



U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON

COMMERCE, SCIENCE, & TRANSPORTATION

RANKING MEMBER TED CRUZ

D.E.I.

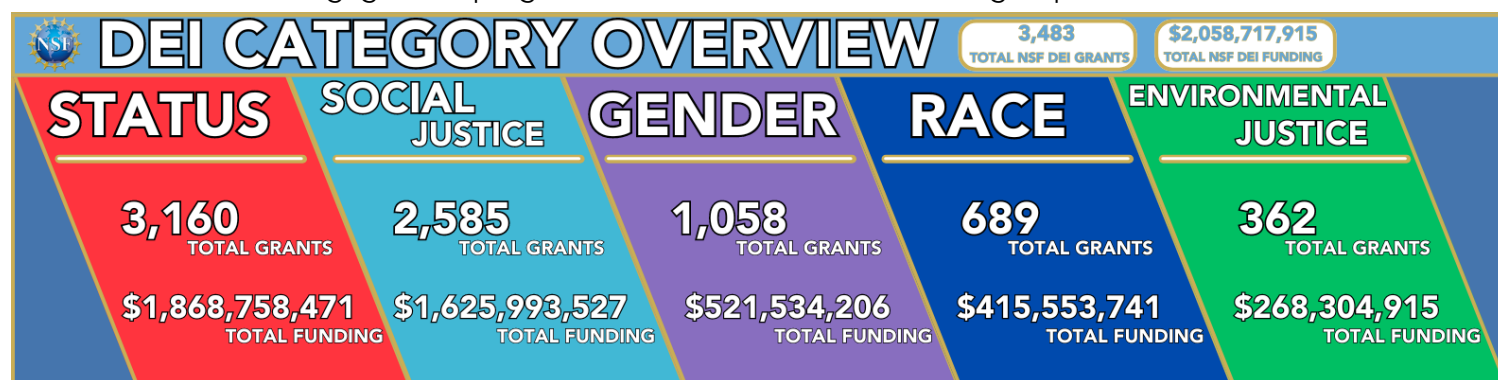
DIVISION. EXTREMISM. IDEOLOGY.

HOW THE
BIDEN-HARRIS NSF
POLITICIZED
SCIENCE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since the beginning of the Biden-Harris administration, the National Science Foundation (NSF) has increasingly funded research and programs that color scientific investigation and engagement projects through the lens of political ideology, undermining objective hard science disciplines such as physics, chemistry, and biology in which facts and theories can be precisely measured, tested, and independently reproduced. The U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation minority staff (Committee), which oversees federal science agencies including NSF, analyzed 32,198 Prime Award grants NSF awarded to 2,443 different entities with project start dates between January 2021 and April 2024.¹

Committee analysis found **3,483 grants**, more than ten percent of all NSF grants and totaling **over \$2.05 billion** in federal dollars, went to questionable projects that promoted diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) tenets or pushed onto science neo-Marxist perspectives about enduring class struggle. The Committee grouped these grants into five categories: **Status**, **Social Justice**, **Gender**, **Race**, and **Environmental Justice**. For the purposes for this report, “DEI funding,” a “DEI grant,” or “DEI research” refers to taxpayer dollars NSF provided to a research or engagement program that fell into one of these five groups.



THE SUM OF THE NSF DEI FUNDING AMOUNTS COLLECTED FROM EACH INDIVIDUAL CATEGORY IS GREATER THAN THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF NSF DEI FUNDING. NSF-FUNDED DEI AWARDS CAN ALMOST ALWAYS BE FOUND IN MORE THAN ONE DEI CATEGORY BASED ON THE CONTENT OF THE RECIPIENT'S AWARD DESCRIPTION. FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE DATA ANALYSIS SEE THE METHODOLOGY SECTION IN **APPENDIX A**.

SOURCE: COMMITTEE ANALYSIS OF USASpending DATA

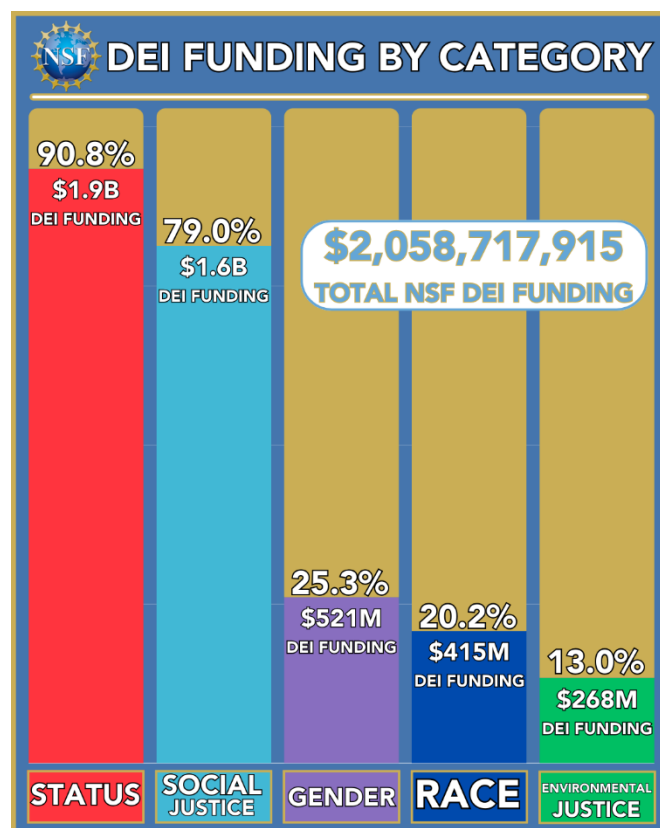
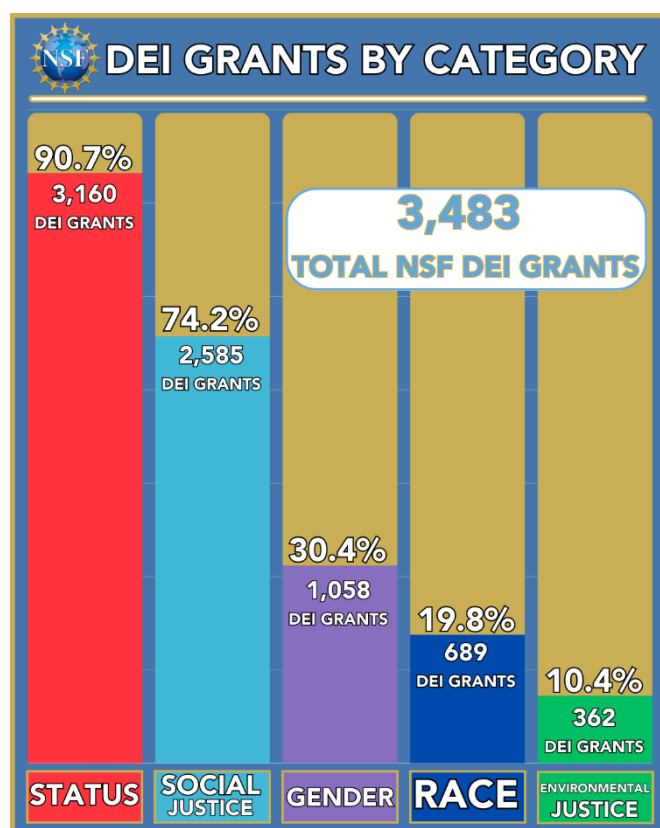
TABLE 1: NSF GRANTS BY DEI CATEGORY

- The Committee defined **Status** as grants that described persons based on their membership in a population deemed underrepresented, underserved, socioeconomically disadvantaged, or excluded. While NSF is, in some cases, tasked by Congress to ensure programs reach communities that have less access to resources (such as rural areas), these grants exceeded congressional mandates by giving taxpayer money to certain researchers not due to the strength of the application but because the applicant identified a group of people as a discriminated, oppressed class.
- **Social Justice** grants prioritized inclusivity over scientific advancements and achievements. These awards centered around projects seeking to impose social justice

¹ As reported on USASpending.gov, the U.S. federal government's public database for federal spending information.

perspectives on scientific disciplines. Many lacked a relevant academic or scientific mission.

- Grants that involved **Gender** presented far-left ideological theories about men, women, and other identities. These grants went beyond attempts to provide opportunities to increase female participation in science. Many projects casually yet authoritatively asserted, without evidence, that white men were barriers to opportunity and emphasized the need to create “identity-affirming environments”² rather than invest in scientific research and development.
- **Race** awards were largely given to programs aimed at addressing “racial inequity and White Supremacy.”³
- Finally, projects for **Environmental Justice** claimed the environmental sciences must be investigated through the lens of left-wing social activism.



THE KEYWORDS AND PHRASES USED FOR EACH DEI CATEGORY ARE AVAILABLE IN **APPENDIX B**.

SOURCE: COMMITTEE ANALYSIS OF USASPENDING DATA

TABLE 2: NSF GRANTS AND FUNDING BREAKDOWN BY DEI CATEGORY

The Biden-Harris administration has increasingly prioritized and awarded projects that explicitly promoted these radical political perspectives. While only **0.29%** of all grants with

² Grant Summary, FAIN 2346653, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2346653_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Regents of the University of Minnesota for “Fostering More Accurate and Identity-Affirming Science Teaching and Learning at Hispanic-Serving Institutions).

³ *Id.*

start-dates in **2021** centered on DEI initiatives, by **2024, more than a quarter** (27%) of new grants pushed far-left perspectives. Redirecting funding to these subjective, ideologically based projects was deliberate. Beginning in 2021, the White House and NSF created scientific integrity policies to require that agencies “[i]ncorporate **[Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility]** considerations into all aspects of science planning, execution, and communication.”⁴

 % OF NSF DEI FUNDING IN BIDEN-HARRIS ADMINISTRATION'S ANNUAL NSF FUNDING			
YEAR	TOTAL FUNDING	DEI FUNDING	% OF ANNUAL FUNDING
2021	\$4,930,209,488	\$14,280,928	0.29%
2022	\$4,946,237,805	\$814,547,727	16.47%
2023	\$4,975,714,881	\$939,831,338	18.89%
2024	\$1,064,411,166	\$289,593,584	27.21%

SOURCE: COMMITTEE ANALYSIS OF USASPENDING DATA

TABLE 3: BIDEN-HARRIS ADMINISTRATION NSF DEI GRANTS AWARDED FROM JAN 20, 2021 TO APRIL 4, 2024

This report outlines the history of how federal science agencies were further politicized by the Biden-Harris administration (an initiative that began during the Obama years), and it showcases some of the divisive, ideologically charged research awarded by the National Science Foundation to educational and research institutions. The Committee also analyzed how taxpayer financial support for these projects and particular researchers impacts American campuses and science.

⁴ EXEC. [OFF.] OF THE PRESIDENT, SCI. INTEGRITY FAST-TRACK ACTION COMM. OF THE NAT’L SCI. & TECH. COUNCIL, REPORT ON PROTECTING THE INTEGRITY OF GOVERNMENT SCIENCE 27 (2022).

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INTRODUCTION

American confidence in the scientific community has declined significantly since the COVID-19 pandemic. Over a quarter of the American public now reports that they have “no confidence” or “not too much confidence” in scientists; just 12% held those views when the pandemic began.⁵ Far fewer Americans believe that science produces a “positive effect on our society,” too. In 2019, almost three out of four Americans felt science had a positive effect.⁶ As of fall 2023, that number stands at 57%.⁷

“In recent years, we have seen a sharp increase in actual scientists – that is, people with degrees in the hard sciences from major universities who regularly receive money to conduct actual scientific research – using their credentials to parrot the talking points of the woke neo-Marxist Left.”
– SENATOR TED CRUZ

Distrust in scientists and scientific endeavors has real-world repercussions. In the 20th century, the U.S., driven by the country’s entrepreneurial and innovative spirit, became the world’s greatest economy. The Space Race, nuclear energy, and new high-tech hubs like Silicon Valley cemented American leadership and drove global prosperity.

Technological innovation will also define the 21st century. For the U.S. to remain the world’s economic hegemon, it will need to invent new tools and methods to meet modern needs. As just one example, while data and data-related services drive global economic growth, the centers that store data will need up to ten percent of all American electricity production alone by the end of the decade.⁸ This increased demand for energy means that the U.S. will need to produce or import more energy. Innovative scientists will need to find more efficient methods and equipment to drive production and store data.

The work that leads to these scientific discoveries is traditionally done at American businesses and research universities, supported by federal research and development (R&D) grants from agencies such as NSF, the National Institutes of Health (NIH), and the Department of Energy (DOE).

It is essential that the agencies tasked with supporting and training the scientific community spend taxpayer dollars responsibly. As it has done with most aspects of the federal

⁵ PEW RSCH. CTR., 2023 PEW RESEARCH CENTER’S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 135 – SCIENCE TOPLINE SEPT. 25–OCT. 1, 2023, at 2 (2023).

⁶ *Id.* at 3.

⁷ *Id.* at 3.

⁸ Jack Rogers, *U.S. Power Grid Struggles to Keep Up with Data Center Growth*, GLOBEST.COM (Mar. 18, 2024), <https://www.globest.com/2024/03/18/u-s-power-grid-struggles-to-keep-up-with-data-center-growth/>; see Evan Halper, *Amid Explosive Demand, America is Running Out of Power*, WASH. POST (Mar. 7, 2024), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2024/03/07/ai-data-centers-power/>.

government, however, the Biden-Harris administration has politicized these agencies' work. Such blatant partisanship naturally destroys the public's faith in, and the credibility of, federal programs. In the first days of this administration, President Biden and Vice President Harris created a Task Force on Scientific Integrity charged with **"a review of the impact on scientific integrity of diversity, equity, and inclusion practices"**⁹ at all science agencies. The Task Force portentously declared "[a]ctivities counter to DEIA [Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility] values are disruptive to the conduct of science" and called on all federal agencies to **"[i]ncorporate DEIA considerations into all aspects of science planning, execution, and communication."**¹⁰

The Biden-Harris NSF has responded by sending **over \$2 billion** to projects geared towards advancing divisive social ideologies rather than investigating hard science. In 2022, NSF gave **Columbia University \$4.4 million** for its Implementing Novel Solutions for Promoting Cultural Change in Geoscience Research & Education (INSPIRE) program to **"decolonize geoscience."**¹¹ The following year, NSF awarded **\$5 million** to **Arizona State University** and two other schools to build **"an intersectional learning ecosystem toward gendered racial equity in artificial intelligence education."**¹² The project is part of NSF's Racial Equity in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) Education program.¹³ This report outlines how these kinds of projects mask Marxist social ideology as rigorous and thoughtful investigation. Many of these awards—based on subjective, qualitative research incapable of repetition—failed to follow basic tenets of the Scientific Method.

This is more than a simple story of political grandstanding or government waste. Federal funding of ideologically based pseudo-science leads to inherently biased results that further public distrust and, more problematically, produce flawed conclusions and inaccurate understandings of how the physical world works. If these types of projects continue to receive funding, the U.S. will not only fail to meet the technological challenges of the next decade, but the hate and discord that have exploded across the country, especially at institutions of higher education, will continue.¹⁴

⁹ Memorandum on Restoring Trust in Government Through Scientific Integrity and Evidence-Based Policymaking, 86 Fed. Reg. 8845 (Jan. 27, 2021).

¹⁰ *Supra* note 4.

¹¹ Grant Summary, FAIN 2228173, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2228173_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to The Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York for "Implementing Novel Solutions for Promoting Cultural Change in Geoscience Research and Education (INSPIRE)").

¹² *Id.*; see also NAT'L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2315043, COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH: BLACK GIRLS AS CREATORS: AN INTERSECTIONAL LEARNING ECOSYSTEM TOWARD GENDERED RACIAL EQUITY IN ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE EDUCATION (2023); NAT'L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2315041, COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH: BLACK GIRLS AS CREATORS: AN INTERSECTIONAL LEARNING ECOSYSTEM TOWARD GENDERED RACIAL EQUITY IN ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE EDUCATION (2023); NAT'L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2315042, COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH: BLACK GIRLS AS CREATORS: AN INTERSECTIONAL LEARNING ECOSYSTEM TOWARD GENDERED RACIAL EQUITY IN ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE EDUCATION (2023).

¹³ *Angela Stewart Earned \$1.3 Million from the National Science Foundation*, PITTWIRE (Sept. 28, 2023), <https://www.pitt.edu/pittwire/accolades-honors/stewart-nsf-racial-equity-stem-education>.

¹⁴ See Heather Mac Donald, *DEI Drives Campus Antisemitism*, WSJ (Dec. 6, 2023), <https://www.wsj.com/articles/dei-drives-campus-antisemitism-harvard-ivy-ackman-israel-bds-b19ebd12>; see Pamela

American university campuses have become saturated with DEI initiatives and courses that use neo-Marxist theories to code individuals as members of an “**oppressed**” or “**oppressor**” class based on the color of their skin, heritage, or political perspectives. In Marxist theory, the “**oppressor**” is typically the class or group that holds economic, political, and social power over others, while the “**oppressed**” are defined as those who must support the oppressors—through their labor or service—to survive. In his *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx called for the dismantling of the current capitalist order through a revolutionary process.¹⁵ He later wrote “revolutionary terror” was needed to bring about a “new society” that would allow the oppressed class to rule.¹⁶

This extremist classification structure has been responsible for an upsurge of violent racism in the U.S. as new revolutionaries applied these labels to groups based on race and ethnic origin. As the 2023-24 school year came to a close, college campuses erupted in protests in support of the terrorist group Hamas and its genocidal attack against Israel, one of the U.S.’s closest allies. Students called for the annihilation of Israel, which they labeled an oppressor, and—often—the removal of Jewish students from universities.¹⁷ The Committee found several instances in which NSF-funded principal investigators—researchers who led teams conducting ideologically-based research—supported or participated in these protests. Federal funding complemented these researchers’ radical ideas and thus helped drive division, dissent, and illegal discrimination, instead of advancing scientific innovation to promote and secure American interests.

Paul, *A Paper That Says Science Should Be Impartial Was Rejected by Major Journals. You Can’t Make This Up.*, N.Y. TIMES (May 4, 2023), <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/04/opinion/science-evidence-merits.html>.

¹⁵ KARL MARX & FREDERICK ENGELS, *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY* (Samuel Moore trans., Andy Blunden ed., 2004) (1848).

¹⁶ KARL MARX, *THE VICTORY OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN VIENNA* (Marx-Engels Institute trans.) (1848).

¹⁷ See Richard Winton, *Congress Investigating UCLA Over Treatment of Jewish Students Amid Pro-Palestinian Protests*, L.A. TIMES (May 16, 2024), <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2024-05-16/congress-investigating-ucla-over-treatment-of-jewish-students-after-violent-protests>; see Geoff Bennett et al., *Colleges Struggle with Allowing Protests and Preventing Antisemitism and Intimidation*, PBS NEWSHOUR (Apr. 23, 2024), <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/colleges-struggle-with-allowing-protests-and-preventing-antisemitism-and-intimidation>.

BACKGROUND

Congress created NSF in 1950 as an independent federal agency and tasked it “to initiate and support basic scientific research and programs to strengthen scientific research potential and science education programs at all levels in the mathematical, physical, medical, biological, social, and other sciences.”¹⁸ The agency accomplishes this goal almost exclusively by awarding grants. These grants go to research institutions, including public and private colleges and universities, academic consortia, private industry, non-profit organizations, federal governments, state governments, local governments, international organizations, and federally funded R&D Centers.¹⁹ According to NSF, the agency accounted for about one-fourth of federal support to academic institutions for basic research in 2021.²⁰

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the U.S. government spends more than double on R&D than any other OECD country, and more than the next three OECD countries combined.²¹ The following table lists the R&D spending by the top five OECD countries.

 GOVERNMENT BUDGET ALLOCATIONS FOR R&D  (IN BILLIONS USD)			
COUNTRY	2021	2022	2023
 UNITED STATES	\$161.89	\$186.88	\$202.19
 JAPAN	\$82.87	\$99.97	\$100.00
 GERMANY	\$57.62	\$62.00	\$62.81
 KOREA	\$33.12	\$36.74	\$38.51
 NETHERLANDS	\$9.34	\$10.37	\$12.23

SOURCE: OECD DATA EXPLORER²²

TABLE 4: FEDERAL R&D BUDGET ALLOCATIONS FOR OECD COUNTRIES

Reporting from the People’s Republic of China cannot be independently confirmed, but the Chinese government states that it spends at least twice as much as the U.S. on R&D. While China reported spending \$441 billion in 2021, NSF put the number closer to \$668 billion for

¹⁸ 42 U.S.C. § 1862(a)(1).

¹⁹ NAT’L SCI. FOUND., U.S. NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION FY 2025 BUDGET REQUEST TO CONGRESS ROLLOUT FACT SHEET (2024).

²⁰ NAT’L SCI. FOUND., U.S. NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION PROPOSAL AND AWARD POLICIES AND PROCEDURES GUIDE FY2024 (2024).

²¹ *Government Budget Allocations for R&D*, ORG. FOR ECON. CO-OPERATION & DEV., https://data-explorer.oecd.org/vis?fs%5b0%5d=Topic%2C1%7CScience%252C%20technology%20and%20innovation%23INT%23%7CResearch%20and%20development%20%28R%26D%29%23INT_RD%23&pg=0&fc=Topic&bp=true&snb=9&vw=tb&df%5bds%5d=dsDisseminateFinalDMZ&df%5bid%5d=DSD_RDS_GOV%40DF_GBARD_NABS07&df%5bag%5d=OECD.STI.STP&df%5bvs%5d=1.0&dq=.A.._T..USD.&pd=2021%2C&to%5bTIME_PERIOD%5d=false&ly%5bcl%5d=TIME_PERIOD&ly%5brw%5d=REF_AREA (last visited Sept. 3, 2024).

²² *Id.*

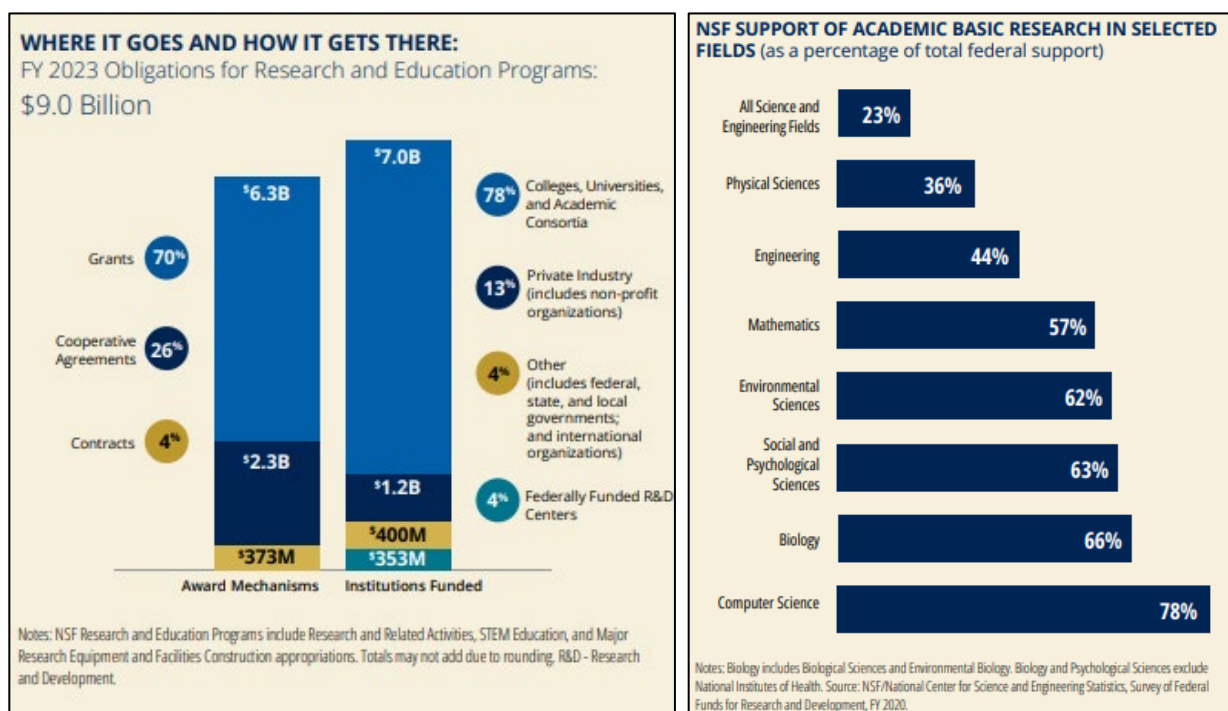
that year.²³ The following table provides the R&D figures published by the Chinese government.

 GOVERNMENT BUDGET ALLOCATIONS FOR R&D  (IN BILLIONS USD)			
COUNTRY	2021	2022	2023
 CHINA	\$441.13	\$456.00	\$458.60

SOURCE: STATE COUNCIL, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA²⁴

TABLE 5: R&D BUDGET ALLOCATIONS FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

NSF reports that, in fiscal year 2023, it awarded 78% of its grants to colleges, universities, and academic consortia.²⁵ NSF provides over half of all federal funding for several academic fields, including mathematics, environmental sciences, and computer science.²⁶



Each NSF grant applicant is required to provide a detailed explanation of his or her project's purpose and outline how the program will support the agency's mission, which NSF identifies

²³ *China's Spending on R&D Reaches New High in 2021*, THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (Jan. 26, 2022), https://english.www.gov.cn/archive/statistics/202201/26/content_WS61f0de8cc6d09c94e48a44d1.html; NAT'L SCI. FOUND., NAT'L SCI. BD., THE STATE OF U.S. SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING 2024, at 2 (2024).

²⁴ *See China's Spending on R&D Reaches New High in 2021; China's Spending on R&D Hits 3 Trln Yuan in 2022*, THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (Jan. 23, 2023), https://english.www.gov.cn/archive/statistics/202301/23/content_WS63ce3db8c6d0a757729e5fe5.html; *China's R&D Expenditure Exceeds 3.3 Trln Yuan in 2023: Minister*, THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (Mar. 5, 2024), https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202403/05/content_WS65e6ff4dc6d0868f4e8e4b66.html.

²⁵ NAT'L SCI. FOUND., U.S. NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION FY 2025 BUDGET REQUEST TO CONGRESS ROLLOUT FACT SHEET (2024).

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Id.*

as “promot[ing] the progress of science; advanc[ing] the national health, prosperity and welfare”; and “secur[ing] the national defense.”²⁸ NSF states that about one in four applicants are successful.²⁹

²⁸ *About NSF*, NAT’L SCI. FOUND., <https://new.nsf.gov/about> (last visited May 13, 2024).

²⁹ NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NAT’L SCI. BD., MERIT REVIEW PROCESS FISCAL YEAR 2021 DIGEST 3 (2023).

IDEOLOGICALLY BASED “SCIENTIFIC” RESEARCH

In recent years, Democrat administrations have deliberately inserted political ideology into scientific investigation while cloaking their actions as an effort to uphold integrity—in other words, injecting bias while claiming to root it out. On January 27, 2021, the White House released its Memorandum on Restoring Trust in Government Through Scientific Integrity and Evidence-Based Policymaking (“Biden-Harris DEI in Science Memo”) announcing that it would build off Obama-era directives meant to “ensure the highest level of integrity in all aspects of executive branch involvement with scientific and technological processes.”³⁰ The 2021 memo required federal agencies to “establish and enforce scientific-integrity policies that ban improper political interference in the conduct of scientific research and in the collection of scientific or technological data.”³¹ It also created a Task Force on Scientific Integrity and charged it with reviewing science agencies’ grant-making decisions during the Trump administration, including for “the impact on scientific integrity of diversity, equity, and inclusion practices.”³²

The Task Force report, *Protecting The Integrity Of Government Science* (“Biden-Harris DEI in Science Report”), audaciously claimed, without evidence, that “[a]ctivities counter to **DEIA values are disruptive to the conduct of science**” and required scientific research to “further align with the Executive Order on Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility in the Federal Workforce, which affirms that ‘**advancing equity, civil rights, racial justice, and equal opportunity is the responsibility of the whole of our Government.**’”³³ The report tasked federal science agencies with incorporating “DEIA considerations into all aspects of science planning, execution, and communication.”³⁴

“Strengthening scientific integrity is not possible without elevating issues of DEIA as an integral component of the entire scientific process.”

– BIDEN-HARRIS SCIENTIFIC INTEGRITY FAST-TRACK ACTION COMMITTEE

SOURCE: PROTECTING THE INTEGRITY OF GOVERNMENT SCIENCE ³⁵

In response to the Task Force report, NSF integrated these policies into its culture and grant decision-making process. NSF’s Scientific Integrity Policy now commits to “promote diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility”³⁶ in its workforce and affirmed “[a]ll collaborators and partners who engage or assist in scientific activities are expected to uphold the principles of

³⁰ Memorandum on Restoring Trust in Government Through Scientific Integrity and Evidence-Based Policymaking, 86 Fed. Reg. 8845 (Jan. 27, 2021).

³¹ *Id.*

³² *Id.*

³³ *Supra* note 4.

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ NAT’L SCI. FOUND., U.S. NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION SCIENTIFIC INTEGRITY POLICY 13, 23 (2024).

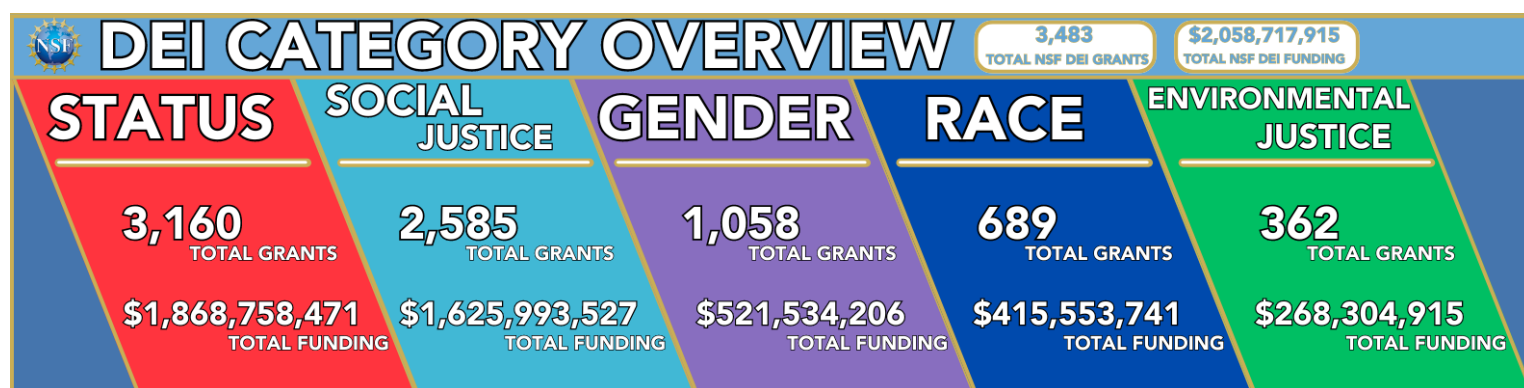
Scientific Integrity established by this policy.”³⁷ As a result, billions of taxpayer dollars have been awarded to projects that divide Americans and support investigations or publications that are of questionable scientific value.

³⁷ *Id.* at 5.

OVER \$2.05 BILLION IN DEI RESEARCH

Since January 20, 2021, NSF has awarded over **\$2.05 billion** to **3,483** research projects that pushed Marxist and DEI perspectives, inserting political considerations into the foundation of what should be apolitical scientific research. DEI research permeates all levels of the education system. The Biden-Harris NSF has awarded grants to applicants trying to influence every level of science education—from pre-kindergarten to post-graduate doctoral studies. These 3,483 projects were often based on neo-Marxist theories that identified merit by physical or ethnic attributes, not one's talent, work ethic, or intellectual curiosity.

The Committee analyzed these awards based on the content of the recipients' project descriptions. By running these descriptions through an analysis tool used to identify and categorize specific keywords and phrases, the Committee found that the primary purpose of the identified research fell into one of five categories: **Status**, **Social Justice**, **Gender**, **Race**, or **Environmental Justice**.



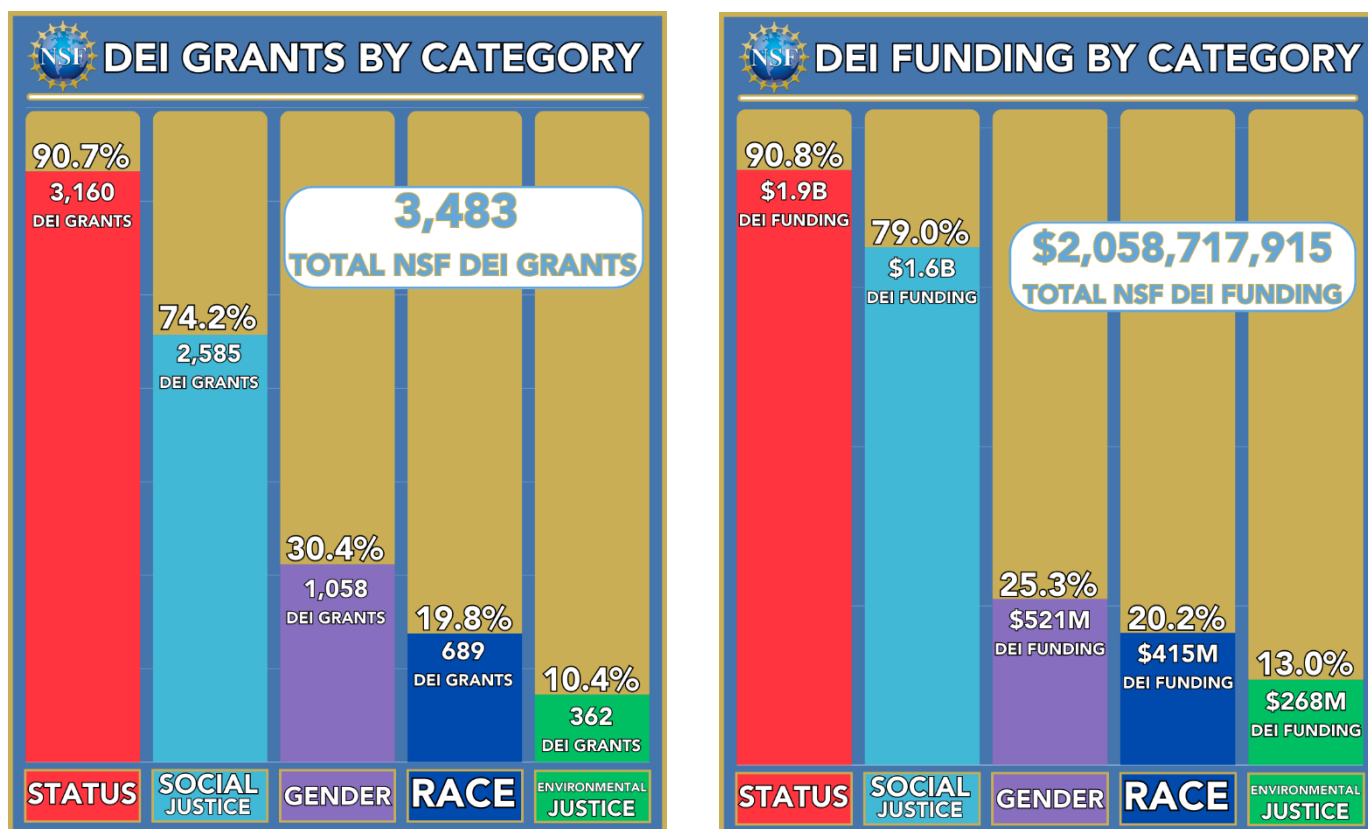
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SOURCE: COMMITTEE ANALYSIS OF USASPENDING DATA

TABLE 6: NSF GRANTS BY DEI CATEGORY

- As described above, grants in the **Status** category—**3,160** awards—received funds for research related to race, ethnicity, or social groups in ways that presumed the sciences were inherently biased against certain communities.
- Social Justice** grants—**2,585** awards—tended to approach the admirable goal of providing more and better Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) education opportunities to students of selected backgrounds by presuming that oppressor (always, white) communities were acting as a deterrent and purposely suppressing participation of other groups.
- Many of the **1,058** grants that fell into the **Gender** category funded research that investigated the supposed harms of “mislabeling” individuals or using the wrong pronoun to refer to a person. Projects also went beyond programming that might provide more opportunities for girls and women in science; they presumed that scientific disciplines are purposely constructed to exclude them.

- The **Race** category was populated by **689** awards that claimed scientific disciplines promoted racialized oppression. Many projects claimed, without support, that science education and professions are explicitly structured to block minority groups from participation.³⁸
- Finally, the **149 Environmental Justice** research projects claimed that climate science could not be properly understood unless seen through the lens of social activism.



THE KEYWORDS AND PHRASES USED FOR EACH DEI CATEGORY ARE AVAILABLE IN **APPENDIX B**.

SOURCE: COMMITTEE ANALYSIS OF USASPENDING DATA

TABLE 7: NSF GRANTS AND FUNDING BREAKDOWN BY DEI CATEGORY

³⁸ Grant Summary, FAIN 2234708, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2234708_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Georgia Tech Research Corp for “Disrupting Racialized Privilege in the STEM Classroom”).

IDEOLOGICALLY RADICAL RESEARCHERS

Many of the most extreme proposals were headed by principal investigators who also push radical perspectives through on-campus activism and in their classrooms. The result has been taxpayer dollars spent to support ideas and individuals eager to divide Americans.

Shirin Vossoughi is an associate professor of learning sciences at **Northwestern University** and the co-principal investigator for a **\$1,034,751** NSF grant awarded in 2023 for a project titled, "Reimagining Educator Learning Pathways Through Storywork for Racial Equity in STEM."³⁹ Vossoughi credits Marxist traditions for her decision to teach children "the meaning of 'genocide' and 'apartheid'" after Hamas's attack against Israel.⁴⁰ Vossoughi, whose research interests include "educational justice" and "the potentials of learning environments as lived arguments for the possible,"⁴¹ signed two letters addressed to Northwestern administrators in support of anti-Israel campus protestors.⁴² She spoke at a campus encampment, claiming, **"It is also our moral responsibility as educators to stand shoulder and shoulder with [students in campus encampments] in response to the genocide that's unfolding and the scholasticide that's unfolding, which is the destruction of the education system in Gaza, which is a tactic of genocide."**

Vossoughi also signed letters to the national academic community, including one to "announce our initiation of an academic and cultural boycott of Columbia University and Barnard College" in "solidarity with members of the Columbia University community demanding that the University divest from Israel's US-backed genocide in Gaza and the West Bank."⁴³

Vossoughi's activism began before this year's protests. In 2020, years prior to her NSF award, she co-authored an op-ed claiming STEM education "operat[es] in service of U.S. economic and military supremacy" and **"the ideology of white supremacy permeates all of the nation's institutions, including our existing system of STEM education**, whether or not they claim to embrace diversity." The op-ed authors, all STEM educators, insisted that STEM

³⁹ NAT'L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2224593, COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH: REIMAGINING EDUCATOR LEARNING PATHWAYS THROUGH STORYWORK FOR RACIAL EQUITY IN STEM (2023).

⁴⁰ Shirin Vossoughi, *Utopian Methods and the Question of Palestine*, BLUEDANDELION (Jan. 10, 2024), <https://www.bluedandelion.org/blog/utopian-methods-and-the-question-of-palestine>.

⁴¹ *Shirin Vossoughi Faculty Profile*, NW. UNIV. SCH. OF EDUC. & SOC. POL'Y, <https://sites.northwestern.edu/shirinvoossoughi/> (last visited Sept. 4, 2024).

⁴² 171 Members of Northwestern University Faculty, *Letter to the Editor, An Open Letter from 171 Faculty — Do Not Ban Protest at NU*, THE DAILY NW. (Apr. 24, 2024), <https://dailynorthwestern.com/2024/04/24/uncategorized/171-an-open-letter-from-171-faculty-do-not-ban-protest-at-nu/>; 158 Members of Northwestern University Faculty, *Letter to the Editor: An Open Letter from 158 Faculty — Let's Continue Productive Conversations*, THE DAILY NW. (Apr. 28, 2024), <https://dailynorthwestern.com/2024/04/28/uncategorized/158-an-open-letter-from-158-faculty-lets-continue-productive-conversations/>.

⁴³ DEVELOPMENTAL SCHOLARS AGAINST GENOCIDE, OCCUPATION, AND APARTHEID, <https://actionnetwork.org/petitions/developmental-scholars-against-genocide> (last visited Sept. 5, 2024); Concerned Academics, *Academics Boycott Columbia University*, Counter Currents (Apr. 30, 2024), <https://countercurrents.org/2024/04/academics-boycott-columbia-university/>.

education should be taught “with a clear-eyed view of politics and history,” not through “narrow and apolitical views of science.”⁴⁴

Vossoughi is typical of several researchers who prioritized racialized or gendered scientific investigation and explicitly called for inserting subjective considerations into what should be objective scientific studies. In 2023, NSF awarded a cumulative **\$4,999,998** to **Arizona State University’s** (ASU) Tara Nkrumah (\$3,206,383), **University of Pittsburgh’s** Angela Stewart (\$1,299,715), and **University of Texas at Arlington** (\$493,900) for the ongoing project, “Black Girls as Creators: An Intersectional Learning Ecosystem Toward **Gendered Racial Equity in Artificial Intelligence Education**.”⁴⁵

In 2020, Stewart called for AI to “be used to shift power towards marginalized, unheard voices,” writing on social media, “[d]on’t ask if artificial intelligence is good or fair, ask how it shifts power.” Stewart explained, “[t]his so-called neutrality of AI only serves the capitalist, racist, heteronormative, patriarchal, etc society because it does not fight back. AND the aims of AI currently reinforce those capitalist ideals.”⁴⁶

Nkrumah is an assistant professor at ASU’s School of Social Transformation and Center for Gender Equity in Science and Technology.⁴⁷ In a 2021 article titled, “A day of reckoning for the white academy: reframing success for African American women in STEM,” Nkrumah and her coauthor called for “intersectionality, critical race feminism, culturally relevant pedagogy, and **the concept of resistance**” to be applied to STEM education. The academics claimed STEM was “strangled’ by a paradigm of whiteness” and “challenge[d] other academics to **ensure they are properly and explicitly naming the sociopolitical-historical nature of racism and sexism**” in STEM fields.⁴⁸

The Committee’s investigation found other examples of ideologically driven researchers who received NSF funding for projects ostensibly meant to forward scientific understanding of the physical world or increase opportunities for scientific engagement for American students.

⁴⁴ Daniel Morales-Doyle et al., *In an Era of Pandemic and Protest, STEM Education Can’t Pretend to Be Apolitical*, TRUTHOUT (Aug. 19, 2020), <https://truthout.org/articles/in-an-era-of-pandemic-and-protest-stem-education-cant-pretend-to-be-apolitical/>.

⁴⁵ Grant Summary, FAIN 2315041, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2315041_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Arizona State University for “Black Girls as Creators: An Intersectional Learning Ecosystem Toward Gendered Racial Equity in Artificial Intelligence Education”); NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2315043, COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH: BLACK GIRLS AS CREATORS: AN INTERSECTIONAL LEARNING ECOSYSTEM TOWARD GENDERED RACIAL EQUITY IN ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE EDUCATION (2023); NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2315041, COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH: BLACK GIRLS AS CREATORS: AN INTERSECTIONAL LEARNING ECOSYSTEM TOWARD GENDERED RACIAL EQUITY IN ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE EDUCATION (2023); NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2315042, COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH: BLACK GIRLS AS CREATORS: AN INTERSECTIONAL LEARNING ECOSYSTEM TOWARD GENDERED RACIAL EQUITY IN ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE EDUCATION (2023). The Committee could not identify where the Black Girls as Creators program has been executed. NSF award information, referenced above, reports that the program began in October 2023 and will run until 2028 but does not provide further information on the project.

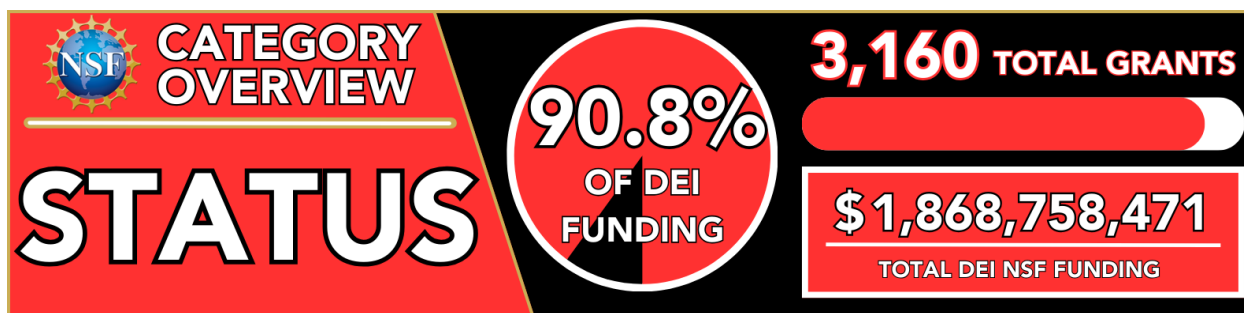
⁴⁶ Angela E.B. Stewart (@angelaebstewart), X (Oct. 31, 2020), <https://x.com/angelaebstewart/status/1322699149045911554>.

⁴⁷ Tara Nkrumah, ARIZ. STATE UNIV., <https://search.asu.edu/profile/3510132>.

⁴⁸ CGEST Staff, *A Day of Reckoning for the White Academy*, ARIZ. STATE UNIV. CTR. FOR GENDER EQUITY IN SCI. & TECH. (Jan. 21, 2021), <https://cgestblog.wixsite.com/cgest/post/a-day-of-reckoning-for-the-white-academy>.

Below are further examples of the types of grants that prioritized ideology over scientific inquiry and the researchers who ran these projects.

CATEGORIES



Of the 3,483 DEI NSF grants, **3,160** were categorized using keywords and phrases that involve **Status**, the largest NSF DEI category. These grants identified individuals based on their membership in a population deemed underrepresented, underserved, socioeconomically disadvantaged, or excluded. Projects that received funding described communities as oppressed and science as a tool for continued oppression, rather than advancing science.

STATUS KEYWORDS AND PHRASES	FREQUENCY
Underrepresented + Underrepresentation	2,716
Minority + Minorities	1,362
Sense Of Belonging + Sense Of Belongingness	296
Status + Statuses	237
Intersectional + Intersectionality	222
Prejudice + Prejudices	40
Injustice + Injustices	35
Privilege + Privileged + Privileges	32
Victim + Victims	31
Implicit Bias + Implicit Biases	25

APPENDIX B PROVIDES A FULL LIST OF ALL KEYWORDS AND PHRASES USED FOR EACH CATEGORY.

STATUS EXAMPLES

NSF awarded Iowa State University (ISU) **\$499,169** to solve challenges created by “**engineers** [that] make decisions that inadvertently have impacts on society particularly in the way they **shape structural inequities**, but these social justice outcomes are often invisible in engineering education.” The grant “**test[ed] if engaging social justice curriculum in collaboration with marginalized communities and civic partners changes students’ social justice attitudes**.”⁴⁹ The project supported by the grant, which was not immediately found on ISU’s website, began in October 2023.

The project’s principal investigator, Cristina Poleacovschi, is an assistant professor in ISU’s Department of Civil, Construction and Environmental Engineering. Her faculty biography describes her research as “focus[ing] on knowledge sharing in project-based organization,

⁴⁹ Grant Summary, FAIN 2325593, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2325593_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Iowa State University of Science and Technology for “Social Justice Training in Graduate Engineering Education Through Critical Civic Engagement”).

infrastructure inequities, and **enhancing critical consciousness and social justice attitudes in engineering education.**⁵⁰

Boston University (BU) received **\$398,546** as part of NSF's Robert Noyce Teacher Scholarship Program in 2023. The ongoing Boston U project, titled, "Preparing Mathematics Teachers to Teach for Justice and Joy" trains middle- and high-school math teachers to **"illustrate how mathematics can be used to create a more socially just world" by "increasing students' critical consciousness of how mathematics can illuminate issues of racism and other social injustices."**⁵¹

BU provides full tuition scholarships through the program to aspiring teachers who graduate with a Masters of Arts in Teaching. Previous scholars have worked to "make non-binary thought, a growth mindset, and anti-racism a part of my teaching philos[o]phy."⁵² Sample curriculum are not available on the project's website.

PROJECTS FALLING INTO "STATUS" AND ANOTHER CATEGORY

Nine out of every ten DEI grants easily fit into at least two categories. For example, **Status** awards overlapped most frequently within the **Social Justice** and **Gender** categories. Three out of every four Status awards also incorporated **Social Justice** themes. Almost one-third of the Status awards involved **Gender** topics. **Race** issues were incorporated into **18%** of the Status awards, while **10%** of those grants included **Environmental Justice** topics. Though the grant may have fallen into more than one category, it was counted only once for the overall total of 3,483 grants. The graphic on the following page provides the breakdown of how often Status grants were identified and categorized with other DEI categories.

⁵⁰ *Id.*; see Cristina Poleacovski, IOWA STATE UNIV. COLL. OF ENG'G, <https://www.engineering.iastate.edu/people/profile/poleacov/>.

⁵¹ Grant Summary, FAIN 2243465, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2243465_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Trustees of Boston University for "Preparing Mathematics Teachers to Teach for Justice and Joy in High-Needs Schools").

⁵² *Robert Noyce Scholarship Programs, Meet Our Noyce Scholars*, BOS. UNIV. WHEELOCK COLL. OF EDUC. & HUM. DEV., <https://www.bu.edu/noyce/math/meet-our-noyce-scholars/> (last visited Sept. 3, 2024).

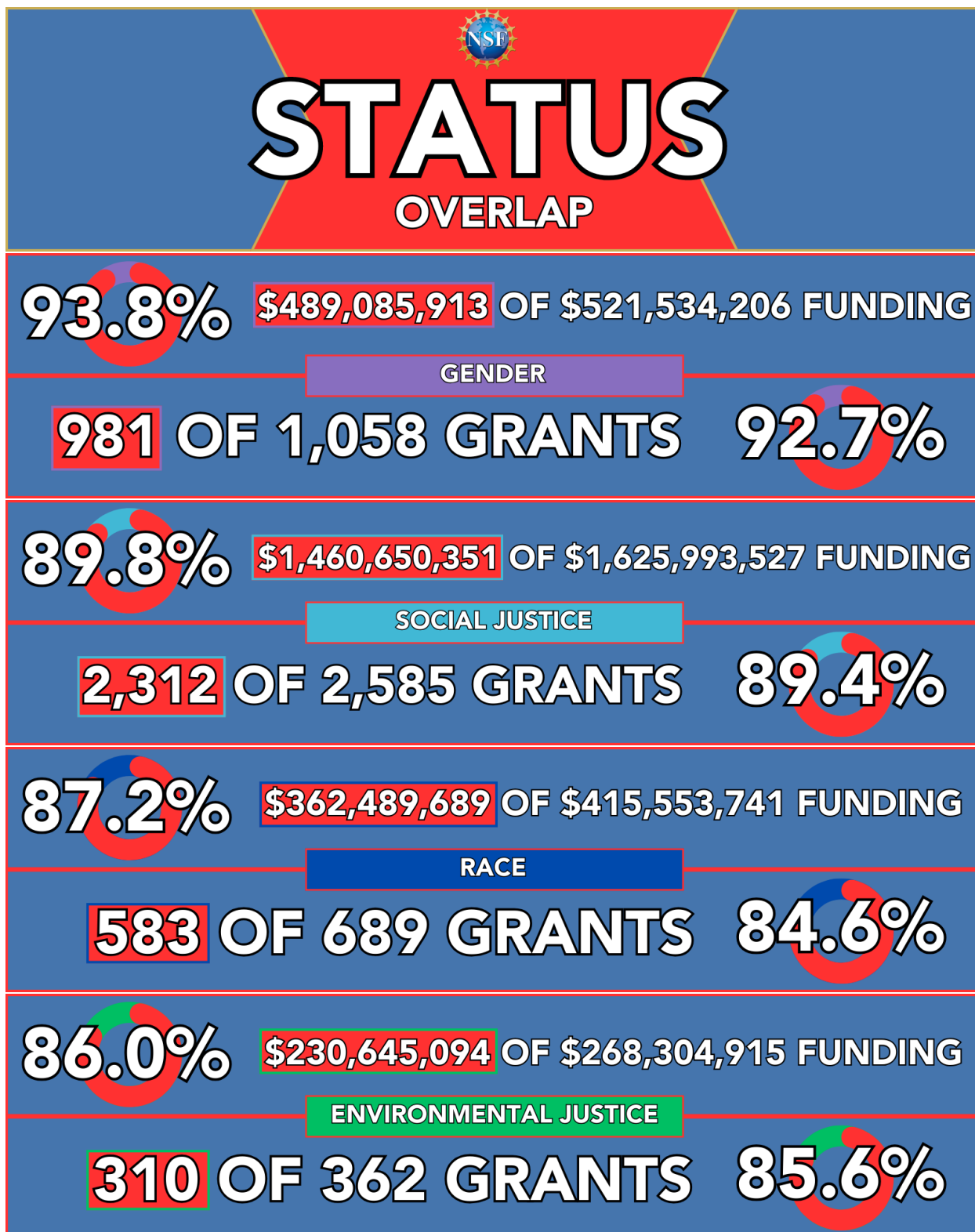


TABLE 8: BREAKDOWN OF DEI CATEGORIES OVERLAPPING WITH STATUS

EXAMPLES OF THESE OVERLAPPING PROJECTS INCLUDE:

STATUS & SOCIAL JUSTICE

NSF gave **\$349,985** to the University of Colorado in 2022 for “Humanitarian Engineering programs” that “aim to train engineers” to support and promote “**decolonization and social justice reforms** [that] are changing the Humanitarian Engineering sector” and “identify learning experiences that **enable engineering for social justice.**”⁵³ “Humanitarian engineering” appears to be a newer discipline, with almost no mention in scholarship prior to 2000, but was defined in 2011 as, “the application of engineering skills or services for humanitarian aid purposes.”⁵⁴

STATUS & GENDER

The Colorado School of Mines received a **\$1,199,988** grant to tackle the gender gap in STEM since “historically, **women and people of color have shouldered a disproportionate burden for leading equity efforts in STEM.**” The grant was meant to “establish a framework that **trains a wide range of students as peer leaders who promote equity in STEM.**”⁵⁵

STATUS & RACE

NSF awarded the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley; \$500,000) and the University of South Florida (USF; \$1,500,000) a collective **\$2 million** to combat “**anti-black-racism in civil and environmental engineering** curriculum.”⁵⁶ Awardees from both universities launched the WeRISE (Working to Eradicate Racism in Science and Engineering) initiative that integrated an “Anti-Racism Curriculum” for civil and environmental engineering students, which included coursework in “Engineering Sustainable and Healthy Environments, Envision Sustainable Communities, Inclusive Infrastructures, and Social Justice Engineering.”⁵⁷

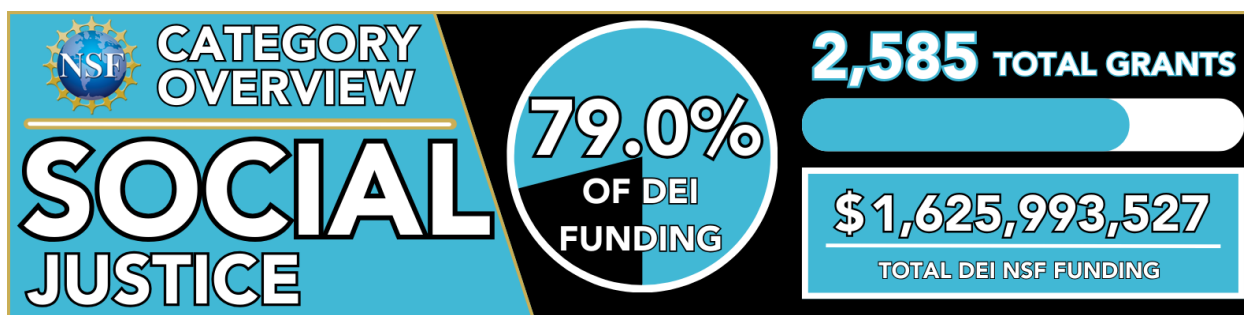
In June 2023, WeRISE published its first paper, titled, “Integrating Environmental Justice into Civil and Environmental Engineering Curricula” to describe the initiative and its coursework, which “introduced students to **ideas of environmental justice through the lens of structural racism.**”⁵⁸ Though UC Berkeley and USF’s applicants described the curriculum as supporting engineering coursework development, WeRISE’s authors admitted that the “majority of students in the Environmental Justice course were anthropology students;” only two engineering students enrolled in the class.⁵⁹

STATUS & ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

NSF sent **\$3,470,918** to Georgia State University for the Community-Soil-Air-Water (CSAW) Learning Ecosystem to “**integrate justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion into the practices of collaborating with communities in geosciences**”⁶⁰ research.”⁶¹

⁵³ Grant Summary, FAIN 2140601, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2140601_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to The Regents of The University of Colorado for “Engineering for Social Justice: Factors Shaping the Career Aspirations and Mindsets of Humanitarian Engineers”).

⁵⁴ Ryan C. Campbell & Denise Wilson, *The Unique Value of Humanitarian Engineering*, CONFERENCE: PROC. OF THE AM. SOC’Y FOR ENG’G EDUC., June 2011, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/257410686_The_Unique_Value_of_Humanitarian_Engineering.



Of the 3,483 NSF DEI Grants, **2,585** were categorized using keywords and phrases that involve **Social Justice**, grants that funded projects aiming to force left-wing social justice perspectives into scientific disciplines. Many lacked a relevant academic mission.

SOCIAL JUSTICE KEYWORDS AND PHRASES	FREQUENCY
Equity + Equitable	2,550
Inclusive + Inclusion + Inclusivity + Inclusiveness	2,314
Inequity + Inequities + Inequitable	358
Culturally Responsive	169
DEI + DEIJ	150
Culturally Relevant	106
Social Justice	102
Social Inequality + Social Inequalities	32
Culturally Sensitive	21
APPENDIX B PROVIDES A FULL LIST OF ALL KEYWORDS AND PHRASES USED FOR EACH CATEGORY.	

SOCIAL JUSTICE EXAMPLES

In 2023, NSF awarded Clemson University **\$1,444,001** to support three fellowships for a “Postdoctoral Research Opportunities and Mentoring for Inclusive STEM Education (PROMISE)” program, whose fellows “focused on **equity and social justice in all aspects of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) education research,**

⁵⁵ Grant Summary, FAIN 2308517, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2308517_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Trustees of The Colorado School of Mines for “Center for Engineering Equity Throughout the Student Collegiate Experience”).

⁵⁶ Grant Summary, FAIN 2142657, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2142657_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Regents of The University of California, The for “Challenging Anti-Black-Racism in Civil and Environmental Engineering Curriculum”); Grant Summary, FAIN 2142714, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2142714_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to University of South Florida for “Challenging Anti-Black-Racism in Civil and Environmental Engineering Curriculum”).

⁵⁷ *Our Work*, WERISE, <https://werise.info/research-1> (last visited Sept. 3, 2024).

⁵⁸ Michelle Henderson et al., *Integrating Environmental Justice into Civil and Environmental Engineering Curricula*, AM. SOC'Y FOR ENG'G EDUC. (June 23, 2024), <https://peer.asce.org/integrating-environmental-justice-into-civil-and-environmental-engineering-curricula>.

⁵⁹ *Id.*

⁶⁰ *What is Geoscience?*, U.S. Geological Surv., <https://www.usgs.gov/youth-and-education-in-science/what-geoscience>.

⁶¹ NAT'L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2228192, IMPLEMENTATION GRANT: COMMUNITY-SOIL-AIR-WATER (CSAW): A MODEL COMMUNITY-BASED LEARNING ECOSYSTEM TO TRANSFORM GEOSCIENCE (2022).

practice, and policy at the higher education level.”⁶² Fellows “build their identity as inclusive STEM educators and incorporate social justice into their own areas of interest and expertise.” The fellows designed programs through a social justice framework that included “[a]cknowledging political agency/mobilizing power.”⁶³

One of PROMISE’s co-principal investigators, Matthew Voigt, leads Clemson’s Transforming Identity, Diversity, and Equity in STEM research lab.⁶⁴ In 2020, Voigt co-authored a study titled, “Finding Community And Overcoming Barriers: Experiences Of Queer And Transgender Postsecondary Students In Mathematics And Other STEM Fields,” in which he **“reject[ed] gender essentialism,”** writing **“[g]ender and sexuality are not simple categories with fixed definitions but are culturally constructed and constantly being renegotiated.”**⁶⁵ Voigt mapped seven study participants in a two-dimensional plane model he labeled Dimensions of Gender Oppression to indicate forms of “gender oppression” lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) STEM undergraduate students faced in their scientific communities and how it impacted their studies. Voigt found that, **“in STEM fields, especially engineering,** the technical nature of the field is privileged at the expense of the social and communicative aspects of the discipline, which **serves to promote heteronormative masculinity.”**⁶⁶ Voigt’s study required that study participants **“examined their experiences through a lens of privilege and oppression/discrimination,”** embedding extremist perspectives into scientific inquiry.⁶⁷

Virginia Tech University received **\$335,644** for a project “creating a New Generation of Engineering Education DEI Leaders” tasked with advancing “equity and broadening the participation of historically marginalized populations in engineering” by promoting an “understanding of DEI issues, approaches, and effective institutional implementation and will **prepare the next generation of DEI leaders to promote long-term, sustainable racial equity initiatives.**”⁶⁸

⁶² NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 1111217, PROMISE: POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES AND MENTORING FOR INCLUSIVE STEM EDUCATION (2023).

⁶³ CLEMSON UNIV. PROMISE POSTDOC FELLOWS, <https://sites.google.com/view/promise-postdoc-fellows/social-justice-framework>. (last visited Sept. 3, 2024).

⁶⁴ Matthew K. Voigt Faculty Profile, CLEMSON UNIV., <https://www.clemson.edu/cecas/departments/ese/people/esed-faculty/voigt.html>.

⁶⁵ Matthew Voigt (@twistedcubic), X (Oct. 20, 2020), <https://x.com/twistedcubic/status/1318569706010325000>; Elizabeth Kersey & Matthew Voigt, *Finding Community and Overcoming Barriers: Experiences of Queer and Transgender Postsecondary Students in Mathematics and Other STEM Fields*, 33 MATH. EDUC. RES. J. 733, 752 (2020), https://link.springer.com/epdf/10.1007/s13394-020-00356-5?sharing_token=mesy0rR8Ed4cZZVRR4DJ5_e4RwlQNchNBiy7wbcMAY5CeQoTyg0h2dMr15N3cv_Ya9dXmkzMy4_Tc81NcM94uuCb11Lh2YHsEOVF7pLZfMrsQtPTwf5Hmrjmt9PP-UC582x5o4fNub-i3A4PXuxnOFbbzfGTjxvf45POQdMD7o%3D.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Kersey & Matthew Voigt, *Finding Community and Overcoming Barriers: Experiences of Queer and Transgender Postsecondary Students in Mathematics and Other STEM Fields*, 33 MATH. EDUC. RES. J. 733, 752 (2020), https://link.springer.com/epdf/10.1007/s13394-020-00356-5?sharing_token=mesy0rR8Ed4cZZVRR4DJ5_e4RwlQNchNBiy7wbcMAY5CeQoTyg0h2dMr15N3cv_Ya9dXmkzMy4_Tc81NcM94uuCb11Lh2YHsEOVF7pLZfMrsQtPTwf5Hmrjmt9PP-UC582x5o4fNub-i3A4PXuxnOFbbzfGTjxvf45POQdMD7o%3D.

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ Grant Summary, FAIN 2144978, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2144978_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University for “Sustainable Racial Equity: Creating a New Generation of Engineering Education DEI Leaders”).

NSF gave North Carolina State University **\$1,999,449** for a “professional development program called inclusive, diverse, equitable, accessible, large-scale (IDEAL) participatory science” to correct for the population of scientists that applicants claimed “**tend to be demographically homogeneous (white, wealthy, and highly educated)**,” which limits informal science learning opportunities and produces gaps in the scientific data in terms of race, ability and lived experience.”⁶⁹

According to IDEAL’s website, the research group intends to publish a practitioner’s handbook and tutorial in October 2024. The researchers also thanked nonprofit Tides Foundation for its financial support of the NSF-backed project.⁷⁰ The Foundation has faced criticism for its funding of groups involved in anti-Israel demonstrations.⁷¹

The University of Colorado received **\$307,884** to “address the significant problem of **sustaining equity-centered student success practices that attempt to mitigate systemic inequities within the STEM and STEM education enterprise.**” The program hoped to “**mitigate systemic inequities in the computing enterprise.**”⁷²

Though most NSF grants are awarded to universities, the agency also funds other institutions. The Ecological Society of America received **\$199,883** to support “professional scientific society efforts to improve diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) in STEM.” In this initiative, “society leaders will receive **training and tools to help them identify and remove structural barriers in their societies to create cultural change,**” and “will **utilize this tool to identify policies and procedures that create barriers to inclusion** in their programs and work together to develop solutions.”⁷³

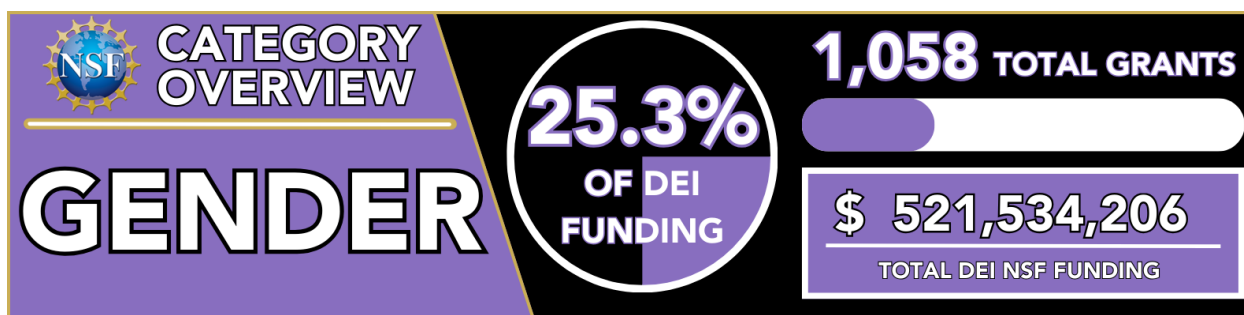
⁶⁹ Grant Summary, FAIN 2313996, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2313996_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to North Carolina State University for “Iterative Improvement of a Program for Building Inclusive, Diverse, Equitable, Accessible Large-scale (IDEAL) Participatory Science Projects”); NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2313996, ITERATIVE IMPROVEMENT OF A PROGRAM FOR BUILDING INCLUSIVE, DIVERSE, EQUITABLE, ACCESSIBLE LARGE-SCALE (IDEAL) PARTICIPATORY SCIENCE PROJECTS (2023).

⁷⁰ *IDEAL Participatory Science, Meet The Team*, IDEALSCIENCE.ORG., <https://idealscience.org/> (last visited Sept. 3, 2024).

⁷¹ Gabe Kaminsky, *Hamas-Friendly Protest Groups Bankrolled by Democratic Dark Money Juggernaut Tides*, WASH. EXAM’R (Dec. 1, 2023), <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/2568235/hamas-friendly-protest-groups-bankrolled-by-democratic-dark-money-juggernaut-tides/>.

⁷² Grant Summary, FAIN 2140922, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2140922_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to The Regents of The University of Colorado for “Inspiring Networks and Sustainability of Postsecondary Inclusivity and Racial Equity with the Computing Alliance of HSIs”).

⁷³ Grant Summary, FAIN 2202639, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2202639_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Ecological Society of America Inc for “LEAPS Realizing Inclusion in Societies for Environmental Biology (RISE)”).



1,058 of the 3,483 identified grants were categorized using keywords and phrases related to **Gender**. These grants went beyond attempts to provide opportunities to increase female participation in science. Many projects treated success as a zero-sum game, asserting either white men or other populations—but not both—could be successful in STEM, and presumed that white men were explicitly keeping other communities from accessing STEM learning.⁷⁴ Grants also emphasized themes such as creating “identity affirming environments”⁷⁵ rather than investing in the research and development of scientific advancements.

GENDER KEYWORDS AND PHRASES	FREQUENCY
Women and Underrepresented	258
LGBTQ + LGBT	35
Gender Identity	19
Gender Disparity + Gender Disparities	15
Transgender	9
Gender Nonconforming	8
Gender Minority + Gender Minorities	8
Sexual Minority + Sexual Minorities	6
Sexism + Sexist	3
APPENDIX B PROVIDES A FULL LIST OF ALL KEYWORDS AND PHRASES USED FOR EACH CATEGORY.	

GENDER EXAMPLES

NSF provided a cumulative **\$569,851** to Florida International University (FIU; \$135,735), Colorado State University (\$200,429), and the University of Minnesota (\$233,687) to examine “**sex/gender narratives in undergraduate biology** and their **impacts on transgender, non-binary, and gender non-conforming students**.” The project claimed, “[t]he oversimplification of sex and gender into binary categories can make biology classrooms particularly challenging for transgender, non-binary, and gender non-conforming students.”⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Grant Summary, FAIN 2305202, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2305202_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Old Dominion University Research Foundation for “ADVANCE Adaptation: Re-envisioning Inclusive and Sustainable Excellence (RISE) Advancing Women in STEM at Old Dominion University”).

⁷⁵ Grant Summary, FAIN 2346653, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2346653_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Regents of The University of Minnesota for “Fostering More Accurate and Identity-Affirming Science Teaching and Learning at Hispanic-Serving Institutions”).

⁷⁶ Grant Summary, FAIN 2201808, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2201808_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Florida International University for “A Qualitative Inquiry into Sex/Gender Narratives in Undergraduate Biology and Their Impacts on Transgender, Non-Binary, and Gender Non-”).

Colorado State University's primary investigator, Aramati Casper, described the project as **"addressing DEIJ (diversity, equity, inclusion, and social justice) issues in STEM education...** integrating DEIJ topics into undergraduate engineering courses to studying how sex and gender are taught in biology classes, and the impact of content that predominantly teaches sex/gender as binary constructs on students with transgender, non-binary, gender non-conforming and questioning gender identities."⁷⁷

University of Minnesota's lead researcher Joel Schneider wrote that the project "focus[ed] on the dynamics of race and gender in introductory biology classrooms, how curricula can reinforce or break down student biases, and the experiences of students and faculty. My work brings to light complex and sensitive phenomena so **classrooms can be more inclusive, just, and educational.**"⁷⁸ Schneider served as a Grant Review Expert for NSF in 2023, according to his LinkedIn page.⁷⁹

Old Dominion University received **\$1,000,000** to support its **"re-envisioning inclusive and sustainable excellence (RISE)"** program for "advancing women in STEM," "designed to make a significant contribution to ODU's efforts to **eliminate systemic gender and racial inequities in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.**"⁸⁰

Florida State University's (FSU) Yolanda Rankin received a **\$1,505,031** grant in September 2023, the largest NSF grant of its kind in the school's history, to understand "experiences of Black women currently enrolled in undergraduate computing degree programs" and draw attention to the **"racial and gender inequalities that Black women in computing endure."** This ongoing project "leverages **Black Feminist Epistemologies and Black Women's Ways of Knowing... to build community and resist structural oppression.**"⁸¹

No publication or program participants were found, though FSU's release describing the program outlined that the grant would allow students to attend conferences such as blackcomputeHER. Rankin rejects objective scientific analysis and seeks to advance "Black women's ways of knowing as a valid framework for understanding the world."⁸²

Conforming Students"); Grant Summary, FAIN 2201809, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2201809_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Regents of the University of Minnesota for "A Qualitative Inquiry into Sex/Gender Narratives in Undergraduate Biology and Their Impacts on Transgender, Non-Binary, and Gender Non-Conforming Students"); Grant Summary, FAIN 2201810, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2201810_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Colorado State University for "A Qualitative Inquiry into Sex/Gender Narratives in Undergraduate Biology and Their Impacts on Transgender, Non-Binary, and Gender Non-Conforming Students").

⁷⁷ *About Me*, ARAMATI CASPER, <https://aramaticasper.weebly.com/>.

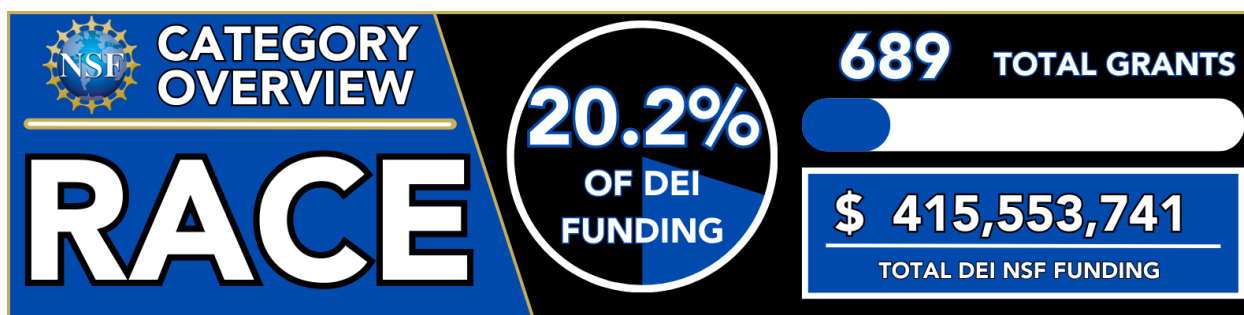
⁷⁸ JOEL R. SCHNEIDER, <https://www.joelrschneider.com/joel-r-schneider-home> (last visited Sept. 3, 2024).

⁷⁹ Joel Schneider, LINKEDIN, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/joel-schneider/> (last visited Sept. 3, 2024).

⁸⁰ *Supra* note 73.

⁸¹ Grant Summary, FAIN 2239445, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2239445_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Florida State University for "Black Feminist Epistemologies: Building a Sisterhood in Computing"); NAT'L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2239445, CAREER: BLACK FEMINIST EPISTEMOLOGIES: BUILDING A SISTERHOOD IN COMPUTING (2023).

⁸² Jenny Ralph, *FSU Researcher Secures Largest NSF CAREER Grant in University History*, FLA. ST. U. NEWS (Sept. 26, 2023), <https://news.fsu.edu/news/science-technology/2023/09/26/fsu-researcher-secures-record-nsf-career-grant-to-support-black-women-pursuing-careers-in-computing/>.



689 of the identified NSF grants used DEI keywords and phrases that involve **Race**. Awards were given largely to programs that alleged to address such themes as “racial inequity and White Supremacy,”⁸³ insinuating or explicitly stating that objective, reproducible science is tainted by racial bias.

RACE KEYWORDS AND PHRASES	FREQUENCY
Racism + Racist	100
Systemic Racism	32
Blackness	29
Antiracism + Antiracist	29
Racial Bias + Racial Biases + Racially Biased	23
Racial Inequity + Racial Inequities	22
Racial Justice	12
Nonwhite	12
Institutional Racism + Institutionalized Racism	6
White Supremacy	4

APPENDIX B PROVIDES A FULL LIST OF ALL KEYWORDS AND PHRASES USED FOR EACH CATEGORY.

RACE EXAMPLES

NSF gave Florida International University (FIU) Assistant Professor Stephen Secules **\$323,684** to “transform **engineering classrooms towards racial equity**” in 2023. Secules criticized the scientific community in his successful application, lamenting that “**engineering professors are not engaging as active change agents for racial equity**.”⁸⁴

Secules—also the founder of the Equity, Culture, and Social Justice in Education Division of the American Society for Engineering Education—claimed in 2019 that “[a] **white person earning a degree is also political but isn’t inherently a positive contribution to society**.”⁸⁵ A month after the start of his NSF grant, Secules posted to social media that he struggled to prove the value of his qualitative research.⁸⁶

In 2023, NSF awarded Georgia Institute of Technology’s (Georgia Tech) Kelly Cross **\$99,791** to “**disrupt[] racialized privilege in the STEM classroom**” by acknowledging “**Whiteness and White Supremacy**” are “deeply ingrained in the past, present and future of U.S. Higher education.” Cross sought to “subvert[] these toxic systems... to creat[e] a

⁸³ *Supra* note 37.

⁸⁴ *Id.*

⁸⁵ Stephen D. Secules, FLA. INT’L UNIV., <https://succeed.fiu.edu/people/profiles/stephen-secules.html>; Stephen Secules (@seekyoolz), X (May 20, 2019), <https://x.com/seekyoolz/status/1130586547282165760>.

⁸⁶ Stephen Secules (@seekyoolz), X (Sept. 7, 2023), <https://x.com/seekyoolz/status/1699820960025555439>.

more equitable educational system” and “initiate a national conversation about **addressing racial inequity and White Supremacy in the STEM profession and classroom**” with the support of the grant.⁸⁷

Cross is an assistant professor of biomedical engineering who “aims to change the **culture of engineering education, prioritizing diversity, equity, and inclusion.**”⁸⁸ NSF also gave Cross a **\$600,000** Faculty Early Career Development Award, or CAREER Award, in 2022 to create a tool to “encourage engineering faculty to **engage with campus diversity efforts** through reflection of their role and provide information resources to develop personalized strategies to **contribute to local DEI efforts.**”⁸⁹

In 2020, Cross published a guest editorial in the *Journal of Engineering Education* titled, “**Racism is the manifestation of White supremacy and antiracism is the answer,**” in which she called on “White engineering colleagues to educate yourselves on unexplored Whiteness and **unintended support of White supremacy** within the context of OUR engineering education culture.”⁹⁰ Cross emphasized, “Blacks, both historically and currently, are intentionally excluded from the field of engineering” and “[i]nstitutionally **sanctioned White supremacy is the foundation of the United States.**”⁹¹

Cross wrote that it is essential to “[a]cknowledge the ways in which **our racist culture was built around maintaining White supremacist society.**”⁹² Her attack on the “myth of meritocracy” and call for “racial balance,” instead of promotion due to one’s own capabilities, raise questions on how she could unify her radical perspectives with creating a more inclusive scientific community with White colleagues.

The University of Michigan was given **\$800,000** by NSF to “create a community of scholars equipped with education and tools to **mitigate racialized oppression in engineering education environments.**” The project “focused on building Black scholars in engineering education through the application of Black Intellectualism as scholarship and **solidarity anchored in an Afrocentric value system.**”⁹³

The University of Georgia (UGA) received **\$644,642** to “identify[] **systemic racism in mathematics teacher education.**” The UGA grantees claimed, “**racialized mathematics teaching practices are systemic in elementary mathematics classrooms,** and the

⁸⁷ *Supra* note 80.

⁸⁸ *NSF Recognizes Kelly Cross for Her Work in Engineering Education*, BME.GATECH.EDU, <https://bme.gatech.edu/bme/news/nsf-recognizes-kelly-cross-her-work-engineering-education> (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

⁸⁹ NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2306150, CAREER: GIVEN-GAMING INTERVENTION OF VALUES ENGINEERS NEED (2023).

⁹⁰ Kelly J. Cross, *Racism is The Manifestation of White Supremacy and Antiracism Is The Answer*, 109 J. ENG’G EDUC. 625 (2020), https://micronanoeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/Cross_2020_Racism-is-the-Manifestation-of-white-supremacy.pdf.

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ Grant Summary, FAIN 2308405, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2308405_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Regents of the University of Michigan for “Kindred Harbor Collective: Harvesting Black Consciousness in Engineering Education”).

impacts of systemic inequities in K-12 mathematics education... affect students' identities by devaluing or erasing their diverse cultural backgrounds and perspectives."⁹⁴

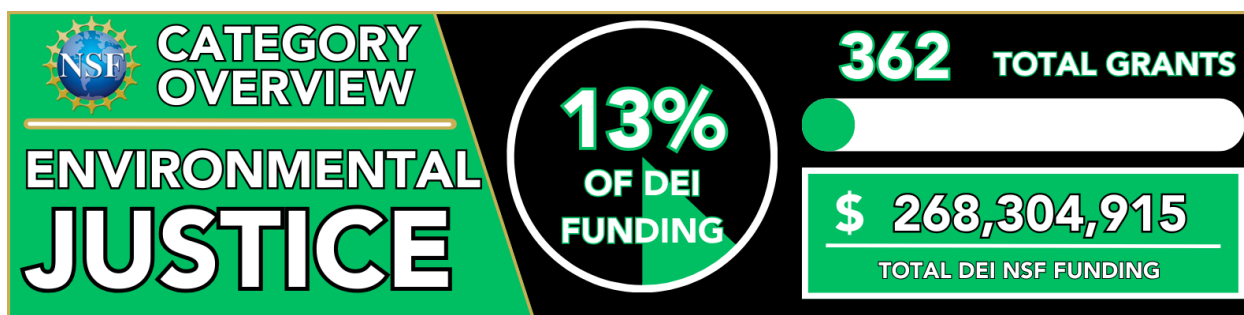
The University of California, Los Angeles received **\$20,437** to research and understand how "**non-White individuals face social pressure to accept or embrace racial stereotypes** and ideologies that characterize their own racial groups as inferior," claiming this mindset is caused by "**a ubiquitous, persistent, and damaging legacy of colonialism and imperialism.**"⁹⁵

The University of Michigan received **\$153,285** to address how "the minimal presence of black people in engineering is framed in terms of underrepresentation," which applicants claimed "**preserves Whiteness by passively neglecting the culture of racism in engineering.**" The research explored how "the implications of power in knowledge production neglects the ways **Black people are forced to give meaning to their experiences through the lens of Whiteness.**"⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Grant Summary, FAIN 2314892, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2314892_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to University of Georgia Research Foundation, Inc. for "Identifying Systemic Racism in Mathematics Teacher Education: Building a Cross-Site Community with Preservice Teachers of Color").

⁹⁵ Grant Summary, FAIN 2242597, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2242597_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to University of California, Los Angeles for "The Effects of Internalized Cultural Inferiority on Political Attitudes and Behavior").

⁹⁶ Grant Summary, FAIN 2238410, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2238410_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to Regents of the University of Michigan for "Learning from Black Intellectualism: Broadening Epistemic Foundations in Engineering Education to Empower Black Students and Faculty").



Finally, of the 3,483 DEI NSF grants, **362** were categorized by keywords and phrases that invoke **Environmental Justice**; research and projects that tended to allege discrimination in the environmental sciences as a barrier to scientific inquiry in the discipline; and researchers who claimed they were incapable of studying climate science without first acknowledging the identity of supposedly oppressed populations. Grants were given to projects that emphasized the importance of activism over scientific investigation.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE KEYWORDS AND PHRASES	FREQUENCY
Climate Change	520
Environmental Justice	99
Clean Energy	77
NetZero + Net Zero	34
Climate Action	17
Climate Justice	14
Environmentally Conscious + Environmentally Consciousness	6
Environmental Equity	5
Climate Equity	2
Climate Conscious	1
APPENDIX B PROVIDES A FULL LIST OF ALL KEYWORDS AND PHRASES USED FOR EACH CATEGORY.	

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE EXAMPLES

In 2022, NSF awarded San Jose State University **\$401,744** for an ongoing project to “transform[] science teaching and learning through **empowering teachers and students as climate justice action researchers and change agents**.” The project is meant to foster the “**development of a hub for justice-centered science education** and will produce school-based materials and professional development activities that **examine the interwoven nature of climate justice and racial justice**.”⁹⁷ No project materials were published during the Committee’s investigatory period, but the project is expected to launch a program website, “open-access climate justice action research curricular units, and publications related to the teaching of climate justice.”⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Grant Summary, FAIN 2148014, USA SPENDING.GOV, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2148014_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to San Jose State University Research Foundation for “Transforming Science Teaching and Learning through Empowering Teachers and Students as Climate Justice Action Researchers and Change Agents”).

⁹⁸ *Climate Science Education*, CADREK12.ORG, <https://cadrek12.org/spotlight/climate-science-education#visintainer> (last visited Sept. 3, 2024).

The principal investigator for the project, Tammie Visintainer, sees her classroom as a venue for social activism.⁹⁹ In an April 2024 article, Visintainer wrote that her course “for aspiring middle and high school science teachers... **centers racial justice in science education.**”¹⁰⁰ At the end of her course, she showed her students photos of Israel dropping pamphlets inside the Gaza Strip to warn residents to move out of the way of incoming rocket fire. Visintainer, who claimed Hamas’s October terror attack needed to be contextualized, explained the photos “create spaces that engage complexity in promotion of shared dignity and humanity and to build bridges across differences” but did not explain their scientific educational purpose.¹⁰¹

The University of California, Irvine received **\$5,681,900** to create “**effective and equitable solutions to climate change**” through the development of a “**diverse and culturally competent geoscience workforce.**” The UC Irvine grant recipients wrote they were “transform[ing] the culture of the geosciences through building a learning ecosystem that brings on-the-ground challenges of environmental justice and sustainability into the heart of geoscience research and education” and addressing “**climate impacts and solutions, as well as social and environmental justice, systemic racism, and knowledge imperialism that discounts different ways of knowing.**”¹⁰²

The Geological Society of America received **\$199,657** to explore the “intersection of **mental health and the geosciences**” and to create “a stronger geoscience workforce that appropriately represents the communities most affected by climate change and environmental injustice.” Grant recipients worked to develop “new knowledge about mental health in situations specific to the geosciences” to “**situate these within the broader STEM mental health context, and within the context of structural racism and other bias.**”¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Tammie Visintainer, LINKEDIN, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/tammie-visintainer-6b2947106/> (last visited Sept. 3, 2024); see NAT'L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2148014, CAREER – TRANSFORMING SCIENCE TEACHING AND LEARNING THROUGH EMPOWERING TEACHERS AND STUDENTS AS CLIMATE JUSTICE ACTION RESEARCHERS AND CHANGE AGENTS (2022).

¹⁰⁰ Tammie Visintainer, *Whose Life Has Value? The Role of Humanizing Dialogue in Navigating the Israeli-Hamas War*, LOCAL NEWS MATTERS BAY AREA (Apr. 27, 2024), <https://localnewsmatters.org/2024/04/27/whose-life-has-value-the-role-of-humanizing-dialogue-in-navigating-the-israeli-hamas-war/>.

¹⁰¹ Tammie Visintainer (@tavisint), X (May 28, 2024), <https://x.com/tavisint/status/1795583445823021352>.

¹⁰² Grant Summary, FAIN 2228216, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2228216_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to University of California Irvine for “A Cultural, Learning, and Institutional Model to Accelerate Transformations for Environmental Justice (CLIMATE Justice)”).

¹⁰³ Grant Summary, FAIN 2329987, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2329987_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to The Geological Society of America, Inc. for “Positive Mental Health in the Geosciences”).

CASE STUDY: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The grants highlighted in this report demonstrate that the Biden-Harris administration, through NSF, is deliberately and systematically inserting a divisive political ideology into “scientific research.” Instead of identifying the best or most talented scientists, NSF funded researchers who prioritized filling out research teams and programs based on ethnicity, cultural background, or political perspectives. Using such metrics, NSF at a minimum becomes complicit in the neo-Marxist indoctrination of university students, signaling that a project’s value and merit for federal funding is based not on its researcher’s scientific curiosity or quality of inquiry but whether the program participant or researcher agreed with a mindset that codes communities as “oppressors” or “oppressed.”

This ideology led directly to recent campus violence. In the months following the October 7 Hamas attacks on Israel, over 100 college campuses erupted in pro-Hamas protests financially supported by political donors, including George Soros, Susan and Nick Pritzker, and David Rockefeller, Jr.¹⁰⁴ Protestors called for their universities to divest from Israel and for Israel to stop defending itself against terrorist groups by agreeing to an immediate ceasefire.¹⁰⁵ Some campuses blocked Jewish students from attending classes.¹⁰⁶ **Of the 137 universities the Committee identified as hosting a Gaza student encampment, 115 of them (84%) received at least one NSF grant.** By awarding grants for projects that mirror these philosophies—that members of certain communities belong to an “oppressed” or “oppressor” class based on the color of their skin—NSF is tacitly complicit in the resulting violence. The relationship between DEI NSF funding and the chaos on college campuses is not merely a matter of correlation. As described above, several NSF grant recipients awarded funding for a DEI grant either supported these encampments or joined antisemitic demonstrations.

An examination of NSF’s recent awards to Columbia University and the pro-Hamas activities on campus illustrate the linguistic and philosophic parallels between NSF grant awards and divisive campus protests.

Since the beginning of the Biden-Harris administration, NSF has given Columbia University over **\$13.9 million** for DEI research. In 2022, NSF awarded **\$107,709** to Columbia University to “**chang[e] the culture of peer review to increase diversity, equity, and inclusion.**”¹⁰⁷ Divisive political ideology was even injected into matters of objective data collection and analysis. For example, in 2023, when NSF gave Columbia over **\$642,500** to investigate

¹⁰⁴ Shia Kapos, *Pro-Palestinian Protesters Are Backed by a Surprising Source: Biden’s Biggest Donors*, POLITICO (May 5, 2024), <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/05/05/pro-palestinian-protests-columbia-university-funding-donors-00156135>.

¹⁰⁵ Lex McMenamin, *Gaza: College Students Walk Out Calling for Israel Ceasefire*, TEENVOGUE (Oct. 25, 2023), <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/gaza-college-students-walkout-calling-for-israel-ceasefire>

¹⁰⁶ David Zahniser, *Three Jewish Students Sue UCLA, Saying Protesters Blocked Access to Campus Facilities*, L.A. TIMES (June 6, 2024), <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2024-06-06/jewish-students-lawsuit-ucla-blocked-from-campus>.

¹⁰⁷ NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2224778, REVIEWER ZERO: CHANGING THE CULTURE OF PEER REVIEW TO INCREASE DIVERSITY, EQUITY, AND INCLUSION (2022); Grant Summary, FAIN 2224778, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2224778_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024).

carbon sink in the sub-Antarctic South Pacific Ocean, the project scope was crafted to ensure it **“actively promote[s] diversity... under the guidance of a psychology professor.”**¹⁰⁸

While these NSF-funded DEI projects were underway, students, faculty, and other protestors fomented hate on campus. On October 11, 2023, a former Columbia undergraduate student beat a current student, after the victim had confronted him for ripping down flyers of Israeli hostages. The assailant shouted “F**k you. F**k all you pr*ck crackers,” while beating the victim with a stick.¹⁰⁹ The next day, Columbia’s campus chapter of the national organization Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) held an anti-Israel rally and marched toward the university’s Kraft Center for Jewish Life, forcing the building into a lockdown and requiring Jewish students to shelter inside.¹¹⁰

Students and off-campus protestors pitched tents on Columbia’s South Lawn on April 17, 2024, creating a Gaza Solidarity Encampment whose members blocked Jewish students and faculty from campus.¹¹¹ Columbia student and campus leader Khymani James received national attention for a video he posted in January 2024 advocating violence against other students, telling school officials in a disciplinary meeting that they should **“be grateful that I’m not just going out and murdering Zionists... Zionists don’t deserve to live.”**¹¹² Campus administrators did not clear the encampment until May 1, 2024, the day after protestors took the historic Hamilton Hall building, barricading entrances and hanging “Free Palestine” banners from windows.

The people whose projects NSF funded are the very same people leading this terror. Moreover, the ideologies they promoted in their NSF-funded “science” are the very same ideologies underlying this behavior. In 2023, NSF awarded Columbia over \$15,000 for an

¹⁰⁸ Grant Summary, FAIN 2305426, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2305426_4900 (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to The Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York for “Deciphering the Subantarctic South Pacific Ocean’s Role in Pleistocene Climate Evolution with IODP Expedition 383 Sediments”).

¹⁰⁹ Isabella Ramirez, *Former Student Faces Hate Crime Charges from DA, Granted Supervised Release After Allegedly Assaulting General Studies Student*, COLUM. DAILY SPECTATOR (Oct. 16, 2023), <https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2023/10/16/former-student-faces-hate-crime-charges-from-da-granted-supervised-release-after-allegedly-assaulting-general-studies-student/>.

¹¹⁰ Isabella Ramirez et al., *Hundreds of Protesters Pack Campus Following Escalation of Violence in Israel and Gaza*, COLUM. DAILY SPECTATOR (Oct. 12, 2023), <https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2023/10/12/hundreds-of-protesters-pack-campus-following-escalation-of-violence-in-israel-and-gaza/>; see Rebecca Massel, *‘I Am a Target’: Dozens of Jewish Students Report Feeling Unsafe on Campus*, COLUM. DAILY SPECTATOR (Nov. 2, 2023), <https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2023/11/02/i-am-a-target-dozens-of-jewish-students-report-feeling-unsafe-on-campus/>.

¹¹¹ Isha Banerjee, *Timeline: The ‘Gaza Solidarity Encampment’*, COLUM. DAILY SPECTATOR (May 2, 2024), <https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2024/05/02/timeline-the-gaza-solidarity-encampment/>; see Apurva Chakravarthy, *Columbia Jewish Alumni Association Writes Letter to Shafik Urging Her to Take All Possible Steps to Protect Student Safety*, COLUM. DAILY SPECTATOR (Apr. 20, 2024), <https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2024/04/20/columbia-jewish-alumni-association-writes-letter-to-shafik-urging-her-to-take-all-possible-steps-to-protect-student-safety/>.

¹¹² Rebecca Cohen, *Columbia University Says It Has Banned Student Protester Who Said ‘Zionists Don’t Deserve to Live’*, NBC NEWS (Apr. 27, 2024), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/columbia-university-says-banned-khymani-james-protester-said-zionists-rcna149642>; see Katherine Rosman, *Student Protester Is Suspended After Anti-Zionist Video*, N.Y. TIMES (Apr. 29, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/29/nyregion/khymani-james-columbia-suspension.html>.

ongoing project to identify how **“hegemonic narratives have sought to obfuscate not only the contemporary existence of non-normative sexual experiences in certain national contexts, but also aimed to bury any historical traces of non-normative forms of gender and sexuality.”**¹¹³ This project was led by Marwa Elshakry, an associate professor at Columbia University and coordinating member of the Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine at Columbia,¹¹⁴ and Jamil Sbitan, a doctoral student in history at Columbia.¹¹⁵

The pair have supported campus protests and have opposed investigations into protestors’ violent behavior. On October 30, 2023, Elshakry signed a Columbia faculty letter praising students who “situated [Israel’s] military action [in Gaza] begun on October 7th within the larger context of the occupation of Palestine by Israel” and commended students for **“recontextualiz[ing] the events of October 7, 2023.”**¹¹⁶ In January 2024, Elshakry defended SJP and Jewish Voice for Peace’s (JVP) actions and compared them favorably to Hamas terrorists in comments published in a *Columbia Spectator* article. She even galvanized students, telling the *Spectator*, “it’s time to take back the University.”¹¹⁷ Prior to an April 2024 House Committee on Education and the Workforce hearing on campus anti-Semitism, Elshakry and Sbitan signed a letter to the university president, calling the Committee’s investigation a “new McCarthyism.”¹¹⁸ Signatories downplayed antisemitic campus events and accused Congress of “leveraging antisemitism in a wider effort to caricature and demonize universities as hotbeds of ‘woke indoctrination.’”¹¹⁹

NSF’s funding provided the federal government’s seal of approval for Elshakry’s politically charged “research” as legitimate scientific inquiry. Her effort to replace factual inquiry with mere propagation of political opinion makes it easier for others to divorce their statements and actions from clear factual truths, and thereby reject the reality that innocent Israeli victims were massacred on October 7, 2023. Even if her work did not lead directly to the deranged behavior exhibited by Encampment student leader James, who believes “Zionists don’t

¹¹³ NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2240900, DDRIG: INTIMATE CRISES: THE HISTORY OF NOTIONS OF SEXUALITY AND GENDER IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY (2023); Grant Summary, FAIN 2240900, USA SPENDING, https://www.usaspending.gov/award/ASST_NON_2240900_4900/ (last visited Sept. 3, 2024) (grant from NSF to The Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York for “Intimate Crises: The History of Notions of Sexuality and Gender in the 19th and 20th Century”).

¹¹⁴ Maya Stahl, *Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine Calls Attention to Violence in Gaza, Academic Freedom Concerns*, COLUM. DAILY SPECTATOR (Jan. 19, 2024), <https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2024/01/19/faculty-and-staff-for-justice-in-palestine-calls-attention-to-violence-in-gaza-academic-freedom-concerns/>.

¹¹⁵ NAT’L SCI. FOUND., NSF AWARD ABSTRACT # 2240900, *supra* note 110.

¹¹⁶ AN OPEN LETTER FROM COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AND BARNARD COLLEGE FACULTY IN DEFENSE OF ROBUST DEBATE ABOUT THE HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE WAR IN ISRAEL/GAZA, https://docs.google.com/document/u/1/d/e/2PACX-1vSxEIf0j1H6v3R4549yxfetSBy1ioc6VHyJa3vKfvgYVFX9TAluk_1laTuSBKAyzqjF3hJT9EVw0P7a/pub (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

¹¹⁷ *Supra* note 111.

¹¹⁸ Debbie Becher et al., *Defending Columbia University from the Congressional Assault on Higher Education, FACULTY, STAFF, STUDENTS, PARENTS, AND ALUMNI OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AND BARNARD COLLEGE LETTER TO COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT MINOUCHE SHAFIK* (Apr. 2024), <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/ED/ED00/20240417/116973/HHRG-118-ED00-20240417-SD019.pdf>.

¹¹⁹ Debbie Becher et al., *Opinion, Jewish Faculty Reject the Weaponization of Antisemitism*, COLUM. DAILY SPECTATOR (Apr. 10, 2024), <https://www.columbiaspectator.com/opinion/2024/04/10/jewish-faculty-reject-the-weaponization-of-antisemitism/>.

deserve to live," Elshakry should never have received funds for the purpose of the replacing genuine science with radical identity politics.

By supporting such investigations as Elshakry's, NSF promoted the divisive Marxist perspectives that the community to which a person belongs is more important than his or her talent or intellectual curiosity. Moreover, this perspective vilifies legitimate disagreement by holding that whoever disagrees is morally reprehensible. And it is clear that Elshakry's divisive political fervor was not confined to "non-normative sexual experiences," as she readily supported the protestors who displayed overt antisemitism on Columbia's campus.

CONCLUSION

The Biden-Harris administration has methodically weaponized federal agencies to drive a partisan, divisive agenda. President Biden and Vice President Harris tasked federal science agencies to restructure scientific investigation into an exercise in categorizing individuals by their background, not by their talent and capabilities.

This year, almost 30 percent of NSF grant projects will seek to promote these divisions. Already, billions of taxpayer dollars have been wasted. These grants both crowd out other kinds of research that could advance understanding of the physical world and advance a deeply divisive philosophy antithetical to the tenets of empirical scientific research. The NSF must return to a merit-based focus on legitimate science of the kind that resulted in landing Americans on the moon and making the U.S. technology industry the engine of the global economy.

Some universities have recently acknowledged that DEI perspectives actually undermine diversity and inclusion. The University of Texas at Austin closed its DEI office earlier this year. President Jay Hartzell stated that funding for DEI initiatives would be redirected to “support teaching and research.”¹²⁰ In February 2023, the University of North Carolina System’s Board of Governors enacted a policy that prohibits any school from forcing individuals to “affirmatively ascribe to or opine about beliefs, affiliations, ideals, or principles regarding matters of contemporary political debate or social action as a condition to admission, employment, or professional advancement.”¹²¹

As of June 2024, ten states—Alabama, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Utah—have enacted state legislation banning DEI considerations in the hiring process at public state-funded universities. Five other states have introduced similar legislation.¹²²

Congress should follow suit and ban federal funding to institutions that use taxpayer dollars to put university students in danger. Educational institutions that allow discrimination against Jewish students, or anyone else on the basis of gender, ethnicity, or religion, should not receive any federal grants. NSF funding should be restricted from flowing to educational institutions under federal investigation or found in violation of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbids discrimination on the basis of shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics.

Relatedly, NSF should end all policies developed in response to the 2021 Biden-Harris DEI in Science Memo and 2022 Biden-Harris DEI in Science Report.

¹²⁰ Lily Kepner, *Sources: UT Lays Off at Least 60 Employees Previously in DEI-Related Position, Closes DCCE*, AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN (Apr. 2, 2024), <https://www.statesman.com/story/news/politics/state/2024/04/02/texas-senate-bill-17-anti-dei-ut-fires-four-staff-related-positions-two-sources-confirm/73179902007/>.

¹²¹ David N. Bass, *UNC Board of Governors Approves Ban on Compelled Political Speech*, THE CAROLINA J. (Feb. 23, 2023), <https://www.carolinajournal.com/unc-board-of-governors-approves-ban-on-compelled-political-speech/>.

¹²² Chloe Appleby & Evan Castillo, *Diversity Statements are Getting Cut from These Universities’ Hiring Practices*, BEST COLLEGES (June 4, 2024), <https://www.bestcolleges.com/news/diversity-statements-are-getting-cut-from-these-universities/>.

Congress has restricted politicization of NSF funding in the past. In 2013, Congress limited funding for NSF's Political Science Program and required NSF's Director to certify Political Science research projects promoted national security or economic interests of the U.S.¹²³ NSF chose to first cancel Political Science grant requests for the rest of that year, and in 2019 "rebranded" the Political Science Program into two separate branches—the Accountable Institutions and Behavior Program and Security and Preparedness Program, both with clearer research objectives than their Political Science Program predecessor.¹²⁴ As this report demonstrates, NSF sorely needs another reckoning.

Scientific investigation and discovery are essential for American security and prosperity. It is vital to return scientific inquiry to the pursuit of objective fact. If not, not only will the opportunity for every American child be stunted; the inventions, processes, and scientific truths that will allow the U.S. to lead in the 21st century will remain undiscovered.

¹²³ Consolidated and Further Continuing Appropriations Act, Pub. L. No. 113-6, § 543, 127 Stat. 198-437 (2013).

¹²⁴ Beth Mole, *NSF Cancels Political-Science Grant Cycle*, NATURE (Aug. 2, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.1038/nature.2013.13501>; Dear Colleague Letter, NAT'L SCI. FOUND., *Dear Colleague Letter: 2019 Social, Behavioral, and Economic (SBE) Repositioning* (Sept. 24, 2019), <https://www.nsf.gov/pubs/2019/nsf19089/nsf19089.jsp>; *An Update on Political Science at the NSF*, POL. SCI. NOW. Dec. 19, 2019), <https://politicalsciencenow.com/an-update-on-political-science-at-the-nsf/>.

APPENDIX A: DATA AND ANALYTICS METHODOLOGY

The Committee accessed USASpending.gov to capture all reported NSF grants active between January 20, 2021, and April 4, 2024. Data was downloaded and exported to a CSV file, then filtered by “award_base_action_date” to identify all NSF grants awarded between those dates. This initially identified 32,198 total NSF grants awarded during the Biden-Harris administration.

The Committee then ran the project descriptions through an N-gram analysis to identify the most-often-used terms and phrases in NSF Project Descriptions and parsed those terms for DEI keywords and phrases. The keyword and phrase list was also supplemented by DEI terms mentioned in DEI dictionaries maintained by the National Association of Counties and the University of Washington’s College of the Environment. The Committee refined the list of terms to include misspellings or different formatting, using over 800,000 variations and combinations of the keywords and phrases to better identify problematic grants. The full list is available in Appendix B.

Next, the Committee built a keyword-tagging identifier Python program tool to analyze each of the 32,198 NSF grant descriptions. The program tagged grants with the specific keywords and phrases that appeared in the NSF Project Descriptions, which the Committee used to build a database of all grants. Any grants that did not contain keywords or phrases were removed, bringing the total number of grants to 29,099. After review, the Committee also removed any grants that the Python program tagged with a single keyword or phrase to eliminate projects that may use a keyword or phrase in a scientific way, such as the study of the diversity of biomes. This reduced the database to 25,981 grants.

The Committee then separated the keywords into the five categories used to conduct the analysis within this report: Status, Social Justice, Gender, Race, and Environmental Justice. There were 145 keywords and phrases that populated the Status category, 172 keywords and phrases used to categorize the Social Justice category, 156 keywords and phrases for the Gender category, 188 keywords and phrases in the Race category, and 38 keywords and phrases in the Environmental Justice category.

The Committee used a categorization “qualifier” tagging formula in Excel to sort the data and confirm that phrases identified by the Python tool described DEI grants. For example, while the Python tool could identify that a Program Description included the words “bias” and “cultural,” the Excel qualifier only identified grants that mentioned “cultural bias” in the Program Description. The Committee then removed grants that the qualifier formula did not identify as DEI programs, bringing the total number of grants to 12,295. Grants that only included a single keyword or phrase were also removed, reducing the database to 6,580 grants.

A review of the grants still revealed some with scientific purpose, such as research that investigated the diversity of black holes. The Committee searched for grants that used words that have multiple meanings, such as “barrier” and “black,” and removed those without true scientific purpose. This step resulted in the Committee’s final database of 3,514 grants. The

Committee reviewed 1,461 of the grants individually, including all programs that were funded over \$1 million, and removed another 31 grants, leaving the final **3,483** grants profiled in this report. The individual review represented \$1,266,598,691 (62%) of the final funding described in this report.

The Committee will provide the final database to any interested party upon request.

APPENDIX B: KEYWORDS AND PHRASES BY DEI CATEGORY

STATUS

ACTIVISM; ACTIVIST; ACTIVISTS; ADVOCACY; ADVOCATE; ADVOCATES; AFFIRMATIVE ACTION; BIAS TOWARD; BIAS TOWARDS; BIASED; BIASED TOWARD; BIASED TOWARDS; BIASES; BIASES TOWARD; BIASES TOWARDS; DE COLONIZATION; DE COLONIZE; DE COLONIZED; DE COLONIZING; DE SEGREGATE; DE SEGREGATED; DE SEGREGATES; DE SEGREGATION; DECOLONIZATION; DECOLONIZE; DECOLONIZED; DECOLONIZING; DESEGREGATE; DESEGREGATED; DESEGREGATES; DESEGREGATION; DISCRIMINATE; DISCRIMINATED; DISCRIMINATION; DISCRIMINATORY; DIVISIVENESS; EXCLUDED; EXCLUSION; EXCLUSIVE; FEEL SEEN AND HEARD; HATE SPEECH; HISTORICALLY; IMPLICIT BIAS; IMPLICIT BIASES; INJUSTICE; INJUSTICES; INSTITUTIONAL; INSTITUTIONALIZE; INSTITUTIONALIZED; INSTITUTIONALLY; INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA; INTERSECTIONAL; INTERSECTIONALITY; MARGINALIZATION; MARGINALIZE; MARGINALIZED; MICRO AGGRESSION; MICRO AGGRESSIONS; MICRO AGGRESSIVE; MICRO AGGRESSIVENESS; MICROAGGRESSION; MICROAGGRESSIONS; MICROAGGRESSIVE; MICROAGGRESSIVENESS; MINORITIES; MINORITY; OPPRESSED; OPPRESSIVE; OPPRESSIVENESS; OPPRESSION; POLARIZATION; POLARIZE; POLITICIZATION; POLITICIZE; POLITICAL; PREJUDICE; PREJUDICES; PRIVILEGE; PRIVILEGED; PRIVILEGES; REPARATION; REPARATIONS; SEGREGATED; SEGREGATION; SOCIO ECONOMIC; SOCIOECONOMIC; STATUS; STATUSES; STEREOTYPE; STEREOTYPES; STEREOTYPICAL; STEREOTYPING; SYSTEM OF OPPRESSION; SYSTEMATIC OPPRESSION; SYSTEMATICALLY OPPRESSED; SYSTEMIC; SYSTEMIC OPPRESSION; SYSTEMICAL; SYSTEMICALLY; SYSTEMICALLY OPPRESSED; SYSTEMS OF OPPRESSION; SYSTEMS OF POWER; TRAUMA; TRAUMATIC; UNDER APPRECIATED; UNDER APPRECIATION; UNDER PRIVILEGE; UNDER PRIVILEGED; UNDER REPRESENTATION; UNDER REPRESENTED; UNDER SERVED; UNDER SERVING; UNDER VALUED; UNDER VALUING; UNDERAPPRECIATED; UNDERAPPRECIATION; UNDERPRIVILEGE; UNDERPRIVILEGED; UNDERREPRESENTATION; UNDERREPRESENTED; UNDERSERVED; UNDERSERVING; UNDERVALUED; UNDERVALUING; UNJUST; VICTIM; VICTIMHOOD; VICTIMIZED; VICTIMS; VOICES ARE ACKNOWLEDGED; VOICES HEARD; VOICES MATTER; UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITIES; UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY; SAFE SPACE; SAFE SPACES; SENSE OF BELONGING; SENSE OF BELONGINGNESS; WELCOMING ENVIRONMENT; BARRIER; BARRIERS; DISABILITIES; DISABILITY; ALLY; ALLYSHIP.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

ADVANCE DIVERSITY; ADVANCE INCLUSIVITY; ADVANCE THE DIVERSITY; ADVANCING DIVERSITY; ADVANCING INCLUSIVE; ALLIANCE FOR DIVERSITY; BACKGROUND INCLUSIVITY; BI CULTURAL; BICULTURAL; BLACK CULTURAL; BLACK CULTURE; BLACK CULTURES; BROADEN DIVERSITY; BROADEN THE DIVERSITY; COMMITMENT TO DIVERSITY; COMMUNITY DIVERSITY; COMMUNITY EQUITY; COMMUNITY INCLUSIVITY; CULTURAL ACTIVISM; CULTURAL ACTIVIST; CULTURAL ACTIVISTS; CULTURAL ADVOCACY; CULTURAL ADVOCATE; CULTURAL AND ETHNIC; CULTURAL AND RACIAL; CULTURAL APPROPRIATION; CULTURAL APPROPRIATIONS; CULTURAL BIAS; CULTURAL COMPETENCY; CULTURAL CONNECTIONS; CULTURAL DIFFERENCES; CULTURAL HERITAGE; CULTURAL HUMILITY; CULTURAL INEQUALITIES; CULTURAL INEQUALITY; CULTURAL INEQUITIES; CULTURAL INEQUITY; CULTURAL INJUSTICE; CULTURAL INJUSTICES; CULTURAL JUSTICE; CULTURAL RELEVANCE; CULTURAL SEGREGATION; CULTURALLY ATTUNED; CULTURALLY BIASED; CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE; CULTURALLY SENSITIVE; CULTURALLY SUSTAINABLE; CULTURALLY SUSTAINING; CULTURE AND ETHNICITY; CULTURE AND RACE; CULTURES AND ETHNICITIES; CULTURES AND RACES; DEI; DEIJ; DIVERSE BACKGROUND; DIVERSE BACKGROUNDS; DIVERSE COMMUNITIES; DIVERSE COMMUNITY; DIVERSE GROUP; DIVERSE GROUPS; DIVERSE INDIVIDUAL; DIVERSE INDIVIDUALS; DIVERSE STATUS; DIVERSE STATUSES; DIVERSE VOICES; DIVERSIFIED; DIVERSIFY; DIVERSIFYING; DIVERSITY AND EQUITY; DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION; DIVERSITY AND INCLUSIVITY; DIVERSITY AWARENESS; DIVERSITY EQUITY; EMPHASIS ON DIVERSITY; EMPHASIZE DIVERSITY; EMPHASIZING DIVERSITY; ENCOURAGE DIVERSITY; ENCOURAGING DIVERSITY; ENHANCE DIVERSITY; ENHANCE THE DIVERSITY; ENHANCING DIVERSITY; EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES; EQUAL OPPORTUNITY; EQUALITIES; EQUALITY; EQUITABLE; EQUITABLE AND INCLUSIVE; EQUITIES; EQUITY; ETHNIC AND CULTURAL; ETHNIC CULTURAL; ETHNIC CULTURE; ETHNIC CULTURES; ETHNIC DIVERSITY; ETHNIC EQUITY; ETHNICITIES AND CULTURES; ETHNICITY AND CULTURE; FOSTER DIVERSITY; FOSTERING DIVERSITY; FOSTERING INCLUSIVE; FOSTERING INCLUSIVITY; FOSTERING THE DIVERSITY; GROUP EQUITY; GROUP INCLUSIVITY; HISPANIC CULTURAL; HISPANIC CULTURE; HISPANIC CULTURES; INCLUSION;

INCLUSIVE; INCLUSIVE LANGUAGE; INCLUSIVENESS; INCLUSIVITY; INCLUSIVITY AND DIVERSITY; INCREASE DIVERSITY; INCREASE THE DIVERSITY; INCREASES DIVERSITY; INCREASES THE DIVERSITY; INCREASING DIVERSITY; INCREASING THE DIVERSITY; INDIGENOUS CULTURAL; INDIGENOUS CULTURE; INDIGENOUS CULTURES; INEQUALITIES; INEQUALITY; INEQUITABLE; INEQUITIES; INEQUITY; INTER CULTURAL; INTER CULTURALLY; INTERCULTURAL; INTERCULTURALLY; LACK OF DIVERSITY; LATINX CULTURAL; LATINX CULTURE; LATINX CULTURES; MULTI CULTURAL; MULTI CULTURALLY; MULTICULTURAL; MULTICULTURALLY; PROMOTE DIVERSITY; PROMOTING DIVERSITY; SEGREGATED CULTURES; SOCIAL ACTIVISM; SOCIAL ACTIVIST; SOCIAL ACTIVISTS; SOCIAL ADVOCACY; SOCIAL ADVOCATE; SOCIAL BIAS; SOCIAL BIASES; SOCIAL INEQUALITIES; SOCIAL INEQUALITY; SOCIAL INEQUITIES; SOCIAL INEQUITY; SOCIAL INJUSTICE; SOCIAL INJUSTICES; SOCIAL JUSTICE; SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTIVISM; SOCIAL JUSTICE ADVOCACY; SOCIAL JUSTICE ADVOCATE; SOCIALLY BIASED; SOCIO CULTURAL; SOCIO CULTURALLY; SOCIOCULTURAL; SOCIOCULTURALLY; STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY; STRUCTURAL INEQUITY; SUPPORT DIVERSITY; SUPPORTING DIVERSITY; TRANS CULTURAL; TRANSCULTURAL; SOCIALLY RELEVANT; CULTURALLY RELEVANT.

GENDER

BIGOT; BIGOTRY; BLACK FEMALE; BLACK FEMALES; BLACK MALE; BLACK MALES; BLACK MEN; BLACK WOMEN; CISGENDER; CISNORMATIVE; CISNORMATIVITY; COLORED FEMALE; COLORED FEMALES; COLORED MALE; COLORED MALES; COLORED MEN; COLORED WOMEN; FEMALE; FEMALE VOICES; FEMALES; FEMININITY; FEMINISM; FEMINIST; FEMINISTIC; FLUID IDENTITY; GENDER; GENDER ACCEPTANCE; GENDER AFFIRMATION; GENDER AFFIRMING; GENDER AND SEXUAL; GENDER APPRECIATION; GENDER BASED; GENDER BINARY; GENDER DISCRIMINATION; GENDER DISPARITIES; GENDER DISPARITY; GENDER DIVERSITY; GENDER DYSMORPHIA; GENDER DYSPHORIA; GENDER FLUID; GENDER FLUIDITY; GENDER IDENTITY; GENDER IDEOLOGY; GENDER INCLUSIVE; GENDER INCLUSIVITY; GENDER MARGINALIZED; GENDER MINORITIES; GENDER MINORITY; GENDER NEURAL; GENDER NON BINARY; GENDER NON CONFORMING; GENDER NONBINARY; GENDER NONCONFORMING; GENDER OPPRESSION; GENDER PREFERENCE; GENDER PREFERENCES; GENDER SPECTRUM; GENDER STEREOTYPES; GENDER TRANSITION; GENDER TRANSITIONING; GENDER TYPICAL; GENDERS; HETEROSEXUAL; HISPANIC FEMALE; HISPANIC FEMALES; HISPANIC MALE; HISPANIC MALES; HISPANIC MEN; HISPANIC WOMEN; HISTORICALLY MALE; INDIGENOUS FEMALE; INDIGENOUS FEMALES; INDIGENOUS MALE; INDIGENOUS MALES; INDIGENOUS MEN; INDIGENOUS WOMEN; INTERSECTIONAL FEMINISM; LATINA FEMALE; LATINA FEMALES; LATINA MALE; LATINA MALES; LATINA MEN; LATINA WOMEN; LATINX FEMALE; LATINX FEMALES; LATINX MALE; LATINX MALES; LATINX MEN; LATINX WOMEN; LGBT; LGBTQ; LGBTQ+; LGBTQIA; MALE DOMINANT; MALE DOMINATED; MASCULINE; MASCULINITY; MIS GENDER; MISGENDER; MISOGYNISTIC; MISOGYNY; NON BINARY; NON BINARY GENDER; NON CONFORMING GENDER; NONBINARY; NONBINARY GENDER; NONCONFORMING GENDER; OPPRESSED GENDER; OPPRESSED GENDERS; OPPRESSED SEXUALITIES; PANSEXUAL; PREDOMINATELY MALE; PREFERRED GENDER; PREFERRED IDENTITY; PREFERRED SEX; PRIMARILY MALE; PRONOUN; PRONOUNS; QUEER THEORY; SELF IDENTIFY; SEX CHANGE; SEX PREFERENCE; SEX TRANSITION; SEXISM; SEXIST; SEXUAL DISCRIMINATION; SEXUAL DISPARITIES; SEXUAL DISPARITY; SEXUAL IDENTITY; SEXUAL MINORITIES; SEXUAL MINORITY; SEXUAL PREFERENCE; SEXUAL PREFERENCES; SEXUALITIES; SEXUALITY; STRAIGHT WHITE; TOXIC MASCULINITY; TRANSGENDER; TRANSGENDERISM; TRANSITIONING GENDER; TRANSITIONING SEX; TRANSJUSTICE; TRANSPHOBIA; TRANSPHOBIC; UNDERREPRESENTED GENDER; VOICES OF WOMEN; WHITE FEMALE; WHITE FEMALES; WHITE MALE; WHITE MALES; WHITE MEN; WHITE WOMEN; WOMEN; WOMEN AND GENDER; WOMEN AND UNDERREPRESENTED; WOMENUNDERREPRESENTED.

RACE

ANTI BLACK; ANTI BLACK RACISM; ANTI RACISM; ANTI RACIST; ANTI WHITE; ANTIBLACK; ANTIBLACK RACISM; ANTIRACISM; ANTIRACIST; ANTIWHITE; BIPOC; BIPOCX; BLACK AND LATINX; BLACK COMMUNITIES; BLACK COMMUNITY; BLACK INDIGENOUS AND LATINX; BLACK INDIGENOUS AND OTHER; BLACK INDIGENOUS LATINX; BLACK INDIGENOUS OTHER; BLACK INDIVIDUAL; BLACK INDIVIDUALS; BLACK INTELLECTUALISM; BLACK LIVES MATTER; BLACK MINORITIES; BLACK MINORITY; BLACK PEOPLE; BLACK PERSON; BLACK THOUGHT; BLACK VOICES; BLACKNESS; COLORED COMMUNITIES; COLORED COMMUNITY; COLORED INDIVIDUAL; COLORED INDIVIDUALS; COLORED MINORITIES; COLORED MINORITY; COLORED PEOPLE; COLORED PERSON; COLORED VOICES; CRITICAL RACE THEORY; ETHNIC AND RACIAL; ETHNIC BIAS; ETHNIC COMMUNITIES; ETHNIC COMMUNITY; ETHNIC IDENTITIES; ETHNIC IDENTITY; ETHNIC INDIVIDUAL; ETHNIC INDIVIDUALS; ETHNIC MINORITIES; ETHNIC MINORITY; ETHNIC PEOPLE; ETHNIC PERSON; ETHNIC RACISM; ETHNIC SEGREGATION; ETHNIC VOICES; ETHNICAL RACISM; ETHNICITIES AND RACES; ETHNICITY; ETHNICITY AND RACE; HISPANIC COMMUNITIES; HISPANIC COMMUNITY; HISPANIC INDIVIDUAL; HISPANIC INDIVIDUALS; HISPANIC MINORITIES;

HISPANIC MINORITY; HISPANIC PEOPLE; HISPANIC PERSON; HISPANIC VOICES; HISTORICAL RACISM; HISTORICALLY RACIST; HISTORICALLY WHITE; INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES; INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY; INDIGENOUS INDIVIDUAL; INDIGENOUS INDIVIDUALS; INDIGENOUS MINORITIES; INDIGENOUS MINORITY; INDIGENOUS PEOPLE; INDIGENOUS PERSON; INDIGENOUS VOICES; INSTITUTIONAL RACISM; INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM; INSTITUTIONALLY RACIST; INTER RACIAL; INTER RACIALLY; INTERRACIAL; INTERRACIALLY; LATINA COMMUNITIES; LATINA COMMUNITY; LATINA INDIVIDUAL; LATINA INDIVIDUALS; LATINA MINORITIES; LATINA MINORITY; LATINA PEOPLE; LATINA PERSON; LATINA VOICES; LATINX COMMUNITIES; LATINX COMMUNITY; LATINX INDIVIDUAL; LATINX INDIVIDUALS; LATINX MINORITIES; LATINX MINORITY; LATINX PEOPLE; LATINX PERSON; LATINX VOICES; MULTI ETHNIC; MULTI ETHNICALLY; MULTIETHNIC; MULTIETHNICALLY; NON BLACK; NON WHITE; NONBLACK; NONWHITE; PEOPLE OF COLOR; POC; POCX; PREDOMINATELY WHITE; PRIMARILY WHITE; PRIVILEGED WHITE; PRO BLACK; PRO WHITE; PROBLACK; PROWHITE; RACE AND CULTURE; RACE AND ETHNICITY; RACE BASED; RACEBASED; RACES AND CULTURES; RACES AND ETHNICITIES; RACIAL; RACIAL AND CULTURAL; RACIAL AND ETHNIC; RACIAL BIAS; RACIAL BIASES; RACIAL DISPARITIES; RACIAL DISPARITY; RACIAL DIVERSITY; RACIAL IDENTITY; RACIAL INEQUALITIES; RACIAL INEQUALITY; RACIAL INEQUITIES; RACIAL INEQUITY; RACIAL INJUSTICE; RACIAL INJUSTICES; RACIAL JUSTICE; RACIAL MINORITIES; RACIAL MINORITY; RACIAL OPPRESSION; RACIAL PREJUDICE; RACIAL PREJUDICES; RACIAL SEGREGATION; RACIAL SOCIALIZATION; RACIAL SOLIDARITY; RACIAL STEREOTYPES; RACIAL VIOLENCE; RACIALLY; RACIALLY AND CULTURALLY; RACIALLY BIAS; RACIALLY BIASED; RACIALLY OPPRESSED; RACISM; RACIST; SEGREGATED ETHNICITIES; SEGREGATED ETHNICITY; SEGREGATED RACE; SEGREGATED RACES; STRUCTURAL RACISM; STRUCTURALLY RACIST; SYSTEMIC RACISM; SYSTEMICALLY RACIST; TOKENISTIC; TOKENSIM; TRANS ETHNIC; TRANSETHNIC; WHITE COLONIALISM; WHITE COLONIZATION; WHITE COLONIZER; WHITE COLONIZERS; WHITE FRAGILITY; WHITE HISTORICALLY; WHITE NATIONALISM; WHITE NATIONALIST; WHITE PEOPLE; WHITE PERSON; WHITE PRIVILEGE; WHITE SERVING; WHITE SUPREMACY; WHITENESS.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

CLIMATE ACTION; CLIMATE CONSCIOUS; CLIMATE CONSCIOUSNESS; CLIMATE EQUALITY; CLIMATE EQUITY; CLIMATE JUSTICE; CLIMATE RESEARCH; ECO CULTURAL; ECO CULTURAL; ENVIRONMENT CONSCIOUS; ENVIRONMENT CONSCIOUSNESS; ENVIRONMENTAL CONSCIOUS; ENVIRONMENTAL CONSCIOUSNESS; ENVIRONMENTAL EQUALITY; ENVIRONMENTAL EQUITY; ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE; ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE; ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIAL; ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE; ENVIRONMENTALLY CONSCIOUS; ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIAL; ESG; ESG EFFORT; ESG EFFORTS; ESG INITIATIVE; ESG INITIATIVES; GREEN NEW DEAL; NET ZERO; NETZERO; SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTAL; SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTAL; CLIMATE INJUSTICE; CLIMATE JUSTICES; CLIMATE INJUSTICES; CLIMATE CHANGE; GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE; GREEN SOCIETY; CLEAN ENERGY.