

Subject: RE: Public Records Request (FL-GOV-23-0299)
Date: Wednesday, May 3, 2023 at 4:38:52 PM Eastern Daylight Time
From: Desantis.OpenGovernment <Desantis.OpenGov@eog.myflorida.com>
To: AO Records <records@americanoversight.org>
Attachments: image001.png

EXTERNAL SENDER

Good afternoon,

A search of the Executive Office of the Governor's files has produced documents responsive to your request as stated below. You may find your records on the Governor's website at the link provided below under "05-03-2023_Sparks,_B._06_Responsive_Documents". Thank you for contacting the Executive Office of the Governor.

 [Public Records Requests](#)

Sincerely,
Office of Open Government

From: AO Records <records@americanoversight.org>
Sent: Friday, March 24, 2023 12:23 PM
To: Desantis.OpenGovernment <Desantis.OpenGov@eog.myflorida.com>
Subject: Public Records Request (FL-GOV-23-0299)

Dear Public Records Officer

Please find attached a request for records under the Florida Constitution and Florida's public records law.

Sincerely,

--

Eva Mayanja | (she/her)
Paralegal I American Oversight
records@americanoversight.org | (202) 869-5246
www.americanoversight.org | @weareoversight

PRR: FL-GOV-23-0299

Please note that under Florida law correspondence sent to the Governor's Office, which is not confidential or exempt pursuant to chapter 119 of the Florida Statutes, is a public record made available upon request.

From: Patrick Pullis [ppullis@manhattan-institute.org]
Sent: Monday, February 27, 2023 11:49 AM
To: Lange, Lauren [Lauren.Lange@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; cory.dowd@fldoe.org; Gunder, Brandi [Brandi.Gunder@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]
CC: Matteo Moran [mmoran@manhattan-institute.org]
Subject: Manhattan Institute Report: Stacking the Deck in Favor of Affirmative Action?

Hi Lauren, Cory and Brandi,

I'd like to briefly introduce myself. My name is Patrick Pullis, and I work with the external affairs team at the [Manhattan Institute](#).

I'm writing today to call attention to a new [report](#) for the Manhattan Institute by Paulson Policy Analyst [Renu Mukherjee](#) – Stacking the Deck in Favor of Affirmative Action? How “Framing” Affects Polling on One of America’s Most Controversial Policies. The report offers a closer examination of the views Asian Americans hold on affirmative action, challenging the notion that most Asian-Americans support race-conscious college admissions, and showing how important survey question framing is to getting accurate results.

The report argues survey questions used by AAPI Data in 2022 to measure the attitudes of Asian Americans on affirmative action intentionally inclines respondents to express support for the controversial admissions policy. The report contends that AAPI’s framing inaccurately connotes affirmative action with equality of opportunity rather than as a preferential quota system aiming at equality of outcome. Contrasting AAPI Data’s framing to that of leading polling groups like Pew Research Center and the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Mukherjee shows that the AAPI Data results reveal more about the question Asian Americans were asked than the values they hold.

Given your work on education policy, I thought you’d be interested in this report. If you would like to discuss the report or engage further with our team or the author of the report, please don’t hesitate to reach out. As always, we are eager to help.

Best,
Patrick Pullis



Patrick Pullis
External Affairs
+1 (212) 599-7000
Manhattan-Institute.org

From: Cecil, Shelby [Shelby.Cecil@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]
Sent: Tuesday, November 1, 2022 12:18 PM
To: Boam, Austin [Austin.Boam@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; Kostick, Elijah [Elijah.Kostick@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]
Subject: FW: Manhattan Institute: Still the Ones to Beat: Teachers Unions and School Board Elections

For your review this week

Shelby Cecil
Policy Coordinator, Education Unit- Office of Policy and Budget
Executive Office of the Governor
E-mail: Shelby.Cecil@LASPBS.State.FL.US
Direct: (850) 717-9303

From: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Sent: Tuesday, November 1, 2022 4:01 AM
To: Cecil, Shelby <Shelby.Cecil@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US>; Boam, Austin <Austin.Boam@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US>; Kamoutsas, Anastasios <Anastasios.Kamoutsas@fldoe.org>; Oliva, Jacob <jacob.oliva@fldoe.org>; Alisa Jones1 <Alisa.Jones1@fldoe.org>
Subject: FW: Manhattan Institute: Still the Ones to Beat: Teachers Unions and School Board Elections

FYI.

J. Alex Kelly
Deputy Chief of Staff
Executive Office of the Governor
(850) 443-8626
alex.kelly@eog.myflorida.com

From: Kopelousos, Stephanie <Stephanie.Kopelousos@eog.myflorida.com>
Sent: Monday, October 31, 2022 11:02 AM
To: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>; Farrill, Cody <Cody.Farrill@eog.myflorida.com>
Subject: FW: Manhattan Institute: Still the Ones to Beat: Teachers Unions and School Board Elections

From: Lexi Boccuzzi <lboccuzzi@manhattan-institute.org>
Sent: Monday, October 31, 2022 9:42 AM
To: Tondee, Renee <Renee.Tondee@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US>
Cc: Gunder, Brandi <Brandi.Gunder@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US>; Matteo Moran <mmoran@manhattan-institute.org>; Kopelousos, Stephanie <Stephanie.Kopelousos@eog.myflorida.com>
Subject: Manhattan Institute: Still the Ones to Beat: Teachers Unions and School Board Elections

Hello Sharon:

I wanted to briefly introduce myself. My name is Lexi Boccuzzi and I work with the External Affairs team at the Manhattan Institute.

I'm writing to call attention to a new issue brief we released last week from Assistant Professor of Political Science at Boston College [Michael Hartney](#) — [Still the Ones to Beat: Teachers Unions and School Board Elections](#). In his brief, Professor Hartney explains that despite reports of school boards having come under the influence of school choice advocates and parental groups, evidence from school board elections in the large and diverse states of California, New York, and Florida shows they are neither pluralist nor dominated by a new breed of corporate school reformers or parents-rights advocacy groups. With one notable exception, school board elections continue to be dominated by teachers' unions.

The evidence Hartney lays out shows that:

- Teachers unions dominate local school board elections, winning 7 out of 10 races
- Union-support makes the difference for both incumbents and challengers and is often more powerful than the incumbency advantage
- Nonpartisan elections enable union-favored candidates to win board seats in both deep blue and deep red communities
- Contrary to some expectations, the Supreme Court's *Janus* decision has not reduced union power and influence in school board politics. A full decade after the Tea party-led union retrenchment movement, union-backed candidates still remain the ones to beat.
- As parents-rights groups seek to influence school board elections, so far, the best evidence points to electoral reforms and gubernatorial advocacy as the most promising ways for these groups to counterbalance union power

Given your work in education/elections at the state/federal level, I thought that you might take an interest in this issue brief. If you would like to discuss the piece and engage further with our team or the brief's author, please don't hesitate to reach out. As always, we are eager to help in whatever ways that we can.

Have a great day,



Lexi Boccuzzi

External Affairs

+1 (203) 912-7335

manhattan-institute.org

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Have a great day,



Lexi Boccuzzi

External Affairs

+1 (203) 912-7335

Manhattan-Institute.org

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From: Jesse Arm [jarm@manhattan-institute.org]
Sent: Monday, October 17, 2022 1:10 PM
To: Fenske, Taryn M. [Taryn.M.Fenske@eog.myflorida.com]; Williams, Jared [Jared.Williams@eog.myflorida.com]; Gibson, Zackary [Zackary.Gibson@eog.myflorida.com]; Tondee, Renee [Renee.Tondee@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; Kopelousos, Stephanie [Stephanie.Kopelousos@eog.myflorida.com]; Spencer, Chris [Chris.Spencer@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; Emmanuel, Christopher [Christopher.Emmanuel@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; Uthmeier, James [James.Uthmeier@eog.myflorida.com]; Pushaw, Christina [Christina.Pushaw@eog.myflorida.com]
Subject: Responding to Misleading Claims on 'Gender Affirming' Care
Attachments: MI Pediatric Gender Affirming Care Memo.pdf

Team DeSantis:

I hope all is well. I'm reaching out to share the attached key takeaways (similar to talking points) and memofrom Manhattan Institute Fellow Leor Sapir on responding to the frequently made claim that "gender affirming" hormonal and surgical interventions for minors are appropriate because most major medical organizations in the U.S. support them.

While it is understandable that doctors and their patients should want to follow guidelines issued by professional medical groups, it is important to recognize that these groups don't always get the science right.

As left-wing journalists like Jon Stewart parrot these claims in hostile interviews with conservatives, it is important that lawmakers push back and explain why—on the issue of medical treatment for youth gender dysphoria in particular—American medical organizations have demonstrated a preference for ideologically driven conclusions over cautious review of the available research.

If your team wishes to discuss how to respond to this claim further, I'd be happy to facilitate a policy briefing with Leor.

For your convenience, the key takeaways from the attached memo are also included at the bottom of this email.

Best,

MANHATTAN
INSTITUTE

Jesse Arm
Director of External Affairs
[+1 \(248\) 943-4752](tel:+12489434752)
[manhattan-institute.org](mailto:jarm@manhattan-institute.org)

The Claim: Most major American medical organizations support “gender affirming care.”

The Response:

Guidelines Based on No Solid Evidence

- The three main organizations to have released guidelines are the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP), the Endocrine Society, and the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH). Other organizations, including the American Medical Association, have either made public statements in support of “affirming” medicine without citing evidence, or have deferred to one or more of these three.
- None of these organizations have done systematic reviews of the evidence, a method of review designed to prevent cherry-picking of studies and biased analysis.
- WPATH is an explicitly ideological organization that now includes “eunuch” as a valid “gender identity” that children can supposedly know they have at a very early age.
- Sweden, Finland, the U.K., and Florida have done systematic reviews, and all four reached the same conclusion: there is no evidence that the benefits of hormones for treating gender-related distress in youth outweighs the risks.

European Nations Reversing Gender Transition Policies

- Sweden and Finland have since placed severe restrictions on eligibility for hormones, recommending instead that minors with gender development problems be given psychotherapy as a first, and ideally only, line of treatment.

- Sweden is consistently ranked one of the friendliest countries to LGBT people.
- The U.K. has closed its main gender clinic, the Tavistock, after an independent report cited the “affirmative model” of care (which it said “originated in the USA”) as a main reason for the lack of child “safeguarding.”
- The AAP explicitly supports the affirmative model and rejects the Scandinavian model.

Uncontrolled Experimentation on Children with Dangerous Substances

- Finland has called hormonal interventions for gender dysphoria “experimental.”
- The U.S. Food and Drug Administration has never approved the use of drugs like Lupron for youth with gender dysphoria.
- Puberty blockers have serious side-effects, including lower IQ, osteoporosis, early and aggressive menopause, infertility, and depression.
- Puberty blockers are used for chemical castration of sex offenders, a practice constitutional lawyers and ethicists have described as cruel and unconstitutional due, in part, to its side-effects.

Deeply Flawed Science

- The AAP’s position is based on a single non-peer-reviewed policy statement published in 2018 in its own journal, *Pediatrics*. A peer-reviewed fact-check of that article revealed that it completely misrepresents the research and omits all the studies that undermine the affirmative model.

- The AAP has consistently suppressed efforts by member pediatricians to get it to conduct a systematic review of the research.
- The Endocrine Society has rated its own recommendations as resting on “low” or “very low” quality research.
- WPATH’s recommendations rely on a single study from the Netherlands, which scholars have shown contains fatal flaws in methodology and is anyway inapplicable to the vast majority of teenagers seeking hormones and surgeries today.
- One of the authors of the Dutch study said in 2021 that other countries, notably the U.S., were “blindly adopting our research.”
- A peer-reviewed, systematic review of clinical guidelines published in 2021 gave Endocrine Society’s guidelines a score of 1 out of 6, and WPATH’s guidelines a score of 0 out of 6.
- There are plenty of examples of American medical organizations being wrong on the science. Recent examples from the AAP alone include guidelines on peanut allergies, Covid masking, and school closures. Another example: the American Medical Association played a large role in fueling the opioid epidemic when it adopted pain as a “5th vital sign” and agreed that the risk of addiction is very low, despite the paucity of evidence for these claims.

‘Trust the Experts’ Is Not Enough: U.S. Medical Groups Get the Science Wrong on Pediatric ‘Gender Affirming’ Care

Leor Sapir

FELLOW
Manhattan Institute

The Claim: Most major American medical organizations support “gender affirming care.”

The Response:

Guidelines Based on No Solid Evidence

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- Sweden, Finland, the U.K., and Florida have done systematic reviews, and all four reached the same conclusion: there is no evidence that the benefits of hormones for treating gender-related distress in youth outweighs the risks.

ABOUT US

The Manhattan Institute is a think tank whose mission is to develop and disseminate new ideas that foster greater economic choice and individual responsibility.

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CONTACTS

To request an information packet about MI, or if you have questions about how to support us, contact SUPPORT@MANHATTAN-INSTITUTE.ORG.

52 Vanderbilt Ave.
New York, NY 10017
(212) 599-7000
INFO@MANHATTAN-INSTITUTE.ORG

- There are plenty of examples of American medical organizations being wrong on the science. Recent examples from the AAP alone include guidelines on peanut allergies, Covid masking, and school closures. Another example: the American Medical Association played a large role in fueling the opioid epidemic when it adopted pain as a “5th vital sign” and agreed that the risk of addiction is very low, despite the paucity of evidence for these claims.

Introduction

This memo addresses the frequently made claim that “gender affirming” hormonal and surgical interventions for minors are appropriate because most major medical organizations in the U.S. support them. While it is understandable that doctors and their patients should want to follow guidelines issued by professional medical groups, it is important to recognize that these groups don’t always get the science right.

On the issue of medical treatment for youth gender dysphoria in particular, American medical organizations have demonstrated a preference for ideologically driven conclusions over cautious review of the available research.

The three main American medical organizations to have recommended “gender affirming care” for minors are the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP), the Endocrine Society, and the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH). Other organizations, including the American Medical Association, have issued public statements in support of the use of hormones to address gender dysphoria, but without discussing the research.

American Academy of Pediatrics

The AAP’s position is based on a policy statement,¹ authored by Dr. Jason Rafferty and published in 2018 in the organization’s journal, *Pediatrics*. Rafferty’s central claim in that article is that “watchful waiting,” a therapeutic approach in which clinicians delay social and medical transition as long as possible in order to exhaust all efforts to help youth in distress feel comfortable in their bodies, is a form of “conversion therapy.” Clinicians, he argues, should always “affirm” (i.e., agree with) the gender self-declarations of their pediatric patients.

A 2020 fact-check² of Rafferty’s article, written by Dr. James Cantor of the Toronto Sexuality Centre and published in another journal, revealed it to contain egregious omissions and misrepresentations of the available research on youth gender dysphoria.

The flaws include:

- *Omission.* Rafferty neglects to mention that there had been 11 studies to date on rates of persistence of gender dysphoria from childhood into adolescence. All 11 found that the vast majority (61–88%) of children with gender dysphoria come to accept their sex by adolescence.³ A majority come out as gay or lesbian, indicating that cross-gender feelings and behavior at an early age are predictive of same-sex sexual orientation, not evidence of a child having been “assigned” the wrong sex at birth.
- *Misrepresentation.* Rafferty’s citations for his claim that “watchful waiting” is “conversion therapy” fall into two categories:

1. Some citations are studies on sexual orientation, not gender identity. This is odd, considering that Rafferty emphasizes that sexual orientation and gender identity are “not synonymous” and “develop separately.”
2. The studies on gender identity cited by Rafferty in fact endorse the “watchful waiting” approach. For example, Rafferty cites a “practice guideline” published by the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (AACAP) in 2012. That source concludes, “In general, it is desirable to help adolescents who may be experiencing gender distress and dysphoria to defer sex reassignment until adulthood, or at least until the wish to change sex is unequivocal, consistent, and made with appropriate consent.” In other words, save for extreme cases, adolescents should not have their gender self-identification “affirmed.” As another example, one of Rafferty’s sources explicitly says that “delaying affirmation should not be construed as conversion therapy or an attempt to change gender identity.”

Endocrine Society

In 2017, the Endocrine Society published a “clinical practice guideline” for treatment of “gender-dysphoric/gender-incongruent persons.”⁴ Two key facts about the ES guideline:

- It is a “how to” guideline, not a “whether to” guideline. As the ES makes clear, whether a minor should receive hormonal interventions is a decision for mental health experts following the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) diagnostic criteria to make. In theory, the ES guidelines are compatible with a clinical reality in which not a single minor receives hormonal interventions. Citing the ES guideline in support of a claim about “gender affirming” hormones being “medically necessary” or “life-saving” is therefore highly misleading.
- The ES guideline assesses the quality of evidence supporting its own recommendations. In the relevant category of hormonal interventions for minors, ES cites the quality of evidence as being “low” or “very low.” Not just that, but even when it comes to the “low” category (the higher of the two), ES rates its guidelines as being “weak recommendations.”⁵

WPATH and the “Dutch Study”

WPATH’s Standards of Care⁶ for adolescents seeking hormones are based largely on a single study from the Netherlands (the so-called “Dutch study”⁷ and related Dutch protocol). That study, however, has been subject to withering criticism for its biased methodology, unimpressive results, and inapplicability to the current clinical scene in Western countries, including the United States.⁸

Because the Dutch study, published in 2011, is widely regarded as the gold standard of research in support of “gender affirming” hormonal and surgical interventions for minors, its five main problems⁹ should be well understood:

1. As confirmed by the authors themselves, the main metric on which the researchers observed clinically significant improvement was alleviation of gender dysphoria (and related body image). But this finding rests on a sleight of hand. The Dutch team used the Utrecht Gender Dysphoria Scale, which has different questionnaires for males and females. They gave male-to-female transitioners the male questionnaire at the beginning of their transition but the female questionnaire at the end. As one critic has pointed out, after transition “[a] boy who wanted to become a girl ... would be rating agreement with the statement ‘I hate menstruating because it makes me feel like a girl’ and satisfaction with ‘ovaries-uterus.’” That a biological boy who transitioned to the female role does not “hate menstruating” would yield the minimum gender dysphoria score, leading to a meaningless finding of “resolved” dysphoria.¹⁰
2. The final of the two famous Dutch studies, published in 2014, relied on only 1.5 years of follow-up after subjects had completed their transition. This is hardly enough time to reveal whether the procedures ultimately benefit the patients. Two studies found that the average time to regret is around 10 years.¹¹ But, remember, almost all the data in these studies comes from those who transitioned as adults and were gathered before the “affirming” model and its hostility to safeguards became widespread. Increasingly, we hear from detransitioners who describe a period of euphoria immediately after completing some or all of the transition. As even Peggy Cohen-Kettenis, one of the Dutch researchers who co-authored the 2011 study, would later observe, “a truly proper follow-up needs to span a minimum period of 20 years.”¹²
3. The study could not reliably distinguish the effects of hormonal and surgical interventions from those of psychotherapy. This is a recurring problem in studies on the link between hormones and mental health. In the Dutch study, candidates had to demonstrate a stable state of mind and absence of psychological counterindication (co-occurring conditions) to receive puberty blockers or cross-sex hormones initially. Then, once receiving them, they were continuously seen by therapists who (presumably) worked to address their underlying mental health problems (anxiety, depression, etc.).
4. The Dutch team carefully selected patients for participation in their study—so carefully, in fact, as to moot the clinical significance of their findings, according to a forthcoming peer-reviewed analysis by Levine, Abrussezze, and Mason. To be eligible for the study on puberty blockers, participants would already have had to be enrolled for cross-sex hormones, which, given eligibility criteria, meant that their use of puberty blockers did not yield any seriously negative results. In other words, for their research on puberty blockers, the Dutch team excluded from the outset cases that would have cast doubt on the safety or efficacy of puberty blockers. It is hard to imagine a more obvious example of selection bias.
5. Finally, the only effort to replicate the Dutch study’s findings to date has failed. Scientific research must be replicable, because researchers can never be sure if the results they observe are due to confounding factors which they may not have fully recognized at the time and for which they did not adequately control. The fact that a team of researchers in the U.K. tried to apply the eligibility criteria and treatment protocols of the Dutch team to a cohort with similar characteristics but failed to observe the same outcome substantially weakens the claims of the original study.

Even if these problems are ignored, there is good reason to believe that the Dutch study and its resulting treatment protocol does not apply to the vast majority of teenagers showing up for medical transition today.

To be eligible to participate in the Dutch protocol, candidates had to fulfill five criteria:

1. Early-onset gender identity disorder (as it was called at the time).

2. The condition had to persist or intensify into adolescence. This condition was because previous studies had consistently shown that the vast majority of children with gender identity issues desist by puberty (i.e., come to terms with their sex), and most come out as gay.
3. No comorbid psychiatric diagnoses. Candidates had to be psychologically and emotionally stable.
4. Supportive family. Parents or guardians had to give approval for the procedure.
5. Informed consent would have to be achieved as a continuous process, often lasting months, in which candidates' expectations were lowered. Candidates had to understand the reality that the interventions would change their appearance and gender role, but not literally change their sex.

By contrast, data published by gender clinics across the West, including in the U.S.,¹³ show that the majority of youth seeking hormonal interventions these days are adolescent girls with no prior history of dysphoria and very high rates of mental health comorbidities.¹⁴ Proponents of the affirmative model of care argue that parental approval should not be a requirement for receiving hormones, and generally reject medical “gatekeeping” (and by extension a prolonged and burdensome informed consent process).

Prominent researchers and clinicians in the area of youth gender dysphoria have noted the appearance of a new patient subgroup (teenagers, mainly girls, with “rapid onset gender dysphoria”).¹⁵ They have suggested “social contagion” as one reason why the rate of teenagers (especially girls) identifying as transgender and seeking medical interventions has skyrocketed in recent years. These experts have urged caution in medicalizing their gender incongruent behavior without proper research. The Dutch researchers themselves have recognized the inapplicability of their model to the current clinical scene. In 2021, Dr. Thomas Steensma told a Dutch newspaper that other countries were “blindly adopting our research.”¹⁶

WPATH recently released its 8th version of Standards of Care. The new version still considers the Dutch study the most authoritative, despite the appearance of additional studies in the intervening years. These later studies, it should be noted, all suffer from methodological shortcomings, most commonly lack of adequate controls for confounding factors like psychotherapy and very short follow-up times. Three systematic reviews of the evidence—by health authorities in Sweden, Finland, and the U.K.—all found that these additional studies did not show evidence of mental health benefits from hormonal interventions outweighing the risks.

Still, “gender affirming” activists continue to mischaracterize the results of these studies in mainstream discussions.¹⁷

U.S. as Medical Outlier

The question to ask is not why some American medical experts depart from the AAP, ES, or WPATH, but why these organizations depart from a growing international consensus over the lack of evidence for “gender affirming care.”

Over the past two years, Finland,¹⁸ Sweden,¹⁹ and the U.K.²⁰ have conducted a systematic review of the evidence for the use of puberty blockers and cross-sex hormones in treating pediatric gender dysphoria. Health authorities in all three countries reached the same conclusion: the belief that the mental health benefits of these interventions outweigh the costs is based on very

low-quality evidence.²¹ When the Florida Department of Health conducted an overview of systematic reviews of the evidence in 2022, it, too, arrived at this conclusion.²² It’s important to note that these systematic reviews considered the exact same body of literature that proponents of “gender affirming care” cite.

Sweden and Finland have since decided to place severe restrictions on eligibility for hormonal interventions. Following the U.K.’s review of the evidence, a commissioned report by Dr. Hilary Cass of the country’s largest pediatric gender clinic found serious gaps in the quality of care. In her report, Cass explicitly highlighted the “affirmative model,” which she said “originated in the USA,” as a plausible reason for the lack of “safeguarding” and the rushing of teenagers onto hormones.²³ The NHS subsequently ordered the closure of the Tavistock’s gender clinic. Meantime, France’s National Academy of Medicine has urged “the greatest caution” when dispensing hormones as “treatments” for what is in essence a mental health condition,²⁴ and health authorities in Australia and New Zealand have likewise begun sounding the alarm.²⁵

A systematic review of the evidence is a method of evidence review that relies on predetermined criteria to select, analyze, and synthesize all relevant research pertaining to a concretely defined question. The main purpose of systematic reviews is to prevent cherry-picking of studies to produce desirable conclusions. Neither the AAP, nor the ES, nor WPATH have conducted systematic reviews of the research. Indeed, in its latest Standards of Care WPATH asserts that such a review is “not possible.” A systematic review of clinical guidelines for treating gender discordant youth, peer-reviewed and published in 2021, gave ES’s guidelines a quality score of 1 out of 6 and WPATH’s a score of 0 out of 6.²⁶ Worse, over the past two years the AAP has actively suppressed resolutions²⁷ proposed by pediatrician members to conduct a systematic review of the evidence, insisting, in one instance, that those who demand such a review are “anti-transgender.”²⁸

With so many contemporary “affirming care” methods and practices resting on poorly conducted or inapplicable studies, medical authorities like the AAP and the ES, and ideological organizations like WPATH, are gambling not only with their credibility, but the mental and physical health of children. There are plenty of examples of American medical organizations being wrong on other recent scientific and medical questions. Recent examples from the AAP alone include guidelines on peanut allergies, Covid-related masking, and Covid-related school closures.²⁹ Parents, scientists and researchers, attorneys general and lawmakers are justified in their hesitance to lean into the surge in transgender identification. They must not be reluctant to call for a pause in transitioning, and demand better research and more debate.

Endnotes

- ¹ Jason Rafferty, "Ensuring Comprehensive Care and Support for Transgender and Gender-Diverse Children and Adolescents," *Pediatrics* 142, no. 4 (October 2018).
- ² James M. Cantor, "Transgender and Gender Diverse Children and Adolescents: Fact-Checking of AAP Policy," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* 46, no. 4 (2020).
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Wylie C. Hembree et al., "Endocrine Treatment of Gender-Dysphoric/Gender-Incongruent Persons: An Endocrine Society Clinical Practice Guideline," *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism* 102, no. 11 (Nov. 1, 2017).
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ E. Coleman et al., "Standards of Care for the Health of Transgender and Gender Diverse People, Version 8," *International Journal of Transgender Health* 23, no. sup1 (Sept. 15, 2022).
- ⁷ A. L. De Vries et al., "Puberty Suppression in Adolescents with Gender Identity Disorder: A Prospective Follow-Up Study," *Journal of Sexual Medicine* 8, no. 8 (2011), 2276–83; A. L. De Vries et al., "Young Adult Psychological Outcome After Puberty Suppression and Gender Reassignment," *Pediatrics* 134, no. 4 (2014), 696–704.
- ⁸ Stephen B. Levine, E. Abbruzzese, and Julia W. Mason, "Reconsidering Informed Consent for Trans-Identified Children, Adolescents, and Young Adults," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* 48, no. 7 (2022); Michael Biggs, "The Dutch Protocol for Juvenile Transsexuals: Origins and Evidence," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* (Sept. 19, 2022); Stephen B. Levine, E. Abbruzzese, and Julia W. Mason, "The Value of Disagreement," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* (forthcoming).
- ⁹ Leor Sapir, "The Distortions in Jack Turban's Psychology Today Article on 'Gender Affirming Care,'" *Reality's Last Stand* (blog), Oct. 7, 2022.
- ¹⁰ A. L. C. de Vries, "Ensuring Care for Transgender Adolescents Who Need It: Response to 'Reconsidering Informed Consent for Trans-Identified Children, Adolescents and Young Adults,'" *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy*, 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0092623X.2022.2084479>; Biggs, "The Dutch Protocol for Juvenile Transsexuals."
- ¹¹ Cecilia Dhejne et al., "An Analysis of All Applications for Sex Reassignment Surgery in Sweden, 1960–2010: Prevalence, Incidence, and Regrets," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 43 (2014); Chantal M. Wiepjes, "The Amsterdam Cohort of Gender Dysphoria Study (1972–2015): Trends in Prevalence, Treatment, and Regrets," *Journal of Sexual Medicine* 15, no. 4 (2018).
- ¹² Biggs, "The Dutch Protocol for Juvenile Transsexuals."
- ¹³ Chad Terhune, Robin Respaut, and Michelle Conlin, "As More Transgender Children Seek Medical Care, Families Confront Many Unknowns," Reuters, Oct. 6, 2022.

- ¹⁴ The U.K. recorded a surge of 4,400% in teenage girls seeking medical gender transition between 2009 and 2018. As revealed in the Cass Report, “approximately one third of children and young people referred” to the nation’s main gender clinic had “autism or other types of neurodiversity.” The report also noted “an over-representation percentage wise (compared to the national percentage) of looked after children” (i.e., foster children).
- ¹⁵ Anna Hutchinson, Melissa Midgen, and Anastassis Spiliadis, “In Support of Research Into Rapid-Onset Gender Dysphoria,” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 49, 79–80 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-019-01517-9>; Kenneth J. Zuker, “Adolescents with Gender Dysphoria: Reflections on Some Contemporary Clinical and Research Issues,” *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 48, no. 7 (2019).
- ¹⁶ Sapir, “The Distortions in Jack Turban’s Psychology Today Article on ‘Gender Affirming Care.’”
- ¹⁷ See, e.g., Jack Turban, “The Evidence for Trans Youth Gender-Affirming Medical Care,” *Psychology Today*, Jan. 24, 2022; I respond to this flawed article in Sapir, “The Distortions in Jack Turban’s Psychology Today Article on ‘Gender Affirming Care.’”
- ¹⁸ “One Year Since Finland Broke with WPATH ‘Standards of Care,’” Society for Evidence Based Gender Medicine, July 2, 2021.
- ¹⁹ “Summary of Key Recommendations from the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen/NBHW),” Society for Evidence Based Gender Medicine, Feb. 27, 2022.
- ²⁰ “New Systematic Reviews of Puberty Blockers and Cross-Sex Hormones Published by NICE,” Society for Evidence Based Gender Medicine, March 31, 2021.
- ²¹ “Treatment of Gender Dysphoria for Children and Adolescents,” Florida Health, April 20, 2022.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Dr. Hilary Cass, “Independent Review of Gender Identity Services for Children and Young People: Interim Report,” The Cass Review for NHS England, February 2022.
- ²⁴ “Medicine and Gender Transidentity in Children and Adolescents,” French National Academy of Medicine, Press Release, Feb. 25, 2022.
- ²⁵ “Psychiatrists Shift Stance on Gender Dysphoria, Recommend Therapy,” *Medical Progress*, Oct. 7, 2021.
- ²⁶ Sara Dahlen et al., “International Clinical Practice Guidelines for Gender Minority/Trans people: Systematic Review and Quality Assessment,” *BMJ Open* 11, no. 4 (2021).
- ²⁷ Julia Mason and Leor Sapir, “The American Academy of Pediatrics’ Dubious Transgender Science,” *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 17, 2022; “In Support of a Rigorous Systematic Review of Evidence and Policy Update for Management of Pediatric Gender Dysphoria,” 2022 AAP Leadership Conference Resolution, March 31, 2022.
- ²⁸ Moira Szilagyi, “Academy of Pediatrics Responds on Trans Treatment for Kids,” *Wall Street Journal Letters*, Aug. 21, 2022.
- ²⁹ “Vinay Prasad, “The AAP (American Academy of Pediatrics) is Broken, Failed Organization,” *Sensible Medicine* (blog), Aug. 27, 2022.”

From: Pushaw, Christina [Christina.Pushaw@eog.myflorida.com]
Sent: Friday, April 8, 2022 9:08 AM
To: Jesse Arm [jarm@manhattan-institute.org]
CC: Spencer, Chris [Chris.Spencer@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; Emmanuel, Christopher [Christopher.Emmanuel@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]
Subject: Re: Manhattan Institute on FL Parental Rights in Education Bill

Thanks Jesse, this is great. I will make sure our team sees it!
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From: Jesse Arm <jarm@manhattan-institute.org>
Sent: Thursday, April 7, 2022 23:06
To: Pushaw, Christina <Christina.Pushaw@eog.myflorida.com>
Cc: Spencer, Chris <Chris.Spencer@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US>; Emmanuel, Christopher <Christopher.Emmanuel@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US>
Subject: Manhattan Institute on FL Parental Rights in Education Bill

Hi Christina,

Hope all is well. Realizing I didn't flag this for you when it came out on the first, though I meant to.

One of our newest fellows, [Leor Sapir](#), has a great new piece in Quillette on how the Gov's Parental Rights in Education Law actually provides protection for gay students.

<https://quillette.com/2022/04/01/how-floridas-newly-enacted-parental-rights-in-education-law-actually-protects-gay-students/>

Leor is newer on the scene, but he's going to be tackling a lot of the gender stuff for us in the coming months. He's got some excellent ideas and we'll share them with your policy team as we release more.

Rufo tells me he'll be down in FL for the Stop Woke Act bill signing later this month. Exciting stuff. Keep up the great work!

Let us know if we can ever be helpful.

MANHATTAN
INSTITUTE

Jesse Arm
Director of External Affairs
+1 (248) 943-4752
[Manhattan-Institute.org](https://www.Manhattan-Institute.org)

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From: Jesse Arm [jarm@manhattan-institute.org]
Sent: Thursday, April 7, 2022 11:07 PM
To: Pushaw, Christina [Christina.Pushaw@eog.myflorida.com]
CC: Spencer, Chris [Chris.Spencer@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; Emmanuel, Christopher [Christopher.Emmanuel@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]
Subject: Manhattan Institute on FL Parental Rights in Education Bill

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Jesse Arm
Director of External Affairs
+1 (248) 943-4752
Manhattan-Institute.org

From: Jesse Arm [jarm@manhattan-institute.org]
Sent: Friday, January 27, 2023 2:54 PM
To: Kelly, Alex [Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com]
Subject: Re: Introduction - Alex Vargo

Sounds good. We'll keep you up to date of any movement on this front.



Jesse Arm
Director of External Affairs
+1 (248) 943-4752
ManhattanInstitute.org

From: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Date: Friday, January 27, 2023 at 10:49 AM
To: Jesse Arm <jarm@manhattan-institute.org>, Vargo, Alex <alex.vargo@laspbs.state.fl.us>
Subject: RE: Introduction - Alex Vargo

Jesse, thank you for reaching out.

That's an interesting topic, indeed.

Let me review and share with a couple team members.

Sincerely,

J. Alex Kelly
Deputy Chief of Staff
Executive Office of the Governor
(850) 443-8626
alex.kelly@eog.myflorida.com

From: Jesse Arm <jarm@manhattan-institute.org>
Sent: Thursday, January 26, 2023 6:29 PM
To: Vargo, Alex <alex.vargo@laspbs.state.fl.us>
Cc: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Subject: Re: Introduction - Alex Vargo

Alex:

It's good to connect with you. I'm glad Ted put us in touch. I know and have met previously with a few folks in your office (Chris Emmanuel, Chris Spencer, Brandy Brown, among a few others on the political

side,) but I've been meaning to reach out to Alex Kelly from your office, who I'm CC'ing here in order to kill two birds with one stone.

My name is Jesse Arm and I lead coalitions and government affairs for the Manhattan Institute. I wanted to thank your team for engaging with our fellow Michael Hartney ahead of your new teacher policy rollout earlier this week. I know you have also been in contact with my colleague Chris Rufo regarding our model legislation to abolish massive DEI bureaucracies, curtail other forms of political coercion, and end identity-based preferences at public universities. We're here to help talk through technical policy matters on these issues and anywhere else we can be helpful.

On that note, I also wanted to flag another policy that we're working on a little more behind the scenes that may be of interest to your team. One of our fellows, Nicole Stelle Garnett, is focused on religious charter schools. Her work was referenced in the recent opinion letter issued by Oklahoma Attorney General John O'Connor on the constitutionality of the state's laws prohibiting them. She expounded on that in the pages of City Journal. Nicole has additional work that we'll be releasing on this issue in the coming months and we're paying close attention to it given recent legal developments in Arizona, Utah, North Carolina (in this case, Nicole filed an amicus brief supporting the charter school and making a broader religious liberty point,) and elsewhere. Obviously in Florida you already have a fantastic private school choice program (the largest in the US, I believe,) but the state also feels like a great place to advance the agenda.

If I can ever be helpful in facilitating a conversation with a Manhattan Institute fellow that you're not already in touch with about a policy matter, please do not hesitate to reach out!

Best,



Jesse Arm

Director of External Affairs

+1 (248) 943-4752

Manhattan-Institute.org

From: Ellis, Ted <Ted.Ellis@mail.house.gov>
Date: Thursday, January 26, 2023 at 11:12 AM
To: Ellis, Ted <Ted.Ellis@mail.house.gov>
Cc: Vargo, Alex <alex.vargo@laspbs.state.fl.us>
Subject: Introduction - Alex Vargo

Hi friend,

Hope this message finds you well! I want to introduce you to Alex Vargo, a friend of the movement and a colleague who I believe will be a helpful ally in the years ahead. He is a senior policy advisor and coalitions lead for Gov. DeSantis.

You're receiving this email because your organization is a leader on one or more of the policy issues the Governor is engaged in, including taxes, education, and/or workforce freedom. Would you please do me the favor of connecting with Alex or putting him in touch with the best contact for these issues at your organization?

Best,
Ted

Ted Ellis
Director of Coalitions and Member Services
Republican Study Committee
Chair Rep. Kevin Hern (R-OK)
C: 202-503-7722
[@RepublicanStudy](https://twitter.com/RepublicanStudy)

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From: Jesse Arm [jarm@manhattan-institute.org]
Sent: Thursday, January 26, 2023 6:29 PM
To: Vargo, Alex [alex.vargo@laspbs.state.fl.us]
CC: Kelly, Alex [Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com]
Subject: Re: Introduction - Alex Vargo

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If I can ever be helpful in facilitating a conversation with a Manhattan Institute fellow that you're not already in touch with about a policy matter, please do not hesitate to reach out!

Best,

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Director of External Affairs
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Date: Thursday, January 26, 2023 at 11:12 AM
To: Ellis, Ted <Ted.Ellis@mail.house.gov>
Cc: Vargo, Alex <alex.vargo@laspbs.state.fl.us>
Subject: Introduction - Alex Vargo

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Best,
Ted

Ted Ellis
Director of Coalitions and Member Services
Republican Study Committee
Chair Rep. Kevin Hern (R-OK)
C: 202-503-7722
[@RepublicanStudy](#)

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From: Michele Jacob [mjacob@manhattan-institute.org]
Sent: Thursday, January 26, 2023 11:29 AM
To: Kelly, Alex [Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com]
Subject: RE: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

Thanks for letting me know. I understand. We will definitely keep you informed of future convenings.



Michele Jacob
VP, Strategy & Communications
+1 (212) 599-7000
manhattan-institute.org

From: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Sent: Wednesday, January 25, 2023 8:49 AM
To: Michele Jacob <mjacob@manhattan-institute.org>
Subject: FW: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

Following up, I would really like to attend.

Although it being the very first week of our 2023 Legislative Session, I don't envision being able to get away.

It's just one of the busiest weeks of the year for us.

Hopefully, there's a similar event in the future!

Thank you again for the invitation.

J. Alex Kelly
Deputy Chief of Staff
Executive Office of the Governor
(850) 443-8626
alex.kelly@eog.myflorida.com

From: Michele Jacob <mjacob@manhattan-institute.org>
Sent: Wednesday, January 18, 2023 3:50 PM
To: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Subject: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

Hello Mr. Kelly,

I wanted to make sure that you received the below invitation to participate in a small private summit on wokeness in Santa Monica on March 10 and March 11 with Christopher Rufo. I'm happy to answer any questions you may have. We'd love for you to join us.

Michele

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Michele Jacob

VP, Strategy & Communications

+1 (212) 599-7000

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INVITES YOU TO A PRIVATE CONVENING WITH

Christopher F. Rufo

Senior Fellow, Manhattan institute

Friday, March 10 – Saturday, March 11, 2023

9:00 AM – 3:00 PM (each day)

The Santa Monica Proper

700 Wilshire Boulevard, Santa Monica, CA 90401

Radical theories incubated in obscure academic departments have taken over many American institutions including the media, corporate HR departments and board rooms, schools, and some quarters of the military. Under the guise of promoting equity, these ideologies demonize entire racial groups, promote critical race theory and radical gender ideology, and further divide individuals by skin color, cultural background, and more. The Manhattan Institute (MI), a policy research center based in New York City, and journalist Christopher Rufo have been leaders in the fight against these divisive ideas.

We cordially invite you to join us for a private 2-day policy summit bringing together experts in their respective fields to build a policy agenda on eliminating "wokeness" from our universities, K-12 education, government, and corporations.

Accommodations at the Santa Monica Proper will be provided to attendees along with meals during the conference, and reimbursement for travel to and from the summit. We hope you'll agree to be an active part of this important conversation.

[REGISTER](#)

If you accept and find you are unable to attend, please be sure to let us know.

Please also note business casual dress code: jacket preferred, tie optional.

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From: Michele Jacob [mjacob@manhattan-institute.org]
Sent: Thursday, January 19, 2023 10:39 AM
To: Kelly, Alex [Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com]
Subject: RE: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

Thanks Alex,
I'll await your response! Hope you can make it.

Michele



Michele Jacob
VP, Strategy & Communications
+1 (212) 599-7000
ManhattanInstitute.org

From: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Sent: Thursday, January 19, 2023 8:24 AM
To: Michele Jacob <mjacob@manhattan-institute.org>
Subject: RE: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

Oh, that is going to be an amazing event, I'm sure.

I will follow up soon.

J. Alex Kelly
Deputy Chief of Staff
Executive Office of the Governor
(850) 443-8626
alex.kelly@eog.myflorida.com

From: Michele Jacob <mjacob@manhattan-institute.org>
Sent: Wednesday, January 18, 2023 3:50 PM
To: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Subject: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

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From: Events at MI [events@manhattan-institute.org]
Sent: Tuesday, January 17, 2023 1:45 PM
To: Kelly, Alex [Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com]
Subject: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture



INVITES YOU TO A PRIVATE CONVENING WITH

Christopher F. Rufo

Senior Fellow, Manhattan institute

Friday, March 10 – Saturday, March 11, 2023

9:00 AM – 3:00 PM (each day)

The Santa Monica Proper

700 Wilshire Boulevard, Santa Monica, CA 90401

Radical theories incubated in obscure academic departments have taken over many American institutions including the media, corporate HR departments and board rooms, schools, and some quarters of the military. Under the guise of promoting equity, these ideologies demonize entire racial groups, promote critical race theory and radical gender ideology, and further divide individuals by skin color, cultural background, and more. The Manhattan Institute (MI), a policy research center based in New York City, and journalist Christopher Rufo have been leaders in the fight against these divisive ideas.

We cordially invite you to join us for a private 2-day policy summit bringing together experts in their respective fields to build a policy agenda on eliminating "wokeness" from our universities, K-12 education, government, and corporations.

Accommodations at the Santa Monica Proper will be provided to attendees along with meals during the conference, and reimbursement for travel to and from the summit. We hope you'll agree to be an active part of this important conversation.

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If you accept and find you are unable to attend, please be sure to let us know.

Please also note business casual dress code: jacket preferred, tie optional.

THIS INVITATION IS NONTRANSFERABLE.

If you have any questions, please email events@manhattan-institute.org.

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From: Jesse Arm [jarm@manhattan-institute.org]

Sent: Monday, October 17, 2022 1:10 PM

To: Fenske, Taryn M. [Taryn.M.Fenske@eog.myflorida.com]; Williams, Jared [Jared.Williams@eog.myflorida.com]; Gibson, Zackary [Zackary.Gibson@eog.myflorida.com]; Tondee, Renee [Renee.Tondee@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; Kopelousos, Stephanie [Stephanie.Kopelousos@eog.myflorida.com]; Spencer, Chris [Chris.Spencer@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; Emmanuel, Christopher [Christopher.Emmanuel@LASPBS.STATE.FL.US]; Uthmeier, James [James.Uthmeier@eog.myflorida.com]; Pushaw, Christina [Christina.Pushaw@eog.myflorida.com]

Subject: Responding to Misleading Claims on ‘Gender Affirming’ Care

Attachments: MI Pediatric Gender Affirming Care Memo.pdf

Team DeSantis:

I hope all is well. I’m reaching out to share the attached [key takeaways \(similar to talking points\)](#) and [memo](#) from Manhattan Institute Fellow [Leor Sapir](#) on responding to the frequently made claim that “gender affirming” hormonal and surgical interventions for minors are appropriate because most major medical organizations in the U.S. support them.

While it is understandable that doctors and their patients should want to follow guidelines issued by professional medical groups, it is important to recognize that these groups don’t always get the science right.

As left-wing journalists like Jon Stewart parrot these claims in [hostile interviews with conservatives](#), it is important that lawmakers push back and explain why—on the issue of medical treatment for youth gender dysphoria in particular—American medical organizations have demonstrated a preference for ideologically driven conclusions over cautious review of the available research.

If your team wishes to discuss how to respond to this claim further, I’d be happy to facilitate a policy briefing with Leor.

For your convenience, the key takeaways from the attached memo are also included at the bottom of this email.

Best,

MANHATTAN
INSTITUTE

Jesse Arm

Director of External Affairs

+1 (248) 943-4752

[manhattaninstitute.org](#)

The Claim: Most major American medical organizations support “gender affirming care.”

The Response:

Guidelines Based on No Solid Evidence

- The three main organizations to have released guidelines are the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP), the Endocrine Society, and the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH). Other organizations, including the American Medical Association, have either made public statements in support of “affirming” medicine without citing evidence, or have deferred to one or more of these three.
- None of these organizations have done systematic reviews of the evidence, a method of review designed to prevent cherry-picking of studies and biased analysis.
- WPATH is an explicitly ideological organization that now includes “eunuch” as a valid “gender identity” that children can supposedly know they have at a very early age.
- Sweden, Finland, the U.K., and Florida have done systematic reviews, and all four reached the same conclusion: there is no evidence that the benefits of hormones for treating gender-related distress in youth outweighs the risks.

European Nations Reversing Gender Transition Policies

- Sweden and Finland have since placed severe restrictions on eligibility for hormones, recommending instead that minors with gender development problems be given psychotherapy as a first, and ideally only, line of treatment.

- Sweden is consistently ranked one of the friendliest countries to LGBT people.
- The U.K. has closed its main gender clinic, the Tavistock, after an independent report cited the “affirmative model” of care (which it said “originated in the USA”) as a main reason for the lack of child “safeguarding.”
- The AAP explicitly supports the affirmative model and rejects the Scandinavian model.

Uncontrolled Experimentation on Children with Dangerous Substances

- Finland has called hormonal interventions for gender dysphoria “experimental.”
- The U.S. Food and Drug Administration has never approved the use of drugs like Lupron for youth with gender dysphoria.
- Puberty blockers have serious side-effects, including lower IQ, osteoporosis, early and aggressive menopause, infertility, and depression.
- Puberty blockers are used for chemical castration of sex offenders, a practice constitutional lawyers and ethicists have described as cruel and unconstitutional due, in part, to its side-effects.

Deeply Flawed Science

- The AAP’s position is based on a single non-peer-reviewed policy statement published in 2018 in its own journal, *Pediatrics*. A peer-reviewed fact-check of that article revealed that it completely misrepresents the research and omits all the studies that undermine the affirmative model.

- The AAP has consistently suppressed efforts by member pediatricians to get it to conduct a systematic review of the research.
- The Endocrine Society has rated its own recommendations as resting on “low” or “very low” quality research.
- WPATH’s recommendations rely on a single study from the Netherlands, which scholars have shown contains fatal flaws in methodology and is anyway inapplicable to the vast majority of teenagers seeking hormones and surgeries today.
- One of the authors of the Dutch study said in 2021 that other countries, notably the U.S., were “blindly adopting our research.”
- A peer-reviewed, systematic review of clinical guidelines published in 2021 gave Endocrine Society’s guidelines a score of 1 out of 6, and WPATH’s guidelines a score of 0 out of 6.
- There are plenty of examples of American medical organizations being wrong on the science. Recent examples from the AAP alone include guidelines on peanut allergies, Covid masking, and school closures. Another example: the American Medical Association played a large role in fueling the opioid epidemic when it adopted pain as a “5th vital sign” and agreed that the risk of addiction is very low, despite the paucity of evidence for these claims.

‘Trust the Experts’ Is Not Enough: U.S. Medical Groups Get the Science Wrong on Pediatric ‘Gender Affirming’ Care

Leor Sapir

FELLOW
Manhattan Institute

The Claim: Most major American medical organizations support “gender affirming care.”

The Response:

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ABOUT US

The Manhattan Institute is a think tank whose mission is to develop and disseminate new ideas that foster greater economic choice and individual responsibility.

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CONTACTS

To request an information packet about MI, or if you have questions about how to support us, contact SUPPORT@MANHATTAN-INSTITUTE.ORG.

52 Vanderbilt Ave.
New York, NY 10017
(212) 599-7000
INFO@MANHATTAN-INSTITUTE.ORG

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Introduction

This memo addresses the frequently made claim that “gender affirming” hormonal and surgical interventions for minors are appropriate because most major medical organizations in the U.S. support them. While it is understandable that doctors and their patients should want to follow guidelines issued by professional medical groups, it is important to recognize that these groups don’t always get the science right.

On the issue of medical treatment for youth gender dysphoria in particular, American medical organizations have demonstrated a preference for ideologically driven conclusions over cautious review of the available research.

The three main American medical organizations to have recommended “gender affirming care” for minors are the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP), the Endocrine Society, and the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH). Other organizations, including the American Medical Association, have issued public statements in support of the use of hormones to address gender dysphoria, but without discussing the research.

American Academy of Pediatrics

The AAP’s position is based on a policy statement,¹ authored by Dr. Jason Rafferty and published in 2018 in the organization’s journal, *Pediatrics*. Rafferty’s central claim in that article is that “watchful waiting,” a therapeutic approach in which clinicians delay social and medical transition as long as possible in order to exhaust all efforts to help youth in distress feel comfortable in their bodies, is a form of “conversion therapy.” Clinicians, he argues, should always “affirm” (i.e., agree with) the gender self-declarations of their pediatric patients.

A 2020 fact-check² of Rafferty’s article, written by Dr. James Cantor of the Toronto Sexuality Centre and published in another journal, revealed it to contain egregious omissions and misrepresentations of the available research on youth gender dysphoria.

The flaws include:

- *Omission.* Rafferty neglects to mention that there had been 11 studies to date on rates of persistence of gender dysphoria from childhood into adolescence. All 11 found that the vast majority (61–88%) of children with gender dysphoria come to accept their sex by adolescence.³ A majority come out as gay or lesbian, indicating that cross-gender feelings and behavior at an early age are predictive of same-sex sexual orientation, not evidence of a child having been “assigned” the wrong sex at birth.
- *Misrepresentation.* Rafferty’s citations for his claim that “watchful waiting” is “conversion therapy” fall into two categories:

1. Some citations are studies on sexual orientation, not gender identity. This is odd, considering that Rafferty emphasizes that sexual orientation and gender identity are “not synonymous” and “develop separately.”
2. The studies on gender identity cited by Rafferty in fact endorse the “watchful waiting” approach. For example, Rafferty cites a “practice guideline” published by the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (AACAP) in 2012. That source concludes, “In general, it is desirable to help adolescents who may be experiencing gender distress and dysphoria to defer sex reassignment until adulthood, or at least until the wish to change sex is unequivocal, consistent, and made with appropriate consent.” In other words, save for extreme cases, adolescents should not have their gender self-identification “affirmed.” As another example, one of Rafferty’s sources explicitly says that “delaying affirmation should not be construed as conversion therapy or an attempt to change gender identity.”

Endocrine Society

In 2017, the Endocrine Society published a “clinical practice guideline” for treatment of “gender-dysphoric/gender-incongruent persons.”⁴ Two key facts about the ES guideline:

- It is a “how to” guideline, not a “whether to” guideline. As the ES makes clear, whether a minor should receive hormonal interventions is a decision for mental health experts following the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) diagnostic criteria to make. In theory, the ES guidelines are compatible with a clinical reality in which not a single minor receives hormonal interventions. Citing the ES guideline in support of a claim about “gender affirming” hormones being “medically necessary” or “life-saving” is therefore highly misleading.
- The ES guideline assesses the quality of evidence supporting its own recommendations. In the relevant category of hormonal interventions for minors, ES cites the quality of evidence as being “low” or “very low.” Not just that, but even when it comes to the “low” category (the higher of the two), ES rates its guidelines as being “weak recommendations.”⁵

WPATH and the “Dutch Study”

WPATH’s Standards of Care⁶ for adolescents seeking hormones are based largely on a single study from the Netherlands (the so-called “Dutch study”⁷ and related Dutch protocol). That study, however, has been subject to withering criticism for its biased methodology, unimpressive results, and inapplicability to the current clinical scene in Western countries, including the United States.⁸

Because the Dutch study, published in 2011, is widely regarded as the gold standard of research in support of “gender affirming” hormonal and surgical interventions for minors, its five main problems⁹ should be well understood:

1. As confirmed by the authors themselves, the main metric on which the researchers observed clinically significant improvement was alleviation of gender dysphoria (and related body image). But this finding rests on a sleight of hand. The Dutch team used the Utrecht Gender Dysphoria Scale, which has different questionnaires for males and females. They gave male-to-female transitioners the male questionnaire at the beginning of their transition but the female questionnaire at the end. As one critic has pointed out, after transition “[a] boy who wanted to become a girl ... would be rating agreement with the statement ‘I hate menstruating because it makes me feel like a girl’ and satisfaction with ‘ovaries-uterus.’” That a biological boy who transitioned to the female role does not “hate menstruating” would yield the minimum gender dysphoria score, leading to a meaningless finding of “resolved” dysphoria.¹⁰
2. The final of the two famous Dutch studies, published in 2014, relied on only 1.5 years of follow-up after subjects had completed their transition. This is hardly enough time to reveal whether the procedures ultimately benefit the patients. Two studies found that the average time to regret is around 10 years.¹¹ But, remember, almost all the data in these studies comes from those who transitioned as adults and were gathered before the “affirming” model and its hostility to safeguards became widespread. Increasingly, we hear from detransitioners who describe a period of euphoria immediately after completing some or all of the transition. As even Peggy Cohen-Kettenis, one of the Dutch researchers who co-authored the 2011 study, would later observe, “a truly proper follow-up needs to span a minimum period of 20 years.”¹²
3. The study could not reliably distinguish the effects of hormonal and surgical interventions from those of psychotherapy. This is a recurring problem in studies on the link between hormones and mental health. In the Dutch study, candidates had to demonstrate a stable state of mind and absence of psychological counterindication (co-occurring conditions) to receive puberty blockers or cross-sex hormones initially. Then, once receiving them, they were continuously seen by therapists who (presumably) worked to address their underlying mental health problems (anxiety, depression, etc.).
4. The Dutch team carefully selected patients for participation in their study—so carefully, in fact, as to moot the clinical significance of their findings, according to a forthcoming peer-reviewed analysis by Levine, Abrussezze, and Mason. To be eligible for the study on puberty blockers, participants would already have had to be enrolled for cross-sex hormones, which, given eligibility criteria, meant that their use of puberty blockers did not yield any seriously negative results. In other words, for their research on puberty blockers, the Dutch team excluded from the outset cases that would have cast doubt on the safety or efficacy of puberty blockers. It is hard to imagine a more obvious example of selection bias.
5. Finally, the only effort to replicate the Dutch study’s findings to date has failed. Scientific research must be replicable, because researchers can never be sure if the results they observe are due to confounding factors which they may not have fully recognized at the time and for which they did not adequately control. The fact that a team of researchers in the U.K. tried to apply the eligibility criteria and treatment protocols of the Dutch team to a cohort with similar characteristics but failed to observe the same outcome substantially weakens the claims of the original study.

Even if these problems are ignored, there is good reason to believe that the Dutch study and its resulting treatment protocol does not apply to the vast majority of teenagers showing up for medical transition today.

To be eligible to participate in the Dutch protocol, candidates had to fulfill five criteria:

1. Early-onset gender identity disorder (as it was called at the time).

2. The condition had to persist or intensify into adolescence. This condition was because previous studies had consistently shown that the vast majority of children with gender identity issues desist by puberty (i.e., come to terms with their sex), and most come out as gay.
3. No comorbid psychiatric diagnoses. Candidates had to be psychologically and emotionally stable.
4. Supportive family. Parents or guardians had to give approval for the procedure.
5. Informed consent would have to be achieved as a continuous process, often lasting months, in which candidates' expectations were lowered. Candidates had to understand the reality that the interventions would change their appearance and gender role, but not literally change their sex.

By contrast, data published by gender clinics across the West, including in the U.S.,¹³ show that the majority of youth seeking hormonal interventions these days are adolescent girls with no prior history of dysphoria and very high rates of mental health comorbidities.¹⁴ Proponents of the affirmative model of care argue that parental approval should not be a requirement for receiving hormones, and generally reject medical “gatekeeping” (and by extension a prolonged and burdensome informed consent process).

Prominent researchers and clinicians in the area of youth gender dysphoria have noted the appearance of a new patient subgroup (teenagers, mainly girls, with “rapid onset gender dysphoria”).¹⁵ They have suggested “social contagion” as one reason why the rate of teenagers (especially girls) identifying as transgender and seeking medical interventions has skyrocketed in recent years. These experts have urged caution in medicalizing their gender incongruent behavior without proper research. The Dutch researchers themselves have recognized the inapplicability of their model to the current clinical scene. In 2021, Dr. Thomas Steensma told a Dutch newspaper that other countries were “blindly adopting our research.”¹⁶

WPATH recently released its 8th version of Standards of Care. The new version still considers the Dutch study the most authoritative, despite the appearance of additional studies in the intervening years. These later studies, it should be noted, all suffer from methodological shortcomings, most commonly lack of adequate controls for confounding factors like psychotherapy and very short follow-up times. Three systematic reviews of the evidence—by health authorities in Sweden, Finland, and the U.K.—all found that these additional studies did not show evidence of mental health benefits from hormonal interventions outweighing the risks.

Still, “gender affirming” activists continue to mischaracterize the results of these studies in mainstream discussions.¹⁷

U.S. as Medical Outlier

The question to ask is not why some American medical experts depart from the AAP, ES, or WPATH, but why these organizations depart from a growing international consensus over the lack of evidence for “gender affirming care.”

Over the past two years, Finland,¹⁸ Sweden,¹⁹ and the U.K.²⁰ have conducted a systematic review of the evidence for the use of puberty blockers and cross-sex hormones in treating pediatric gender dysphoria. Health authorities in all three countries reached the same conclusion: the belief that the mental health benefits of these interventions outweigh the costs is based on very

low-quality evidence.²¹ When the Florida Department of Health conducted an overview of systematic reviews of the evidence in 2022, it, too, arrived at this conclusion.²² It's important to note that these systematic reviews considered the exact same body of literature that proponents of "gender affirming care" cite.

Sweden and Finland have since decided to place severe restrictions on eligibility for hormonal interventions. Following the U.K.'s review of the evidence, a commissioned report by Dr. Hilary Cass of the country's largest pediatric gender clinic found serious gaps in the quality of care. In her report, Cass explicitly highlighted the "affirmative model," which she said "originated in the USA," as a plausible reason for the lack of "safeguarding" and the rushing of teenagers onto hormones.²³ The NHS subsequently ordered the closure of the Tavistock's gender clinic. Meantime, France's National Academy of Medicine has urged "the greatest caution" when dispensing hormones as "treatments" for what is in essence a mental health condition,²⁴ and health authorities in Australia and New Zealand have likewise begun sounding the alarm.²⁵

A systematic review of the evidence is a method of evidence review that relies on predetermined criteria to select, analyze, and synthesize all relevant research pertaining to a concretely defined question. The main purpose of systematic reviews is to prevent cherry-picking of studies to produce desirable conclusions. Neither the AAP, nor the ES, nor WPATH have conducted systematic reviews of the research. Indeed, in its latest Standards of Care WPATH asserts that such a review is "not possible." A systematic review of clinical guidelines for treating gender discordant youth, peer-reviewed and published in 2021, gave ES's guidelines a quality score of 1 out of 6 and WPATH's a score of 0 out of 6.²⁶ Worse, over the past two years the AAP has actively suppressed resolutions²⁷ proposed by pediatrician members to conduct a systematic review of the evidence, insisting, in one instance, that those who demand such a review are "anti-transgender."²⁸

With so many contemporary "affirming care" methods and practices resting on poorly conducted or inapplicable studies, medical authorities like the AAP and the ES, and ideological organizations like WPATH, are gambling not only with their credibility, but the mental and physical health of children. There are plenty of examples of American medical organizations being wrong on other recent scientific and medical questions. Recent examples from the AAP alone include guidelines on peanut allergies, Covid-related masking, and Covid-related school closures.²⁹ Parents, scientists and researchers, attorneys general and lawmakers are justified in their hesitance to lean into the surge in transgender identification. They must not be reluctant to call for a pause in transitioning, and demand better research and more debate.

Endnotes

- ¹ Jason Rafferty, "Ensuring Comprehensive Care and Support for Transgender and Gender-Diverse Children and Adolescents," *Pediatrics* 142, no. 4 (October 2018).
- ² James M. Cantor, "Transgender and Gender Diverse Children and Adolescents: Fact-Checking of AAP Policy," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* 46, no. 4 (2020).
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Wylie C. Hembree et al., "Endocrine Treatment of Gender-Dysphoric/Gender-Incongruent Persons: An Endocrine Society Clinical Practice Guideline," *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism* 102, no. 11 (Nov. 1, 2017).
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ E. Coleman et al., "Standards of Care for the Health of Transgender and Gender Diverse People, Version 8," *International Journal of Transgender Health* 23, no. sup1 (Sept. 15, 2022).
- ⁷ A. L. De Vries et al., "Puberty Suppression in Adolescents with Gender Identity Disorder: A Prospective Follow-Up Study," *Journal of Sexual Medicine* 8, no. 8 (2011), 2276–83; A. L. De Vries et al., "Young Adult Psychological Outcome After Puberty Suppression and Gender Reassignment," *Pediatrics* 134, no. 4 (2014), 696–704.
- ⁸ Stephen B. Levine, E. Abbruzzese, and Julia W. Mason, "Reconsidering Informed Consent for Trans-Identified Children, Adolescents, and Young Adults," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* 48, no. 7 (2022); Michael Biggs, "The Dutch Protocol for Juvenile Transsexuals: Origins and Evidence," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* (Sept. 19, 2022); Stephen B. Levine, E. Abbruzzese, and Julia W. Mason, "The Value of Disagreement," *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* (forthcoming).
- ⁹ Leor Sapir, "The Distortions in Jack Turban's Psychology Today Article on 'Gender Affirming Care,'" *Reality's Last Stand* (blog), Oct. 7, 2022.
- ¹⁰ A. L. C. de Vries, "Ensuring Care for Transgender Adolescents Who Need It: Response to 'Reconsidering Informed Consent for Trans-Identified Children, Adolescents and Young Adults,'" *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy*, 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0092623X.2022.2084479>; Biggs, "The Dutch Protocol for Juvenile Transsexuals."
- ¹¹ Cecilia Dhejne et al., "An Analysis of All Applications for Sex Reassignment Surgery in Sweden, 1960–2010: Prevalence, Incidence, and Regrets," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 43 (2014); Chantal M. Wiepjes, "The Amsterdam Cohort of Gender Dysphoria Study (1972–2015): Trends in Prevalence, Treatment, and Regrets," *Journal of Sexual Medicine* 15, no. 4 (2018).
- ¹² Biggs, "The Dutch Protocol for Juvenile Transsexuals."
- ¹³ Chad Terhune, Robin Respaut, and Michelle Conlin, "As More Transgender Children Seek Medical Care, Families Confront Many Unknowns," Reuters, Oct. 6, 2022.

'Trust the Experts' Is Not Enough: U.S. Medical Groups Get the Science Wrong on Pediatric 'Gender Affirming' Care

- ¹⁴ The U.K. recorded a surge of 4,400% in teenage girls seeking medical gender transition between 2009 and 2018. As revealed in the Cass Report, “approximately one third of children and young people referred” to the nation’s main gender clinic had “autism or other types of neurodiversity.” The report also noted “an over-representation percentage wise (compared to the national percentage) of looked after children” (i.e., foster children).
- ¹⁵ Anna Hutchinson, Melissa Midgen, and Anastassis Spiliadis, “In Support of Research Into Rapid-Onset Gender Dysphoria,” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 49, 79–80 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-019-01517-9>; Kenneth J. Zuker, “Adolescents with Gender Dysphoria: Reflections on Some Contemporary Clinical and Research Issues,” *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 48, no. 7 (2019).
- ¹⁶ Sapir, “The Distortions in Jack Turban’s Psychology Today Article on ‘Gender Affirming Care.’”
- ¹⁷ See, e.g., Jack Turban, “The Evidence for Trans Youth Gender-Affirming Medical Care,” *Psychology Today*, Jan. 24, 2022; I respond to this flawed article in Sapir, “The Distortions in Jack Turban’s Psychology Today Article on ‘Gender Affirming Care.’”
- ¹⁸ “One Year Since Finland Broke with WPATH ‘Standards of Care,’” Society for Evidence Based Gender Medicine, July 2, 2021.
- ¹⁹ “Summary of Key Recommendations from the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen/NBHW),” Society for Evidence Based Gender Medicine, Feb. 27, 2022.
- ²⁰ “New Systematic Reviews of Puberty Blockers and Cross-Sex Hormones Published by NICE,” Society for Evidence Based Gender Medicine, March 31, 2021.
- ²¹ “Treatment of Gender Dysphoria for Children and Adolescents,” Florida Health, April 20, 2022.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Dr. Hilary Cass, “Independent Review of Gender Identity Services for Children and Young People: Interim Report,” The Cass Review for NHS England, February 2022.
- ²⁴ “Medicine and Gender Transidentity in Children and Adolescents,” French National Academy of Medicine, Press Release, Feb. 25, 2022.
- ²⁵ “Psychiatrists Shift Stance on Gender Dysphoria, Recommend Therapy,” *Medical Progress*, Oct. 7, 2021.
- ²⁶ Sara Dahlen et al., “International Clinical Practice Guidelines for Gender Minority/Trans people: Systematic Review and Quality Assessment,” *BMJ Open* 11, no. 4 (2021).
- ²⁷ Julia Mason and Leor Sapir, “The American Academy of Pediatrics’ Dubious Transgender Science,” *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 17, 2022; “In Support of a Rigorous Systematic Review of Evidence and Policy Update for Management of Pediatric Gender Dysphoria,” 2022 AAP Leadership Conference Resolution, March 31, 2022.
- ²⁸ Moira Szilagyi, “Academy of Pediatrics Responds on Trans Treatment for Kids,” *Wall Street Journal Letters*, Aug. 21, 2022.
- ²⁹ “Vinay Prasad, “The AAP (American Academy of Pediatrics) is Broken, Failed Organization,” *Sensible Medicine* (blog), Aug. 27, 2022.”

From: Lexi Boccuzzi [lboccuzzi@manhattan-institute.org]
Sent: Thursday, June 30, 2022 12:52 PM
To: Uthmeier, James [James.Uthmeier@eog.myflorida.com]
CC: DeCerchio, Anna [Anna.DeCerchio@eog.myflorida.com]; Kopelousos, Stephanie [Stephanie.Kopelousos@eog.myflorida.com]; Kelly Jefferson, Savannah [Savannah.KellyJefferson@eog.myflorida.com]; Matteo Moran [mmoran@manhattan-institute.org]
Subject: Manhattan Institute: Catholic School Enrollment and Public Funding

Hi James:

I want to briefly introduce myself. My name is Lexi Boccuzzi and I work with the External Affairs team at the [Manhattan Institute](#).

I am writing to call your attention to an issue brief we released last week from MI Adjunct Fellow [Kathleen Porter-Magee](#) — [Catholic School Enrollment Boomed During Covid. Let's Make It More Than a One-Time Bump](#). In the brief, Porter-Magee highlights the historic increase in enrollment that Catholic schools experienced during the Covid-19 pandemic after consistent declines over previous decades.

In a [recent op-ed](#) reflecting on the Supreme Court's decision in *Carson v. Makin*, Porter-Magee states "it is well past time for public officials to recognize the value that options play in ensuring parents' voices are heard and children's needs are met. Catholic schools were there when families most needed a better option, and they will continue to put kids first in the years ahead if we simply recognize they are worthy of public support." To ensure that Catholic school education remains a vibrant long-term option for parents, her issue brief suggests:

- Politicians publicly acknowledge the value of Catholic schools; and
- Expand state funding of private schools to Catholic education, given the victory in *Carson v. Makin*.

If you would like to discuss the piece and engage further with our External Affairs director or the brief's author, please don't hesitate to reach out. As always, we are eager to help in whatever way that we can.

Have a great day,

MANHATTAN
INSTITUTE

Lexi Boccuzzi
External Affairs
+1 (203) 912-7335
lboccuzzi@manhattan-institute.org

From: Kelly, Alex [Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com]
Sent: Friday, January 27, 2023 10:47 AM
To: 'Jesse Arm' [jarm@manhattan-institute.org]; Vargo, Alex [alex.vargo@laspbs.state.fl.us]
Subject: RE: Introduction - Alex Vargo

Jesse, thank you for reaching out.

That's an interesting topic, indeed.

Let me review and share with a couple team members.

Sincerely,

J. Alex Kelly
Deputy Chief of Staff
Executive Office of the Governor
(850) 443-8626
alex.kelly@eog.myflorida.com

From: Jesse Arm <jarm@manhattan-institute.org>
Sent: Thursday, January 26, 2023 6:29 PM
To: Vargo, Alex <alex.vargo@laspbs.state.fl.us>
Cc: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Subject: Re: Introduction - Alex Vargo

Alex:

It's good to connect with you. I'm glad Ted put us in touch. I know and have met previously with a few folks in your office (Chris Emmanuel, Chris Spencer, Brandy Brown, among a few others on the political side,) but I've been meaning to reach out to Alex Kelly from your office, who I'm CC'ing here in order to kill two birds with one stone.

My name is Jesse Arm and I lead coalitions and government affairs for the Manhattan Institute. I wanted to thank your team for engaging with our fellow Michael Hartney ahead of your new teacher policy rollout earlier this week. I know you have also been in contact with my colleague Chris Rufo regarding our model legislation to abolish massive DEI bureaucracies, curtail other forms of political coercion, and end identity-based preferences at public universities. We're here to help talk through technical policy matters on these issues and anywhere else we can be helpful.

On that note, I also wanted to flag another policy that we're working on a little more behind the scenes that may be of interest to your team. One of our fellows, Nicole Stelle Garnett, is focused on religious charter schools. Her work was referenced in the recent opinion letter issued by Oklahoma Attorney General John O'Connor on the constitutionality of the state's laws prohibiting them. She expounded on that in the pages of City Journal. Nicole has additional work that we'll be releasing on this issue in the coming months and we're paying close attention to it given recent legal developments in Arizona, Utah, North Carolina (in this case, Nicole filed an amicus brief supporting the charter school and making a

broader religious liberty point,) and elsewhere. Obviously in Florida you already have a fantastic private school choice program (the largest in the US, I believe,) but the state also feels like a great place to advance the agenda.

If I can ever be helpful in facilitating a conversation with a Manhattan Institute fellow that you're not already in touch with about a policy matter, please do not hesitate to reach out!

Best,



Jesse Arm

Director of External Affairs

+1 (248) 943-4752

Manhattan-Institute.org

From: Ellis, Ted <Ted.Ellis@mail.house.gov>
Date: Thursday, January 26, 2023 at 11:12 AM
To: Ellis, Ted <Ted.Ellis@mail.house.gov>
Cc: Vargo, Alex <alex.vargo@laspbs.state.fl.us>
Subject: Introduction - Alex Vargo

Hi friend,

Hope this message finds you well! I want to introduce you to Alex Vargo, a friend of the movement and a colleague who I believe will be a helpful ally in the years ahead. He is a senior policy advisor and coalitions lead for Gov. DeSantis.

You're receiving this email because your organization is a leader on one or more of the policy issues the Governor is engaged in, including taxes, education, and/or workforce freedom. Would you please do me the favor of connecting with Alex or putting him in touch with the best contact for these issues at your organization?

Best,
Ted

Ted Ellis
Director of Coalitions and Member Services
Republican Study Committee
Chair Rep. Kevin Hern (R-OK)
C: 202-503-7722
[@RepublicanStudy](https://twitter.com/RepublicanStudy)

Links contained in this email have been replaced. If you click on a link in the email above, the link will be analyzed for known threats. If a known threat is found, you will not be able to proceed to the destination. If suspicious content is detected, you will see a warning.

From: /O=EXCHANGELABS/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=E1B65E53BD4B4E65B15DBF19FA0CDD50-KELLY, ALEX
Sent: Friday, January 27, 2023 7:18 AM
To: Jesse Arm [jarm@manhattan-institute.org]; Vargo, Alex [alex.vargo@laspbs.state.fl.us]
Subject: RE: Introduction - Alex Vargo

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From: Kelly, Alex [Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 25, 2023 8:49 AM
To: mjacob@manhattan-institute.org
Subject: FW: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

Following up, I would really like to attend.

Although it being the very first week of our 2023 Legislative Session, I don't envision being able to get away.

It's just one of the busiest weeks of the year for us.

Hopefully, there's a similar event in the future!

Thank you again for the invitation.

J. Alex Kelly
Deputy Chief of Staff
Executive Office of the Governor
(850) 443-8626
alex.kelly@eog.myflorida.com

From: Michele Jacob <mjacob@manhattan-institute.org>
Sent: Wednesday, January 18, 2023 3:50 PM
To: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Subject: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

Hello Mr. Kelly,
I wanted to make sure that you received the below invitation to participate in a small private summit on wokeness in Santa Monica on March 10 and March 11 with Christopher Rufo. I'm happy to answer any questions you may have. We'd love for you to join us.

Michele



Michele Jacob
VP, Strategy & Communications
+1 (212) 599-7000
Manhattan-Institute.org
Support MI on Amazon Smile



INVITES YOU TO A PRIVATE CONVENING WITH

Christopher F. Rufo

Senior Fellow, Manhattan institute

Friday, March 10 – Saturday, March 11, 2023

9:00 AM – 3:00 PM (each day)

The Santa Monica Proper

700 Wilshire Boulevard, Santa Monica, CA 90401

Radical theories incubated in obscure academic departments have taken over many American institutions including the media, corporate HR departments and board rooms, schools, and some quarters of the military. Under the guise of promoting equity, these ideologies demonize entire racial groups, promote critical race theory and radical gender ideology, and further divide individuals by skin color, cultural background, and more. The Manhattan Institute (MI), a policy research center based in New York City, and journalist Christopher Rufo have been leaders in the fight against these divisive ideas.

We cordially invite you to join us for a private 2-day policy summit bringing together experts in their respective fields to build a policy agenda on eliminating "wokeness" from our universities, K-12 education, government, and corporations.

Accommodations at the Santa Monica Proper will be provided to attendees along with meals during the conference, and reimbursement for travel to and from the summit. We hope you'll agree to be an active part of this important conversation.

REGISTER

If you accept and find you are unable to attend, please be sure to let us know.

Please also note business casual dress code: jacket preferred, tie optional.

THIS INVITATION IS NONTRANSFERABLE.

If you have any questions, please email events@manhattan-institute.org.

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From: Kelly, Alex [Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com]
Sent: Thursday, January 19, 2023 8:24 AM
To: 'Michele Jacob' [mjacob@manhattan-institute.org]
Subject: RE: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

Oh, that is going to be an amazing event, I'm sure.

I will follow up soon.

J. Alex Kelly
Deputy Chief of Staff
Executive Office of the Governor
(850) 443-8626
alex.kelly@eog.myflorida.com

From: Michele Jacob <mjacob@manhattan-institute.org>
Sent: Wednesday, January 18, 2023 3:50 PM
To: Kelly, Alex <Alex.Kelly@eog.myflorida.com>
Subject: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

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Sent: Thursday, January 19, 2023 7:19 AM
To: Michele Jacob [mjacob@manhattan-institute.org]
Subject: RE: 3/10/23 Private Event Invitation: Fighting Woke Culture

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Deputy Chief of Staff
Executive Office of the Governor
(850) 443-8626
alex.kelly@eog.myflorida.com

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Sent: Wednesday, January 18, 2023 3:50 PM
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