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This study draws on political science theory to analyze how perceived status threats to White social dominance influence local educational politics. We examine the relationship between racial status threat (RST) and the rise of anti-diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) ideas (contentious school board elections and book challenges) and policies (policy enactments and book bans) in U.S. school districts. RST triggers—demographic changes and Black Lives Matter protests in surrounding communities—increase the likelihood of anti-DEI policy adoption, particularly in large districts. However, these triggers are unrelated to the circulation of anti-DEI ideas. Findings suggest that anti-DEI policies reflect community-level cultural conflicts rather than school-district-specific policies or conditions, underscoring the enduring role of public schools in America’s broader cultural changes and conflicts.

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Abstract:

This study draws on political science theory to analyze how perceived status threats to White social dominance influence local educational politics. We examine the relationship between racial status threat (RST) and the rise of anti-diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) ideas (contentious school board elections and book challenges) and policies (policy enactments and book bans) in U.S. school districts. RST triggers—demographic changes and Black Lives Matter protests in surrounding communities—increase the likelihood of anti-DEI policy adoption, particularly in large districts. However, these triggers are unrelated to the circulation of anti-DEI ideas. Findings suggest that anti-DEI policies reflect community-level cultural conflicts rather than school-district-specific policies or conditions, underscoring the enduring role of public schools in America’s broader cultural changes and conflicts.

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Introduction

What children ought to learn has been a central question for public education in the United States since schools were established (Kliebard, 2005). Curricula are not neutral and objective content but instead embody values and beliefs that are constantly contested (Ravitch, 1990). In the U.S., culture wars have historically played out in and through school curricula, which have tended toward White-centrism, with racism and other social injustices excluded, minimized, or discussed as issues of the past (Tabron et al., 2024).

The current wave of curriculum battles focuses on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) in general, and Critical Race Theory (CRT) and LGBTQ topics in particular. School districts have quickly become battlegrounds for national debates about DEI (Gensterblum et al., 2026; Olneck, 2024). Between 2021 and 2023, 1,718 school districts experienced school board elections with candidates who campaigned on race, gender, or sexuality in the classroom, and 714 school districts experienced book challenges, primarily targeting works by or about LGBTQ people and people of color (see Table 1). While such anti-DEI curricula narratives seemed widespread, not *all* school districts experienced these heated debates, and even fewer districts enacted anti-DEI policies. Contrary to media portrayals of intense and widespread concerns around CRT and LGBTQ topics in U.S. schools, public opinion studies have found few Americans that are familiar with CRT or think that LGBTQ topics are being taught to elementary students (Ertas & McKnight, 2024; Polikoff et al., 2022; 2025).

Broader theory and research on status threats offer a potential framework for understanding why anti-DEI ideas and policies took hold in some school districts but not others. The theory holds that a “status threat” can be activated when a superordinate group perceives its social status is being challenged by those believed to be subordinate (Mutz, 2018; Mendelberg,

2022). Racial status threat (RST) is a specific type of status threat involving the perception among White Americans that their social and political dominance is being challenged or undermined (Craig et al., 2018; Lindsay & Melcher, 2024). Political science research finds that when RST is activated, White respondents, on average, express more conservative points of view (Craig & Richeson 2014a), become more accepting of explicit racial political appeals (Christiani, 2023), grow in demands for assimilation from subgroups, express less support for diversity (Danbold & Huo, 2015), and express more “automatic pro-White/anti-minority bias” (Craig & Richeson 2014b, 754). In short, RST theory suggests that anti-DEI efforts would be more likely where White Americans feel that minoritized groups are becoming “sufficiently powerful to be a threat to the status quo” (Mutz, 2018).

In this article, we examine the link between RST and anti-DEI ideas and policies. We distinguish between ideas and policies in the politics of education. Ideas are the persuasive interpretations—built from stories, symbols, and values—that define problems and solutions in political struggles (Stone, 2011). Policy entrepreneurs often seek to control the ideas that are circulating in policy discussions as a way of advancing their policy agenda (Baumgartner & Jones, 2010). The presence of ideas circulating in education politics means there is an opportunity for them to be on the agenda; however, ideas do not axiomatically shape institutions. Policies are the true “prize” of political actors. Policies are “the exercise of government authority for particular purposes,” and are much more likely than ideas to have long-lived consequences; they are the means by which winners of political contests impose their preferences on others (Hacker & Pierson, 2014, p.644).

We examine two measures of anti-DEI ideas and two measures of anti-DEI policies between 2021-2023 across 12,897 school districts to understand their relationship with potential

RST triggers.¹ Measures of anti-DEI ideas include (1) the presence of anti-CRT or anti-LGBTQ issues in school board elections and (2) book challenges. Measures of anti-DEI policies include (3) local anti-CRT policy actions and (4) enactments of book bans.

Findings demonstrate that RST is a significant factor in understanding where anti-DEI policies take hold locally, but not for the more pervasive anti-DEI ideas. Experiencing both demographic changes and Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests in a district's surrounding community significantly increases the likelihood of enacting anti-DEI policies, suggesting that national narratives about DEI curricula prompt policy action when they resonate with local experiences. The notion that RST shapes where national narratives take hold aligns with and extends political science research on "politicized places," which emphasizes that national narratives must find resonance in local lived realities for national policy problems to become politicized in local venues (Hopkins, 2010). Notably, anti-DEI policies appear rooted not in district-level policies nor student demographics, but in deeper cultural conflicts within surrounding communities. This pattern echoes historical precedents in which educational policy has served as a site of broader societal struggles—from immigration to desegregation to language policy—underscoring the enduring role of public schools in America's cultural changes and conflicts (Deckman, 2014; Olneck, 2024; Zimmerman, 2022).

Background

America's Cultural Wars and School Curriculum

Curriculum plays a powerful role in communicating which groups are privileged and marginalized. Debates about what should be taught and from whose perspective run throughout

¹ All data are available on the Harvard Dataverse at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/MZAWNA>.

the history of public education, with recent arguments against racial progressivism reflecting longstanding conflicts over immigration, race, gender and sexuality, and American identity.

The nineteenth-century Protestant-Catholic battles over Bible reading in Philadelphia schools, for example, demonstrate how debates about religious curricular content were fueled by anti-immigrant sentiment. American-born Protestants perceived Irish immigrants' Catholic faith as a threat to dominant American values (Deckman, 2014).

The 1950s post-World War II Red Scare also provides an important example of how right-wing economically powerful conservative groups and politicians (e.g., National Council for American Education; National Economic Council, Committee for Constitutional Government; Sons of the American Revolution; Senator McCarthy) capitalized on education debates to advance their political agendas (Foster, 1997). Strongly mirroring today's politics, these organizations and politicians mobilized local conservative citizens and took over local school boards across the country. They fomented opposition to progressive policies that may have otherwise been broadly popular (Foster & Davies, 2004) and banned textbooks addressing topics such as public housing and social welfare, which they considered too subversive, communist, and un-American (Zimmerman, 2022).

Furthermore, a nearly identical argument to present critiques of CRT emerged during and after the civil rights era. Conservative parents opposed to teaching about slavery and discrimination claimed such material "would make white children feel 'guilty' and encourage students to 'hate America'" (Zimmerman, 2022, p. 240). Multicultural education also experienced similar controversies. When people of color pushed for a curriculum that more accurately reflected the racial and ethnic diversity of America's population and recognized their contributions to the country's development, the well-resourced, "New Right," characterized

multicultural education as divisive and un-American (Sleeter, 1996, p. 245). Similarly, opposition to bilingual education since the 1980s illustrates how White, conservative scholars, interest groups (e.g., English First Foundation), and public officials, have experienced linguistic diversity as a threat to the established social hierarchy (Olneck, 2024).

Backlash against gender and sexual diversity topics in U.S. schools also has historical precedents. Anita Bryant's infamous Save the Children campaign against same-sex marriage in the late 1970s, for instance, demonized gay people as pedophiles and tried to ban lesbian and gay public-school teachers (Rofes, 1998). Heated battles have repeatedly erupted between LGBTQ activists and Christian right organizations who view gender and sexual diversity curriculum as contrary to American Christian values (Miceli, 2005), including controversies over gay-straight alliances (Fetner & Kush, 2008) and school observance of the Day of Silence (Fusarelli & Eaton, 2011). In a similar fashion, contemporary far-right extremist groups regularly portray initiatives to include LGBTQ resources in schools as part of a “gender ideology” agenda, even though supportive teachers, LGBTQ books, and extracurricular resources are positively related to LGBTQ students’ academic outcomes and overall sense of safety and belonging (Kosciw et al., 2022; Pizmony-Levy & Kosciw, 2016; Snaider & Moschetti, 2025).

Today’s fierce attacks on DEI curriculum represent the latest chapter in this ongoing historical pattern. Current anti-DEI backlash started primarily in the form of anti-CRT and progressively shifted to include anti-LGBTQ efforts; often, those introducing anti-CRT bills also introduced anti-LGBTQ bills (McQuillan et al. 2024). While it is beyond the scope of this study, it is worth noting that the overlap between attacks on CRT and gender and sexual diversity is arguably not accidental. As scholars exploring the intersections of gender and race point out, socially accepted forms of femininity and masculinity are marked by whiteness, and state

regulations of gender often serve to regulate racial hierarchies (Gill-Peterson, 2018; 2024, Snorton, 2017).

The longstanding contest over curricula represents not only a struggle over material costs and benefits (e.g., time allocations and curricular materials), but also a struggle over the gendered and racial social order that public education communicates to future generations (Mendelberg, 2022). As such, political actors may appeal to (White) Americans' sense of threat to undermine curricular and pedagogical practices that could challenge racial and gendered hierarchies.

Racial Status Threat

The concept of RST grows out of group conflict theory (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1999), which is rooted in the belief that prejudice inherently invokes a sense of group position (Blumer, 1958). As described by Bobo (1999), "One could not have an idea or orientation to Blacks in the United States, for example, without immediately invoking, at least implicitly, the comparison or connection with White Americans" (p. 448).² As this quote demonstrates, RST was initially applied to a Black-White context; however RST research has expanded to consider how different racial groups, including immigrants, may trigger status threat amongst White Americans (Mutz, 2018).

Group conflict theory focuses attention on intergroup conflict over social standing, emphasizing what happens "when members of a dominant group experience a sense of threat to their group's position," and how this "change in people's sense of their group's relative position produces insecurity" (Mutz, 2018, p. E4332). Negative psychological threat responses can be triggered by observed demographic or policy changes but may also arise from perceptions not

² To be clear, group conflict theory accepts that early socialization may also be a key component to racism.

necessarily rooted in facts (Rios et al., 2018). RST is not an entirely foreign concept to education research, where studies have described how White parents and residents can feel threatened by rapid increases in racial, linguistic, and socioeconomic diversity in their schools (Goyette et al., 2012; Turner, 2020). Some perceive sociodemographic changes as a decline in academic quality and adopt varied strategies (e.g., White flight) "to maintain their own relatively privileged circumstances in these changing environments" (Turner, 2020; p. 7). Importantly, responses to triggers of status threat are neither automatic nor universally experienced by White Americans (Jardina, 2019; Major et al., 2016).

Scholars of RST often rely on experimental studies that operationalize threat as national demographic change, activating RST by reporting information on White Americans losing their majority status. For example, Danbold and Huo (2015) found that prompting White Americans to read information about the shrinking of their relative group size decreased support for racial and ethnic diversity. Demographic change is not the only RST trigger. RST may also be triggered when Whites perceive sufficient political mobilization by minority groups to elect representatives who prioritize non-White interests (Updegrave et al., 2018). Group protests can also activate RST because they signal political and organizational power. In their study of White perceptions of the justification of force against protestors, Cooley and colleagues (2022) find that it is the presence of racialized *groups* (not just individual protestors) in combination with a racialized *topic* that activates threat amongst Whites.

RST can also be triggered as part of a backlash to a particular policy (Patashnik, 2023). Such a backlash may represent a reactionary response to social and political progress and has become heavily associated with conservative politics, populism, and resistance to increasing racial equity (Alter & Zurn, 2020). For example, while Americans generally express favorable

support for diversity in the abstract, diversity policies such as corporate diversity statements can trigger feelings of status threat amongst White Americans (Dover et al., 2016; Plaut et al., 2011; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Policy backlash is commonly associated with perceptions that traditional values, power, or status are under threat (Patashnik, 2023).

However, not all RST studies consistently find the same effects (e.g., Stewart and Willer, 2022), and there are signs that frequently used demographic triggers of RST are becoming less potent as awareness of population shifts becomes widespread (Hodson et al., 2022). Hopkins (2010) proposes the “politicized places” hypothesis as a potential way to reconcile seemingly contradictory findings on RST. Rather than assuming a universal effect of national threat narratives, Hopkins (2010) examines the local conditions that lead a dominant group to perceive a subordinate group as threatening in their specific community such that they take policy action. Hopkins (2010) stresses the interplay between national rhetoric and local conditions, political spheres that are often conceptualized and studied separately (e.g., Oliver et al., 2012). Specifically, Hopkins finds salient national anti-immigrant rhetoric triggers hostile political reactions in local communities that undergo sudden influxes of immigrants. We build on this theory as we examine potential triggers of RST to understand why some types of school districts were more likely to experience politicized debates and enact anti-DEI policies.

Data

We use data on 12,897 regular school districts. Our dependent variables capture the presence of anti-DEI ideas (contentious elections and book challenges) and policies (anti-CRT actions and book bans) from 2021-2023 compiled by different non-profit organizations.³ Our

³ It is likely that these data miss some instances of anti-DEI ideas and policies. Assuming that these external data collection efforts are unrelated to our independent variables, our estimates are likely smaller and noisier than they would otherwise be.

independent variables are drawn from both district and county sources in the periods preceding any ideas circulating or policies adopted. We briefly describe the data here and provide full details in Appendix A.

Dependent Variables

The Spread of Anti-DEI Ideas

We use the presence of CRT or LGBTQ issues in school board elections as our first measure of anti-DEI ideas. Between January 2021 and May 2023, Ballotpedia identified 1,718 districts with conflicts in school board elections regarding race, gender, or sexuality. We refer to these as “anti-DEI in elections” or “contentious elections” for brevity. Ballotpedia collected data on school board elections through daily news searches. We hand-collected the local education agency identification number (LEAID) for each corresponding school district based on the district name and state.

Second, we use information on book challenges (where an actor requested one or more books be removed, regardless of the decision) within districts in 2022. Data on book challenges was provided by the American Library Association (ALA). They compiled these data through reports filed to ALA’s Office for Intellectual Freedom and media coverage. For books challenged in public libraries, we matched the location of each library with the corresponding school district and manually entered the LEAIDs. A total of 6,943 books were challenged in 714 districts in 2022. We use this measure as a dichotomous variable coded 1 if any books were challenged in 2022 and show results with a continuous, count version in Appendix Table B1 and Figure B1.

The Spread of Anti-DEI Policies

We use the enactment of anti-CRT policies in school districts as our first measure of anti-DEI policies. We obtained data on anti-CRT policies adopted by local school districts from the CRT Forward project, developed by the UCLA School of Law's Critical Race Studies Program. Again, we manually assigned LEAIDs to school districts using the state and name. In total, 140 school districts adopted anti-CRT policies between August 2020⁴ and December 2023, with a peak in the fall of 2021.

Additionally, we use publicly available data on book bans enacted by school districts as our second measure of anti-DEI policies. These data were collected as part of the PEN America Book Bans Index, which includes cases where actions were taken to ban a book completely or to diminish access to it. PEN America compiled data on book bans through media coverage, school districts' board minutes, websites, and direct reports by local partners and advocates. PEN America recorded a total of 2,532 and 3,362 books banned in 242 districts during the 2021-2022 and 2022-2023 academic years, respectively. As with book challenges, we use this as a dichotomous measure and show results using a count version in Appendix Table B1 and Figure B1.

Independent Variables

Extant research frequently utilizes demographic change to trigger RST at the individual level (e.g., Danbold & Huo, 2015). Further, several public-facing reports suggest that contentious school board meetings and DEI bans mostly occurred in districts that experienced large increases in the share of students of color; though these reports do not examine whether such increases were different in places that did not have these experiences (Kingkade & Chiwaya, 2021; Pollock et al., 2022). To test the community demographic change trigger, we gathered county-

⁴ Only two districts adopted policies in 2020, on August 25 and on September 1. We include these in our analyses, but results are not sensitive to their inclusion.

level data from the 2010 and 2020 Decennial Censuses on the overall percentage of people of color and the change in the percentage of people of color between 2010 and 2020. We merged county-level information to districts using NCES geographic relationship files to measure change in the community surrounding a local district (see Appendix A for details).

We intentionally measure demographic change at the county level rather than at smaller geographic units such as zip codes or school districts for two reasons. First, adults' everyday exposure to demographic change extends beyond their school district. Residents work, shop, consume media, and engage in civic life across their broader metropolitan area. For example, a resident of a suburban school district may be exposed to demographic changes occurring in the central city within their county, even if their own school district's demographics remain relatively stable. Second, while schools are the venues for these debates, anti-DEI efforts often come from individuals without direct connections to the schools (Gensterblum et al., 2026). What is most relevant to the present study is what adults experience in their local communities, not limited to what happens within school boundaries. Narrower geographic units miss the broader community context that shapes adults' exposure to demographic change. Measuring district demographics would likely attenuate results because change at the school district level would conflate our theoretical mechanism (community exposure driving feelings of threat and mobilization) with a different process (changing demographics affecting school board elections through shifting voter composition). This is what we find in Appendix Tables B2 (students) and B3 (school district demographics).

Additionally, both the potential and actual exercise of political power by minority groups can trigger feelings of RST. Here, we use two measures of political triggers: a dichotomous indicator for whether the majority of the population is made up of residents of color using the

Census data discussed above and BLM protest data from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data (ACLED) Project, an independent non-profit organization that tracks data on conflicts and demonstrations globally. Our BLM dataset spans from May 24, 2020, to March 1, 2023, aligning with the period during which anti-DEI-focused ideas and policies were tracked. We use a measure of BLM events that captures both non-violent and violent protests (ACLED 2025). There were 12,290 BLM events in this time frame. ACLED included the county where each BLM event occurred. We code any district overlapping a county with a BLM protest that occurred prior to any anti-DEI idea or policy as experiencing a protest.

Policies may also trigger RST as part of a policy backlash (Patashnik, 2023). To measure whether districts have enacted DEI policies we use information on whether the district has hired a DEI officer using data collected by the Heritage Foundation (Greene, 2021). This data collection effort was limited to districts with 15,000 students (n=554). We urge caution in interpreting findings related to this measure because it is only valid for large districts. To include it, we code missing observations as 0 and create an additional dichotomous indicator coded 1 if data on the DEI officer measure is missing. We include both measures in our analysis to retain all available data. We show results without the DEI officer measure and corresponding indicator for missing in Appendix Tables B4-7 and results with and without the DEI officer measure only in the sample for which it is non-missing in Appendix Table B8. These analyses demonstrate that the measure and our method for addressing missingness do not affect the overall results.

Covariates

We include several county- and district-level covariates. We use district-level directory, urbanicity, and enrollment information from the Common Core of Data (CCD). While we primarily use district data from 2010 and 2020, we use prior and later years to address missing

enrollment data with linear interpolation, as described in Appendix A. We obtained county-level presidential election returns from 2016 and 2020 from the MIT Election Lab because prior research in Wisconsin found partisan lean to be a significant factor (Shah et al., 2024). We use an average of these two years to reflect persistent party loyalties, and we show results are consistent with just 2020 in Appendix Tables B4-7. We also incorporated district-level information on average education level, median household income, and poverty levels from the 2020 Decennial Census.

Analytic Approach

Our analysis documents the reality of anti-DEI ideas and policies across U.S. schools. By examining the full population of U.S. school districts, we describe where anti-DEI ideas and policies take hold. Our national data allow us to avoid sampling concerns, but we emphasize that our study describes existing relationships without establishing causation.

To estimate the extent to which RST triggers are associated with anti-DEI ideas and policies, we use linear probability models (LPMs) with state fixed effects. LPMs are well-suited for analyzing dichotomous outcomes and have been used widely in econometric research due to their straightforward interpretation and demonstrated reliability in binary outcome estimation. We structure our data cross-sectionally with measures of change over time because analyzing changes in school district outcomes requires aligning multiple factors that operate on fundamentally different timescales (see Appendix A for more details).

We specify our preferred model as follows:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \%Residents\ of\ Color_i + \beta_2 \% \Delta Residents\ of\ Color_i + \beta_3 \% \Delta Residents\ of\ Color_i^2 + \beta_4 1(\%Residents\ of\ Color_i > 50\%) + \beta_5 BLM_i + \beta_5 DEI\ Officer + \delta_s + \beta' X_i + \varepsilon_i, \quad (1)$$

where Y is a dichotomous indicator for one of the four anti-DEI ideas or policy outcomes in district i . The term $\%ResidentsofColor$ represents a continuous measure of the percentage of community residents that were non-White in 2020, and $\%\Delta ResidentsofColor$ is a measure of the percentage change since 2010. We include the quadratic form of change because the relationship is nonlinear (see Appendix Figure B2). The term BLM is an indicator for whether there was a BLM event in the community surrounding district i . $DEI Officer$ is an indicator for whether district i had hired a DEI officer. We include state fixed effects, δ_s , in all specifications to account for any unobservable, state characteristics or policies that may influence outcomes. The term, X , is a vector of district covariates including Trump vote share, district size, library staff, urbanicity (dichotomized), median household income in real 2020 dollars, the percentage of the district students in poverty, and the percentage of residents with Bachelor's degrees. We show results both with and without these covariates. In a third specification, we also allow for the relationship between the change in residents of color and the anti-DEI ideas and policies to vary depending on district size because smaller districts may experience a change in the proportion of residents of color differently than larger districts. We use robust standard errors.

Descriptive Results

Table 1 displays descriptive information on all districts and subsets with anti-DEI ideas and policies. Figure 1 displays their geographic variation. In Figure 1, Panel A, we show that anti-DEI ideas occurred across the country. Indeed, all 50 states had at least one instance of a contentious election or book challenge, and 44 states have had both. In total, 2,115 districts (16%) experienced either anti-DEI ideas in elections or book challenges. Of these, 1,718 districts (13%) had anti-DEI ideas debated in their school board elections, and 714 districts (6%)

experienced book challenges.⁵ Districts with anti-DEI ideas tend to have more residents of color, on average; however, growth in residents of color in districts with anti-DEI ideas in their elections was slightly lower than the average district. Districts with anti-DEI ideas in their elections are much more likely than the average district to be majority residents of color (24% v. 15%), though districts with book challenges are just slightly more likely (16%). Moreover, they are more likely to have experienced BLM protests. About 94% of districts with anti-DEI ideas in their elections and 91% of districts with book challenges had BLM protests compared to a national average of 75%. They were also less supportive of Trump than the average district.

In comparison to anti-DEI ideas, anti-DEI policies occur far less often. In total, 348 districts (3%) have at least one anti-DEI action. Of these, 140 districts (1%) have anti-CRT policies, and 242 districts (2%) enacted a book ban.⁶ Yet, districts enacted these policies across the United States: 44 states have at least one district with an anti-DEI policy. Districts with anti-CRT actions and/or book bans have, on average, about 4 percentage points more residents of color and higher rates of growth in residents of color than the average district. On average, these districts also have a higher likelihood of having experienced BLM protests. They were also similarly or less supportive of Trump than the average district.

Districts with anti-DEI policies are much more likely to have been exposed to anti-DEI ideas than other districts. Of districts with anti-DEI policies, 77% also had anti-DEI ideas circulating compared to just 15% of districts without anti-DEI policies. To the best of our knowledge, anti-DEI ideas typically preceded anti-DEI policies. We observe the precise dates of both contentious elections and anti-CRT policies. We find that 62% of districts with anti-CRT

⁵ Note that these numbers do not add up to 2,115 because 317 districts experienced both.

⁶ Note that these numbers do not add up to 348 because 34 districts have both.

policies also experienced anti-DEI conflicts in elections, and these elections *always* preceded the respective policies. Appendix Table B9 shows bivariate relationships between the presence of anti-DEI policies and/or ideas and all independent variables.

Analytical Results

Tables 2 and 3 display the results of the LPMs with state fixed effects predicting anti-DEI ideas and policies, respectively.⁷ Overall, we find that RST triggers strongly predict the presence of anti-DEI policies, but not of the anti-DEI ideas that circulated more widely.

Anti-DEI Ideas

We do not find evidence that RST triggers are systematically related to anti-DEI ideas. In Table 2, we see some evidence that places with greater demographic change and where BLM protests took place have a higher likelihood of anti-DEI conflicts in school board elections; however, when controlling for sociopolitical factors, these relationships change direction such that districts with these RST triggers are slightly *less* likely to experience anti-DEI conflicts in school board elections. Further analyses suggest this change in direction is primarily driven by accounting for district size.

Given the difficulty in interpreting the quadratic term, we provide visualizations in Appendix Figure B3, showing that districts with high and low levels of community demographic change have similar probabilities of experiencing anti-DEI ideas. In columns 3 and 6, and Figure 2, we allow potential relationships between demographic change and anti-DEI ideas to vary by district size. There are similar negative relationships between demographic change and book challenges in smaller districts, and there is no apparent relationship between the change in

⁷ Appendix Table B1 and Figure B1 show results using zero-inflated Poisson regression analysis with count variables. In districts that experience book challenges or bans, increases in the percentage of residents of color are associated with higher expected counts of book challenges and bans up to a point, after which further increases are associated with diminishing and eventually declining counts. Appendix Table B10 shows standardized coefficients.

residents of color and book challenges in a typical district. However, we find suggestive evidence that larger districts with increasing shares of residents of color are more likely to experience book challenges (see Figure 2, Panel B).

Results also suggest that districts with a DEI officer were 10 pp more likely to have a DEI conflict in a school board election than those without a DEI officer, but districts with and without DEI officers have similar likelihoods of book challenges. We consider this finding suggestive because the DEI officer measure is only valid for large districts.

Anti-DEI Policies

Triggers for RST are consistent and strong predictors of anti-DEI policies. Although anti-CRT policies and book bans are rare events, changes in the racial composition of local communities are strongly associated with where these actions occur. Across all specifications in Table 3, increases in the share of residents of color significantly raise the probability of both outcomes, with large increases relative to the low baseline risk. Our main specifications with sociopolitical controls are in columns 2 and 5 of Table 3 and Figure B3 in the Appendix; these show that modest demographic shifts are associated with substantial increases in the likelihood of anti-DEI policies. The coefficient for the quadratic term suggests that policy action is most pronounced at smaller levels of demographic transition.

Additionally, columns 3 and 6 and Figure 2 demonstrate that the relationship between demographic change and anti-DEI policies grows as district size increases. A large district at the median of demographic change (40%) has a 417% greater likelihood of a book ban compared to a district with no demographic change (3.1% versus 0.6%). In smaller districts, the relationship between growth rates of residents of color and anti-DEI policies attenuates and even becomes negative after a certain point. This suggests that district size and ability to “know one’s

neighbor” may play an important role in dampening the negative interaction between national anti-DEI narratives and local RST triggers, a point we return to in our discussion.

Regarding other potential RST triggers, we find that BLM protests are also predictive of anti-DEI policies. In a typical district, experiencing a BLM protest is associated with a roughly 0.5 pp increase in the likelihood of each anti-DEI policy. In contrast, we find that districts with and without DEI officers have similar likelihoods of anti-DEI policies, all else equal.

In short, we find strong evidence that districts (especially larger districts) that have experienced higher levels of community racial demographic change and BLM protests in their surrounding communities are more likely to enact anti-DEI policies compared to other districts. This suggests that the nationalized anti-DEI narratives became politicized in places where there were localized RST triggers, consistent with Hopkins’ (2010) politicized places theory.

Extensions

Recall that extant research on RST began with a focus on Black Americans but has expanded in recent decades to consider a range of racial groups, including immigrants (Hopkins, 2010). To examine what is driving the relationships we observe, we create two separate sets of measures focusing on Black and foreign-born residents rather than people of color generally. We examine our main analyses replacing the population share and change measures above with these measures in Appendix Table B11. We find no evidence that the results above are driven by Black residents, but the change in the share of foreign-born respondents is strongly associated with anti-DEI policies. Districts with larger increases in immigrants in their surrounding communities are much more likely to enact anti-DEI policies than other districts.

Robustness

In Appendix Tables B4-8, we show that our results are not sensitive to methodological choices in our model specification. We show that results are extremely consistent when we account for the percent of the population that is foreign born, separate violent and non-violent BLM protests, replace our anti-DEI in elections outcome with a measure of just anti-CRT ideas in elections, change the averaged Trump vote share measure to just the 2020 vote share or a measure of political ideology from the American Ideology Project, and remove the DEI officer measure and the corresponding control for missingness on that measure. We also demonstrate that results in a sample limited to districts with DEI officer information are consistent with our large district findings.

Discussion

Between 2021 and 2023, narratives against incorporating issues of race, gender, and sexuality in schools spread relatively easily across the nation: 1,718 school districts experienced board elections focused on these issues, and 714 districts faced book challenges targeting authors of color or LGBTQ content. Despite widespread anti-DEI ideas, actual policy enactment was rare: Only 140 districts enacted anti-DEI policies, and 242 banned DEI-oriented books. To understand why anti-DEI ideas and policies have emerged in some places but not others, we draw from political science literature to hypothesize that they may be related to localized status threat (e.g., Craig et al., 2018; Mutz, 2018; Lindsay & Melcher, 2024; Hopkins, 2010). We find that local RST triggers are not consistent predictors of the spread of anti-DEI ideas. However, places where national narratives resonate with local conditions—in the form of BLM protests and community racial demographic change—are substantially more likely to enact anti-DEI policies, particularly in large districts.

For some, the rarity of anti-DEI policies, despite the widespread nature of anti-DEI ideas may be a reassuring finding that “this too shall pass.” However, ideas carry consequences that are often more difficult to detect. Narratives around DEI may have a “chilling effect” in which teachers chose not to address topics or librarians chose not to purchase books (Slungaard Mumma, 2024).

Our findings align with and extend research on the manifestation of RST in particular places. The “politicized places” concept is premised on the power of local experiences for shaping where nationalized narratives find *resonance* and lead to policy action (Hopkins 2010). This interplay between national and local is evident in the observed link between community demographic change and anti-DEI policies, suggesting that demographic changes activate anxieties that national anti-DEI rhetoric exploits.

Rather than purely educational concerns, anti-DEI school policies represent another instance of broader cultural conflicts playing out through public schooling (Deckman, 2014; Olneck, 2024; Zimmerman, 2022). The recurrence of these themes throughout history demonstrates that public school curricula continue to serve as focal points for larger societal debates about race, inequality, and national identity. However, districts are not without agency. Local, lived experiences may also provide *dissonance* for national narratives, enabling some districts to resist nationalized policy pressures. Indeed, strong parent and community relationships with schools are well established as essential to building the necessary trust and cooperation necessary for sustaining reform and creating positive learning opportunities for children (e.g. Bryk & Schneider, 2002, Noguera, 2001, and Shirley, 1997). Recent work demonstrates that broader community support can effectively counter anti-DEI efforts; Foley’s (2026) case study of Kirkwood provides an instructive example of the broader community

standing behind the district's anti-racist teaching by "offering visible and vocal support ... enabling the district to advance its equity work even in the face of headwinds" (p. 87).

This is further reinforced by the lack of a link between RST and anti-DEI policies in smaller districts. Prior research has established that residents in smaller districts have a stronger sense of belonging and shared identities, with closer connections and greater knowledge of their neighbors (Crumb et al. 2023; Tieken 2014). Community members in small districts also have more direct connections, knowledge and involvement with their local schools (Tieken, 2014; Bauch, 2001). It is possible that these factors may appease feelings of RST. By providing frequent events for community members to visit the local schools and interact with the learning that is occurring, smaller school districts may be helping community members develop positive lived experiences that are powerful enough to counteract national narratives.

Community members, policymakers and school district leaders in larger districts might also have some agency to counteract misleading national narratives if they proactively reach out to the broader community to showcase the learning opportunities experienced by students. It may not be a coincidence that many districts have tended to go the opposite direction in recent years, as numerous events and tragedies have led districts to tighten security, limit access to buildings and events, and focus inward (Curran et al., 2020). While well-intentioned, these actions have also left many parents and community members without direct knowledge of what their local schools are doing (Stark, 2018). By opening their doors and playgrounds to community members and harnessing the power of positive lived experiences, districts may be able to create allies in their community who don't allow abstract national narratives to resonate.

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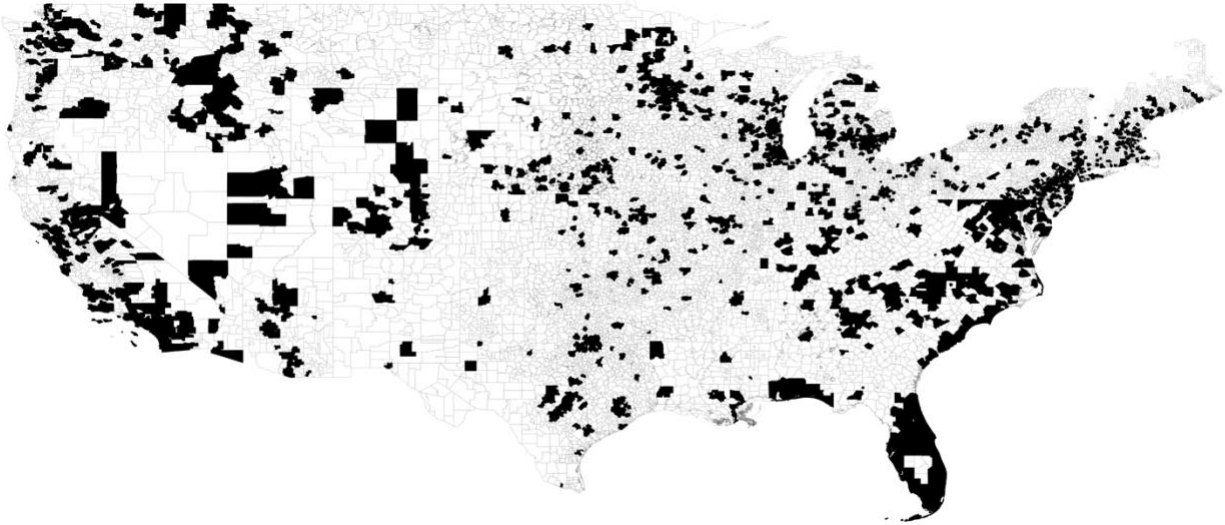
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Tables and Figures

Panel A. Anti-DEI Ideas



Panel B. Anti-DEI Policies

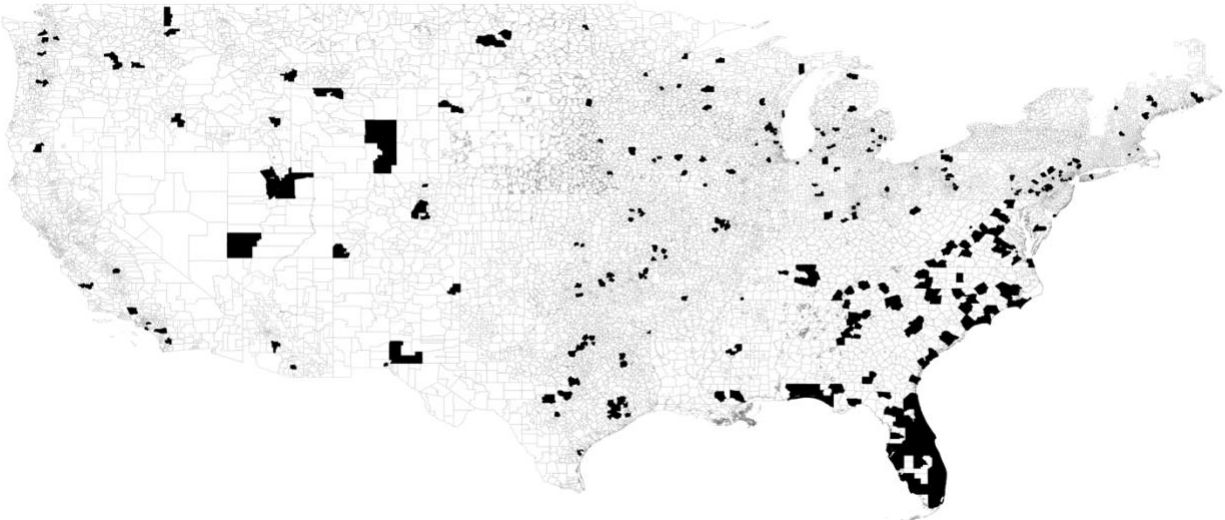


Figure 1. Geographic Distribution of Districts with Anti-DEI Ideas and Policies

Notes: Panel A shades in black all districts with anti-DEI ideas (anti-CRT/LGBTQ elections and book challenges). Panel B shades in black all districts with anti-DEI actions (anti-CRT policies and book bans). Grey lines indicate school district boundaries.

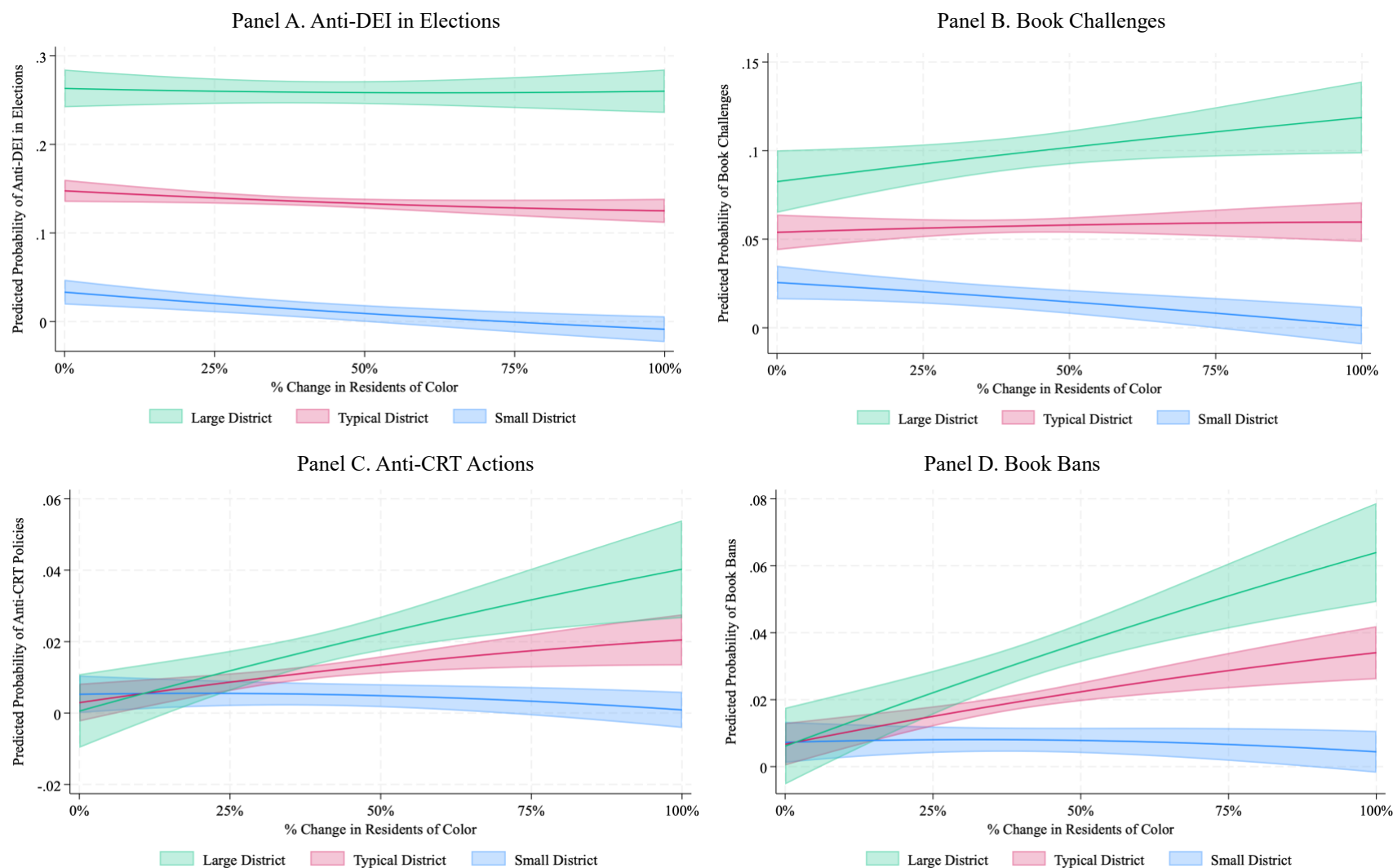


Figure 2. Likelihood of Anti-DEI Issues and Policies by Change in Residents of Color

Notes: Panels A and B display predicted probabilities of anti-DEI ideas (anti-DEI elections and book challenges) based on the quadratic form of percent change in residents of color. Panels C and D display predicted probabilities of anti-DEI policies (anti-CRT policies and book bans) based on the quadratic form of percent change in residents of color. Predictions are shown for small, typical, and large districts (25th, 50th, and 75th percentiles, respectively) to illustrate heterogeneity by district size. Shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals. See Tables 2 and 3 for specification details.

Table 1. Descriptive Characteristics

	All Districts	Anti-DEI Ideas		Anti-DEI Policies	
		Anti-DEI in Elections	Book Challenges	Anti- CRT Actions	Book Bans
<i>Racial Status Threat Indicators</i>					
% Residents of Color 2020	28.87 (19.26)	36.21 (19.08)	31.59 (17.28)	32.55 (17.48)	32.00 (17.12)
% Change in Residents of Color 2020	45.42 (33.92)	42.14 (26.29)	45.27 (26.13)	48.77 (31.42)	49.17 (26.61)
% Greater than 50% Residents of Color 2020	14.62 (35.33)	23.92 (42.67)	16.25 (36.91)	15.71 (36.52)	14.88 (35.66)
% With a BLM Protest	74.68 (43.48)	94.06 (23.64)	91.32 (28.18)	85.71 (35.12)	90.08 (29.95)
% With a DEI Officer	1.67 (12.83)	9.84 (29.79)	11.34 (31.74)	15.00 (35.84)	13.64 (34.39)
<i>Controls</i>					
Trump Vote Share	57.05 (16.45)	46.68 (14.18)	50.52 (15.11)	57.13 (13.04)	53.45 (12.80)
District Total Enrollment (1000s)	3.50 (11.40)	12.54 (25.61)	16.47 (35.26)	21.76 (28.12)	25.35 (41.61)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	0.62 (0.46)	0.69 (0.42)	0.86 (0.30)	0.85 (0.31)	0.87 (0.27)
% Urban	5.76 (23.30)	21.13 (40.83)	19.33 (39.51)	19.29 (39.60)	21.07 (40.87)
% Suburban	23.16 (42.19)	49.42 (50.01)	46.92 (49.94)	40.71 (49.31)	47.93 (50.06)
%Town or Rural	71.08 (45.34)	29.45 (45.60)	33.75 (47.32)	40.00 (49.17)	30.99 (46.34)
Median Household Income (2020)	61.70 (17.25)	73.37 (18.44)	69.57 (17.26)	68.71 (16.85)	68.89 (17.33)
District % Poverty	14.38 (8.09)	10.12 (6.46)	10.75 (6.73)	11.82 (7.09)	10.77 (6.30)
% Residents with Bachelor’s Degrees (2020)	18.42 (7.18)	23.50 (7.06)	22.56 (7.07)	21.33 (6.99)	22.17 (6.78)
Number of Districts	12,897	1,718	714	140	242
% of Districts	100%	13.3%	5.5%	1.1%	1.9%

Notes: This table displays descriptive information for all districts, districts with anti-DEI ideas, and districts with anti-DEI policies. Means are shown with standard deviations in parentheses. Data on DEI officers is from a sample of 554 large districts (see Data section for details).

Table 2. Relationships Between Racial Status Threat Triggers and Anti-DEI Ideas

	Anti-DEI in Elections			Book Challenges		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
% Residents of Color	0.343*** (0.034)	-0.050 (0.039)	-0.050 (0.039)	0.131*** (0.024)	-0.006 (0.029)	-0.007 (0.029)
% Change in Residents of Color	0.148*** (0.017)	-0.039* (0.016)	-0.036* (0.016)	0.071*** (0.013)	0.005 (0.012)	0.009 (0.013)
% Change in Residents of Color (Quadratic)	-0.051*** (0.007)	0.011+ (0.006)	0.013* (0.006)	-0.029*** (0.006)	-0.007+ (0.004)	-0.005 (0.004)
> 50% Residents of Color	-0.067*** (0.015)	0.020 (0.014)	0.022 (0.014)	-0.029** (0.011)	0.001 (0.011)	0.003 (0.011)
BLM Protest	0.064*** (0.005)	-0.018** (0.005)	-0.018*** (0.005)	0.036*** (0.004)	0.008* (0.004)	0.008+ (0.004)
DEI Officer	0.140*** (0.038)	0.100** (0.035)	0.099** (0.035)	0.054 (0.040)	0.042 (0.040)	0.041 (0.040)
Trump Vote Share		0.132*** (0.038)	0.130*** (0.038)		0.041 (0.027)	0.037 (0.027)
District Size (Logged)		0.065*** (0.003)	0.061*** (0.003)		0.022*** (0.002)	0.015*** (0.003)
Library Staff (per 1,000 Students)		-0.001 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.006)		0.003 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)
Suburban		-0.066*** (0.019)	-0.067*** (0.019)		-0.007 (0.016)	-0.009 (0.016)
Rural or Town		-0.144*** (0.019)	-0.146*** (0.019)		-0.037* (0.015)	-0.040* (0.015)
Median Household Income		-0.001** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
District % Poverty		-0.006*** (0.000)	-0.006*** (0.000)		-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)
% Residents with Bachelor's Degrees		0.836*** (0.090)	0.843*** (0.090)		0.233*** (0.069)	0.243*** (0.069)
% Change in Residents of Color* District Size (Logged)			0.010+ (0.005)			0.016*** (0.004)
Constant	0.352*** (0.030)	0.376*** (0.050)	0.381*** (0.050)	0.202*** (0.027)	0.214*** (0.039)	0.222*** (0.039)
Number of Observations	12,897	12,897	12,897	12,897	12,897	12,897
R-Squared	0.199	0.320	0.320	0.097	0.128	0.129
Adjusted R-Squared	0.195	0.316	0.316	0.093	0.124	0.125
State Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. See Appendix B for standardized coefficients and for zero-inflated Poisson regression analyses using continuous versions of the count measures.

Table 3. Relationships Between Racial Status Threat Triggers and Anti-DEI Policies

	Anti-CRT Policies				Book Bans	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
% Residents of Color	0.018 (0.012)	0.036* (0.016)	0.036* (0.016)	0.070*** (0.015)	0.031+ (0.018)	0.031+ (0.018)
% Change in Residents of Color	0.033*** (0.007)	0.021** (0.007)	0.024** (0.007)	0.053*** (0.008)	0.030*** (0.008)	0.034*** (0.009)
% Change in Residents of Color (Quadratic)	-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.018*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.003)	-0.008** (0.003)
> 50% Residents of Color	-0.010* (0.005)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.020** (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.006)
BLM Protest	0.008*** (0.002)	0.006** (0.002)	0.006** (0.002)	0.014*** (0.003)	0.005+ (0.003)	0.004+ (0.003)
DEI Officer	-0.017 (0.026)	-0.016 (0.026)	-0.017 (0.026)	-0.043 (0.029)	-0.045 (0.029)	-0.047 (0.028)
Trump Vote Share		0.076*** (0.016)	0.073*** (0.016)		0.021 (0.017)	0.018 (0.017)
District Size (Logged)		0.004*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)		0.007*** (0.001)	-0.000 (0.002)
Library Staff (per 1,000 Students)		-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)		0.002 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.003)
Suburban		0.010 (0.008)	0.009 (0.008)		0.008 (0.010)	0.006 (0.010)
Rural or Town		0.008 (0.008)	0.006 (0.008)		-0.002 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.010)
Median Household Income		-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
District % Poverty		-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)		-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)
% Residents with Bachelor's Degrees		0.101** (0.037)	0.108** (0.038)		0.090* (0.041)	0.100* (0.041)
% Change in Residents of Color *District Size (Logged)			0.012*** (0.003)			0.016*** (0.003)
Constant	0.078*** (0.017)	0.012 (0.021)	0.018 (0.021)	0.112*** (0.020)	0.107*** (0.027)	0.115*** (0.027)
Number of Observations	12,897	12,897	12,897	12,897	12,897	12,897
R-Squared	0.071	0.078	0.081	0.143	0.153	0.156
Adjusted R-Squared	0.067	0.073	0.076	0.139	0.148	0.151
State Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. See Appendix B for standardized coefficients and for zero-inflated Poisson regression analyses using continuous versions of the count measures.

Online Supplemental Material for Racial Status Threat and Anti-DEI Efforts in Local School Districts

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Appendix A. Detailed Description of Data Collection and Merge Process

Data Structure

We use a dataset encompassing 12,897 regular school districts drawn from both district and county sources. We structure our data cross-sectionally and include measures of change over time because analyzing changes in school district outcomes requires aligning multiple factors that operate on fundamentally different timescales. Demographic changes unfold over years, anti-DEI discourse spreads within weeks or months, school board elections occur at varying time scales, and district performance metrics are measured annually. This temporal misalignment prevents the fine-grained, day-by-day analysis that would be methodologically ideal.

For example, consider a hypothetical school district. This district experiences significant but gradual demographic changes over a decade, with its Latinx student population steadily increasing from 15% to 35%. In March 2022, national anti-DEI rhetoric suddenly intensified through social media, and local parent groups quickly adopted this messaging and began bringing book challenges to school board meetings. The school district doesn't hold school board elections until May of 2023, though, at which point three school board candidates campaign on anti-DEI platforms and win, taking office in July 2023. The new board recognizes that it is too late to implement policy changes for the 2023-24 school year. They immediately begin to shift

the agenda, recognizing that any policy changes, such as eliminating diversity programs and revising curricula, would not be implemented until 2024-2025. When researchers analyze this district, they face a fundamental attribution problem. Because anti-DEI ideas and policies, demographic changes, and other community and school characteristics operate on completely different timescales, researchers cannot line these factors up together on the same timeline.

Merge Process

Data are sourced from both district and county sources. To begin, we created two different data sets, one with our district-level data and one with our county-level data. Then, we merged the county-level data with the district-level dataset using geographic relationship files from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), ensuring each district was paired with relevant county-level identifiers. When a district spanned multiple counties, we used a population-weighted average across counties to account for the likelihood that larger counties likely contributed a larger number of students to the district. This allows us to measure change in the community surrounding a local district, not just in the district itself.

There were a few changes in counties across time that we had to address. First, we dropped the Bedford City, Virginia observation in 2010 from the Census data because it was an independent city within Bedford County but later became incorporated. Second, the following counties also experienced changes:

- Chugach Census Area, Alaska (2020) was Valdez-Cordova area in 2010.
- Copper River Census Area (2020) was Valdez-Cordova Census area in 2010
- Kusilvak Census Area was Wade Hampton Census Area in 2010
- Oglala Lakota County was Shannon County in 2020

We manually changed the data so that counties that changed names matched. Thus, for Olga Lakota County, we entered the 2010 Shannon County data to fill in the missing 2010 data. For the Kusilvak Census Area, we entered the Wade Hampton Census Area. For the Chugach Census Area and Copper River Census area, we entered the Valdez-Cordova 2010 information since these counties both originate from the Valdez-Cordova census area.

CRT or LGBTQ Issues in School Board Elections

We use the presence of CRT or LGBTQ+ issues in school board elections as a measure of anti-DEI ideas. Ballotpedia collected data on school board elections “through a daily news checking process” (Ballotpedia, n.d). Between January 2021 and May 2023, Ballotpedia identified 1,718 districts with school board elections where race, gender, or sexuality were campaign issues. This dataset did not include district-level identifiers, so we hand-collected the LEAID for every school district that had an anti-DEI and/or sex and gender focused election. Some districts experienced multiple elections, explaining some of the differences between Ballotpedia’s election-level tracking and our district-level data.

We took a few additional steps to clean the Ballotpedia data. For some school districts, it was unclear what district Ballotpedia was referring to (for example, a district had similar names for the lower and upper elementary district, and it was unclear which the Ballotpedia data was referring to). In these cases, we used the sources from Ballotpedia to determine whether they were referring to the upper or lower elementary district, or if they both had the same school board, regardless. In cases where both districts had the same school board, we added an additional district into the Ballotpedia data to make clear that the election was referring to two separate district school board elections.

Book Challenges

We use information on book challenges within districts in 2022. The American Library Association (ALA) provided us with their data on book challenges, recording cases across the U.S. where an actor—e.g., a parent, elected official, school board member, school administrator, or national advocacy group—requested one or more books be removed from a school or public library, regardless of the decision to ban it or not (ALA, 2024). For books challenged in public libraries, we checked for the location of the library on Google Maps, and then manually matched the location of the library with the corresponding school district. A total of 6,943 books were challenged in 2022. We use this measure as a dichotomous variable coded 1 if any books were challenged in 2022 and show results are very consistent using a continuous, count version in Appendix Table B1 and Figure B1.

Anti-CRT Policies

We obtained data on the enactment of district-level anti-DEI policies from the CRT Forward project, developed by the UCLA School of Law's Critical Race Studies Program. This project tracks the introduction and adoption of anti-CRT policies at local, state, and federal levels. We restrict the sample to district-level policies that were adopted (rather than failed). For each policy, we obtained information on the date of the policy, the name of the school district, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) identifier, and the state. The first recorded local anti-DEI policy adoption is August 25, 2020, and the last recorded one is January 12, 2024.

Book Bans

These data were collected as part of the PEN America Book Bans Index for the 2021-2022 and 2022-2023 academic years. The PEN America Index compiles cases in which an actor (e.g., parent, community groups, government officials) challenged a book and, as a result, an

action was taken, whether banning the book completely or diminishing access to it (e.g., requiring parental permission, bans at specific grade levels; PEN America, 2022). PEN America compiles data on book bans through media coverage, school districts' board minutes and websites, and direct reports to PEN America by local partners and advocates. PEN America recorded a total of 2,532 and 3,362 instances of books banned in 242 districts during the 2021-2022 and 2022-2023 academic years, respectively (PEN America, 2025).

BLM Protests

We use protest data from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED). We limited the data to protests involving BLM as a named actor and events classified as either “Protest” or “Riot.” Specifically, 99.87% of events with BLM named as an actor were classified as either Protests (94.10%) or Riots (5.77%).

ACLED uses a standard set of event and sub-event types to classify protests worldwide, which they applied to their BLM tracking. A protest event in the ACLED data is “defined as an in-person public demonstration of three or more participants in which the participants do not engage in violence, though violence may be used against them” (ACLED, 2025). Riots, instead, are “violent events where demonstrators or mobs of three or more engage in violent or destructive acts, including but not limited to physical fights, rock throwing, property destruction, etc.” (ACLED, 2025).

Our BLM protest dataset spans from May 24, 2020, to March 1, 2023, aligning with the period during which anti-DEI-focused elections and actions were tracked. There were 12,290 BLM events in this time frame. ACLED included the county where each BLM event occurred, and after removing duplicates, we collapsed this data to the county level. To account for the

possibility that BLM demonstrations may have occurred after anti-DEI events, we only capture a district as having a BLM demonstration if it pre-dated an anti-DEI idea or policy.

There were a number of duplicate protests in the data. We define duplicate events as events that occurred on the same day, at the same latitude and longitude. To address these, we first sorted the data by latitude, longitude, and event date. We counted duplicates within each event date and created a unique identifier for unique disorder types within each group, just in case the same event was coded as riot and a protest or other information was different between duplicate observations. We created a second version of each variable that concatenated that data within each group. We ensured that the last observation within each duplicate group included the complete list of concatenated values and dropped the intermediate duplicates. Basically, this process ensured that if two events occurred on the same day in the same location, we combined duplicates to include the underlying information from each observation. There were no duplicates after this process.

Common Core of Data

We used the Urban Institute API to gather school district information from the Common Core of Data (CCD) on all school districts in the United States, primarily data from 2020. We use data from 2010 to develop measures of demographic change over time. We only kept school districts in this dataset that were 1) regular school districts and 2) local school districts that are a component of a supervisory union. We also removed school districts that were in U.S. territories or the Bureau of Indian Affairs. While we primarily rely on data from 2010 and 2020, we gathered data from additional years to address missing enrollment data using linear interpolation. We used enrollment data from 2011 and 2012 to linearly extrapolate the missing enrollment data

for the year 2010. We used enrollment data from 2021 and 2022 to linearly extrapolate the missing enrollment data for the year 2020.

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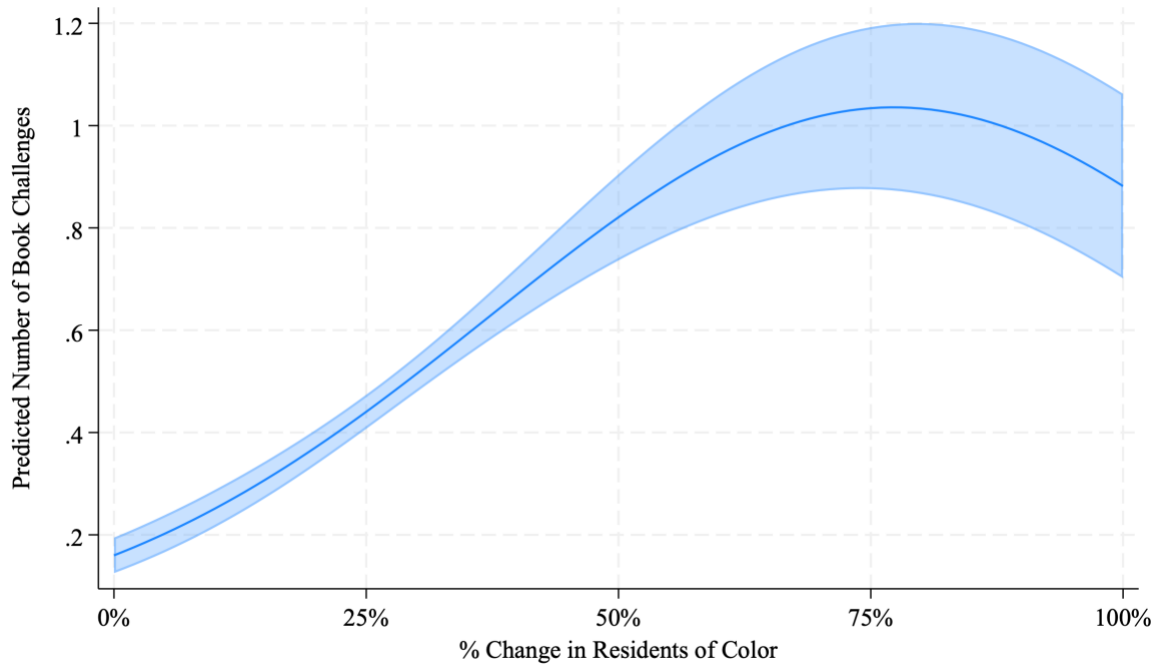
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Appendix B. Appendix Tables and Figures

Panel A. Number of Books Challenged



Panel B. Number of Books Banned

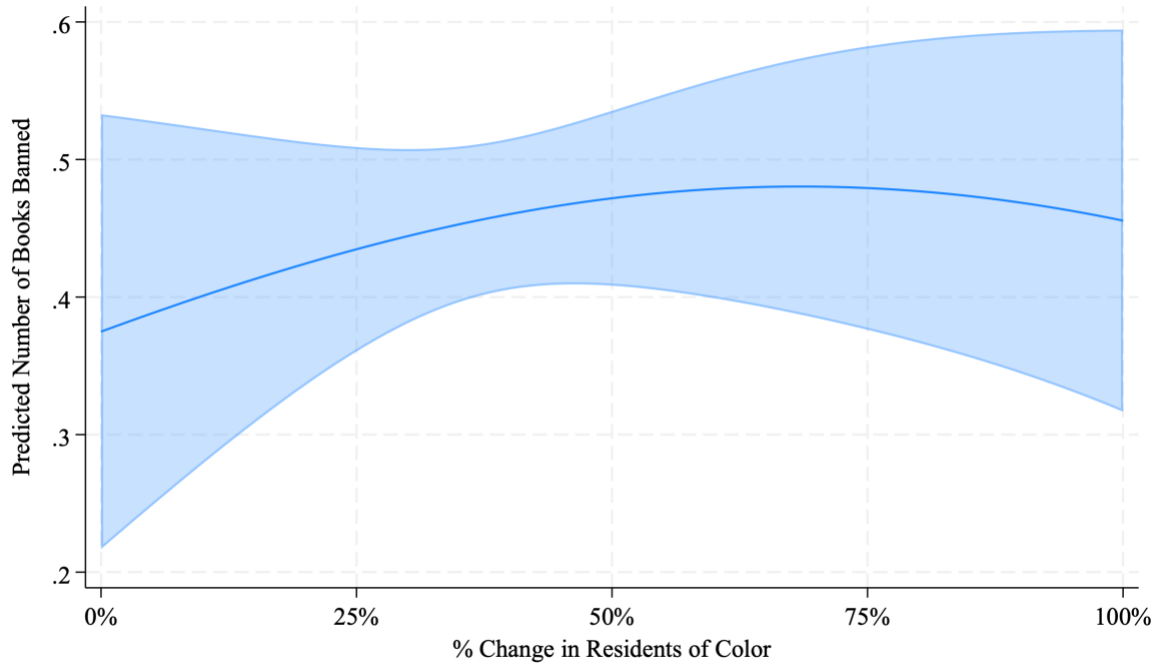


Figure B1. Count of Books Challenged and Banned by Change in Residents of Color

Notes: These figures display the results from Appendix Table B1. Panel A displays predicted number of books challenged based on the quadratic form of the percent change in residents of color. Panel B displays the predicted number of books banned based on the quadratic form of the percent change in residents of color.

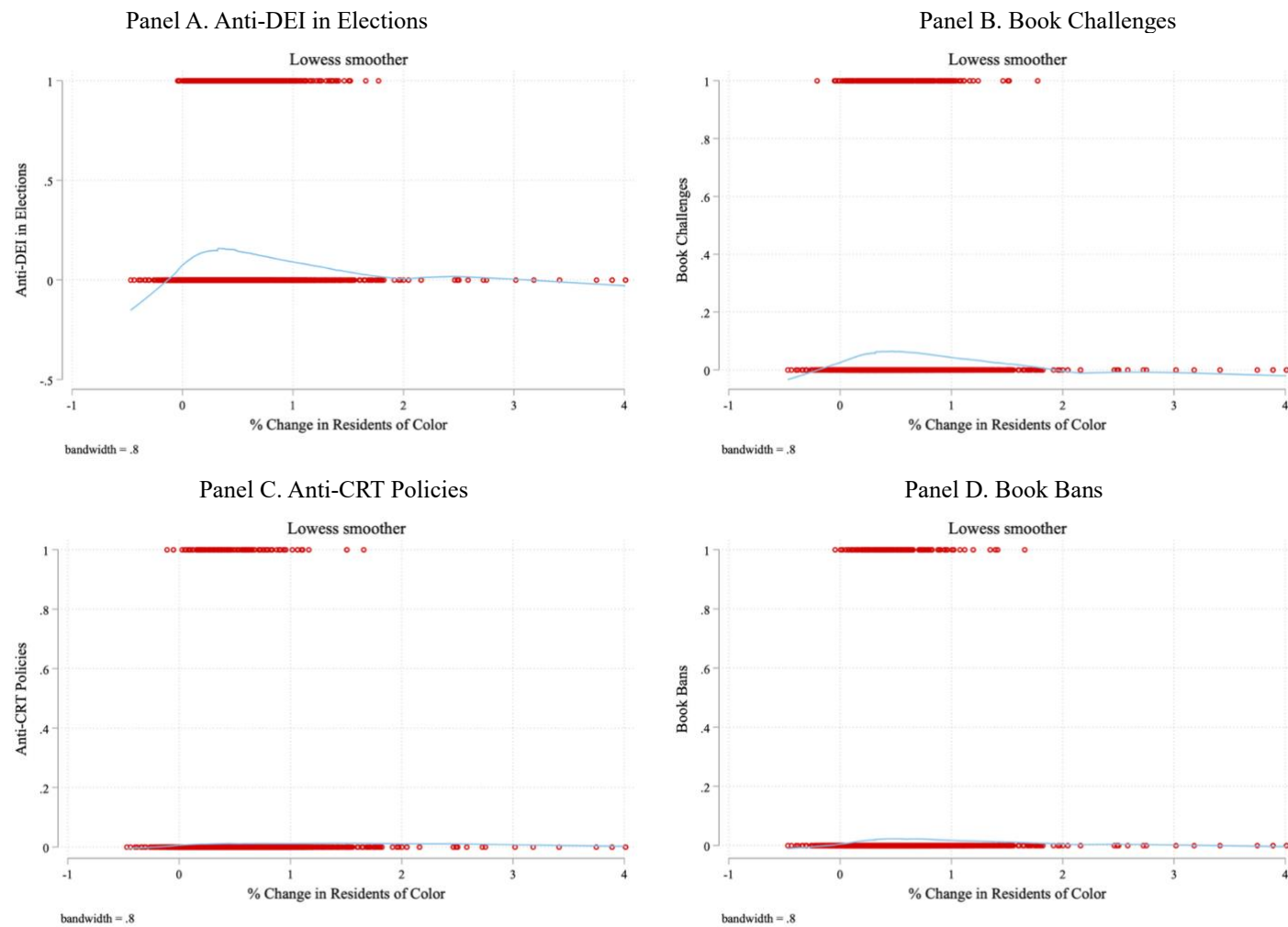


Figure B2. Scatterplots and LOWESS of Dichotomous Outcomes and Relative Change of Residents of Color

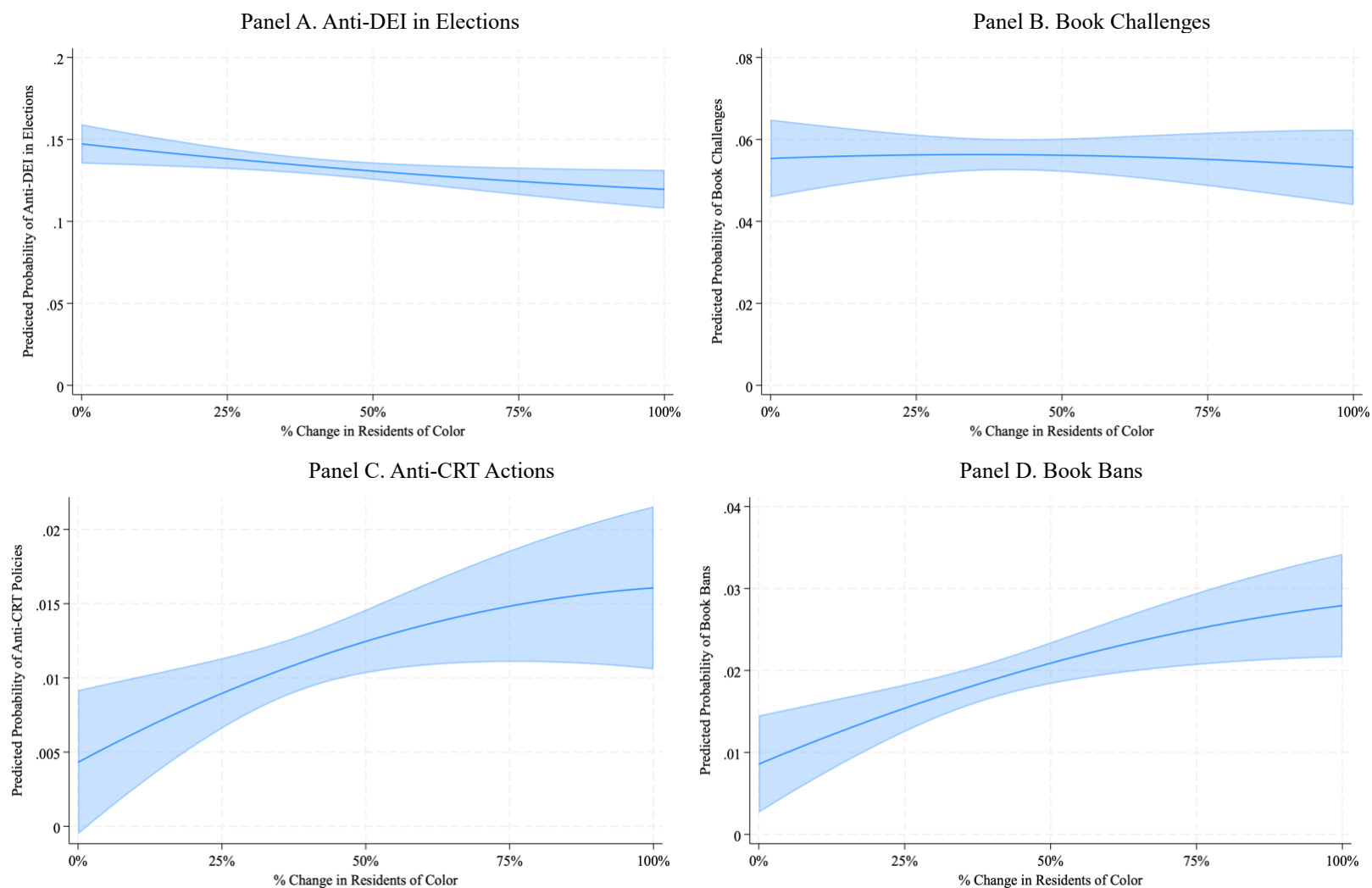


Figure B3. Likelihood of Anti-DEI Issues and Policies by Change in Residents of Color

Notes: Panels A and B display predicted probabilities of anti-DEI ideas (anti-DEI elections and book challenges) based on the quadratic form of percent change in residents of color. Panels C and D display predicted probabilities of anti-DEI policies (anti-CRT policies and book bans) based on the quadratic form of percent change in residents of color. Shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals. See Tables 2 and 3 for specification details.

Table B1. Zero-inflated Poisson Model for Count Estimates

	Book Challenges	Book Bans
Panel A. Count Model		
% Residents of Color	4.029*** (0.129)	0.533*** (0.147)
% Change in Residents of Color	5.059*** (0.179)	0.511** (0.174)
% Change in Residents of Color (Quadratic)	-3.040*** (0.156)	-0.400** (0.126)
> 50% Residents of Color	-0.496*** (0.048)	-0.020 (0.055)
BLM Protest	-0.222*** (0.041)	0.871*** (0.074)
DEI Officer	-0.747*** (0.043)	-0.236*** (0.036)
Constant	-0.076 (0.084)	2.553*** (0.110)
Panel B. Inflation Model		
% Residents of Color	2.498** (0.836)	-0.528 (1.397)
% Change in Residents of Color	0.384 (0.714)	-0.343 (1.073)
% Change in Residents of Color (Quadratic)	0.175 (0.500)	0.208 (0.711)
> 50% Residents of Color	-0.491* (0.226)	0.098 (0.372)
BLM Protest	-0.338+ (0.173)	-0.158 (0.279)
DEI Officer	0.337 (0.238)	1.001** (0.327)
Trump Vote Share	-0.638 (0.835)	-2.291 (1.422)
District Size (Logged)	-0.972*** (0.064)	-1.235*** (0.121)
Library Staff (per 1,000 Students)	-0.304+ (0.172)	-0.171 (0.305)
Suburban	0.088 (0.151)	0.164 (0.242)
Rural or Town	0.284 (0.175)	0.089 (0.281)
Median Household Income	0.005 (0.006)	0.006 (0.010)
District % Poverty	0.066*** (0.010)	0.097*** (0.019)
% Residents with Bachelor's Degrees	-3.035+ (1.597)	-3.143 (2.695)
Constant	3.123** (1.041)	87.810*** (1.895)
Number of Observations	12,897	12,897
Log Likelihood	-14827.845	-8737.013

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. This table reports estimates from zero-inflated Poisson models. Panel A presents coefficients from the count model, and Panel B presents coefficients from the inflation model. State fixed effects are included in the inflation model. Predicted values are shown in Figure B1.

Table B2. Relationships Between Student Demographics and Anti-DEI Ideas and Policies

	Anti-DEI in Elections	Book Challenges	Anti-CRT Policies	Book Bans
% Students of Color	-0.037 (0.023)	-0.000 (0.011)	-0.013 (0.009)	-0.012 (0.018)
% Change in Students of Color	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.003+ (0.001)
% Change in Students of Color (Quadratic)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
> 50% Students of Color	-0.031* (0.013)	-0.008 (0.006)	0.004 (0.006)	-0.024* (0.010)
BLM Protest	-0.024*** (0.005)	0.006* (0.003)	0.007** (0.002)	0.007+ (0.004)
DEI Officer	0.102** (0.035)	-0.045 (0.029)	-0.017 (0.026)	0.044 (0.040)
Trump Vote Share	0.057+ (0.030)	0.015 (0.014)	0.054*** (0.012)	0.008 (0.022)
District Size (Logged)	0.073*** (0.003)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.025*** (0.002)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	-0.005 (0.007)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.004)
Suburban	-0.067*** (0.019)	0.007 (0.010)	0.011 (0.008)	-0.009 (0.016)
Rural or Town	-0.146*** (0.019)	-0.002 (0.010)	0.007 (0.008)	-0.041** (0.015)
Median Household Income (2020)	-0.001* (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
District % Poverty	-0.004*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)
% Residents with Bachelor's Degrees (2020)	0.739*** (0.082)	0.080* (0.037)	0.070* (0.034)	0.190** (0.062)
Constant	0.399*** (0.043)	0.123*** (0.024)	0.040* (0.019)	0.234*** (0.035)
Number of Observations	12673.000	12673.000	12673.000	12673.000
R-Squared	0.323	0.153	0.078	0.130
Adjusted R-Squared	0.320	0.149	0.073	0.126
State Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. This table shows the results with student demographics instead of surrounding county demographics.

Table B3. Relationships Between School District Demographics and Anti-DEI Ideas and Policies

	EDGE				Zip Code			
	Anti-DEI in Elections	Book Bans	Anti-CRT Policies	Book Challenges	Anti-DEI in Elections	Book Bans	Anti-CRT Policies	Book Challenges
% Residents of Color in District	-0.065* (0.029)	0.003 (0.012)	-0.007 (0.009)	-0.038+ (0.021)	-0.096** (0.032)	-0.011 (0.015)	0.004 (0.011)	-0.027 (0.024)
% Change in Residents of Color in District	0.002* (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.015* (0.007)	0.008* (0.004)	0.004 (0.002)	0.005 (0.006)
% Change in Residents of Color in District (Quadratic)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.000+ (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
> 50% Residents of Color in District	-0.014 (0.019)	-0.020** (0.007)	-0.008 (0.005)	-0.028* (0.012)	-0.025+ (0.014)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.038*** (0.010)
BLM Protest	-0.023*** (0.005)	0.006* (0.003)	0.006** (0.002)	0.006 (0.004)	-0.022*** (0.005)	0.006* (0.003)	0.007** (0.002)	0.006 (0.004)
DEI Officer	0.102** (0.035)	-0.048+ (0.029)	-0.018 (0.026)	0.039 (0.040)	0.096** (0.035)	-0.046 (0.029)	-0.017 (0.026)	0.039 (0.040)
Trump Vote Share	0.084** (0.030)	0.014 (0.013)	0.051*** (0.012)	0.000 (0.022)	0.030 (0.032)	0.007 (0.015)	0.055*** (0.013)	-0.022 (0.023)
District Size (Logged)	0.072*** (0.003)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.024*** (0.002)	0.067*** (0.003)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.023*** (0.002)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	-0.003 (0.007)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.006)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.004)
Suburban	-0.061** (0.019)	0.008 (0.010)	0.011 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.015)	-0.063*** (0.019)	0.008 (0.010)	0.011 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.015)
Rural or Town	-0.138*** (0.019)	-0.001 (0.010)	0.008 (0.008)	-0.037* (0.015)	-0.147*** (0.019)	-0.003 (0.010)	0.008 (0.008)	-0.039* (0.015)
Median Household Income (2020)	-0.001** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.001+ (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
District % Poverty	-0.005*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.005*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)
% Residents with Bachelor's Degrees (2020)	0.804*** (0.082)	0.084* (0.036)	0.069* (0.033)	0.201** (0.062)	0.678*** (0.084)	0.063+ (0.038)	0.068* (0.034)	0.130* (0.063)
Constant	0.369*** (0.043)	0.123*** (0.024)	0.041* (0.019)	0.240*** (0.034)	0.451*** (0.045)	0.127*** (0.025)	0.038+ (0.019)	0.260*** (0.036)
Number of Observations	12546.000	12546.000	12546.000	12546.000	12891.000	12891.000	12891.000	12891.000
R-Squared	0.321	0.154	0.078	0.131	0.321	0.152	0.078	0.131
Adjusted R-Squared	0.318	0.150	0.073	0.126	0.318	0.148	0.073	0.127

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. This table shows the results using EDGE data and zip codes to measure district demographics. EDGE data are from NCES School District Education Demographic and Geographic Estimates (EDGE). Zip code data are from the U.S. Census. Populations in zip codes spanning multiple school districts are weighted evenly across school districts. All analyses include state fixed effects.

Table B4. Robustness Checks for Outcome: Anti-DEI in Elections

	Main	Control for Foreign Born	Separate Violent Protests	Anti-CRT in Elections	2020 Trump Vote Share	Mass Public Ideology	Remove DEI Officer
% Residents of Color	-0.050 (0.039)	-0.054 (0.040)	-0.056 (0.040)	-0.050 (0.039)	-0.058 (0.040)	- 0.190*** (0.055)	-0.033 (0.040)
% Change in Residents of Color	-0.039* (0.016)	-0.042** (0.016)	-0.038* (0.016)	-0.043** (0.015)	-0.038* (0.016)	-0.102* (0.040)	-0.016 (0.016)
% Change in Residents of Color (Quadratic)	0.011+ (0.006)	0.011+ (0.006)	0.011+ (0.006)	0.013* (0.006)	0.011+ (0.006)	0.043 (0.026)	0.003 (0.006)
> 50% Residents of Color	0.020 (0.014)	0.021 (0.014)	0.022 (0.014)	0.019 (0.014)	0.020 (0.014)	0.007 (0.021)	0.026+ (0.014)
BLM Protest	-0.018** (0.005)	-0.018*** (0.006)		-0.018*** (0.005)	-0.018** (0.005)	-0.031** (0.010)	-0.018** (0.005)
Nonviolent BLM Protest			-0.018** (0.005)				
Violent BLM Protest			-0.010 (0.011)				
DEI Officer	0.100** (0.035)	0.100** (0.035)	0.100** (0.035)	0.104** (0.036)	0.100** (0.035)	0.086* (0.036)	
Trump Vote Share	0.132*** (0.038)	0.133*** (0.038)	0.134*** (0.038)	0.132*** (0.038)			0.137*** (0.039)
Trump Vote Share (2020 Only)					0.117** (0.039)		
Mass Public Ideology						-0.017 (0.042)	
District Size (Logged)	0.065*** (0.003)	0.065*** (0.003)	0.065*** (0.003)	0.063*** (0.003)	0.065*** (0.003)	0.131*** (0.007)	0.076*** (0.003)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.029* (0.013)	-0.010 (0.006)
Suburban	-0.066*** (0.019)	-0.065*** (0.019)	-0.066*** (0.019)	-0.061** (0.019)	-0.065*** (0.019)	-0.037+ (0.020)	-0.109*** (0.018)
Rural or Town	-0.144*** (0.019)	-0.144*** (0.019)	-0.143*** (0.019)	-0.140*** (0.019)	-0.144*** (0.019)	- 0.095*** (0.022)	-0.192*** (0.018)
Median Household Income (2020)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)	- 0.002*** (0.001)	-0.001** (0.000)
District % Poverty	-0.006*** (0.000)	-0.006*** (0.000)	-0.006*** (0.000)	-0.005*** (0.000)	-0.006*** (0.000)	- 0.009*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.000)
% Residents with Bachelors Degrees (2020)	0.836*** (0.090)	0.836*** (0.090)	0.825*** (0.091)	0.833*** (0.090)	0.821*** (0.092)	0.822*** (0.117)	0.886*** (0.090)
% Change in Foreign Born		0.020 (0.038)					
Constant	0.376*** (0.050)	0.379*** (0.050)	0.374*** (0.050)	0.375*** (0.050)	0.387*** (0.051)	0.372*** (0.053)	0.228*** (0.045)
Number of observations	12897.000	12897.000	12897.000	12835.000	12897.000	6958.000	12897.000
R-Squared	0.320	0.320	0.320	0.319	0.319	0.347	0.307
Adjusted R-Squared	0.316	0.316	0.316	0.316	0.316	0.341	0.303
State Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Table B5. Robustness Checks for Outcome: Book Challenges

	Main	Control for Foreign Born	Separate Violent Protests	2020 Trump Vote Share	Mass Public Ideology	Remove DEI Officer
% Residents of Color	-0.006 (0.029)	-0.026 (0.030)	-0.007 (0.030)	-0.015 (0.030)	-0.109* (0.045)	0.006 (0.030)
% Change in Residents of Color	0.005 (0.012)	-0.010 (0.013)	0.005 (0.012)	0.005 (0.012)	-0.017 (0.029)	0.024+ (0.013)
% Change in Residents of Color (Quadratic)	-0.007+ (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.007+ (0.004)	-0.007+ (0.004)	-0.012 (0.016)	-0.014** (0.005)
> 50% Residents of Color	0.001 (0.011)	0.005 (0.011)	0.001 (0.011)	0.001 (0.011)	0.019 (0.017)	0.006 (0.011)
BLM Protest	0.008* (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)		0.008+ (0.004)	0.006 (0.008)	0.009* (0.004)
Nonviolent BLM Protest			0.008* (0.004)			
Violent BLM Protest			0.009 (0.008)			
DEI Officer	0.042 (0.040)	0.043 (0.040)	0.042 (0.040)	0.042 (0.040)	0.032 (0.041)	
Trump Vote Share	0.041 (0.027)	0.044 (0.027)	0.041 (0.027)			0.046+ (0.028)
Trump Vote Share (2020 Only)				0.025 (0.028)		
Mass Public Ideology					0.025 (0.032)	
District Size (Logged)	0.022*** (0.002)	0.022*** (0.002)	0.022*** (0.002)	0.022*** (0.002)	0.061*** (0.006)	0.031*** (0.002)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	0.003 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)	0.004 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.005)
Suburban	-0.007 (0.016)	-0.006 (0.016)	-0.007 (0.016)	-0.007 (0.016)	-0.004 (0.019)	-0.041** (0.015)
Rural or Town	-0.037* (0.015)	-0.037* (0.015)	-0.037* (0.015)	-0.037* (0.015)	-0.018 (0.020)	-0.075*** (0.015)
Median Household Income (2020)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000+ (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
District % Poverty	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.000)
% Residents with Bachelors Degrees (2020)	0.233*** (0.069)	0.231*** (0.069)	0.232*** (0.070)	0.211** (0.071)	0.210* (0.093)	0.270*** (0.070)
% Change in Foreign Born		0.086** (0.028)				
Constant	0.214*** (0.039)	0.231*** (0.040)	0.214*** (0.039)	0.228*** (0.040)	0.172*** (0.044)	0.080* (0.033)
Number of observations	12897.000	12897.000	12897.000	12897.000	6958.000	12897.000
R-Squared	0.128	0.129	0.128	0.128	0.136	0.111
Adjusted R-Squared	0.124	0.124	0.124	0.124	0.128	0.107
State Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Table B6. Robustness Checks for Outcome: Anti-CRT Policies

	Main	Control for Foreign Born	Separate Violent Protests	2020 Trump Vote Share	Mass Public Ideology	Remove DEI Officer
% Residents of Color	0.036* (0.016)	0.029+ (0.016)	0.043** (0.016)	0.036* (0.016)	0.004 (0.024)	0.042** (0.016)
% Change in Residents of Color	0.021** (0.007)	0.015* (0.007)	0.021** (0.007)	0.021** (0.007)	0.034* (0.016)	0.029*** (0.007)
% Change in Residents of Color (Quadratic)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.014 (0.009)	-0.012*** (0.003)
> 50% Residents of Color	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.005)
BLM Protest	0.006** (0.002)	0.005* (0.002)		0.006** (0.002)	0.009* (0.004)	0.007** (0.002)
Nonviolent BLM Protest			0.006** (0.002)			
Violent BLM Protest			-0.003 (0.004)			
DEI Officer	-0.016 (0.026)	-0.016 (0.026)	-0.016 (0.026)	-0.016 (0.026)	-0.021 (0.027)	
Trump Vote Share	0.076*** (0.016)	0.077*** (0.016)	0.073*** (0.016)			0.079*** (0.016)
Trump Vote Share (2020 Only)				0.074*** (0.016)		
Mass Public Ideology					0.066*** (0.014)	
District Size (Logged)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.016*** (0.003)	0.008*** (0.001)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.004+ (0.002)
Suburban	0.010 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	0.011 (0.011)	-0.004 (0.008)
Rural or Town	0.008 (0.008)	0.008 (0.008)	0.007 (0.008)	0.008 (0.008)	0.010 (0.011)	-0.008 (0.008)
Median Household Income (2020)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
District % Poverty	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
% Residents with Bachelors Degrees (2020)	0.101** (0.037)	0.100** (0.037)	0.114** (0.039)	0.102** (0.039)	0.072 (0.050)	0.114** (0.037)
% Change in Foreign Born		0.033+ (0.017)				
Constant	0.012 (0.021)	0.018 (0.021)	0.014 (0.021)	0.012 (0.022)	0.028 (0.025)	-0.061*** (0.017)
Number of observations	12897.000	12897.000	12897.000	12897.000	6958.000	12897.000
R-Squared	0.078	0.078	0.079	0.078	0.093	0.062
Adjusted R-Squared	0.073	0.074	0.074	0.073	0.084	0.058
State Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Table B7. Robustness Checks for Outcome: Book Bans

	Main	Control for Foreign Born	Separate Violent Protests	2020 Trump Vote Share	Mass Public Ideology	Remove DEI Officer
% Residents of Color	0.031+ (0.018)	0.018 (0.018)	0.038* (0.018)	0.028 (0.018)	0.004 (0.028)	0.038* (0.018)
% Change in Residents of Color	0.030*** (0.008)	0.020* (0.008)	0.030*** (0.008)	0.030*** (0.008)	0.033+ (0.018)	0.042*** (0.009)
% Change in Residents of Color (Quadratic)	-0.011*** (0.003)	-0.010*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.003)	-0.013 (0.010)	-0.015*** (0.003)
> 50% Residents of Color	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.011+ (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.006)
BLM Protest	0.005+ (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)		0.005+ (0.003)	0.004 (0.005)	0.006* (0.003)
Nonviolent BLM Protest			0.005+ (0.003)			
Violent BLM Protest			-0.004 (0.005)			
DEI Officer	-0.045 (0.029)	-0.045 (0.029)	-0.045 (0.029)	-0.046 (0.029)	-0.056+ (0.030)	
Trump Vote Share	0.021 (0.017)	0.023 (0.017)	0.018 (0.017)			0.026 (0.017)
Trump Vote Share (2020)				0.016 (0.017)		
Mass Public Ideology					0.032+ (0.018)	
District Size (Logged)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.028*** (0.004)	0.012*** (0.001)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.003)
Suburban	0.008 (0.010)	0.008 (0.010)	0.008 (0.010)	0.008 (0.010)	0.011 (0.013)	-0.010 (0.010)
Rural or Town	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.010)	0.007 (0.014)	-0.023* (0.010)
Median Household Income (2020)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
District % Poverty	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)
% Residents with Bachelors Degrees (2020)	0.090* (0.041)	0.089* (0.041)	0.104* (0.042)	0.084* (0.042)	0.107+ (0.056)	0.107** (0.041)
% Change in Foreign Born		0.054* (0.022)				
Constant	0.107*** (0.027)	0.117*** (0.027)	0.108*** (0.027)	0.111*** (0.028)	0.079** (0.030)	-0.002 (0.020)
Number of observations	12897.000	12897.000	12897.000	12897.000	6958.000	12897.000
R-Squared	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.152	0.169	0.134
Adjusted R-Squared	0.148	0.149	0.149	0.148	0.162	0.130
State Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Table B8. DEI Officer Only Sample

	Anti-DEI in Elections		Book Challenges		Anti-CRT Policies		Book Bans	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
% Residents of Color	-0.356 (0.320)	-0.372 (0.321)	-0.538 (0.366)	-0.536 (0.366)	0.199 (0.253)	0.197 (0.251)	0.091 (0.241)	0.101 (0.243)
% Change in Residents of Color	-0.130 (0.307)	-0.084 (0.306)	0.152 (0.338)	0.145 (0.338)	-0.463+ (0.261)	-0.457+ (0.262)	-0.338 (0.227)	-0.368 (0.228)
% Change in Residents of Color (Quadratic)	0.032 (0.203)	0.009 (0.202)	-0.249 (0.225)	-0.246 (0.224)	0.488* (0.190)	0.485* (0.190)	0.369** (0.141)	0.385** (0.143)
> 50% Residents of Color	0.049 (0.080)	0.039 (0.080)	-0.044 (0.085)	-0.042 (0.085)	-0.018 (0.057)	-0.020 (0.057)	0.036 (0.065)	0.042 (0.065)
BLM Protest	0.102 (0.142)	0.096 (0.142)	-0.057 (0.136)	-0.057 (0.135)	0.218* (0.085)	0.217* (0.085)	0.082 (0.114)	0.086 (0.112)
DEI Officer	0.083* (0.041)		-0.012 (0.044)		0.012 (0.032)		-0.053 (0.034)	
Trump Vote Share	0.309 (0.345)	0.247 (0.343)	-0.359 (0.387)	-0.350 (0.388)	0.909** (0.289)	0.900** (0.289)	0.625** (0.235)	0.665** (0.234)
District Size (Logged)	0.136*** (0.035)	0.153*** (0.033)	0.236*** (0.039)	0.234*** (0.038)	0.060* (0.027)	0.063* (0.026)	0.112*** (0.028)	0.101*** (0.027)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	-0.043 (0.086)	-0.035 (0.085)	0.020 (0.093)	0.019 (0.092)	0.048 (0.058)	0.049 (0.058)	0.048 (0.077)	0.043 (0.077)
Suburban	-0.053 (0.040)	-0.057 (0.040)	-0.021 (0.042)	-0.020 (0.042)	0.023 (0.030)	0.022 (0.030)	0.031 (0.029)	0.034 (0.030)
Rural or Town	-0.171+ (0.101)	-0.172+ (0.101)	0.011 (0.107)	0.011 (0.107)	0.024 (0.080)	0.023 (0.080)	-0.010 (0.086)	-0.009 (0.086)
Median Household Income (2020)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
District % Poverty	-0.017*** (0.004)	-0.017*** (0.004)	-0.010** (0.004)	-0.010** (0.004)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)

% Residents with Bachelor's Degrees (2020)	0.220 (0.685)	0.267 (0.685)	-1.251 (0.762)	-1.258+ (0.761)	0.597 (0.501)	0.604 (0.499)	0.218 (0.461)	0.188 (0.462)
% Change in Residents of Color*District Size (Logged)	0.421 (0.395)	0.437 (0.394)	0.169 (0.433)	0.167 (0.432)	-0.842** (0.301)	-0.840** (0.300)	-0.727* (0.295)	-0.737* (0.295)
Number of observations	554	554	554	554	554	554	554	554
R-Squared	0.390	0.385	0.253	0.253	0.242	0.242	0.439	0.435
Adjusted R-Squared	0.319	0.314	0.166	0.167	0.154	0.155	0.373	0.370
State Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Sample is limited to only districts for which DEI officer data are available.

Table B9. Bivariate Relationships Between Anti-DEI Ideas and/or Policies and Independent Variables

	Neither Ideas nor Policies	Just Ideas	Just Policies	Both Ideas and Policies
<i>Racial Status Threat Indicators</i>				
% Residents of Color 2020	27.74 (19.15)	34.82 (19.13)	28.60 (17.30)	33.21 (17.26)
% Change in Residents of Color 2020	45.91 (35.21)	42.05 (26.17)	42.91 (28.52)	49.75 (27.94)
% Greater than 50% Residents of Color 2020	13.30 (33.96)	22.10 (41.50)	7.59 (26.66)	17.47 (38.04)
% With a BLM Protest	71.15 (45.31)	92.69 (26.04)	68.35 (46.81)	93.68 (24.38)
% With a DEI Officer	0.33 (5.71)	7.26 (25.95)	0.00 (0.00)	17.47 (38.04)
<i>Controls</i>				
Trump Vote Share	58.85 (16.18)	47.10 (14.87)	60.34 (13.68)	52.88 (12.55)
District Total Enrollment (1000s)	1.85 (3.63)	9.53 (21.42)	6.25 (7.60)	27.17 (40.30)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	0.59 (0.47)	0.70 (0.41)	0.82 (0.35)	0.87 (0.27)
% Urban	3.06 (17.24)	18.58 (38.91)	11.39 (31.97)	23.42 (42.43)
% Suburban	18.30 (38.67)	47.45 (49.95)	15.19 (36.12)	52.04 (50.05)
%Town or Rural	78.63 (40.99)	33.97 (47.37)	73.42 (44.46)	24.54 (43.11)
Median Household Income (2020)	59.63 (16.28)	72.42 (18.44)	61.96 (16.24)	70.35 (16.87)
District % Poverty	15.16 (8.13)	10.45 (6.71)	14.01 (7.80)	10.34 (6.09)
% Residents with Bachelor's Degrees (2020)	17.50 (6.82)	23.16 (7.25)	17.81 (7.01)	22.76 (6.47)
Number of Districts	10,703	1,846	79	269
% of Districts	83.1%	14.3%	0.6%	2.1%

Notes: Means are shown with standard deviations in parentheses. Data on DEI officers is from a sample of 554 large districts (see Data section for details).

Table B10. Standardized Coefficients

	Anti-DEI in Elections	Book Challenges	Anti-CRT Policies	Book Bans
% Residents of Color	-0.028	-0.005	0.068	0.044
% Change in Residents of Color	-0.039	0.008	0.068	0.075
> 50% Residents of Color	0.021	0.002	-0.016	-0.024
BLM Protest	-0.022	0.016	0.026	0.015
Trump Vote Share	0.038	0.024	-0.020	-0.043
District Size (Logged)	0.064	0.029	0.120	0.026
Library Staff per 1000 Students	0.298	0.150	0.059	0.078
Suburban	-0.001	0.007	-0.002	0.006
Rural or Town	-0.081	-0.013	0.041	0.025
Median Household Income 2020	-0.193	-0.073	0.036	-0.005
District % Poverty	-0.053	-0.022	-0.010	-0.015
% Residents with Bachelor's Degrees 2020	-0.132	-0.079	-0.041	-0.057
DEI Officer	0.177	0.073	0.070	0.048
Observations	12,897	12,897	12,897	12,897

Notes: Coefficients are standardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes displayed in Table 2 and 3. Heat maps are calibrated within each column.

Table B11. Extensions with Black and Foreign-Born Residents

	Anti-DEI in Elections		Book Bans		Anti-CRT Policies		Book Challenges	
	Black	Foreign Born	Black	Foreign Born	Black	Foreign Born	Black	Foreign Born
% Residents with Characteristic	0.078 (0.048)	0.021 (0.054)	-0.038 (0.025)	-0.052** (0.016)	-0.038+ (0.022)	-0.080** (0.029)	-0.043 (0.038)	-0.127*** (0.035)
% Change in Residents with Characteristic	0.000 (0.003)	-0.048 (0.044)	0.003* (0.001)	0.070** (0.023)	0.000 (0.001)	0.058** (0.018)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.086** (0.031)
% Change in Residents with Characteristic (Quadratic)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.058 (0.040)	-0.000* (0.000)	-0.013 (0.019)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.042** (0.014)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.061** (0.022)
> 50% Residents with Characteristic	0.068* (0.027)	-0.091** (0.033)	0.009 (0.014)	0.001 (0.010)	0.007 (0.013)	0.023 (0.016)	0.020 (0.021)	0.031 (0.021)
BLM Protest	-0.019*** (0.005)	-0.017** (0.006)	0.006* (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.007** (0.002)	0.005* (0.002)	0.009* (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)
DEI Officer	0.099** (0.035)	0.099** (0.035)	-0.045 (0.029)	-0.045 (0.029)	-0.016 (0.026)	-0.016 (0.026)	0.043 (0.040)	0.043 (0.040)
Trump Vote Share	0.171*** (0.030)	0.133*** (0.028)	0.013 (0.014)	0.034* (0.013)	0.046*** (0.012)	0.067*** (0.012)	0.033 (0.021)	0.057** (0.021)
District Size (Logged)	0.065*** (0.003)	0.065*** (0.003)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.022*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.002)
Library Staff (per 1000 Students)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.003 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)
Suburban	-0.066*** (0.019)	-0.066*** (0.019)	0.008 (0.010)	0.008 (0.010)	0.011 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	-0.007 (0.016)	-0.008 (0.015)
Rural or Town	-0.144*** (0.019)	-0.145*** (0.019)	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.010)	0.007 (0.008)	0.007 (0.008)	-0.038* (0.015)	-0.039* (0.015)
Median Household Income (2020)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.001* (0.000)

District % Poverty	-0.006*** (0.000)	-0.006*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)
% Residents with Bachelor's Degrees (2020)	0.863*** (0.080)	0.849*** (0.081)	0.086* (0.035)	0.106** (0.036)	0.068* (0.033)	0.088** (0.033)	0.232*** (0.060)	0.260*** (0.061)
Constant	0.325*** (0.043)	0.424*** (0.048)	0.129*** (0.024)	0.170*** (0.024)	0.049* (0.019)	0.093*** (0.024)	0.223*** (0.034)	0.305*** (0.036)
Number of observations	12881.000	12897.000	12881.000	12897.000	12881.000	12897.000	12881.000	12897.000
R-Squared	0.320	0.320	0.152	0.153	0.078	0.079	0.128	0.129
Adjusted R-Squared	0.316	0.316	0.148	0.149	0.073	0.074	0.124	0.124
State Fixed Effects	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Coefficients are unstandardized estimates from linear probability models (LPMs) with dichotomous outcomes. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Characteristic refers to either Black residents or foreign-born residents.