

## Appendix A: Summary Tables and Bill Characteristics

**Table A1**

*Bill Counts by State*

| State          | Introduced |          | Adopted |          | Total |
|----------------|------------|----------|---------|----------|-------|
|                | Support    | Restrict | Support | Restrict |       |
| Alabama        |            | 6        |         |          | 6     |
| Alaska         |            | 5        |         |          | 5     |
| Arizona        |            | 15       |         | 2        | 15    |
| Arkansas       |            | 6        |         | 1        | 6     |
| California     | 1          |          | 1       |          | 1     |
| Colorado       | 1          | 2        | 1       |          | 3     |
| Connecticut    | 1          | 2        | 1       |          | 3     |
| Delaware       | 1          |          | 1       |          | 1     |
| Florida        |            | 9        |         | 4        | 9     |
| Georgia        |            | 8        |         | 3        | 8     |
| Hawaii         |            | 1        |         |          | 1     |
| Idaho          |            | 7        |         | 2        | 7     |
| Illinois       | 1          | 2        |         |          | 3     |
| Indiana        |            | 9        |         |          | 9     |
| Iowa           |            | 8        |         | 1        | 8     |
| Kansas         |            | 7        |         |          | 7     |
| Kentucky       |            | 8        |         | 1        | 8     |
| Louisiana      | 1          | 5        | 1       |          | 6     |
| Maine          | 1          | 1        | 1       |          | 2     |
| Maryland       |            | 1        |         |          | 1     |
| Michigan       |            | 4        |         |          | 4     |
| Minnesota      |            | 5        |         |          | 5     |
| Mississippi    |            | 15       |         | 1        | 15    |
| Missouri       |            | 35       |         |          | 35    |
| Nebraska       |            | 1        |         |          | 1     |
| Nevada         | 1          | 1        | 1       |          | 2     |
| New Hampshire  |            | 5        |         | 1        | 5     |
| New Jersey     | 1          | 6        | 1       |          | 7     |
| New Mexico     |            | 1        |         |          | 1     |
| New York       |            | 2        |         |          | 2     |
| North Carolina |            | 5        |         |          | 5     |
| North Dakota   |            | 2        |         | 2        | 2     |

**Citation:** Tabron, L. A., Bachofer, A., Lewis, N. D., Trinidad, T., & Fusco, S. F. (2024). Curriculum wars: A critical policy analysis of K-12 critical race theory bills in state legislatures in the United States. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 32(80). <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.32.8534>

| State          | Introduced |          | Adopted |          | Total |
|----------------|------------|----------|---------|----------|-------|
|                | Support    | Restrict | Support | Restrict |       |
| Ohio           |            | 4        |         |          | 4     |
| Oklahoma       |            | 16       |         | 2        | 16    |
| Oregon         |            | 1        |         |          | 1     |
| Pennsylvania   |            | 6        |         |          | 6     |
| Rhode Island   |            | 4        |         |          | 4     |
| South Carolina |            | 12       |         | 2        | 12    |
| South Dakota   |            | 6        |         | 1        | 6     |
| Tennessee      |            | 4        |         | 3        | 4     |
| Texas          |            | 13       |         | 3        | 13    |
| Utah           |            | 2        |         |          | 2     |
| Vermont        | 1          | 0        |         |          | 1     |
| Virginia       |            | 9        |         | 1        | 9     |
| Washington     | 1          | 2        | 1       |          | 3     |
| West Virginia  |            | 9        |         |          | 9     |
| Wisconsin      |            | 4        |         |          | 4     |
| Wyoming        | 1          | 3        | 1       |          | 4     |

**Table A2**

*Bill Frequency Counts by Geographic Region*

| Geographic region | Support    |         | Restrict   |         |
|-------------------|------------|---------|------------|---------|
|                   | Introduced | Adopted | Introduced | Adopted |
| Midwest           | 1          | 0       | 87         | 4       |
| Northeast         | 4          | 3       | 26         | 1       |
| South             | 2          | 2       | 126        | 21      |
| West              | 5          | 5       | 40         | 4       |
| Total             | 12         | 10      | 279        | 30      |

*Note.* Geographic regions are defined according to the U.S. Census Bureau (n.d.) region definitions. Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. Northeast: Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont. South: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. West: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

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## Appendix B: Thematic Map of CRT Legislation in the United States, 2017–2022

**Theme 1: The framing of the education bill significantly influences its perceived legitimacy and impact, shaping public discourse and policy outcomes.**

- CPA Subtheme: Power of Bill Framing
  - Category: Inclusive Language
    - Diversity
    - Equity
    - Inclusion
    - Civic reasoning
    - Civic participation
    - Antiracist
    - Dismantling institutional racism
  - Category: Divisive Language
    - Scapegoating
    - Stereotyping
    - Anti-American
    - Indoctrination
    - Radical rhetoric
    - Exacerbates divisions in society

**Theme 2: Legislative strategies to control the distribution of knowledge in K-12 education reveal vastly different approaches to shaping the flow of information.**

- CPA subtheme: Distribution of Knowledge
  - Category: Inclusive Curriculum
    - Ethnic studies program
    - Histories of marginalized groups
    - Diverse methodologies
    - Cultural competency training
    - New social studies standards
  - Category: Censorship
    - Parental rights to monitor curriculum
    - Prohibition of certain ideologies
    - Transparency requirements for instructional materials
    - Complaint resolution policies

**Theme 3: Education legislation shows a divide in resource distribution, with supportive bills supporting inclusive practices through additional resources, while restrictive bills impose punitive measures, threatening schools' financial and operational stability.**

- CPA subtheme: Distribution of Resources
  - Category: Resource Support
    - Guidance from SBOE
    - Professional development materials
    - Acceptance of gifts, grants, and donations
    - Designated professional learning days
    - Financial support for curriculum development

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- Category: Punitive Measures
  - Reduction in school funding
  - Withholding of funds
  - Civil penalties
  - Suspension or loss of educator licensure
  - Increased authority for attorneys general
  - Parental control over curriculum decisions

### Appendix C: Adopted Bills by Thematic Category

**Table C**

*Adopted Bills by Thematic Category*

| State  | Date introduced | Bill number | Support or restrict | Data source                       |
|--|-----------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>Distribution of Knowledge: Censorship</b>           |                 |             |                     |                                   |
| Arizona  | 1/19/2022       | HB2439      | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Florida  | 1/12/2021       | SB582       | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Florida  | 1/9/2022        | HB1467      | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Florida  | 1/10/2022       | SB1557      | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Georgia  | 2/1/2022        | HB1178      | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Georgia  | 2/21/2022       | SB226       | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Kentucky   | 1/3/2022        | SB1         | Restrict            | CRTForward, PENAmerica            |
| New Hampshire  | 3/1/2021        | HB2         | Restrict            | CRTForward, PENAmerica            |
| North Dakota   | 1/27/2021       | SCR4011     | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| North Dakota   | 11/7/2021       | HB1508      | Restrict            | Chalkbeat, CRTForward, PENAmerica |
| Oklahoma   | 1/18/2022       | HB3092      | Restrict            | CRTForward, PENAmerica            |
| Texas  | 2/28/2021       | HB2497      | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Texas  | 3/10/2021       | HB3979      | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Texas  | 7/8/2021        | SB3         | Restrict            | Chalkbeat, CRTForward, PENAmerica |
| <b>Distribution of Knowledge: Inclusive Curriculum</b> |                 |             |                     |                                   |
| California   | 2021            | AB101       | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |
| Colorado   | 2019            | HB19-1192   | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |
| Connecticut  | 2021            | HB07082     | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |
| Delaware   | 2021            | HB198       | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |
| Maine  | 2021            | HP1235      | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |
| Nevada   | 2021            | AB261       | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |
| New Jersey   | 2021            | SB4021      | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |

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| State   | Date introduced | Bill number     | Support or restrict | Data source                       |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Wyoming   | 2017            | HB76            | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |
| <b>Distribution of Resources: Punitive Measures</b> |                 |                 |                     |                                   |
| Arizona   | 5/23/2021       | SB2898          | Restrict            | CRTForward, PENAmerica            |
| Idaho   | 4/20/2021       | HB377           | Restrict            | Chalkbeat, CRTForward, PENAmerica |
| Mississippi   | 1/11/2022       | SB2113          | Restrict            | CRTForward, PENAmerica            |
| South Carolina                                      | 3/15/2021       | SB4100          | Restrict            | CRTForward, PENAmerica            |
| South Carolina                                      | 3/7/2022        | HB5150          | Restrict            | CRTForward PENAmerica             |
| <b>Distribution of Resources: Resource Supports</b> |                 |                 |                     |                                   |
| Louisiana   | 2021            | HB635           | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |
| Washington  | 2021            | SB5044          | Support             | Chalkbeat                         |
| <b>Power of Bill Framing: Divisive Language</b>     |                 |                 |                     |                                   |
| Arkansas  | 3/31/2021       | SB627           | Restrict            | CRTForward, PENAmerica            |
| Florida   | 1/10/2022       | HB7             | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Georgia   | 1/26/2022       | HB1084          | Restrict            | CRTForward, PENAmerica            |
| Idaho   | 2/13/2022       | SCR118          | Restrict            | CRTForward                        |
| Iowa  | 3/7/2021        | HF802           | Restrict            | Chalkbeat, CRTForward, PENAmerica |
| Oklahoma  | 1/19/2021       | HB1775          | Restrict            | Chalkbeat, CRTForward             |
| South Dakota  | 1/4/2022        | HB1012          | Restrict            | CRTForward, PENAmerica            |
| Tennessee   | 2/4/2021        | HB580/SB623     | Restrict            | Chalkbeat, CRTForward             |
| Tennessee   | 2/2/2022        | HB 2673/SB 2684 | Restrict            | PENAmerica                        |
| Virginia  | 1/6/2022        | HB127           | Restrict            | CRTForward/PENAmerica             |
| Arizona   | 6/7/2021        | HB2906          | Restrict            | Citizens for Renewing America     |

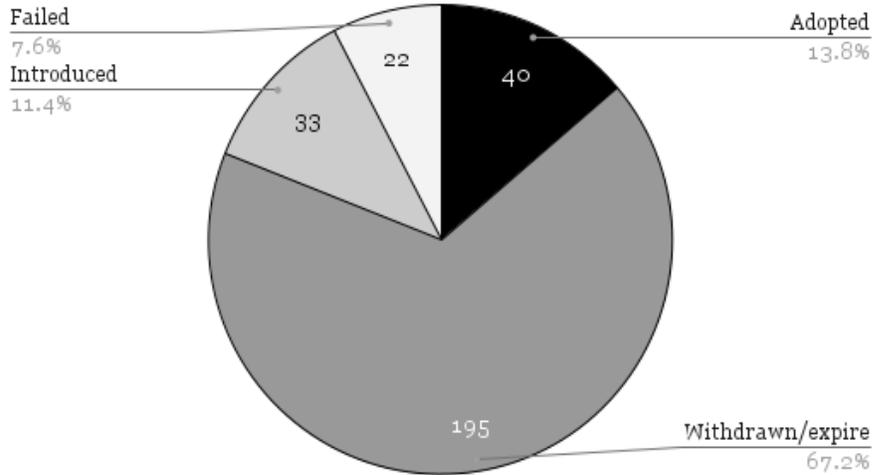
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### Appendix D: Bill Status and Party Control

**Figure D1**

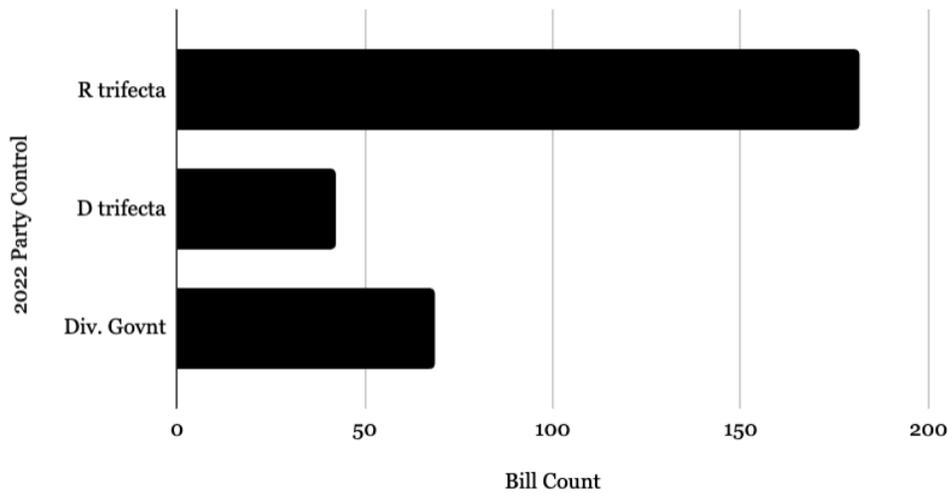
*Bill Status*

**Bill Status (as of February 24, 2023)**



**Figure D2**

*Bill Counts by Pre-2022 Election State Party Control*



*Note.* Div. Govnt refers to state governments where control of the governorship the two houses of the legislative branch is split between two political parties. A trifecta government (D = Democratic; R = Republican) is one in which a single party controls the governorship and the two houses of the legislative branch.

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## Appendix E: Divisive Concepts

“Divisive concepts” include:

1. One race or sex is inherently superior to another race or sex;
2. The United States is fundamentally racist or sexist;
3. An individual, by virtue of his or her race or sex, is inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously;
4. An individual should be discriminated against or receive adverse treatment solely or partly because of his or her race or sex;
5. Members of one race or sex cannot avoid treating others differently with respect to race or sex;
6. An individual’s moral character is necessarily determined by his or her race or sex;
7. An individual, by virtue of his or her race or sex, bears responsibility for actions committed in the past by other members of the same race or sex;
8. Any individual should feel discomfort, guilt, anguish, or any other form of psychological distress on account of his or her race or sex;
9. Meritocracy or traits such as a hard work ethic are racist or sexist, or were created by a particular race to oppress another race;
10. Promote any form of race or sex stereotyping, including ascribing character traits, values, moral and ethical codes, privileges, status, or beliefs to a race, sex, or an individual because of his or her race or sex; or
11. Promote any form of race or sex scapegoating, including assigning fault, blame, or conscious or unconscious bias to one or more members of a race or sex and including claims that, consciously or unconsciously, any person is inherently racist, sexist, or inclined to oppress others by virtue of their race or sex.

This list of concepts appears in 116 bills in 36 states: AK, AL, AR, AZ, CO, CT, FL, GA, IA, ID, IL, IN, KS, KY, LA, MD, MI, MO, MS, NC, NH, NJ, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VA, WA, WI, WV, WY