key and her history-changing lawsuit (ThoughtCo)</i> <i>Women's roles and rights in the 1800s (USHistory.org)</i> <i>Expansion & Reform: Black women and the abolition of slavery (The Glider Lehrman Institute of American History)</i> <i>How the 19th Amendment complicated the status and role of women in Hawaii? (Smithsonian Institution)</i> <i>Tending the home front: The many roles of California women in WWII (National Park Service)</i> <i>This Mexican woman was once one of the most powerful people in U.S. politics (USA Today)</i> <i>The NOW button takes us back to when women's equality was a novelty (Smithsonianmag.com)</i> <i>Native American women shape how museums frame indigenous culture (Christian</i> |

The unit also teaches students about intersectionality, implicit bias, and colorism. Learning objectives include students being able to “define intersectionality, and examine how it shapes their own and others’ experiences of systems,” “examine the idea of implicit bias, and connect it to larger systems of power,” and “define colorism and its relationship to systems such as imperialism and white supremacy.”

Another section in the unit focused on “borders” states that students will “analyze the development of national borders through the lens of systems of power.” Listed “supporting questions” include “What is the purpose of borders?” and “What is the relationship between borders and systems of power?”

Other unit topics include “police brutality,” “environmental racism,” “technology and racism,” and “curriculum” as it relates to “systems of power.” Support texts for these sections include a piece from Angela Davis, articles on “racial bias” in algorithms and artificial intelligence, and a collection of leftwing biased articles on curriculum matters.

The unit titled “Narratives & Community Stories” introduces students to “counter narratives” and how “racism and oppression” have impacted various ethnic groups throughout United States history.

The final unit on “Movements & Solidarity” includes topics and lessons focused on “social change,” “resistance,” and societal transformation. Movements and groups highlighted in this unit include the “Abolition movement,” “Black Power and Black Panthers,” “People of color in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement,” “Black Lives Matter,” the “Movement for Reparations,” the “Land Back Movement,” and the “Environmental Justice Movement.”

| Topic 2: What is our relationship to systems? | | |
|---|--|--|
| Text Set/ Lesson Title | Learning Objective & Supporting Questions | Included Texts |
| Power and privilege | <p>LO: Students will examine their own relationships to power and what privileges they are or are not afforded as a result of those relationships.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What does it mean to hold power within systems? How does power manifest in interactions between individuals? What is the connection between power and privilege? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opinion: College admissions scandal reopens old wounds (<i>Washington Post</i>) What it's like to be Asian during the coronavirus pandemic (<i>USA Today</i>) No more extra credit? Schools rethink approaches to grades (<i>Associated Press</i>) College recruiters give low-income public campuses fewer visits (<i>Los Angeles Times</i>) "Blackbird" tackles "light-skinned privilege" in emotional episode about colorism (<i>Washington Post</i>) Study: Americans take the pain of girls less |

newsela

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| | | <i>seriously than boys</i> (<i>Washington Post</i>) |
| Intersectionality | <p>LO: Students will be able to define intersectionality, and examine how it shapes their own and others' experiences of systems.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is intersectionality and how did it develop as a theory? How does intersectionality shape one's relationships in systems? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opinion: Intersectionality is all of who I am (<i>The Conversation</i>) "Our love is radical": Why trans activists lead the way in protest movements (<i>The Guardian</i>) Primary Sources: The Cumbernauld River Collective statement Famous Speeches: Sajeer Truth's "Ain't I a Woman?" |
| Implicit bias | <p>LO: Students will examine the idea of implicit bias, and connect it to larger systems of power.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do systems of power and oppression shape individuals' beliefs and biases? How can bias reinforce systems? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How unintentional but insidious bias can be the most harmful (<i>PBS Newshour</i>) Study: Teachers' implicit bias against black students starts in preschool (<i>The Guardian</i>) How feeling respected transforms a student's relationship to school (<i>PBS Newshour</i>) |
| Colorism | <p>LO: Students will be able to define colorism and its relationship to systems such as imperialism and white supremacy.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is colorism, and what is the effect of colorism on individuals? What is the relationship between colorism and systems of power? Why is colorism a global issue? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Denied a teaching job for being "too Black," she started her own school, and a movement (<i>Washington Post</i>) In South Sudan, officials try to dispel idea that lightened skin is attractive (<i>Al Jazeera</i>) For dark-skinned Mexicans, taint of discrimination lingers (<i>McClatchy Foreign Sum</i>) Opinion: It's time to end colorism in India (<i>Al Jazeera</i>) |

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| Police brutality | <p>LO: Students will analyze the relationship between police brutality and systemic racism in America.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the relationship between police brutality, systems, and power in America today? What changes would you make to the institution of law enforcement in order to achieve equity and justice? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opinion: What you're seeing is people pushed to the edge (<i>Los Angeles Times</i>) A timeline of the 1992 Los Angeles Riots (<i>History.com</i>) Birmingham Campaign photos (1963) (<i>Newsela</i>) Angela Davis: "We knew that the role of the police was to protect white supremacy" (<i>Washington Post</i>) Growing police use of military-type equipment is scrutinized (<i>McClatchy Tribune</i>) Deaths of Latinos at the hands of police haven't drawn as much attention (<i>Los Angeles Times</i>) |
| Environmental racism | <p>LO: Students will analyze the impact of systemic racism on environmental justice issues.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Racist housing policies have created some oppressively hot neighborhoods (<i>National Geographic Society</i>) What is environmental justice? (<i>Gale</i>) |

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| Technology and racism | <p>LO: Students will analyze the impact of systems and power on the development of technology.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do systems of oppression affect the development of technology? What would you do to ensure equity and justice in technological development? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teens help MIT teach lending algorithms not to be racist (<i>Boston Globe</i>) These summer camps aim to fight racial bias in AI (<i>USA Today</i>) Racial bias is incorporated into algorithms doctors use to treat patients (<i>Live Science</i>) EEG research is racially biased, so undergrad scientists designed new electrodes to fix it (<i>Massive Science</i>) |
| The curriculum wars | <p>LO: Students will examine debates over the contents of curriculum in schools, and evaluate those debates in the context of systems and power in America.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are the primary conflicts surrounding school curriculum in America? What are the historical roots of those "curriculum wars"? How does curriculum relate to systems and power? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> California to vote on ethnic studies mandate (<i>Los Angeles Times</i>) Tennessee school board bans Pulitzer Prize-winning book on Holocaust (<i>Tribune Content Agency</i>) Opinion: Ethnic studies can't make up for whitewashed history in classrooms (<i>Washington Post</i>) Opinion: Books by immigrants, foreigners, and minorities don't diminish the classic curriculum (<i>Washington Post</i>) Push for Indigenous American curriculum in schools makes gains (<i>Associated Press</i>) |

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| Black Power and Black Panthers | <p>LO: Students will analyze the origins, goals, tactics, and results of the Black Power movement and Black Panther Party, while examining the role of media narratives in shaping public opinion of their work.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How did members of the Black Power movement and/or Black Panther Party describe their goals and philosophies? How did they position themselves in relation to the Civil Rights movement? What results did Black Power/Black Panther activists achieve for Black communities? What tactics did they use to achieve those results? What opposition did Black Power and Black Panthers face? What role did media narratives play in stoking that opposition? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Famous Speeches: Malcolm X's "The Ballot or the Bullet," April 3, 1964 What we don't learn about the Black Panther Party – but should (<i>Zinn Education Project</i>) The history and importance of the Black Panther Party (<i>Encyclopedia Britannica</i>) Civil Rights Leaders: Stokely Carmichael (<i>Biography.com</i>) The police raid that killed two Black Panthers (<i>Washington Post</i>) Martin Luther King's famous criticism of Malcolm X was a "fraud," author finds (<i>The Washington Post</i>) Angela Davis: "We knew that the role of the police was to protect white supremacy" (<i>Washington Post</i>) Video: Malcolm X and the Rise of Black Power |
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| Black Lives Matter | <p>LO: Students will analyze the goals, methods, and outcomes of the Black Lives Matter movement, and evaluate the extent to which it has achieved positive social change.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How did the Black Lives Matter movement originate, and how has it developed? What are the near-term and long-term goals of the Black Lives Matter | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How "Black Lives Matter" became a U.S. protest cry (Bloomberg) What Black Lives Matter demonstrators can learn from civil rights protests of the past (USA Today) Opinion: What you're seeing is people pushed to the edge (Los Angeles Times) "Defund the police": Cities respond to demands for a major law enforcement shift (The Washington Post) |
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| Land Back movement | <p>LO: Students will analyze the strategies Indigenous communities have used to reclaim land in the modern era, the results of those strategies, and the ongoing challenges in land reclamation efforts.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why is land reclamation important to | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> California plan would give \$100 million to Indigenous leaders to buy ancestral lands (The Guardian) Opinion: Half the land in Oklahoma could be returned to Native Americans (Washington Post) Driven from their land in 1877 by U.S. soldiers, the Nez Perce Tribe is home again |
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newsela.com

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| | <p>movement?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What results have the Black Lives Matter movement achieved in its efforts for social change? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> When protesters say "defund the police," what does it mean? (Associated Press) Activists responding to police killings see potential new civil rights era (Los Angeles Times) Young protesters implore police to acknowledge them and their cause (Washington Post) "Our voices carry weight": Young women of color lead activist charge (Christian Science Monitor) Derek Chauvin found guilty on all counts in the murder of George Floyd (USA Today) |
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| | <p>Indigenous communities?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do land reclamation strategies vary? What have been the results of different strategies? What obstacles remain in the efforts to reclaim indigenous lands? | <p>(The Seattle Times)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maine Indians sued government over broken promises in land treaties (Native American Almanac) "Piecing together a broken heart": Native Americans rebuild territories they lost (The Guardian) The battle for Mount Rushmore: focusing on oppression (The Guardian) Tribes: Trump's monument order disrespects native people (Associated Press) Opinion: Indigenous land rights in New York state (Arcadia Publishing) |
| Environmental Justice Movement | <p>LO: Students will analyze the many factors that connect to environmental justice, and examine the global struggles for environmental justice and an end to climate change.</p> <p>Supporting questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why is it important to think about environmental justice as a global issue, rather than just a domestic issue? How are communities of color around the world involved in environmental justice movements? What examples of solidarity between these global communities did you find? What is the United States' role in global environmental justice? What needs to happen in order to achieve true environmental justice around the world? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meet the 2023 Goldman Environmental Prize winners (Mongabay) Tribes celebrate yucca harvest as climate change, encroachment threaten tradition (The Orange County Register) Indigenous youth take global stage in Madrid to voice climate change worries (The World) Alaska's Inuit link steady food supply to environmental health (Associated Press) Amazon "women warriors" show gender equality, forest conservation go hand in hand (Mongabay) Moms fight for their kids and the environment at a climate conference (The Guardian) Indigenous communities bring knowledge and solutions to conservation efforts (Washington Post) What is environmental justice? (Cengage Learning) Indigenous rights are key to preserving forests, study finds (The Guardian) |

DOWNLOAD

California Ethnic Studies Collection Guide

Washington Ethnic Studies Collection Guide

The Washington state [Ethnic Studies Collection](#) overview features a lot of the same content as California but also includes "defining whiteness and otherness," "Queer and Trans POC activism," and media literacy.

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| Why is the world the way it is? SYSTEMS & POWER | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Settler Colonialism Chattel Slavery: Uniquely American United States Political System Capitalism Systemic Racism Over Time Defining whiteness and otherness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Patriarchy and race Global system of colonialism and imperialism American imperialism The American Dream and Meritocracy Shifting American demographics Intersectionality Power and privilege | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Implicit bias Colorism Borders Citizenship Cultural Appropriation Representation in American Politics Education and Inequity |
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DOWNLOAD

2025_WA_newsela_Social-Studies-for-Washington overview

University of California Berkeley

The University of California Berkeley offers K-12 school districts several different opportunities for engagement related to ethnic studies. This includes:

UC Berkeley History-Social Science Project – K-12 Ethnic Studies

The University of California Berkeley's **History-Social Science Project – Ethnic Studies** “provides guidance to high school teachers and school districts to assist them in developing Ethnic Studies courses.”

According to the website, **California AB 101** – the state law requiring ethnic studies as a high school graduation requirement – states that “high school teachers are required to:”

*“familiarize themselves with current scholarly research around ethnic studies instruction, such as critically and culturally/community relevant and responsive pedagogies, **critical race theory**, and intersectionality, which are key theoretical frameworks and pedagogies that can be used in ethnic studies research and instruction” (CA Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum, **Chapter 3**(PDF file)(link is external) pp 45-46).*

Under “Essential Theory, Concepts and Pedagogies,” the program includes “useful resources” on topics such as “The Four I’s of Oppression,” intersectionality, and critical race theory.

The project website also includes links to various other UC Berkeley resources for educators, including its **High School Ethnic Studies Initiative Website** and **High School Ethnic Studies Initiative Resource Hub**.

More information on this can be found in an accompanying LiberatED report on university ethnic studies here.

EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

UC BERKELEY
history-social science
PROJECT
UCBHSSP

Art by Melannie Cervantes (2020)

Ethnic Studies

UCBHSSP's Approach to K-12 Ethnic Studies

A new state law that goes into effect in the 2025–26 school year (California AB 101) requires all California public high school graduates to take an Ethnic Studies course.

High school teachers are required to:

*“familiarize themselves with current scholarly research around ethnic studies instruction, such as critically and culturally/community relevant and responsive pedagogies, critical race theory, and intersectionality, which are key theoretical frameworks and pedagogies that can be used in ethnic studies research and instruction” (CA Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum, **Chapter 3** pp 45-46).*

Essential Theory, Concepts and Pedagogies

Effective Ethnic Studies educators ground their work in an understanding of the theory and scholarship that has informed the field. Cultivating and refining one's practices is essential to the work of serving the communities where Ethnic Studies courses are presented. The UCBHSSP recommends these documents as a “starting point” for the ever expanding work of growing as intellectual and an educator.

Useful Resources:

- [“The Four I's of Oppression”](#) (2010) by John Bell
- [“The urgency of intersectionality - TED Talk”](#) (2016) by Kimberlé Crenshaw
- An [excerpt](#) from the article “Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth” by Tara Yosso (2005)
- An [excerpt](#) from the article [“Examining Transformational Resistance Through a Critical Race and Latcrit Theory Framework: Chicana and Chicano Students in an Urban Context”](#) by Daniel G Solorzano and Dolores Delgado Bernal (2001)

The Puente Project

While the overall stated purpose of **The Puente Project** seems noble, the program prioritizes the integration of critical race theory and far-left social justice ideologies into its curriculum.

The program's mission is “to increase the number of underrepresented students who enroll in four-year colleges and universities, earn college degrees and return to the community as mentors and leaders to future generations.”

PUENTE

ABOUT PUENTE PROGRAMS MEDIA RESOURCES CONTACT

Key Term / Definition

Tara J. Yosso et. al define Counter Storytelling as:

... a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences that are not often told (i.e. those on the margins of society). The counterstory is also a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege. Counterstories can shatter complacency, challenge the dominant discourse on race, and further the struggle for racial reform. Yet counterstories need not be created only as a direct response to majoritarian stories. As Lisa Ikemoto (1997) reminds us: "By responding only to the standard story, we let it dominate the discourse" (p. 136). Indeed, within the histories and lives of People of Color, there are numerous unheard counterstories. Counter Storytelling these experiences can help strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance.

Citation: Tara Yosso, Octavio Villalpando, Dolores Delgado Bernal, and Daniel G. Solórzano, "Critical Race Theory in Chicana/O Education" (April 1, 2001). National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies Annual Conference Paper 9. <http://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/naccs/2001/Proceedings/9>

The Puente Project is a national award-winning program that has improved the college-going rate of tens of thousands of California's educationally underrepresented students since 1981.

Its mission is to increase the number of educationally underrepresented students who enroll in four-year colleges and universities, earn college degrees and return to the community as mentors and leaders to future generations. The program is interdisciplinary in approach, with writing, counseling and mentoring components.

Started in 1981 at Chabot Community College in Hayward, California, the program has since expanded to 7 middle schools, 36 high schools and 65 community colleges throughout the state. Puente staff train middle school, high school and community college instructors and counselors to implement a program of rigorous instruction, focused academic counseling, and mentoring by members of the community. Puente's staff training programs have benefited approximately 300,000 students across the state. Puente is open to all students.

The program **curriculum** includes various units, topics, and readings focusing on far-left ideologies such as “critical consciousness,” **critical race theory**, **decolonization**, **environmental justice**, **liberation**, **linguistic justice**, **queer theory**, and **racial justice**.

The first chapter of the curriculum, **Racial Justice – Our Future History and Future**, includes a note to the educator which states that an “**essential concept to understand, and to help students understand and be able to analyze, is white supremacist capitalist patriarchy.**” It continues by claiming that it is “crucial because as Black Feminist Theory reminds us, systems of oppression are often interlocking.”

The chapter also includes “suggested activities” for middle school (MS), high school (HS), and community college (CC) students such as “Foundations: White Supremacy & How it Works.” The site links to a document titled “**Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy.**”

The activity includes discussion questions such as “What is the relationship between capitalism and slavery?,” “What is the relationship between genocide and colonialism?,” and “Why does Andrea Smith argue we cannot disregard the “black/white binary” when organizing against systems of oppression?”

NOTE TO THE EDUCATOR

- This chapter of the anthology is a resource designed to support our Puente educators in facilitating and creating space in our classrooms to hold these difficult and meaningful conversations.
- An essential concept to understand, and to help students understand and be able to analyze, is white supremacist capitalist patriarchy. This is crucial because as Black Feminist Theory reminds us, systems of oppression are often interlocking. For example, cisheteropatriarchy is a product of settler colonialism and empire. Though issues of gender, sexuality, and capitalism may seem distant from racism, they are interweaving oppressions that support each other's existence. Resources on these topics for educators to consider include:
 - Talking About Race: Whiteness (Smithsonian NMAAHC)
 - Ball books on "white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (NY Times)
 - White Supremacy (American University)
 - Anti-Blackness (American University)
 - Cis-Heteropatriarchy (York University)
 - Women, Race, and Class by Angela Y. Davis
 - Black Feminist Thought by Patricia Hill Collins
 - Essential Knowledge: American Slavery (Learning for Justice)
 - Hetero patriarchy and settler colonialism by Ried Gustafson (TEDx)

• **Foundations: White Supremacy & How it Works** (MS, HS, CC)

- Assign “Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy” by Andrea Smith to students as homework reading or in-class reading in groups. Ask students to identify the main idea of the article and the main idea of each paragraph.
- Discussion Questions:
 - How would you describe “oppression olympics”?
 - What is the relationship between capitalism and slavery?
 - What is the relationship between genocide and colonialism?
 - What is the relationship between Orientalism and war?
 - Why does Andrea Smith argue we cannot disregard the “black/white binary” when organizing against systems of oppression?
 - What other binaries function within the system of white supremacy, according to Smith?
- Ask students to interpret and respond to this quote from the article: “Under the old but still potent and dominant model, people of color organizing was based on the notion of organizing around shared victimhood. In this model, however, we see that we are victims of white supremacy, but complicit in it as well.”
- As a class, reflect on the concepts of Complicity in systems of oppression and Solidarity of oppressed people in resisting oppression. Consider providing historical examples of Solidarity and Complicity.
 - Solidarity Example #1: [Black Panthers support Disability Justice Movement](#)
 - Complicity Example #1: [Co-opting Indigenous Identity in Mexico](#)
 - Guiding Question: How does complicity prevent all marginalized people from achieving justice and liberation?
 - Take-Home Reflection: How can I engage in solidarity with other oppressed peoples? How can I make sure I am not complicit in the oppression of others?

DOWNLOAD heteropatriarchy-and-the-three-pillars-of-white-supremacy

The chapter also includes “Articles + Essays” such as “**The Combahee River Collective Statement,**” **Tema Okun’s “The Characteristics of White Supremacy Culture,”** and “**In Defense of Looting.**”

ARTICLES + ESSAYS

- Akinsiku, Lanre. (2014) ["The Price of Blackness"](#) [HS, CC]
- Busey, Christopher and Carolyn Silva. (2020). ["Troubling the Essentialist Discourse of Brown in Education: The Anti-Black Sociopolitical and Sociohistorical Etymology of Latinxs as a Brown Monolith"](#) [CC]
- Coates, Ta-Nehisi. (2014) ["The Case for Reparations"](#) [CC]
- Combahee River Collective. (1977) ["The Combahee River Collective Statement"](#) [CC]
- Cross Cultural Solidarity. [The Chicano Movement: Articles](#) [HS, CC]
- Cross Cultural Solidarity. [Indigenous "Boarding Schools": Resources](#) [HS, CC]
- Cross Cultural Solidarity. [The U.S.-Mexico Border During the Trump Era: Articles](#) [HS, CC]
- Douglas, Miguel. (2020). ["The Origins of the American Indian Movement and the Wounded Knee Occupation: A History of Liberation and Defiance"](#) [HS, CC]
- Eromobor, Lela. (2021). ["Costa Rica's Caribbean Coast: Unpacking Afro-Costa Rican Identities"](#) [CC]
- Germain, Jacqui. (2021) ["Food Insecurity on Native Reservations is Part of a Long History of Discrimination"](#) [HS, CC]
- Harshaw, Pendarvis. (2022) ["Honoring Yuri Kochiyama's Legacy of Asian and Black Solidarity"](#) [CC]
- High Country News. (2021) ["Land Grab Universities"](#) [HS, CC]
- Jackson, Mitchel. (2020) ["Twelve Minutes and a Life"](#) [CC]
- Kolhatkar, Sonari. (2021). ["Sustaining the Chicano Movement Across Generations"](#) [HS, CC]
- Lemar, Marissa. (2022). ["How the Young Lords Fought for Health Care Access and Won"](#) [CC]
- The Nation. (2012) ["Russell Means: Fighter and Patriot"](#) [CC]
- National Archives. (2022) [Japanese-American Incarceration During World War II](#) [MS, HS, CC]
- Segal, Corinne. (2016). ["Poetry is protest for poet Sasha Banks"](#) [HS, CC]
- Thiebault, Reis. (2018) ["Fresno's Mason-Dixon Line"](#) [CC]
- Okun, Tema. (2021) ["The Characteristics of White Supremacy Culture"](#) [CC]
- Osterweil, Vicky. (2014) ["In Defense of Looting"](#) [HS, CC]
- Pelaez Lopez, Alan. (2018). ["The X in Latinx is a Wound, Not a Trend"](#) [CC]
- Pelaez Lopez, Alan. (2020). ["Principles of Pride: The Riot Black and Indigenous Trans People Deserve"](#) [CC]
- Reese, Debbie. (2015). ["Are we 'people of color'?"](#) [MS, HS, CC]
- Washington State Historical Society. [The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1862](#) [MS, HS, CC]

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White Supremacy Culture – Still Here

Puente Anthology

Chapter 1: Racial Justice

DOWNLOAD Chapter 1_Racial Justice _ The Puente Project

Chapter: Liberated Students

DOWNLOAD Chapter_Liberated Students _ The Puente Project

Chapter: Gender and Sexuality

DOWNLOAD Chapter_ Gender and Sexuality _ The Puente Project

Chapter 4: Linguistic Justice

DOWNLOAD Chapter 4_Lingusitic Justice _ The Puente Project

Chapter 5: Trusting Indigenous Knowledge

DOWNLOAD Chapter 5_Indigenous Knowledge _ The Puente Project

Chapter 8: Mind, Body, Spirit

DOWNLOAD Chapter 8_Mind, Body, Spirit _ The Puente Project

Chapter 9: Environmental Justice

DOWNLOAD Chapter 9_Environmental Justice _ The Puente Project

Go to Defending Education’s “[Groups Pushing Liberated Ethnic Studies in Schools](#)” page to review additional organizations engaged in consulting on and promoting liberated ethnic studies in K-12 schools.

K-12 SCHOOL DISTRICT CONTRACTS

Listed below are links to school district contracts for ethnic studies professional development and training, curriculum and instructional materials, or involvement in programming.

This is not a comprehensive collection of district spending, but will be updated as new information is gathered.

Top Grossing Consultants

\$1,374,272

Universities (UC Berkeley: \$783,040)

\$852,900

Acosta Latino Leadership Partnership

\$1,360,727.18*

Newsela

\$543,700

Ehecatl Wind Philosophy LLC

\$1,066,502

Community Responsive Education Corp

\$292,320

Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium

\$904,413.39

Gibbs Smith Education

An * denotes that Newsela's ethnic studies curriculum was part of a product package and did not include an itemized cost.

California

Alvord Unified School District

- 2023 – [The Puente Project, University of California Berkeley \(two-year contract\)](#) – \$24,000
- 2025 – [The Puente Project, University of California Berkeley \(two-year contract\)](#) – \$24,000
- 2025 – [Gibbs Smith Education](#) – \$241,934.29

Antioch Unified School District

- 2021 – [Title II – Milton Reynolds Consulting](#) – \$36,300
- 2022 – [Title II – Kingmakers of Oakland](#) – \$108,000
- 2022 – [Title II – University of California, Berkeley History-Social Science Project](#) – \$13,200
- 2023 – [Title II – University of California, Berkeley History-Social Science Project](#) – \$28,000
- 2023 – [University of California, Berkeley History-Social Science Project](#) – \$36,000
- 2025 – [Khepera Curriculum Group](#) – \$25,000

Baldwin Park Unified School District

- 2023 – [Ehecatl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$51,300
- 2024 – [Ehecatl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$7,300
- 2024 – [Ehecatl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$37,000
- 2024 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum](#) – \$12,742.63
- 2025 – [Newsela ethnic studies professional development](#) – \$1,500
- 2025 – [Gibbs Smith Education](#) – \$52,000

Bassett Unified School District

- 2025 – [Gibbs Smith Education](#) – \$44,584.77

Berkeley Unified School District

- 2023 – [Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium](#) – \$111,120
- 2024 – [Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium](#) – \$9,840
- 2024 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$20,000

Burton School District

- 2024 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum](#) – \$5,885.70
- 2025 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum](#) – \$22,277.99

Campbell Union High School District

- 2021 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum*](#) – \$98,127
- 2022 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum*](#) – \$113,945.88
- 2023 – [Title IV – Newsela ethnic studies curriculum*](#) – \$133,580.72
- 2024 – [Title III – Newsela ethnic studies curriculum*](#) – \$135,580
- 2025 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum*](#) – \$121,349.01
- 2025 – [Dr. Luis Poza – Ethnic Studies Summer Institute](#) – \$300

Corona-Norco Unified School District

- 2021 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$60,000
- 2024 – [Ehecatl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$59,400
- 2025 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$42,000
- 2025 – [Ehecatl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$27,000

Davis Joint Unified School District

- 2022 – [Acosta Latino Learning Partnership](#) – \$86,000
- 2023 – [Acosta Latino Learning Partnership](#) – \$63,000
- 2023 – [Irina Nunez – YPAR PD](#) – \$7,000

Duarte Unified School District

- 2024 – [UCLA Center X](#) – \$35,420
- 2025 – [UCLA Center X](#) – \$9,660

Elk Grove Unified School District

- 2024 – [Los Rios Community College](#) – \$15,117
- 2025 – [UC Davis History-Social Science Project](#) – \$18,000

El Rancho Unified School District

- 2022 – [UCLA Center X](#) – \$23,980
- 2023 – [California State University, Los Angeles](#) – \$8,000
- 2023 – [UCLA Center X](#) – \$23,040
- 2024 – [California State University, Los Angeles](#) – \$8,000
- 2024 – [UCLA Center X](#) – \$19,050

Fallbrook Union High School District

- 2024 – [Ehecatl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$32,000
- 2025 – [Ehecatl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$53,700

Fremont Unified School District

- 2025 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum](#) – \$109,865

Fresno Unified School District

- 2024 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$100,000

Galt Joint Union High School District

- 2023 – [Dale Allender](#) – \$31,250

Hayward Unified School District

- 2021 – [Puente Project, UC Berkeley](#) – \$75,000
- 2021 – [University of California, Berkeley History-Social Science Project](#) – \$8,140
- 2021 – [University of California, Berkeley History-Social Science Project](#) – \$7,150
- 2022 – [Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium](#) – \$35,395
- 2023 – [Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium](#) – \$91,830
- 2025 – [Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium](#) – \$8,605

Inglewood Unified School District

- 2025 – [Gibbs Smith Education](#) – \$69,967.69

Jefferson Elementary School District

- 2020 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$28,502
- 2020 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$40,000
- 2021 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$100,000
- 2022 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$100,000

Jefferson Union High School District

- 2021 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$180,000
- 2024 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$80,000
- 2024 – [Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales Keynote speech](#) – \$10,000
- 2025 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$50,000

Kern High School District

- 2025 – [UCLA Center X](#) – \$35,562

Liberty Union High School District

- 2025 – [Gibbs Smith Education](#) – \$23,287.20

Los Gatos-Saratoga Union High School District

- 2023 – [University of California, Berkeley History-Social Science Project](#) – \$3,300

Lynwood Unified School District

- 2022 – [Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium](#) – \$35,530
- 2024 – [UCLA Center X](#) – \$2,260
- 2024 – [5M Legacy – Black History Matters 2U](#) – \$50,200
- 2024 – [UCLA Center X](#) – \$2,260
- 2025 – [5M Legacy – Black History Matters 2U](#) – \$115,500

Modesto City Schools

- 2024 – [University of California, Davis – California History-Social Science Project](#) – \$60,000
- 2024 – [University of California, Davis – California History-Social Science Project](#) – \$12,000
- 2025 – [University of California, Davis – California History-Social Science Project](#) – \$75,000

Morongo Unified School District

- 2024 – [Gibbs Smith Education](#) – \$34,626
- 2025 – [Gibbs Smith Education](#) – \$50,788.44

Mountain Empire Unified School District

- 2025 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum](#) – \$7,750

Napa Valley Unified School District

- 2022 – [Dale Allender](#) – \$22,000
- 2023 – [Dale Allender](#) – \$22,000

Nevada Joint Unified School District

- 2024 – [Dale Allender](#) – \$5,000

Newark Unified School District

- 2025 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$24,000

Oakland Unified School District

- 2025 – [Professional Learning](#) – \$61,814
- 2025 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum](#) – \$118,037

Parajo Valley Unified School District

- 2021 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$49,000
- 2025 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$90,000
- 2025 – [Ignacio Ornelas Rodriguez, Ph. D](#) – \$26,400

Paramount Unified School District

- 2020 – [California State University, Long Beach – ethnic studies courses for HS students](#) – \$36,000
- 2021 – [California State University, Long Beach – ethnic studies courses for HS students](#) – \$36,000
- 2022 – [California State University, Long Beach – ethnic studies courses for HS students](#) – \$48,000
- 2024 – [California State University, Long Beach – ethnic studies courses for HS students](#) – \$48,000
- 2025 – [California State University, Long Beach – ethnic studies courses for HS students](#) – \$48,000

Pittsburg Unified School District

- 2022 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$45,000
- 2023 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$75,000
- 2024 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$55,000
- 2025 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$35,000

Riverside Unified School District

- 2022 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum](#) – \$148,500
- 2024 – [Footsteps to Freedom Underground Railroad – Professional Development trip](#) – \$114,625

Rowland Unified School District

- 2023 – [Facing History and Ourselves workshop](#) – \$2,900
- 2023 – [Education Consulting](#) – \$1,650
- 2023 – [Education Consulting](#) – \$12,000
- 2024 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum*](#) – \$125,000
- 2024 – [California State University, Los Angeles – ethnic studies Professional Development](#) – \$23,000
- 2025 – [California State University, Los Angeles – ethnic studies Professional Development](#) – \$20,000

Saddleback Valley Unified School District

- 2023 – [University of California, Irvine History Project](#) – \$37,000
- 2024 – [University of California, Irvine History Project](#) – \$67,020

Salinas Union High School District

- 2019 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$58,400
- 2020 – [Our Transformation Education](#) – \$10,000
- 2021 – [Our Transformation Education](#) – \$10,000
- 2024 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$38,500
- 2025 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$39,000

San Bernardino City Unified School District

- 2022 – [Ehecattl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$102,600
- 2023 – [Ehecattl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$117,000

San Diego Unified School District

- 2021 – [ESSER III – Ethnic studies program development](#) – \$9,400,000
- 2024 – [James Fabionar, ethnic studies audit](#) – \$286,600

San Francisco Unified School District

- 2024 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$22,000
- 2025 – [Gibbs Smith Education](#) – \$99,980.39

San Jacinto Unified School District

- 2023 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$42,000
- 2025 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$28,500

San Jose Unified School District

- 2022 – [University of California, Berkeley History-Social Science Project](#) – \$39,050

San Mateo Union High School District

- 2022 – [Acosta Latino Learning Partnership](#) – \$77,900

San Rafael City Schools

- 2023 – [University of California, Berkeley History-Social Science Project](#) – \$8,800
- 2024 – [University of California, Berkeley History-Social Science Project](#) – \$13,200

Santa Barbara Unified School District

- 2023 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$12,000
- 2023 – [Thomas Carrasco – Professional Development](#) – \$2,500
- 2023 – [Myriam Gurba – Professional Development](#) – \$3,200
- 2024 – [Community Responsive Education](#) – \$5,000

Santa Rosa City Schools

- 2019 – [Acosta Latino Leadership Partnership](#) – \$6,000
- 2019 – [Dr. Christine Sleeter](#) – \$4,000
- 2021 – [Acosta Latino Leadership Partnership](#) – \$99,000
- 2022 – [Acosta Latino Leadership Partnership](#) – \$161,000
- 2023 – [Acosta Latino Leadership Partnership](#) – \$142,500
- 2023 – [Acosta Latino Leadership Partnership](#) – \$32,000
- 2024 – [Jordan Bell Professional Development](#) – \$30,000
- 2024 – [Acosta Latino Leadership Partnership](#) – \$127,500

Stockton Unified School District

- 2020 – [Ehecattl Wind Philosophy, LLC](#) – \$56,400
- 2024 – [XITO Summer Institute](#) – \$4,169.44
- 2025 – [XITO Summer Institute](#) – \$27,908.50

Turlock Unified School District

- 2021 – [ESSER II – California State University, Stanislaus Professional Development](#) – \$6,000
- 2024 – [Newsela ethnic studies curriculum](#) – \$60,986.25

Victor Valley Unified School District

- 2025 – [Title I – Newsela ethnic studies curriculum*](#) – \$145,600

Visalia Unified School District

- 2025 – [Gibbs Smith Education](#) – \$77,244.61

Whittier Union High School District

- 2017 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$60,000
- 2021 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$60,000
- 2025 – [The Puente Project](#) – \$14,000

Woodland Joint Unified School District

- 2024 – [Title I – The Puente Project](#) – \$16,000

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh Public Schools

- 2024 – [Gibbs Smith Education and Scholarus](#) – \$780,000

Washington

Edmonds School District

- 2018 – [Acosta Latino Learning Partnership](#) – \$58,000

LIBERATED:

K-12 Liberated Ethnic Studies Industrial Complex



**DEFENDING
EDUCATION**