



Access to Ethnic Studies in California Public Schools

Emily K. Penner
University of California, Irvine

Dan Ma
Stanford University

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ACCESS TO ETHNIC STUDIES IN CALIFORNIA PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

Emily K. Penner¹ & Dan Ma²

¹ School of Education, University of California, Irvine

² Graduate School of Education, Stanford University

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Abstract

We examine access to high school Ethnic Studies in California, a new graduation requirement beginning in 2029-30. Data from the California Department of Education and the University of California Office of the President indicate that roughly 50 percent of public high school students in 2020-21 attend a school that offers Ethnic Studies or a related course, but as of 2018-19, only 0.2 percent of students were enrolled in such a course. Achieving parity with economics, a current graduation requirement, requires more than doubling the number of Ethnic Studies teachers relative to 2018-19. We also examine school and community factors that predict offering Ethnic Studies and provide descriptive information about the Ethnic Studies teaching force across the state.

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I. Introduction

California has taken a leading role in expanding access to Ethnic Studies in high school. Ethnic Studies courses are intended to humanize students of color, incorporate the knowledges, cultural and linguistic practices, and experiences of their communities into the classroom, and interrogate and confront racism, colonialism, and other systems of power (Cuahuatin et al. 2019; Hu-DeHart 2004; Lachica Buenavista, 2016; Sleeter and Zavala, 2020; Sleeter et al. 2019; Tintiango-Cubales et al. 2015). A growing body of research has identified social, behavioral, and academic benefits of Ethnic Studies for K-12 students (Author, 2021; Cabrera et al., 2014; de los Rios 2015; Author, 2017; Sleeter, 2011; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020).

Secondary Ethnic Studies programs emerged shortly after the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) strike for Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University and elsewhere formalized Ethnic Studies in higher education (Umemoto, 1989). Offerings progressed from individual high school courses in African American and Chicano/a history, to the first high school Ethnic Studies graduation requirement in Berkeley Unified School District in 1990, to pilots of Ethnic Studies programs in several districts across the state in the 2010s (Lachica Buenavista, 2016). The state recently adopted a model curriculum, a requirement to offer the course by 2025-26, and a graduation requirement that will go into effect in 2029-30.

The effort to expand access to Ethnic Studies across the state presents a unique policy challenge in which a large number of California districts must provide instruction in a novel subject area with unique pedagogical demands in a short period of time. California has struggled to implement large-scale educational policies involving the teacher pipeline in the past, notably including its class size reduction (CSR) policy (Stetcher et al. 2001; Jepsen and Rivkin 2002).

Although Ethnic Studies provides important spaces for students—particularly students of color—to explore their histories and identities, it has also been targeted by a movement opposing teaching about race and racism. The organized political opposition poses unique implementation challenges and political risks for districts and teachers (Lachica Buenavista, 2016; Smith, 2021).

Because high school Ethnic Studies courses are often initiated and taught by educators of color, they also provide a pathway for diversifying the teaching force, which may be a potential mechanism for the academic and social benefits of the course, particularly for students of color (Dee, 2004; Gershenson, Hansen, and Lindsay, 2021; Lindsay and Hart, 2017). Such teachers' abilities to be empathetic and reflective of their multiple subjectivities, and particularly racial identities, provide instructional assets that are more common among race-conscious teachers of color (Lachica Buenavista, 2016). At the same time, concerns about the availability and quality of Ethnic Studies teacher training and professional

development underscore challenges of rapid course expansion in the near-term (Kolluri and Edwards, 2022; Cabrera, 2019).

Against this backdrop, this study seeks to examine the preparedness of California districts for the impending graduation requirement. It details patterns in high school Ethnic Studies course access, course-taking, and predictors of district-level course offerings. It aims to inform the Ethnic Studies expansion throughout the state, highlighting areas of success and needs for additional support.

Ethnic Studies is not the only high school content area that has emerged relatively recently in response to student interest. High school computer science courses have expanded dramatically and offer important lessons for the expansion of Ethnic Studies. First, growth in a new subject area is possible in the absence of a specific subject area credential or formalized set of standards.¹ Second, rapid growth does not necessarily mean equal access. Third, lags in teacher preparation can hinder course expansion and teacher diversity in new subject areas. While Ethnic Studies promotes different skills and learning goals from computer science, computer science expansion is instructive for the growth of Ethnic Studies.

Informed by the expansion of computer science (Bruno and Lewis, 2021), this study examines the growth in high school Ethnic Studies course access, enrollment, and predictors of existing course availability. Specifically, we examine following research questions:

1. How have Ethnic Studies course availability and enrollment changed over time?

- a. How close are they to meeting universal availability for the high school graduation requirement?
 - b. Do either vary by student characteristics?
2. What school, staff, and local characteristics predict the likelihood that a given high school will offer Ethnic Studies?
3. What is the racial/ethnic composition of Ethnic Studies teachers over time?
4. How many additional Ethnic Studies teachers are needed to meet the 2029-30 graduation requirement goal?

We use over 20 years of data from the California Department of Education (CDE) to examine trends in course offerings and enrollment across traditional public high schools and continuation schools. We triangulate course offerings with data from the University of California Office of the President (UCOP) of courses submitted for A-G approval from 2014-15 to 2020-21. We also examine predictors of the availability of Ethnic Studies at a given school, and the backgrounds of teachers offering the course to understand contributors to course growth thus far. Our results indicate the rapid expansion of Ethnic Studies in the late 2010s, such that by 2020, roughly 50 percent of California high school students were in schools that offered Ethnic Studies. Ethnic Studies adoption was more common in settings with greater teacher and student diversity, in urban settings, and in schools with greater socio-economic disadvantage. However, as of the 2017-18 school year, only 0.2 percent of the state's high school students were enrolled in an Ethnic Studies course, underscoring the need for substantial support to meet the goals of a 2029-30 graduation requirement.

II. Data

Our primary data come from the California Department of Education (CDE) and include information about courses offered, course enrollment, student demographics, staff demographics, and school characteristics. CDE course data span the 1997-98 to 2018-19 academic years.ⁱⁱ

Our primary analytic sample includes public traditional high schools and continuation schools in the CDE data. We exclude private schools, charter schools, community day schools, county community schools, K-12 schools, and schools whose instruction is primarily or entirely virtual.ⁱⁱⁱ We identify Ethnic Studies courses using course codes with generalized course names. There is one generalized course code for Ethnic Studies and one generalized course code for ethnic literature in the History/Social Science subject area. In our primary analyses, we focus on courses that are classified under these two course codes.^{iv}

We extend our panel using data from the University of California Office of the President (UCOP) on high school courses approved to satisfy the A-G subject area requirements for admission to schools within the UC system for the 2014-15 to 2020-21 school years. The resulting panel combining CDE and UC data covers over 1,000 public high schools in California from 1997 to 2021. The data include the year in which the course was first approved^v and we extrapolate the availability of Ethnic Studies for subsequent years. We code a course as being Ethnic Studies if it has the words “Ethnic,” “Race,” or “Critical” in the course title or the name of

a racial/ethnic identity group (e.g, “Indigenous,” “Chican,” “Asian,” “Black”) in the course title.^{vi} Our main analysis focuses on this broad definition of Ethnic Studies courses. In the appendix, we also include results that apply a more restrictive definition of Ethnic Studies in which we only coded a course as Ethnic Studies if it has the words “Ethnic” and “Studies” in the course title.^{vii}

The CDE course data are also linked to a teacher ID with some basic characteristics of that teacher including their race and gender. Courses are not linked to a roster of students, but we do observe the number of students enrolled in each individual course section, though there is a small number of observations where enrollment or staff data is incomplete.^{viii}

We include contextual covariates from several sources. School and school district covariates come from the CDE data and data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). These covariates include school staff race/ethnicity, student race/ethnicity, teachers’ years of experience, urbanicity, pupil to teacher ratio, and Title I eligibility. We also include information on distances between schools and their nearest college (Baker, 2022). We include data on the party affiliation of election winners for the U.S. House of Representatives in schools’ congressional districts (MIT Election Data and Science Lab). Data on graduation rates comes from Ed-Data. We also include child poverty rates at the school district level from the U.S. Census Bureau’s Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates

compiled by the Urban Institute. We impute missing values using the value from the most recent non-missing prior year.

III. Methods

We first plot the proportion of students in high schools with Ethnic Studies courses and students enrolled in the course over time (RQ 1). In years in which the CDE and UC data overlap, we provide information from both sources combined and use the availability of Ethnic Studies in the CDE data in 2018-19 to impute availability in years 2019-20 and 2020-21 combined with data from the UC for those years. We provide this information for high school students overall and separately by student racial/ethnic identity.

To benchmark course availability and enrollment relative to levels needed to achieve sufficient access for a high school graduation requirement, we also plot the same trends for computer science (replicating Bruno and Lewis, 2021 with CDE data) and trends for economics, a one-semester high school graduation requirement. We also present changes in the geographical density of Ethnic Studies courses in each unified or high school district across the state.

To examine the predictors of Ethnic Studies availability in individual high schools (RQ 2), we use ordinary least squares and logistic regression models. The dependent variable is an indicator variable that equals one if the high school offers at least one Ethnic Studies course during that academic year. The main specification includes year and county fixed effects as well as student demographics, staff

demographics, urbanicity, Title I program eligibility, the log of the student to teacher ratio, the log distance from the nearest college, the child poverty rate in the school district, the percent of voters in the school's congressional district who voted for a Republican congressional candidate, and the school's graduation rate. We cluster standard errors at the school level to account for the non-independence of school observations over time.

We examine the racial/ethnic composition of Ethnic Studies teachers (RQ 3) by plotting the racial/ethnic identity categories of these teachers listed in the CDE data over time. We also contrast the racial/ethnic composition of Ethnic Studies teachers relative to that of all high school teachers in the state in the 2018-19 school year.

Finally, to address RQ4 and provide an estimate of the number of Ethnic Studies teachers needed to fully staff the course across the state, we examine the total number of Ethnic Studies full-time equivalent (FTE) teachers and compare that to the number of economics FTE and computer science FTE over the same period.^{ix} This method is imprecise, but provides a lower bound of the number of educators needed to support this growth if they were to teach Ethnic Studies exclusively. Because the average Ethnic Studies teacher does not have a full course load devoted exclusively to Ethnic Studies, we also provide a second method for considering the number of teachers needed to provide sufficient sections of Ethnic Studies for the graduation requirement. Specifically, we contrast the number of

unique teachers who taught at least one section of Ethnic Studies compared to the number of unique teachers offering at least one section of economics or computer science over time.

IV. Results

In Figure 1 Panel A, we show the change in the percentage of California public high school students who attend a school that offers Ethnic Studies between 1997 and 2020 across our CDE and UCOP data sources. We include three plots that show Ethnic Studies access, one using just CDE data (1997 to 2018), one that includes only UC data (2014 to 2020 and extrapolated back to 1997 using course approval date), and one that combines the two (1997 to 2020). Drawing from the plot using combined data sources, the share of students with access to Ethnic Studies remained around 20 percent from 1997 to 2014, then climbing to around 50 percent in 2020.^x

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

The economics plot indicates that the course is offered to roughly 90 percent of traditional public high school students (including continuation school students) between 1997 and 2018.^{xi} In contrast, computer science was offered to roughly 40 percent of public high school students between 1997 and 2012.^{xii} In the 6-year period from 2012 to 2018, the percentage of students with access to computer science doubled to roughly 81%, nearing economics access levels, despite the lack of a computer science graduation requirement.

In Panel B of Figure 1, we show the percentage of students in schools offering Ethnic Studies by race/ethnicity. Access increased steadily for all groups after 2014. By the 2020-21 school year, well over half of all Black, Hispanic, and Asian students were in schools offering Ethnic Studies, while Ethnic Studies courses were available to only about a third of White and American Indian students.

In Panel A of Figure 2, we show the evolution of the Ethnic Studies enrollment in California public high schools compared to that of computer science and economics. The percentage of Ethnic Studies course enrollments as a share of all high school course enrollments increased after 2014 from around 0.1 percent to around 0.2 percent in 2018. The percentage of all course enrollments in computer science hovered around 0.2 percent until 2013, after which the percentage steadily rose to around 0.4 percent in 2019, roughly doubling in six years. In contrast, economics enrollments were roughly 1.2 percent of all course enrollments for the full panel, representing an approximation of the level of enrollment needed for a one-semester social studies graduation requirement.

In Panel B of Figure 2, we compare the enrollment of students in Ethnic Studies by student race/ethnicity. Parallel to Panel B of Figure 1, we see that greater proportions of Black and Hispanic students were enrolled in Ethnic Studies compared to White students. Roughly 0.37 percent of all Black students' course enrollments and around 0.28 percent of Hispanic students' course enrollments were in Ethnic Studies that year in 2018. While these rates exceed those of high school

students as a whole, Black student enrollment needs to more than triple and Hispanic student enrollment needs to more than quadruple to meet economics 1.2 percent enrollment benchmark. Other racial/ethnic group enrollment needs to increase by even greater magnitudes.

Table 1 presents regression results from models predicting the availability of Ethnic Studies in individual traditional public high schools in California in a given year based on a number of student, school, and community characteristics with various combinations of year and county or district fixed effects.^{xiii} The dependent variable in each model is an indicator for a school having an Ethnic Studies class in the UC's list of A-G approved courses or in the CDE course data for a given year using the broad definition described above. These results suggest that California high schools in areas with higher concentrations of Filipino and Hispanic staff and higher concentrations of American Indian, Hispanic, or Black students are more likely to offer Ethnic Studies, and schools with higher concentrations of Filipino students are less likely to offer the course.^{xiv} Schools with more experienced teachers are more likely to offer the course while schools with higher student-teacher ratios are less likely to offer the course, as are non-traditional schools. In addition, schools in closer proximity to a college or in cities are more likely to offer Ethnic Studies while schools in suburban areas or in areas with higher percentages of people who vote for Republican congressional candidates are less likely to offer Ethnic Studies. These results are consistent with

the genesis of secondary Ethnic Studies courses in large, diverse, urban school districts. The choropleth maps in Appendix Figure 2 that map the percentage of students with access to Ethnic Studies confirm this trend. In particular, they show initial and increasing availability of Ethnic Studies courses particularly concentrated in the coastal metro areas as well as the Sacramento area, though there are some more inland areas that have also expanded course offerings as well.^{xv}

Figure 3 Panel A plots the racial/ethnic composition of Ethnic Studies teachers from 1997 to 2018 (RQ 3). In the early years in our panel, White teachers are the most common racial/ethnic group among Ethnic Studies teachers and comprise nearly half of all identified Ethnic Studies teachers. After 2014, the representation of teachers of color grew substantially and they became the majority of Ethnic Studies teachers. Hispanic teachers become a particularly large part of the Ethnic Studies workforce. We also contrast the demographic composition of Ethnic Studies teachers with that of all high school staff in the 2018-19 school year in Panel B of Figure 3. Roughly two thirds of Ethnic Studies teachers are teachers of color, with African American, Hispanic, and Filipino teachers being more prevalent among Ethnic Studies teachers relative to their representation among high school teachers overall.^{xvi}

To examine the number of Ethnic Studies teachers needed to meet the graduation requirement (RQ 4), we provide several estimates based on various assumptions. The analysis for AB-101 estimated 1,686 additional teachers were

needed (AB-101, 2021).^{xvii} This estimate assumes uniform class sizes and staffing, which ignore fluctuations in student enrollment and other local considerations.

The first alternate method we use assumes that each teacher hired will teach the maximum allowable number of Ethnic Studies course sections possible, contrasting the total number of Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) Ethnic Studies teachers with the total number of economics FTE over time (shown in Panel A of Figure 4). The total number of Ethnic Studies FTE increases steadily to over 100 FTE by 2018 while the total economics FTE is nearly 800. Assuming this staffing benchmark for providing similar levels of access to Ethnic Studies, the State needs 649 additional FTE Ethnic Studies teachers beyond 2017-18 staffing levels. The number of computer science FTE nearly tripled from 2012 to 2018, indicating that rapid FTE growth in a new subject area is possible.

However, the number of FTE provides something of a lower bound for the number of additional Ethnic Studies teachers that are needed in California because many teachers have combined teaching assignments with other courses.^{xviii} Thus, we also examine the total number of unique teachers who taught at least one section of Ethnic Studies, shown in Panel B of Figure 4. The number of unique Ethnic Studies teachers was around 100 from 1997 to 2014 and grew to roughly 300 by 2018. By 2018, there were nearly 1,000 unique computer science teachers and over 2,400 unique economics teachers. Using the unique teacher benchmark, more than

2,000 additional teachers would be needed to achieve parity with the number of unique economics teachers.

V. Conclusion

This study takes as its starting point the commitment that the State of California has made to include Ethnic Studies among the essential courses California public high school students must take to earn a diploma. It does not debate this premise, nor does it consider the contents and pedagogical techniques that students should or should not encounter in such courses. These debates continue in academic, practitioner, and policy circles. Given California's legislative and budgetary commitments to the course, this study seeks to inform those working toward this goal and provide them with information about the magnitude of the work ahead. It highlights multiple logistical hurdles that must be overcome to carry out the high school graduation requirement by the 2029-30 school year.

Providing all high school students in California with access to Ethnic Studies will require both the development of new courses and the expansion of existing programs. Using data from the California Department of Education and the University of California Office of the President, we find that roughly 50 percent of students in California public high schools attended a school that offers Ethnic Studies in the 2020-21 school year. Despite course availability in many schools, enrollment in Ethnic Studies is still far from universal. To achieve enrollment parity with the one-semester high school economics (comprising 1.2 percent of all high

school course enrollments in 2018-19), Ethnic Studies course enrollment must increase by 600 percent. Although we lack enrollment data after 2018, our work highlights both the tremendous progress the state has made and the substantial challenges it still faces to accomplish this ambitious goal.

Course growth also requires a dramatic increase in the number of teachers who are prepared to teach this course. We provide a variety of estimates of the number of new teachers needed, which will likely include both pre-service and in-service teachers. Under the assumption that all new Ethnic Studies teachers offer a full load of Ethnic Studies and no other courses, 649 additional FTE would be needed to equal the number of economics FTE in the 2018-19 school year.^{xix} However, given that many teachers have a combined schedule of several courses and may not have a 1.0 FTE assignment, it is likely that additional teachers with Ethnic Studies teaching capabilities will be needed. When we compare the number of unique teachers offering Ethnic Studies to the number of unique teachers offering economics, our results indicate a need for over 2,000 additional teachers. An even greater number would need to be trained or hired to staff charter, alternative and other types of high schools in the state. This rate of growth will require substantial support for school districts and teacher preparation programs.

The rapid expansion of computer science access in California exemplifies what is possible in terms of wide-scale course implementation and can offer insights that are applicable to the implementation of Ethnic Studies. It expanded

dramatically in a relatively short period of time, responding to student demand for the course. Another element of this sustained growth is the regular state funding dedicated to the preparation and certification of teachers in computer science content and pedagogy. For example, in the 2019-20 California state budget, \$5.5 million went towards the provision of statewide computer science professional development, and in the 2021-22 state budget, \$15 million was appropriated to provide grants supporting supplementary authorization in computer science for in-service teachers (Johnson, 2019; Legislative Analyst's Office, 2020). The 2021-22 state budget allocated \$50 million to support the creation or expansion of Ethnic Studies course offerings (California Department of Education, 2023). This amount is high relative to computer science, but considerably less than the \$953 million allocated in the 2023-24 budget to continue the expansion of Transitional Kindergarten (California State Budget, 2023). Bruno, Perez, and Lewis (2022) outline additional challenges facing computer science beyond qualified teacher shortages and budget, including: a lack of space in the curriculum for the course, accountability for impacts on test scores (or other academic outcomes), and inequities in access. Each of these impact Ethnic Studies expansion as well.

Ethnic Studies also faces some unique challenges due to the current socio-political moment. Ethnic Studies faces the additional barrier of the politicization of the course and its content, particularly as it relates to broader opposition to the teaching of "Critical Race Theory" and other race-related content. We give wide

leeway to courses that may plausibly be used to fulfill the Ethnic Studies graduation requirement, but Ethnic Studies experts may find that some courses lack consistency with stated course objectives, goals, and principles of Ethnic Studies as outlined in the literature (e.g., Reyes-McGovern & Lachica Buenavista, 2017; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020; Tintiangco-Cubales et al. 2015). Navigating the divergence between the core commitments of Ethnic Studies and political pressures present in particular contexts places an additional burden on educators and schools offering Ethnic Studies.

States rarely adopt novel courses at the scale and pace of California's high school Ethnic Studies graduation requirement. However, given the promise of Ethnic Studies courses to improve school experiences and outcomes for historically marginalized and racially minoritized students, even this aggressive timeline is too slow to reach many students currently in school. While San Francisco, Tucson and other districts have been at the vanguard of the push to make this content part of the high school experience in a specific location, with its graduation requirement, California is becoming the test case for how to implement this at scale. This opportunity to lead comes with intense expectations and novel possibilities to inform the work of others in Ethnic Studies and other subject areas. Preparation for the state-wide requirement provides numerous examples of how the course is adapted and integrated into experiences for students across a diverse set of district contexts and student populations. It also affords an opportunity to explore the

possibilities of re-envisioned pre-service and in-service teacher professional development in a relatively new content area. California's expansion of Ethnic Studies should, therefore, be viewed not solely as an opportunity to provide meaningful, inclusive educational experiences for students. Beyond this important goal, it should be viewed as an opportunity to learn about state-level strategies, particularly those led predominantly by teachers of color, for pursuing new subject area adoption at scale.

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Student perspectives on critical multicultural education at a high-performing African American school. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 22(6), 767–787

ⁱ Computer science standards were adopted in 2018 (California Department of Education, 2022).

ⁱⁱ Missing data for 2009-10.

ⁱⁱⁱ Analyses including charter and alternative schools yield broadly consistent results (see appendix).

^{iv} Our approach omits CDE course codes described as “Other history, culture, geography: survey” and “Other social science” that may also identify Ethnic Studies.

^v Beginning as early as 1998.

^{vi} We also exclude courses with the words “Music,” “Photograph,” “Multicult,” “Engineering,” “Marching,” “Blackhawk,” or “Death”. For example, the courses “Black and White Photography,” “STEM Race Engineering,” and “Death/Ethnic/Nature & Man/Sci. Fic.” were excluded.

^{vii} The two sources offer different approaches for identifying course availability. While the trends are comparable, the levels differ. In the years where the UCOP and CDE data directly overlap (2014-19), 356 schools appear in both data sources. There are 236 schools offering Ethnic Studies according to the CDE data not listed in the UC data (e.g., schools not submitting their Ethnic Studies course for A-G approval) and 456 schools with Ethnic Studies courses in the UCOP data but not the CDE data (e.g., schools chose a generic social studies or elective course code when submitting the course to the UCOP for subsequent approval).

^{viii} Among the 3647 school-year observations from 1997-2018 with Ethnic Studies teachers and student course enrollment reported, 30 observations have students enrolled in Ethnic Studies with no Ethnic Studies teacher reported at the school, and 14 observations have Ethnic Studies teachers and no enrollment reported.

^{ix} This often involves combining course loads across multiple teachers who each teach sections of Ethnic Studies courses and one or more sections of another course. The data lists the fraction of FTE each teacher devotes to each subject area. On average, Ethnic Studies teachers only teach Ethnic Studies for 0.17 FTE according to 2018-19 CDE data.

^x Supplementary versions including only courses that have the Ethnic Studies course code or whose title includes both “ethnic” and “studies” show that this statistic is around 40 percent by 2020.

^{xi} The remaining roughly 10% of students are missing course information due to a lack of reporting from some schools an actual lack of availability in others.

^{xii} While computer science is not a state graduation requirement, it may be required by individual schools or districts. Likewise, while it is not an admissions requirement for the UC system, taking it may improve students’ likelihood of gaining admissions, particularly to STEM majors. It may also fulfill particular A-G requirements if the school has appropriately registered the course with UCOP.

^{xiii} Appendix Table 1 compares the characteristics of California high schools that do and do not offer Ethnic Studies. The third column shows difference in means from regressions that include year fixed effects. Appendix Table 2 provides the same estimates predicting the availability of only the restrictive set of Ethnic Studies courses.

^{xiv} These differences are sometimes not significant when comparing schools within the same district.

^{xv} Appendix Figure 3 provides the same map using our stricter Ethnic Studies definition, yielding similar patterns but reduced course offerings. Appendix Figure 4 shows maps contrasting Ethnic Studies course offerings with Economics course offerings. Because we lack Economics courses from the UCOP data, we take the three-year average course availability across the 2015-16 to 2017-18 school years from the CDE data. Results for Economics highlight broad availability across much of the state, while Ethnic Studies is much less wide-spread or consistent across the three years.

^{xvi} We compare the demographic and professional characteristics of teachers who teach Ethnic Studies and ethnic literature relative to all other history/social science and English teachers in Appendix Table 3. The majority of Ethnic Studies and ethnic literature educators identify as educators of color while roughly only one third of other English and social studies teachers do.

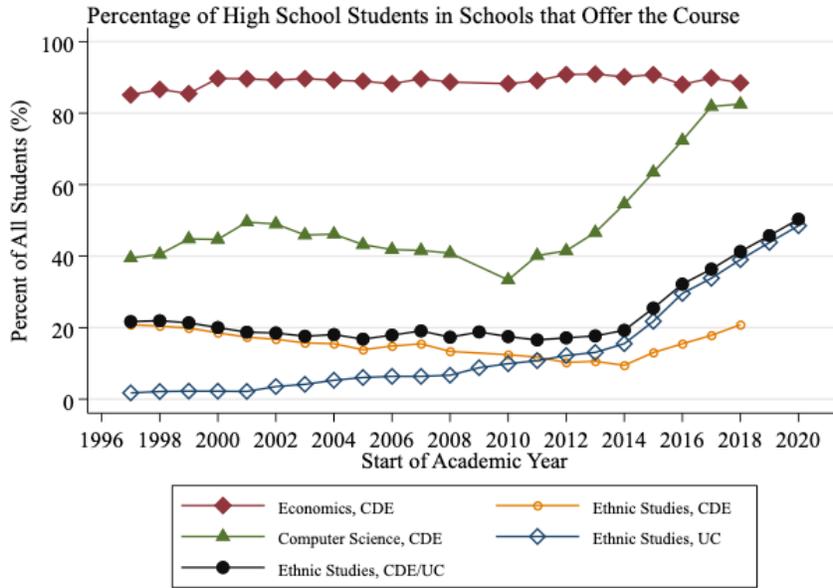
^{xvii} 2,000,000 high school students / 4 grades in high school / 2 semesters per year / 28 students per class / 5 sections per teacher - 100 FTE existing Ethnic Studies teachers = 1686 additional Ethnic Studies teachers needed.

^{xviii} In the 2017-18 school year, the mean FTE of Ethnic Studies teachers at schools offering at least one course was 0.5 FTE.

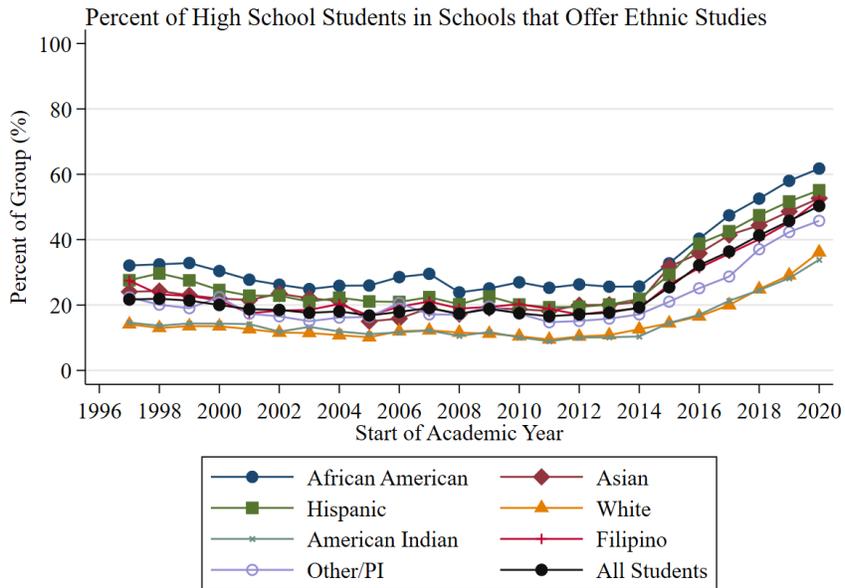
^{xix} 764 FTE (economics) - 115 FTE (Ethnic Studies) = 649 FTE

Figure 1. *Student Access to Ethnic Studies over Time*

Panel A. Ethnic Studies vs. Other Courses

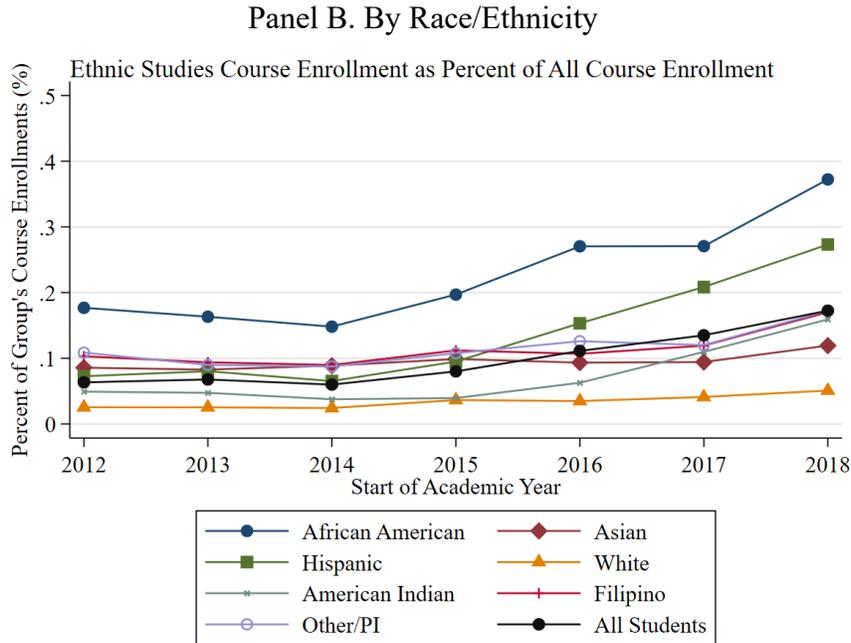
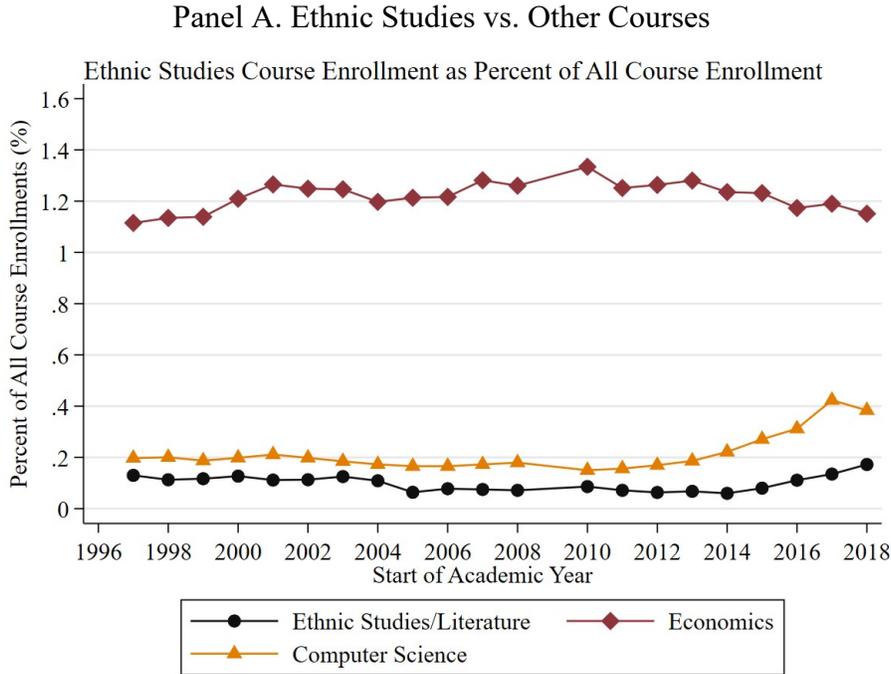


Panel B. By Race/Ethnicity, CDE/UCOP



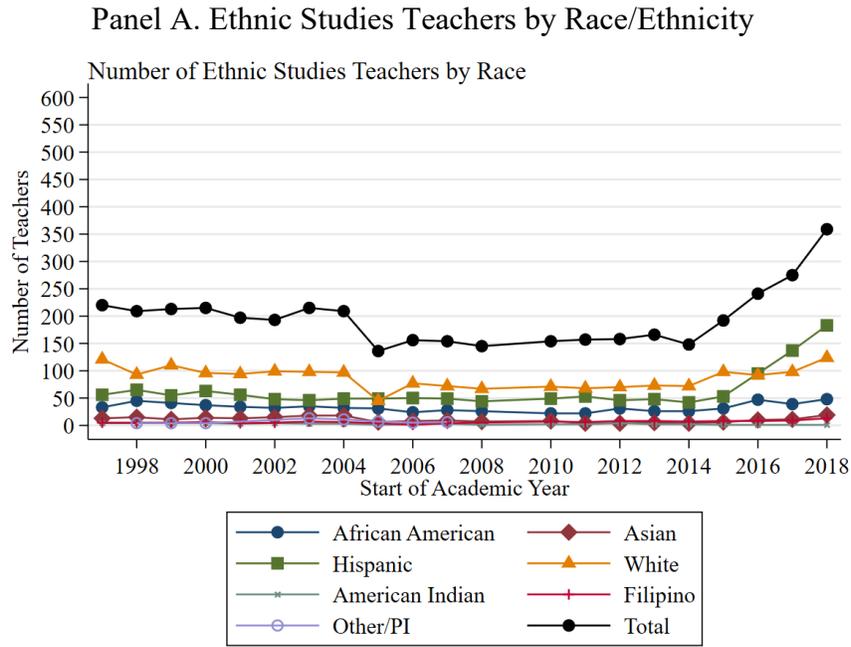
Note. Panel A displays the percentage of all traditional public high school students (including continuation school students) who are enrolled in a school that offers Ethnic Studies/literature across time. Both the CDE administrative data and list of UC A-G approved courses were used to determine whether a school offers Ethnic Studies. We also show the same statistics for computer science and economics using CDE data. For Ethnic Studies, we show the trend in access across time using only CDE, only UCOP, and both CDE and UCOP data. Panel B displays the proportion of students in schools that offer Ethnic Studies/literature in the specified year disaggregated by race and ethnicity. Both CDE and UCOP data were used to determine the availability of Ethnic Studies/literature for Panel B, with 2019 and 2020 only having UC data. Data were not available in 2009 in the CDE data, and so the CDE/UC point in 2009 uses CDE data from 2008 combined with UCOP data from 2009.

Figure 2. Student Enrollment in Ethnic Studies over Time

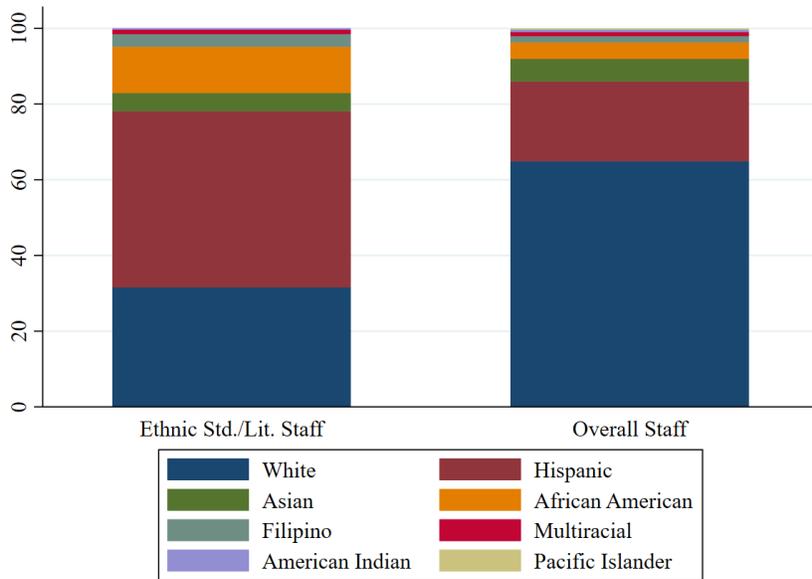


Note: Panel A shows the percentage of all traditional public high school (including continuation school) course enrollments that are in Ethnic Studies/literature. We also show the same statistics for Computer Science following Bruno and Lewis (2021). In Panel B, we show the proportion of all traditional public high school students belonging to the indicated ethnic/racial group who are enrolled in Ethnic Studies/literature in California. Both panels use data from the CDE to determine course enrollment.

Figure 3. *Staff Race/Ethnicity*



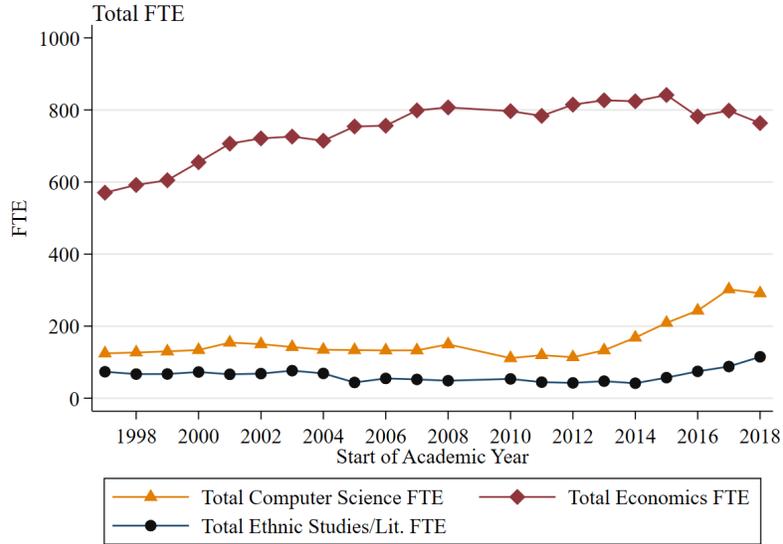
Panel B. Ethnic Studies vs. Overall Staff Ethnicity/Race in 2018-19



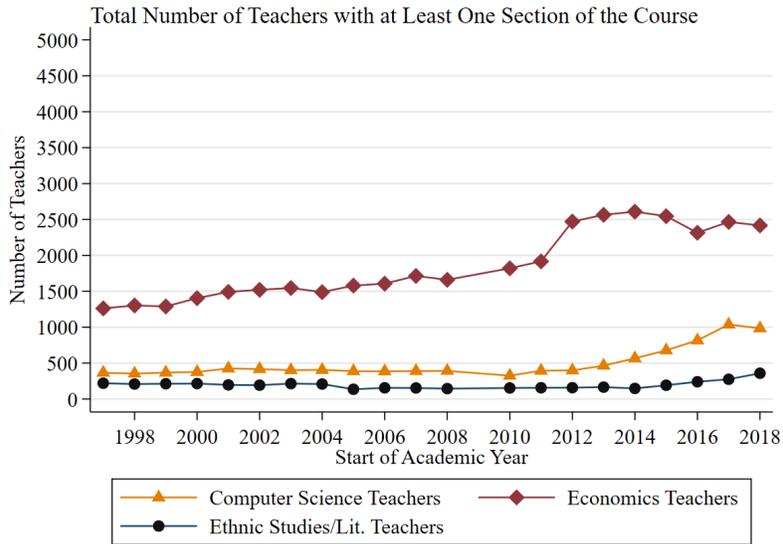
Note. Panel A shows the number of unique public traditional high school and continuation school teachers in California who taught at least one section of Ethnic Studies/literature by year by race/ethnicity. Note that categories other than Hispanic are non-Hispanic. Panel B compares the ethnic/racial distribution of Ethnic Studies/literature teachers as compared to all public high school and continuation school staff in 2018-19. The CDE staff data is missing in 2009-10.

Figure 4. *Number of Ethnic Studies Teachers over Time*

Panel A. Total Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) Teachers by Subject



Panel B. Number of Teachers by Subject



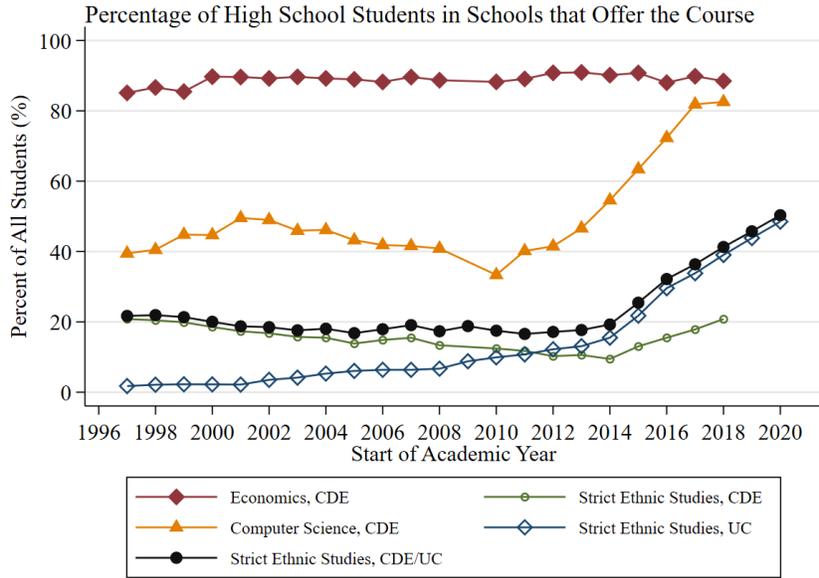
Note. Panel A calculates the total number of Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) Ethnic Studies/literature teachers in California public traditional high schools and continuation schools by year with parallel reporting for teachers of Economics and Computer Science. Panel B shows the number of unique public traditional high school and continuation school teachers in California who taught at least one section of Ethnic Studies/literature by year with parallel reporting for teachers of Economics and Computer Science. The CDE staff data is missing in 2009-10.

Table 1. *School Characteristics that Predict Ethnic Studies Availability*

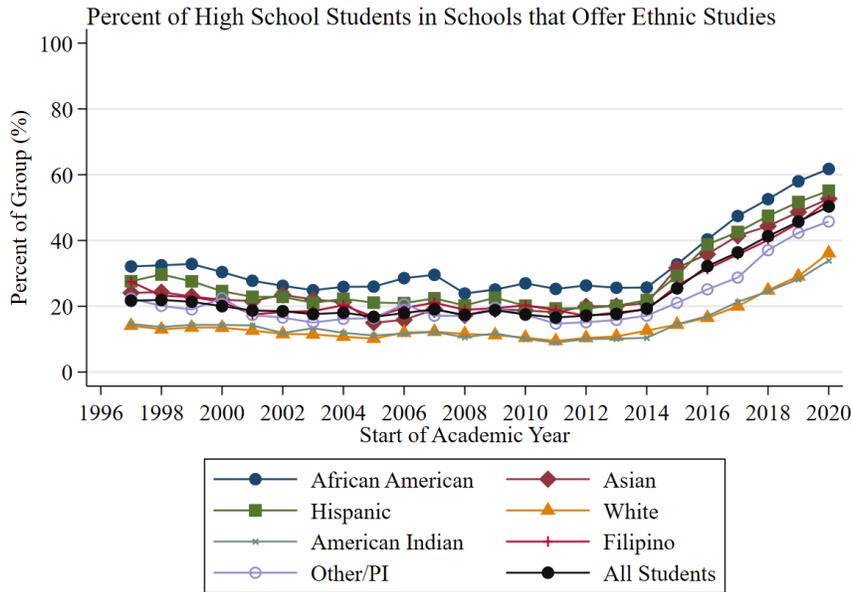
	OLS	County FE	District FE
% Female Staff	-0.0004 (0.0002)	-0.0004 (0.0002)	-0.0005* (0.0002)
% American Indian Staff	0.0007 (0.0006)	0.0007 (0.0007)	0.0014* (0.0006)
% Asian Staff	0.0006 (0.0009)	-0.0011 (0.0009)	-0.0020* (0.0009)
% Pacific Islander Staff	0.0037 (0.0033)	0.0036 (0.0032)	0.0003 (0.0033)
% Filipino Staff	0.0044** (0.0016)	0.0032* (0.0014)	0.0013 (0.0012)
% Hispanic Staff	0.0012** (0.0004)	0.0010** (0.0004)	0.0002 (0.0003)
% Black Staff	0.0011 (0.0007)	0.0007 (0.0007)	-0.0014* (0.0007)
% Multiracial Staff	0.0005 (0.0007)	-0.0004 (0.0007)	-0.0000 (0.0006)
Avg. Yrs Teaching Experience	0.0043*** (0.0008)	0.0044*** (0.0008)	0.0023** (0.0008)
% Black Students	0.0036*** (0.0007)	0.0019* (0.0008)	0.0000 (0.0008)
% American Indian Students	0.0013* (0.0005)	0.0019*** (0.0005)	0.0011** (0.0004)
% Asian Students	0.0015* (0.0008)	0.0004 (0.0008)	-0.0010 (0.0007)
% Filipino Students	-0.0036* (0.0016)	-0.0034* (0.0015)	-0.0036** (0.0014)
% Hispanic Students	0.0012*** (0.0002)	0.0013*** (0.0003)	-0.0001 (0.0003)
% Pacific Islander Students	0.0059 (0.0047)	0.0058 (0.0045)	-0.0059 (0.0040)
% Mixed/Race Not Reported	-0.0004 (0.0006)	-0.0005 (0.0006)	-0.0006 (0.0005)
Total Students	0.0001*** (0.0000)	0.0001*** (0.0000)	0.0000*** (0.0000)
Suburb	-0.0372* (0.0150)	-0.0316* (0.0147)	0.0143 (0.0211)
Town	-0.0469* (0.0216)	-0.0417 (0.0217)	0.0100 (0.0346)
Rural	-0.0209 (0.0237)	-0.0108 (0.0234)	-0.0012 (0.0389)
Log Pupil:Teacher Ratio	-0.0277** (0.0087)	-0.0111 (0.0086)	-0.0267** (0.0083)
Log Distance (mi) from college	-0.0239*** (0.0066)	-0.0275*** (0.0068)	-0.0045 (0.0085)
Title I	0.0496*** (0.0089)	0.0457*** (0.0089)	0.0332*** (0.0081)
Graduation Rate	-0.0016*** (0.0004)	-0.0014*** (0.0004)	-0.0005 (0.0003)
% Vote Republican	-0.0025*** (0.0002)	-0.0018** (0.0002)	-0.0010** (0.0002)
Non-Traditional School	-0.0669*** (0.0131)	-0.0669*** (0.0128)	-0.0781*** (0.0116)
Child Poverty Rate, Quartile 2	0.0003 (0.0202)	-0.0160 (0.0216)	0.0450 (0.0406)
Child Poverty Rate, Quartile 3	-0.0228 (0.0194)	-0.0142 (0.0203)	0.0296 (0.0400)
Child Poverty Rate, Quartile 4	0.0041 (0.0201)	0.0313 (0.0212)	0.0092 (0.0401)
Constant	0.2822*** (0.0604)	0.4095*** (0.0686)	0.5814* (0.2600)
Observations	34034	34034	34034
Adjusted R ²	0.217	0.258	0.395
Years	1997-2021	1997-2021	1997-2021

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. Year fixed effects are included in each regression. County fixed effects are included in the second column. School district fixed effects are included in the third column. The dependent variable in each column is an indicator that is 1 if a school has an Ethnic Studies/Literature listed in the CDE course data for the corresponding academic year or if they have an Ethnic Studies related course in the list of UC A-G approved courses. All regressions also include indicators for missing values. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix Figure 1. *Student Access to Ethnic Studies over Time (Strict Definition)*
 Panel A. Ethnic Studies vs. Other Courses

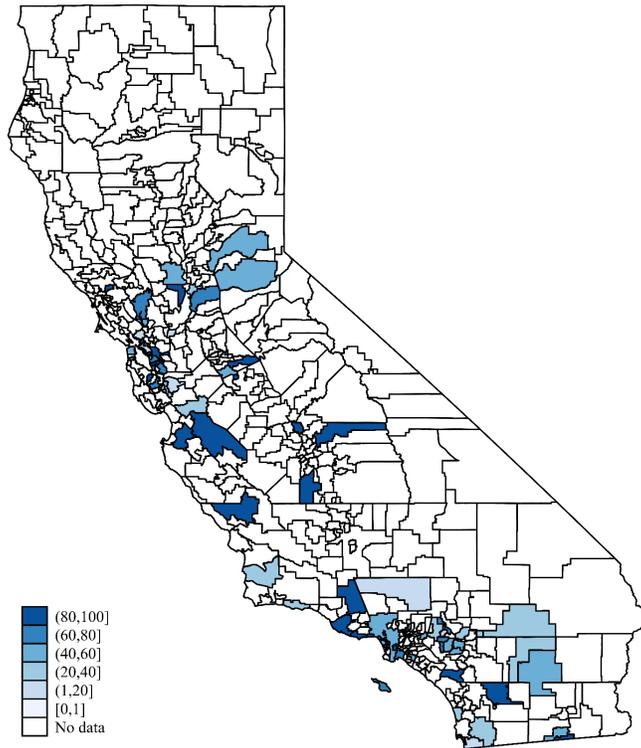


Panel B. By Race/Ethnicity, CDE/UCOP

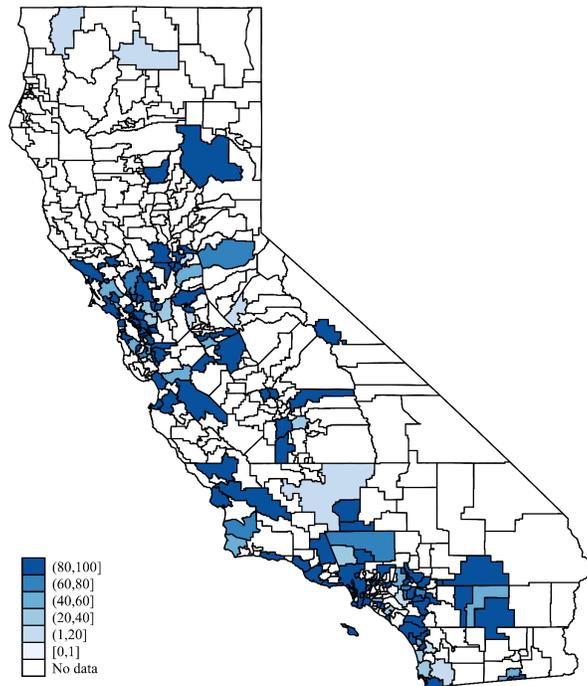


Note. Panel A displays the percentage of all public high school students who are enrolled in a school that offers Ethnic Studies across time. Both the CDE administrative data and list of UC A-G approved courses were used to determine whether a school offers Ethnic Studies. Ethnic Studies in this figure are strictly those with the Ethnic Studies course code in the CDE data or having the words “ethnic” and “studies” in course title in the UCOP data. We also show the same statistics for computer science and economics using CDE data. For Ethnic Studies, we show the trend in access across time using only CDE, only UC, and both CDE and UCOP data. Panel B displays the percent of students in schools that offer Ethnic Studies in the specified year disaggregated by race and ethnicity. Both CDE and UCOP data were used to determine the availability of Ethnic Studies for Panel B, with 2019 and 2020 only having UCOP data. Data were not available in 2009 in the CDE data, and so the CDE/UC point in 2009 uses CDE data from 2008 combined with UCOP data from 2009.

Appendix Figure 2. *Map of Student Access to Ethnic Studies over Time*
Panel A. 2014-15

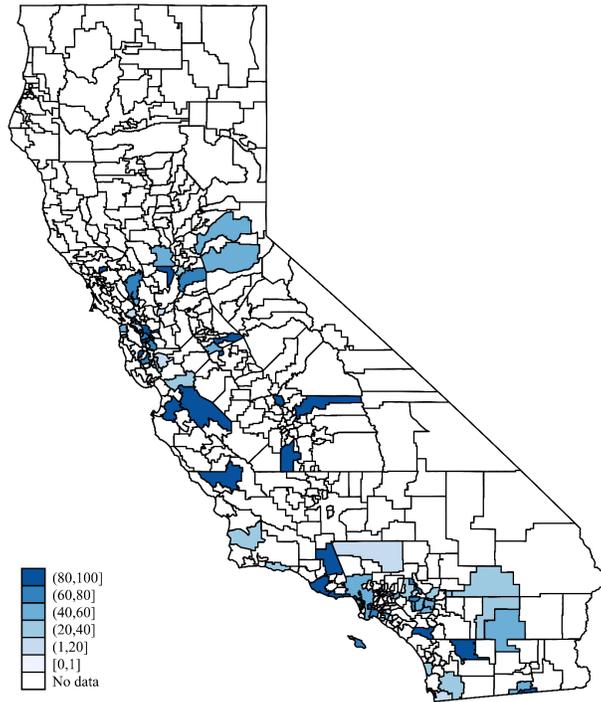


Panel B. 2020-21

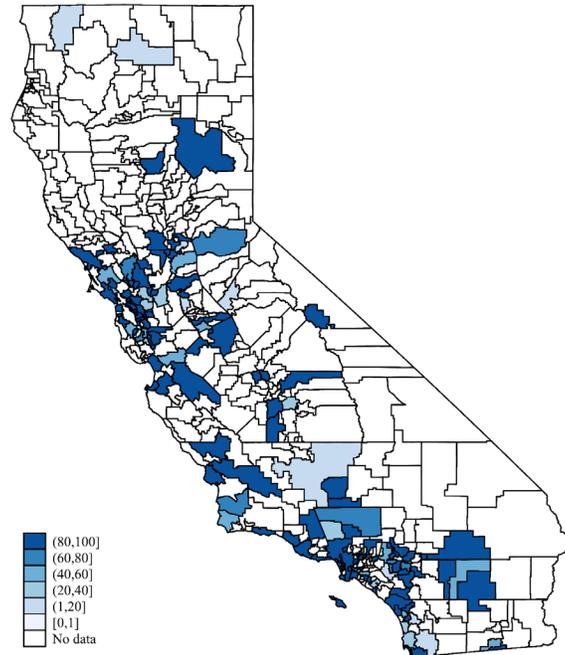


Note. Panel A shows the share of students in schools that offer Ethnic Studies related courses in the 2014-15 academic year according to the CDE and UCOP data. Panel B shows the same but for the 2020-21 academic year.

Appendix Figure 3. *Map of Student Access to Strict Ethnic Studies*
 Panel A. 2014-15



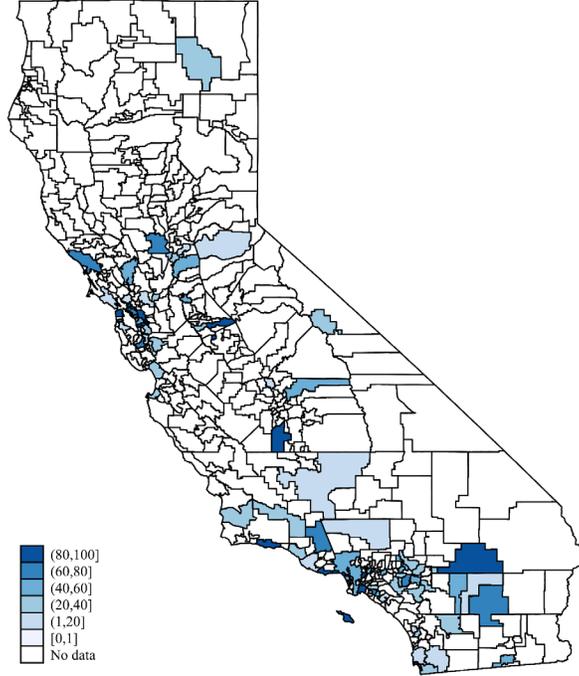
Panel B. 2020-21



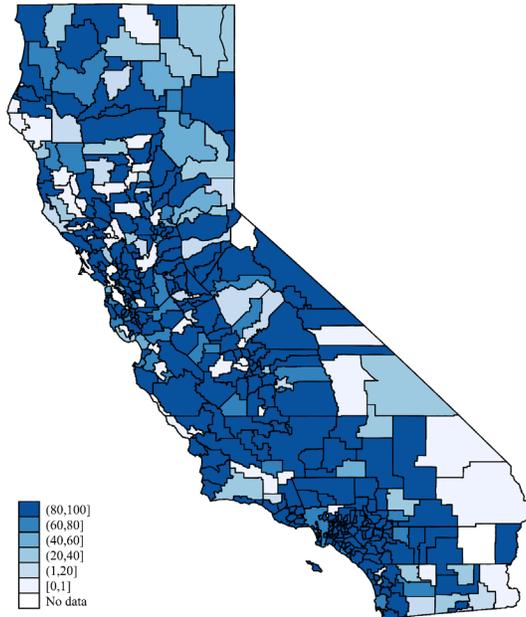
Note. Panel A shows the share of students in schools that offer Ethnic Studies in the 2014-15 academic year according to the CDE and UCOP data. Panel B shows the share of students in schools that offer Ethnic Studies courses in the 2020-21 school year according to the UCOP data.

Appendix Figure 4. *Maps of Student Access to Ethnic Studies vs. Economics (Average of AY 2016-17 to 2018-19)*

Panel A. Ethnic Studies, CDE



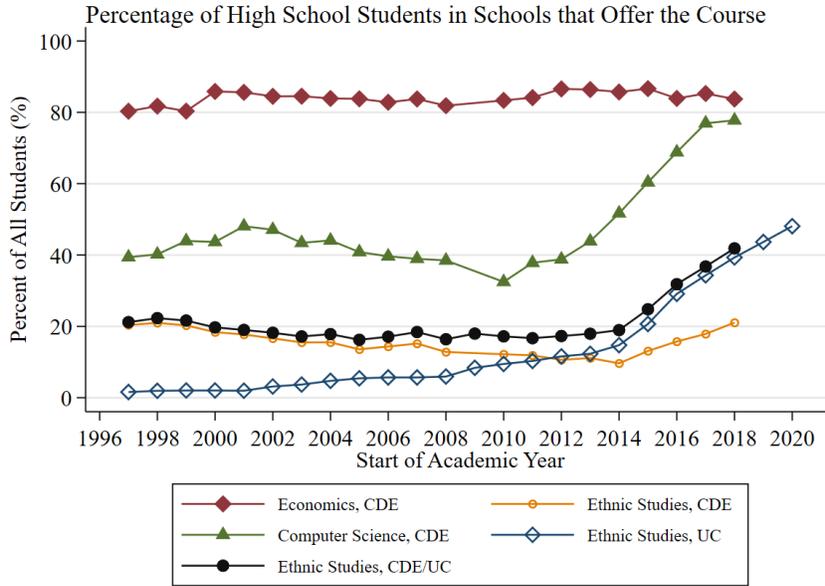
Panel B. Economics, CDE



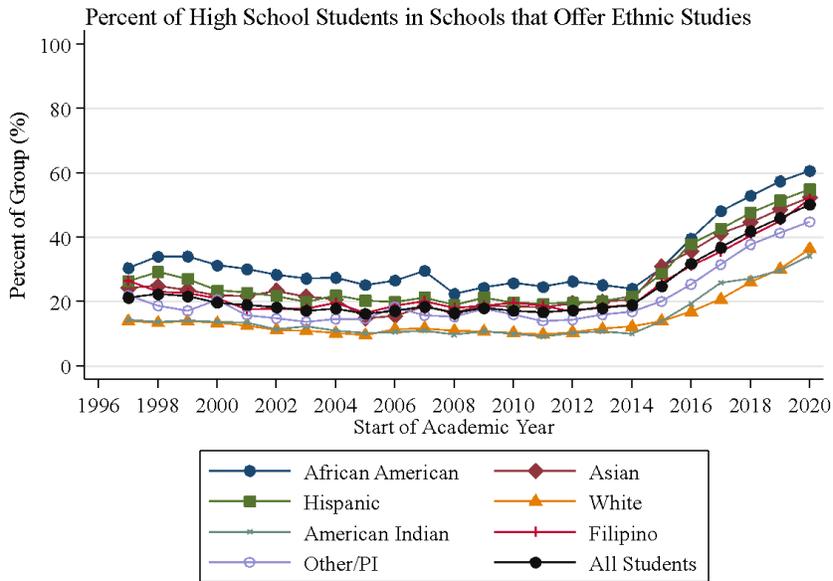
Note. Panel A shows the three-year average share of students in schools that offer Ethnic Studies throughout the 2016-17 to 2018-19 academic years according to the CDE. Panel A shows the average share of students in schools that offer economics throughout the 2016-17 to 2018-19 academic years according to the CDE. If data were unavailable for a given year, they were filled in using data from the previous and/or next school years.

Appendix Figure 5. Student Access to Ethnic Studies over Time, Including Charter and Alternative Schools

Panel A. Ethnic Studies vs. Other Courses



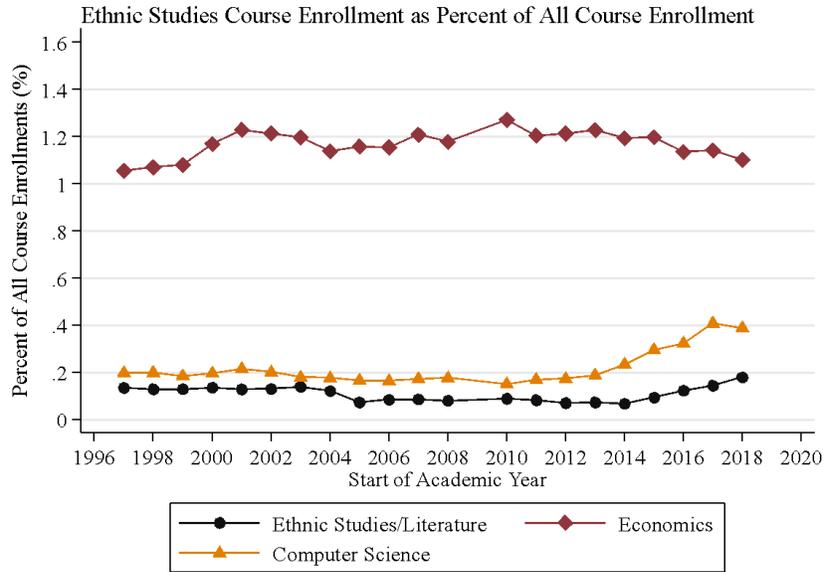
Panel B. By Race/Ethnicity, CDE/UCOP



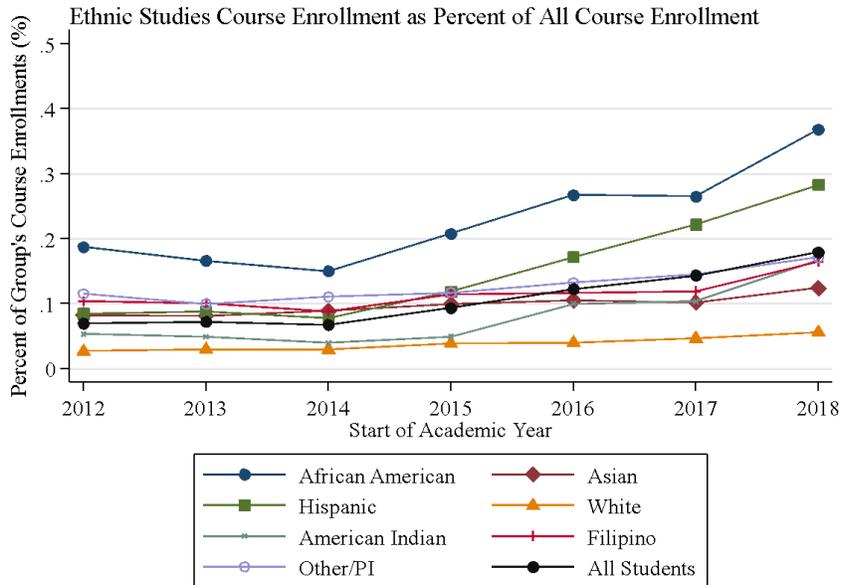
Note. Panel A displays the percentage of all public high school students who are enrolled in a school that offers Ethnic Studies/literature across time. Both the CDE administrative data and list of UC A-G approved courses were used to determine whether a school offers Ethnic Studies. We also show the same statistics for computer science and economics using CDE data. For Ethnic Studies, we show the trend in access across time using only CDE, only UCOP, and both CDE and UCOP data. Panel B displays the proportion of students in schools that offer Ethnic Studies/literature in the specified year disaggregated by race and ethnicity. Both CDE and UCOP data were used to determine the availability of Ethnic Studies for Panel B, with 2019 and 2020 only having UC data. Data were not available in 2009 in the CDE data, and so the CDE/UCOP point in 2009 uses CDE data from 2008 combined with UCOP data from 2009.

Appendix Figure 6. *Student Enrollment in Ethnic Studies over Time, Including Charter and Alternative Schools*

Panel A. Ethnic Studies vs. Other Courses



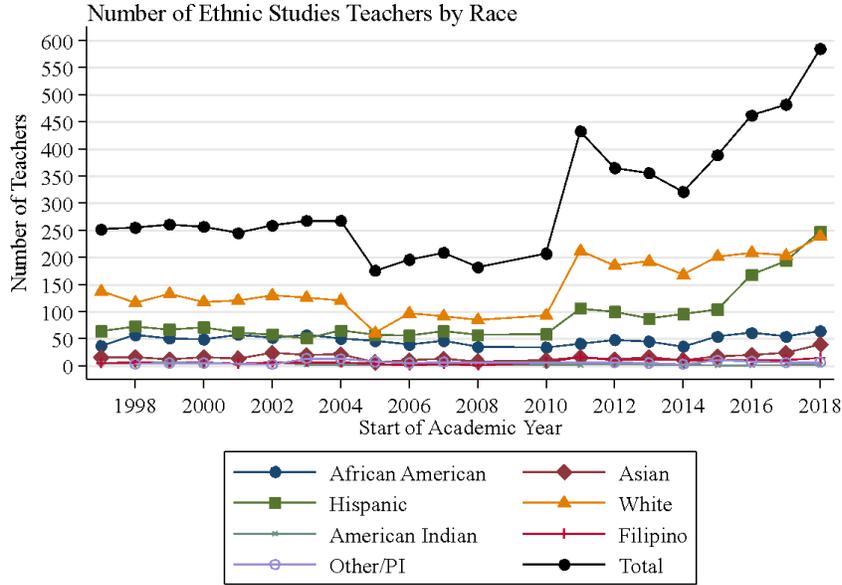
Panel B. By Race/Ethnicity



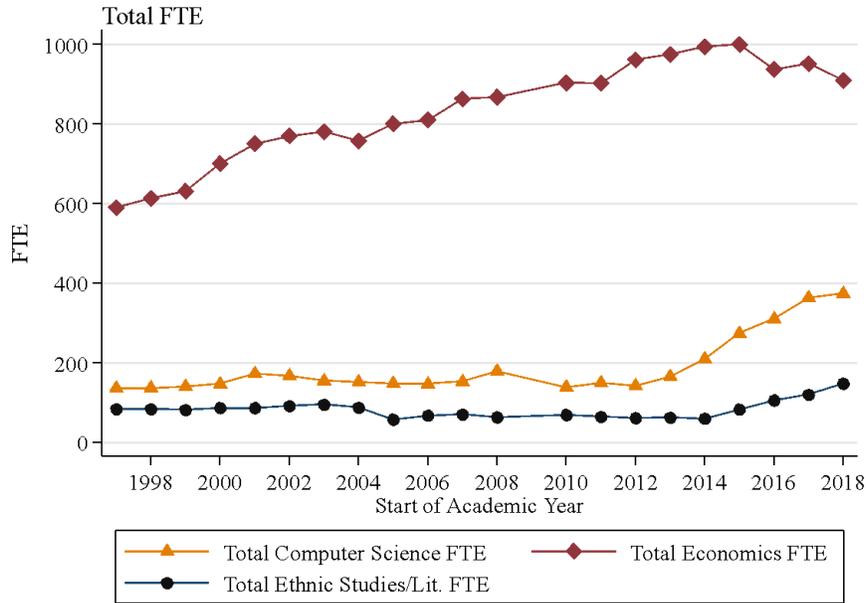
Note: Panel A shows the percentage of all traditional public high school course enrollments that are in Ethnic Studies/literature. We also show the same statistics for Computer Science following Bruno and Lewis (2021). In Panel B, we show the proportion of all traditional public high school students belonging to the indicated ethnic/racial group who are enrolled in Ethnic Studies/literature in California. Both panels use data from the CDE to determine course enrollment.

Appendix Figure 7. *Ethnic Studies Teachers over Time, Including Charter and Alternative Schools*

Panel A. Ethnic Studies Teachers by Race



Panel B. Total Full-Time Equivalent (FTE)



Note. Panel A shows the number of unique public high school teachers in California who taught at least one section of Ethnic Studies by year with parallel reporting for teachers of Economics and Computer Science (following Bruno and Lewis, 2021). Panel B calculates the total Full-Time Equivalent (FTE). The CDE staff data is missing in 2009-10.

Appendix Table 1. *Differences between schools with and without Ethnic Studies Courses*

Variable	Has Ethnic Studies	No Ethnic Studies	Difference w/FE
% Female Staff	52.120 (8.818)	50.855 (15.251)	0.645 (0.119)
% American Indian Staff	0.725 (1.583)	0.875 (3.672)	-0.117 (0.163)
% Asian Staff	5.714 (5.532)	3.215 (5.007)	2.386*** (0.000)
% Pacific Islander Staff	0.360 (0.970)	0.231 (1.128)	0.130*** (0.001)
% Filipino Staff	1.864 (2.866)	0.898 (2.883)	0.912*** (0.000)
% Hispanic Staff	19.781 (15.314)	12.456 (13.162)	6.299*** (0.000)
% Black Staff	8.494 (12.542)	3.746 (8.732)	4.910*** (0.000)
% Multirace Staff	1.135 (3.299)	0.965 (3.817)	0.199* (0.031)
% White Staff	59.439 (20.826)	75.923 (20.088)	-14.870*** (0.000)
Avg. Yrs Teaching Experience	14.062 (3.304)	14.464 (4.376)	-0.412** (0.004)
% Black Students	9.323 (11.936)	5.651 (8.810)	4.360*** (0.000)
% American Indian Students	0.683 (3.666)	2.126 (7.271)	-1.401*** (0.000)
% Asian Students	9.193 (14.787)	5.985 (10.478)	3.427*** (0.000)
% Filipino Students	2.756 (4.252)	2.025 (3.894)	0.788*** (0.000)
% Hispanic Students	58.059 (28.328)	44.381 (27.817)	10.940*** (0.000)
% Pacific Islander Students	0.664 (1.011)	0.544 (0.922)	0.165*** (0.000)
% Mixed/Race Not Reported	2.010 (3.321)	2.324 (4.594)	-0.826*** (0.000)
% White Students	17.311 (19.541)	36.964 (26.605)	-17.454*** (0.000)
City	0.498 (0.500)	0.287 (0.452)	0.225*** (0.000)
Suburb	0.417 (0.493)	0.391 (0.488)	0.030 (0.230)
Town	0.036 (0.187)	0.153 (0.360)	-0.123*** (0.000)
Rural	0.049 (0.215)	0.169 (0.375)	-0.131*** (0.000)
Pupil:Teacher Ratio	22.372 (4.132)	21.895 (52.760)	1.062** (0.001)
Distance to College (mi)	4.311 (5.325)	11.589 (54.871)	-7.729*** (0.000)
Title I Eligible	0.626 (0.484)	0.412 (0.492)	0.182*** (0.000)
% Free and Reduced	58.287 (27.105)	47.483 (28.315)	6.363*** (0.000)
% Age 5-7 in Poverty	19.895 (8.915)	17.641 (8.996)	2.369*** (0.000)
Graduation Rate	88.482 (10.420)	90.541 (12.552)	-2.944*** (0.000)
% Vote Republican	28.591 (20.107)	43.915 (21.787)	-14.061*** (0.000)
Total Students (Grades 9-12)	1743.957 (1087.926)	1109.925 (1023.991)	707.189*** (0.000)

Appendix Table 1. *Balance Table (continued)*

Variable	Has Ethnic Studies	No Ethnic Studies	Difference
Non-Traditional School	0.155 (0.362)	0.338 (0.473)	-0.191*** (0.000)
Missing Female Staff %	0.293 (0.455)	0.118 (0.323)	-0.018*** (0.000)
Missing Avg. Yrs Teaching Experience	0.293 (0.455)	0.118 (0.323)	-0.018*** (0.000)
Missing Pupil:Teacher Ratio	0.108 (0.310)	0.033 (0.178)	-0.002 (0.075)
Missing Distance to College	0.000 (0.000)	0.001 (0.025)	-0.000** (0.002)
Missing Title I Status	0.033 (0.178)	0.044 (0.205)	-0.013 (0.189)
Missing Graduation Rate	0.504 (0.500)	0.685 (0.465)	-0.098*** (0.000)
Missing Total Students (Grades 9-12)	0.108 (0.310)	0.051 (0.221)	-0.017*** (0.000)
Observations	5,890	28,144	34,034

Standard errors in parentheses. P-values in brackets. Data sources for the covariates are described in the data section. In this table, having Ethnic Studies means the school has an Ethnic Studies/literature listed in the CDE course data for a given academic year or if they have an Ethnic Studies related course in the list of UC A-G approved courses. The differences in means are from regressions that include year fixed effects.

* is $p < 0.05$, ** is $p < 0.01$ and *** is $p < 0.001$

Appendix Table 2. *Strict Ethnic Studies Definition*

	OLS	County FE	District FE
% Female Staff	-0.0003* (0.0001)	-0.0004* (0.0001)	-0.0006*** (0.0001)
% American Indian Staff	0.0010 (0.0005)	0.0012 (0.0006)	0.0015** (0.0005)
% Asian Staff	0.0006 (0.0006)	-0.0008 (0.0007)	-0.0018** (0.0006)
% Pacific Islander Staff	0.0013 (0.0022)	0.0006 (0.0021)	-0.0000 (0.0026)
% Filipino Staff	0.0027** (0.0010)	0.0019* (0.0009)	0.0001 (0.0008)
% Hispanic Staff	0.0011*** (0.0003)	0.0011*** (0.0003)	0.0001 (0.0003)
% Black Staff	0.0009 (0.0006)	0.0006 (0.0006)	-0.0012* (0.0005)
% Multiracial Staff	0.0003 (0.0006)	-0.0002 (0.0006)	-0.0002 (0.0005)
Avg. Yrs Teaching Experience	0.0018** (0.0006)	0.0019*** (0.0006)	0.0005 (0.0006)
% Black Students	0.0021*** (0.0006)	0.0009 (0.0006)	-0.0005 (0.0007)
% American Indian Students	0.0013** (0.0005)	0.0018*** (0.0005)	0.0012*** (0.0003)
% Asian Students	0.0010 (0.0006)	0.0001 (0.0005)	-0.0008 (0.0005)
% Filipino Students	-0.0029* (0.0012)	-0.0026* (0.0012)	-0.0038*** (0.0011)
% Hispanic Students	0.0010*** (0.0002)	0.0010*** (0.0002)	0.0000 (0.0002)
% Pacific Islander Students	0.0079 (0.0041)	0.0066 (0.0042)	0.0001 (0.0037)
% Mixed/Race Not Reported	0.0001 (0.0005)	0.0001 (0.0005)	-0.0002 (0.0004)
Total Students	0.0000** (0.0000)	0.0000** (0.0000)	0.0000 (0.0000)
Suburb	-0.0272* (0.0109)	-0.0278** (0.0106)	0.0239 (0.0161)
Town	-0.0345* (0.0160)	-0.0248 (0.0166)	0.0149 (0.0294)
Rural	-0.0284 (0.0179)	-0.0262 (0.0182)	0.0176 (0.0351)
Log Pupil:Teacher Ratio	-0.0276*** (0.0066)	-0.0204** (0.0065)	-0.0341*** (0.0063)
Log Distance (mi) from college	-0.0147** (0.0051)	-0.0166** (0.0053)	-0.0070 (0.0073)
Title I	0.0390*** (0.0070)	0.0377*** (0.0073)	0.0257*** (0.0071)
Graduation Rate	-0.0012*** (0.0003)	-0.0010** (0.0003)	-0.0006* (0.0003)
% Vote Republican	-0.0016*** (0.0002)	-0.0012*** (0.0002)	-0.0005** (0.0002)
Non-Traditional School	-0.0650*** (0.0109)	-0.0693*** (0.0109)	-0.0777*** (0.0099)
Child Poverty Rate, Quartile 2	-0.0063 (0.0157)	-0.0270 (0.0162)	-0.0244 (0.0180)
Child Poverty Rate, Quartile 3	-0.0129 (0.0154)	-0.0205 (0.0158)	-0.0596*** (0.0177)
Child Poverty Rate, Quartile 4	-0.0038 (0.0153)	0.0000 (0.0159)	-0.0871*** (0.0183)
Constant	0.2384*** (0.0496)	0.3978*** (0.0615)	0.6817* (0.3000)
Observations	34034	34034	34034
Adjusted R ²	0.179	0.206	0.319

Standard errors in parentheses. Year fixed effects are included in each regression. County fixed effects are included in the second column. School district fixed effects are included in the third column. The dependent variable in each column is an indicator that is 1 if a school has an Ethnic Studies/ listed in the CDE course data for the corresponding academic year or if they have a course in the list of UC A-G approved courses with the words “ethnic” and “studies” in the title. All regressions also include indicators for missing values. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix Table 3. *Balance Table of CA Teachers in 2018-19*

Variable	Teaches Ethnic Studies/Literature	Teaches English or Social Science	Difference
Prop. Female Staff	0.484 (0.500)	0.546 (0.498)	-0.062* (0.013)
Prop. American Indian Staff	0.002 (0.050)	0.006 (0.078)	-0.004 (0.349)
Prop. Asian Staff	0.047 (0.212)	0.037 (0.189)	0.010 (0.298)
Prop. Pacific Islander Staff	0.000 (0.000)	0.002 (0.047)	-0.002 (0.345)
Prop. Filipino Staff	0.032 (0.177)	0.013 (0.114)	0.019*** (0.001)
Prop. Hispanic Staff	0.454 (0.499)	0.174 (0.379)	0.280*** (0.000)
Prop. Black Staff	0.119 (0.324)	0.039 (0.194)	0.080*** (0.000)
Prop. White Staff	0.305 (0.461)	0.664 (0.472)	-0.359*** (0.000)
Prop. Multiracial Staff	0.012 (0.111)	0.010 (0.101)	0.002 (0.685)
Prop. <= 1 Yr. Exp.	0.065 (0.246)	0.052 (0.223)	0.012 (0.276)
Prop. w/Doctorate	0.022 (0.148)	0.015 (0.120)	0.008 (0.200)
Prop. w/Masters	0.434 (0.496)	0.475 (0.499)	-0.041 (0.105)
Prop. w/Bachelors	0.521 (0.500)	0.502 (0.500)	0.019 (0.451)
Prop Full Credential	0.967 (0.178)	0.970 (0.171)	-0.002 (0.779)
Prop. English Authoriz.	0.340 (0.474)	0.488 (0.500)	-0.148*** (0.000)
Prop. Foreign Lang. Authoriz.	0.035 (0.184)	0.030 (0.171)	0.005 (0.589)
Prop. Social Science Authoriz.	0.618 (0.487)	0.389 (0.487)	0.229*** (0.000)
Prop. ELD Authoriz.	0.760 (0.428)	0.824 (0.381)	-0.064*** (0.001)
Avg. Years of Teaching	12.514 (8.746)	14.023 (8.914)	-1.509*** (0.001)
Avg. Age	41.794 (10.868)	43.987 (10.818)	-2.193*** (0.000)
Observations	403	28,517	28,920

Standard errors in parentheses. These data are from 2018-18 staff demographic data files from CDE.

* is $p < 0.05$, ** is $p < 0.01$ and *** is $p < 0.001$