

University of California, Santa Barbara

ÉXITO Policy Report



**Ethnic Studies in K-12:
Implementing AB101 in California's Central Coast High Schools**

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ÉXITO (Educational eXcellence and Inclusion Training Opportunities) is an ethnic studies teacher training and research program at UC Santa Barbara. A collaboration of faculty and students in the four Ethnic Studies and Feminist Studies departments – Asian American Studies, Black Studies, Chicana/o Studies, Feminist Studies – and the Gevirtz Graduate School of Education, ÉXITO offers a pipeline for Ethnic Studies and Feminist Studies majors at UCSB to become new teachers as well as provide specialized training for teachers and administrators already working in the school system. In addition, ÉXITO maintains a research lab focused on ethnic studies education policy. Please see <https://exito.ucsb.edu/> for more information.

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Table of Contents

<u>Acknowledgments</u>	4
<u>Executive Summary</u>	5
<u>Introduction</u>	7
<u>History of Ethnic Studies Education</u>	7
<u>Ethnic Studies Pedagogy</u>	8
<u>Findings</u>	10
<u>Question 1. What have you done so far to meet the requirements of AB 101?</u>	10
<u>Question 2. What has been fruitful in your efforts to implement ethnic studies?</u>	12
<u>Question 3. What is proving difficult in your efforts to implement ethnic studies?</u>	14
<u>Question 4. What does your district need in order to move forward in this process?</u>	16
<u>Recommendations</u>	19
<u>Appendix</u>	20
<u>Endnotes</u>	22

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ÉXITO Policy Report

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Executive Summary

The first of its kind in the nation, California's AB101 requires all public and charter high school students to complete a one-semester ethnic studies course by 2025-26 to graduate.¹ As the deadline to implement this new policy quickly draws near, districts across the state are working to introduce ethnic studies in their schools. However, the methods and approaches to meet this new requirement are varied and largely unclear.

In this report, we surveyed school district administrators on California's Central Coast² to: 1) better understand their implementation process, 2) what has been effective in their implementation, and 3) what is proving difficult. The goal of tracking the implementation efforts of this innovative policy is to assess individual districts' progress and how to better support them. We found that there is uncertainty about where this requirement should fit into students' already full schedules, who is qualified to teach these courses, and how one should prepare to do so.

Our focus on the Central Coast, spanning the coastal region between Point Mugu in Ventura County to Monterey Bay, highlights school districts in six counties with over 2.3 million people and a total student population of 233,455; and yet remain in the shadows of the megacities that bookend the region.

Key findings

1. 89% of responding districts have begun implementation.
2. While a few districts have pushed ahead of the requirements, the majority of districts are facing significant challenges around staffing, training, and scheduling.
3. The majority of respondents (68%) reported efforts to collaborate and learn from universities, other districts, and ethnic studies educators in their implementation efforts.
4. Districts report a variety of challenges: shortage of trained faculty, difficulties with scheduling, need for professional learning for educators, and lack of clear course guidelines. In addition, some districts report adverse or hostile responses from both inside and outside educational institutions, hindering their implementation work.

5. Despite the variety of challenges, districts were largely unified in their assessment of current district needs for implementation. 74% of respondents expressed the need for qualified Ethnic Studies teachers and teacher training, for both in-service professional learning and pre-service educators through teacher education programs. 58% of the participating districts also spoke of their need for curriculum support.

Recommendations

1. Teachers and district administrators need guidance and training in ethnic studies that is substantive and true to the core tenets of the field.
2. Successful implementation of ethnic studies goes beyond inserting a particular text into an already existing class or curriculum. It is also a field and course of study that is as much about the production of knowledge as the knowledge itself. Meaning, successful implementation requires careful consideration of how the content is delivered as much as what the content is.
3. Districts must invest in this work. A designated specialist with strong credentials in ethnic studies is essential for successful implementation. This person can facilitate the ongoing professional learning support that districts clearly need.
4. Partnerships with ethnic studies departments at nearby colleges and universities can facilitate successful implementation that is true to the core tenets of ethnic studies while meeting the needs of California's K-12 student population.
5. School districts and teachers require robust support in this effort. This includes some form of protection or buffer from organizations or community members hostile to ethnic studies.
6. Successful implementation is an on-going process. It is not a one-and-done process.
7. Create an ethnic studies credential. Such a credential, instituted by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CTC), can require Teacher Education Programs to provide credentials for qualified applicants to participate in a course of study designed to prepare them for teaching courses true to the origins of the ethnic studies movement and historical development. Currently, ethnic studies is offered by English and social studies credentialed teachers.

INTRODUCTION

California school districts face a quickly approaching deadline to institute an ethnic studies class in their high schools. In October of 2021, Governor Gavin Newsome signed AB 101 into law, requiring that high school districts provide at least one semester of ethnic studies for every student beginning in the 2025-26 school year. However, there has been little guidance as to how districts should implement this new graduation requirement. While the state has provided a district-facing model curriculum ([CDE Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum](#)), individual districts and schools are left on their own to figure out how best to implement this new requirement in the classroom. This, coupled with the charged national political climate surrounding race and the role of education systems in teaching about the history of structural inequality have made ethnic studies implementation a challenging endeavor.

This complex scenario has left many districts in a state of uncertainty. In this report, we provide a broad overview of what individual districts in California's Central Coast region have done so far. Through surveys and interviews with key respondents, we first assessed districts' stage of implementation and then investigated what has been successful in their implementation efforts thus far, what has proved difficult, and finally, their needs in continuing to meet AB 101's requirements in their respective schools. We discuss the impact of these difficulties on districts' day to day operations and conclude by providing policy recommendations to ensure that ethnic studies is implemented in ways that will provide the best possible education to California's young people.

History of Ethnic Studies Education

The San Francisco State student movement of 1968 was pivotal in creating ethnic studies today.³ In November of 1968, a coalition of student groups at San Francisco State drew from the U.S. civil rights movement and global liberation struggles to begin what would become the country's longest student strike.⁴ Students, along with community members and faculty, called attention to the pivotal role of education in addressing social inequality and demanded a more relevant and accessible system that challenged the historical marginalization of communities based on race, ethnicity, and class. For instance, they called for changes in admissions practices in order to admit more ethnic/racial minority students, hiring of more faculty of color, new curriculum that allowed for more expansive and critical sources of knowledge, particularly those from marginalized communities of color, and an affordable education that is truly open to all members of the public. After five months of protest, in March of 1969, the San Francisco State administration accepted the students' demands and opened the first College of Ethnic Studies in the nation.

Writing for the National Education Association, Christine E. Sleeter defines ethnic studies education as "units of study, courses, or programs that are centered on the knowledge and perspectives of an ethnic or racial group, reflecting narratives and points of view rooted in that

group's lived experiences and intellectual scholarship.”⁵ In the state of California, 7 out of 10 students in the public school system are ethnic/racial minorities and yet the experiences and histories of these students remain largely marginal in their school curriculum. Numerous content analyses of textbooks have found ongoing marginalization of scholarship by and about African Americans, Latino/as, Native Americans, and Asian Americans and this invisibility, over time, leads many students to disengage from academic learning.⁶ Studies show that ethnic studies courses can have a positive impact on academic achievement through better attendance, increase in GPA, and more credits earned toward graduation.⁷ Research also shows that ethnic studies curricula, when designed to help students grapple with multiple perspectives, produces higher levels of thinking.⁸

Within K-12 education, Tucson Unified School District was at the forefront in implementing ethnic studies.⁹ In 1998, Tucson Unified founded the Mexican American Studies program, serving students from elementary through high school. However, just over a decade later, in May of 2010, Arizona Governor Jan Brewer signed HB2281-a into law and effectively banned the district's ethnic studies program. Despite students and community protest, the Mexican American Studies program was dismantled.

In California, El Rancho Unified School District became the first district in the state to require all students to take an ethnic studies course as a graduation requirement in 2014. Later that same year, the Los Angeles Unified School District board voted to establish an ethnic studies graduation requirement and by 2019 all LAUSD students were required to take an ethnic studies course in order to graduate. In 2021, the San Francisco Board of Education voted to include at least two semesters or 10 elective credits of ethnic studies as graduation requirements for the San Francisco Unified School District. This will begin with the class of 2028.

In addition, California's then governor, Jerry Brown, signed a bill (AB 2016) requiring the development of a model curriculum to teach ethnic studies classes by the end of 2019. As of 2021, California has adopted a graduation requirement of a semester-long ethnic studies course for all high students. Consequently, all high school districts must be prepared to offer this course by 2025-2026, such that every student that graduates in the 2029-2030 school year will have had access to ethnic studies.

Ethnic Studies Pedagogy

The unique method and practice of ethnic studies is a direct reflection of its activist history. Ethnic studies goes beyond a simple insertion of racial difference into an existing curriculum. Rather, curriculum that centers historically marginal experiences and knowledges exposes taken-for-granted systems of power and encourages cross-group interaction. Studies have found that such classroom engagement has positive impacts on students' 'democracy outcomes,'¹⁰ and strengthens their critical thinking skills by grappling with multiple and sometimes contradictory perspectives. According to ethnic and feminist studies scholar, Rodrick Ferguson, "The

increasing insurgency of marginalized communities and the politics and inquiries that they have engendered occasioned some of the most definitive intellectual shifts of the twentieth century.”¹¹ Rather than approaching differences of race, gender, ethnicity, indigeneity, sexuality, class, and ability as solely a social problem to be solved or eliminated, these differences are viewed as sources of knowledge and problem-solving.

Toward this goal, ethnic studies education scholar Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales and her colleagues write that ethnic studies pedagogy must be rigorous, culturally and community responsive, and self-reflective to be effective.¹² Ethnic studies pedagogy is defined by its purpose, context, content, methods, and the identity of both students and teachers. It includes an engagement with the purpose of ethnic studies, which is to eliminate racism by critiquing, resisting, and transforming systems of oppression on institutional, interpersonal, and internal levels; and creating a curriculum that acknowledges the personal, cultural, and community contexts that impact students’ epistemologies and positionalities while creating strong relationships with families and community organizations in local areas. In addition, self-reflection on teacher identity and explicitly thinking through how identity impacts power relations in the classroom and in the community is necessary.¹³

Clearly, ethnic studies is a challenging endeavor. However, the potential long-term rewards are tremendous. Ethnic studies is key for education systems to substantively engage an increasingly diverse public. Ultimately, ethnic studies can help to ensure a more democratic society in which its members have equal access to public resources and sources of empowerment.

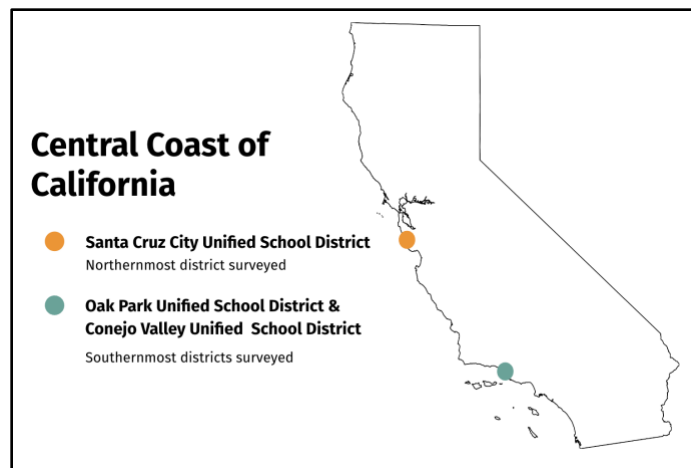
FINDINGS

As the 2025-2026 deadline approaches, this study asked districts about their implementation of ethnic studies in their high schools. We focused on the 36 districts in the Central Coast region of California. In our analysis, we divided the districts into Small (1,000-5,000 students), Medium (5,000-10,000), and Large (10,000+) districts. In consideration of the fact that the smallest districts (100-1,000 students served) may not be representative of the needs of larger districts, we decided to limit our work to districts who serve more than 1,000 students. This restriction then brought the number of districts to 31 in total.

Initial invitations to participate were sent to district superintendents and, subsequently, to assistant superintendents of educational services or similar positions. These initial emails explained that the goals of this effort were to learn how the process of implementing Ethnic Studies is going, understand what has been fruitful, what is proving difficult, and ascertain what districts' needs are in this process. Our goal is to highlight practical implementation strategies employed by public school districts throughout the Central Coastal region, which can then be shared with all the participating districts. Lastly, upon receiving survey responses, we reached out to district level employees for interviews in order to gather more detailed information.

Of the 31 districts, 19 or 61% (see Appendix) responded to our initial survey. Consequently, this policy brief represents data from 19 districts in the Central Coast region of California that serve between 1,000 and 19,000 students in each.

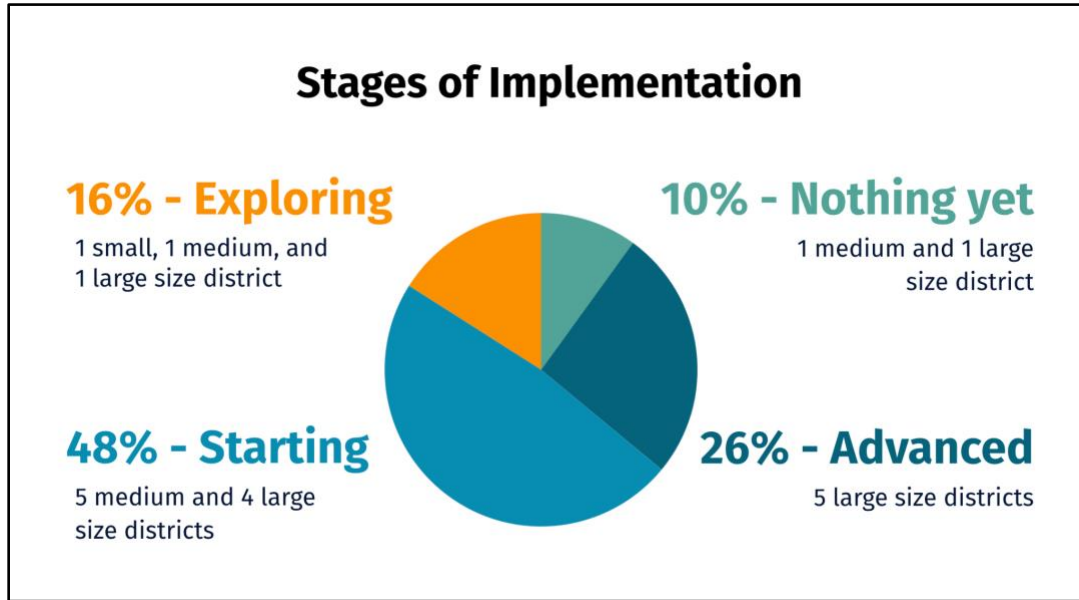
Geographically they extend from Santa Cruz City High School District at the northernmost point to Conejo Valley Unified School District and Oak Park Unified School District at the southernmost point.



Question 1. What have you done so far to meet the requirements of California AB 101?

Our findings indicate that the majority (n=17) of responding districts reported that they have started implementation (89%). However, there were significant differences in the stages of implementation. We found three different categories of implementation: Exploration, Starting, Advanced.

Figure 1. Implementation Stages of Central Coast School Districts.



Exploration Stage

The 3 districts (18%) at an Exploration stage of implementation have indicated that they have sought to identify funding sources for teacher professional development in ethnic studies, attended presentations at the county office of education regarding the requirements, and begun to put together committees of educators at various levels, as well as identify students who will take their ethnic studies courses, once implemented. No courses in ethnic studies currently exist in these districts.

Starting Stage

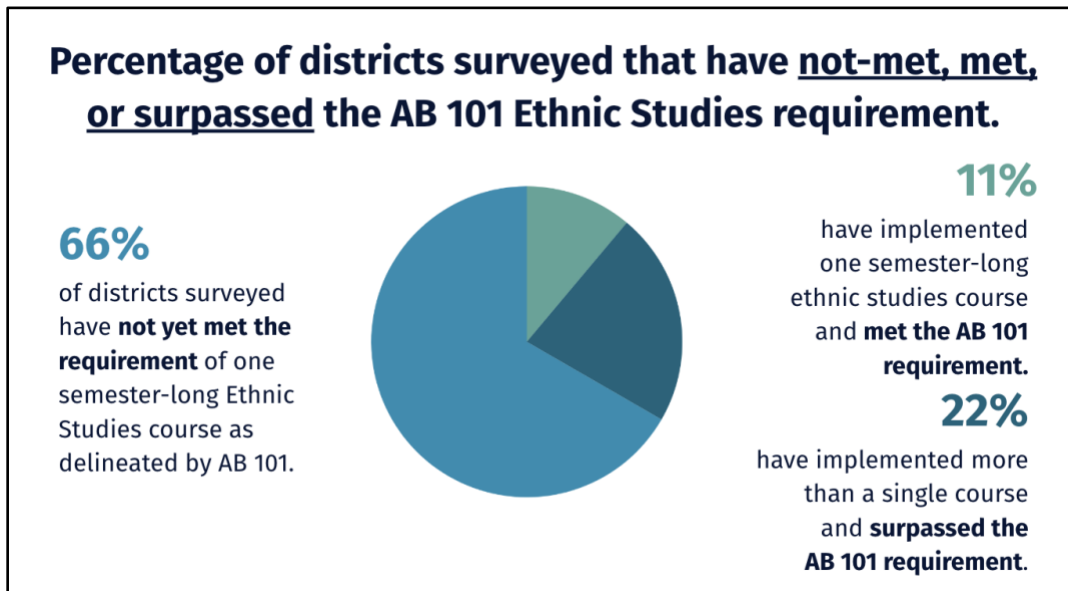
The 9 districts at a Starting stage of implementation indicate: developing and piloting an ethnic studies course aligned with California’s model curriculum,¹⁴ updating graduation requirements to include an ethnic studies course for all students as of 2023-24 or 2024-25 school years, established ethnic studies committee that has attended webinars and other professional learning regarding ethnic studies, as well as gathering ethnic studies resources for their educators.

Advanced Stage

The 5 districts (29%) at an Advanced level of implementation already have ethnic studies as a graduation requirement. In addition, some have ensured that their implementation also aligns with the UC/CSU A, B, F requirements, have developed ongoing professional learning opportunities for their educators and administrators, internally or with outside organizations such as Community Responsive Education (<https://communityresponsive.org>). In these districts, there is ongoing development of curriculum and pedagogy, including one that is supporting secondary administrators to build their understanding of Ethnic Studies. Some have established dual enrollment ES courses with local community colleges, as well as branding and department identity development efforts.

While 89% of responding districts have begun at least exploring implementation, 66% have not yet met the requirements of AB 101. See Figure 2. 11% have developed a one semester long ethnic course and another 22% have surpassed the requirement and built a more robust ethnic studies infrastructure in their districts to meet their students' future college preparatory requirements.

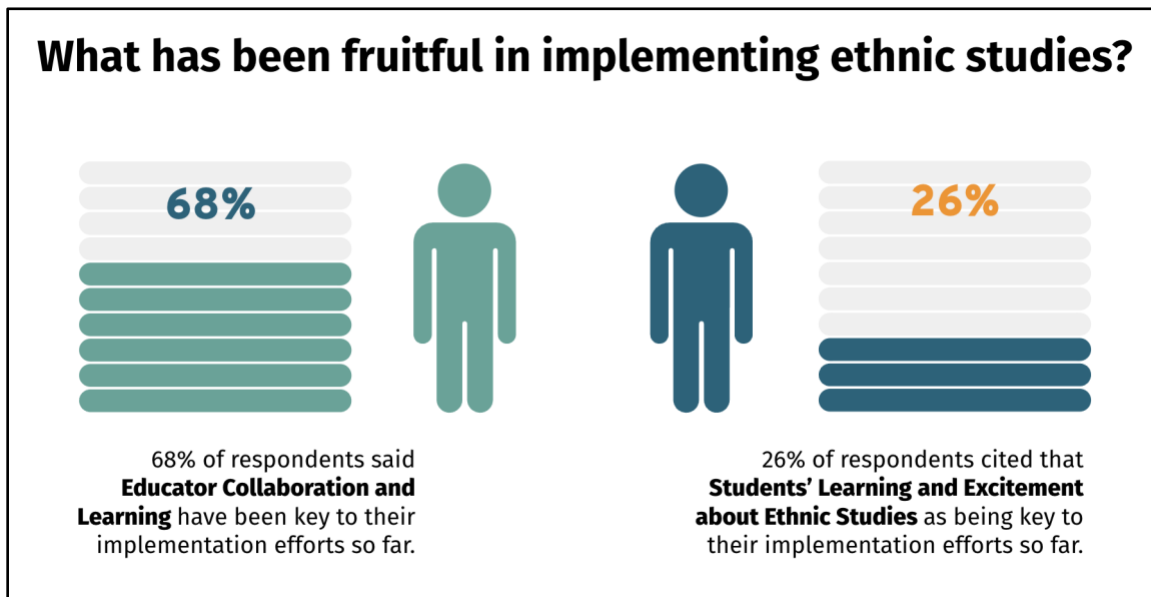
Figure 2. Percentage of Districts not-met, met, or surpassed AB 101 requirement.



Question 2. What has been fruitful in your efforts to implement ethnic studies?

Respondents indicated that two main areas have contributed most to their efforts to implement the AB101 ethnic studies requirement in their districts. The majority (68%) reported that their collaborative efforts with universities, other school districts, and other K-12 ethnic studies educators have been fruitful and 26% mentioned the role of students' learning and positive experiences in their ethnic studies courses as key motivations for implementation.

Figure 3: Supportive Factors for Successful Ethnic Studies Implementation



Collaboration with Ethnic Studies Experts

Collaboration and learning with a variety of knowledgeable sources was described as fruitful for their efforts. This occurred among educators within their district, with county experts, alongside faculty from local colleges and universities, and through strong community partnerships.

Importantly, the quality of these training and learning spaces were repeatedly noted. Referencing the ways in which educators are often mistreated, one district representative spoke to their need to work toward something different: “It was really clear, like whatever limited resources we have, we really should be willing to evoke the feeling that ... they feel cared for.” This respondent stressed the importance of showing educators that their work is valued through even small gestures of kindness. This can be done, for example, by making sure to provide food and taking steps to acknowledge their work. It can also be done in the ways in which their professional learning is designed and carried out. Ensuring a baseline of respect as a participant also serves to model the kind of ethnic studies environment that fosters the building of relationships, centers joy, and creates a space for growth.

What has been fruitful in your efforts?
“Development of strong community of practitioners; community partnerships; POSITIVE STUDENT experience”

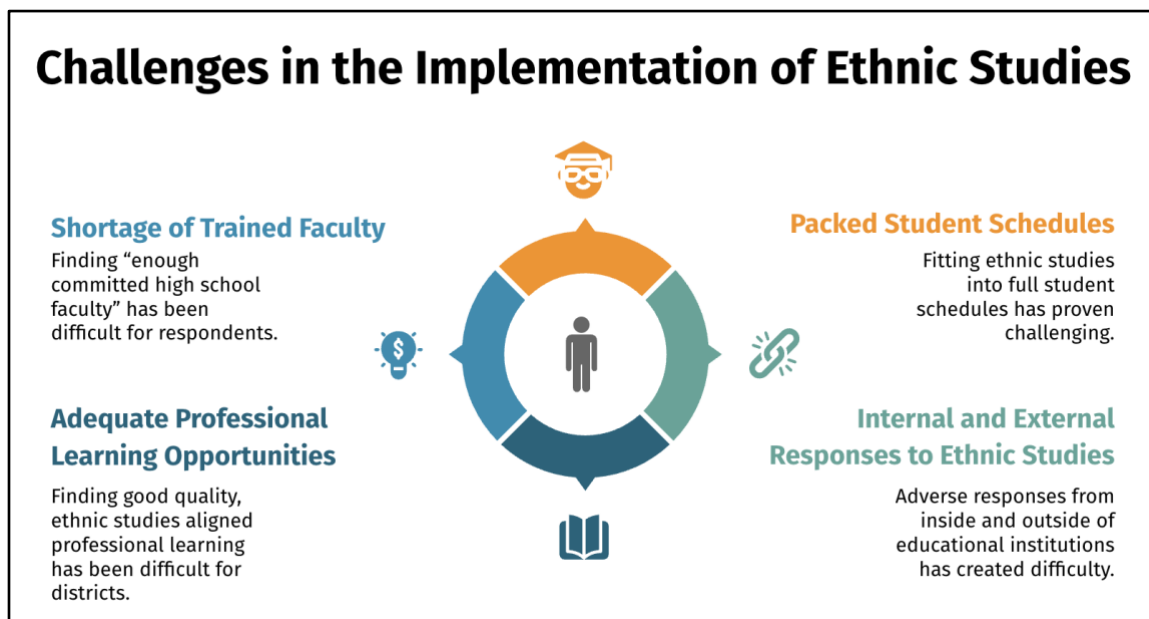
Student Learning

26% of respondents spoke to students' learning and their positive response to ethnic studies courses as part of what has been fruitful from their efforts thus far. The enthusiasm of the students within the classroom propels these teachers to continue their efforts to implement ethnic studies, despite negative responses from some members of the community. In certain districts, students have requested additional ethnic studies courses. In others, respondents mentioned that the positive student responses have even served to shift greater community ideas about the importance of ethnic studies courses.

Question 3. What is proving difficult in your efforts to implement ethnic studies?

Findings indicate that staff shortages, difficulties with scheduling, and the need for professional learning for educators, as well as lack of clear guidelines for the courses are creating the greatest challenges for districts. In addition, adverse or hostile responses from both internal and external to educational institutions make implementation difficult.

Figure 4: Main Challenges to Ethnic Studies Implementation



Shortage of Trained Faculty, Packed Student Schedules, and the Need for Professional Learning

Of the districts that reported challenges in the implementation of ethnic studies in their districts, the main themes that emerged were the shortage of trained faculty, already full student schedules, and/or the need for professional learning.

- 21% mentioned shortage of trained faculty
- 21% mentioned packed student schedules
- 21% mentioned the need for professional learning

When each of these factors are viewed collectively, the impact of the lack of guidance on how to go about fulfilling this state mandate is apparent. Survey respondents were uncertain where, for example, should they recruit educators equipped to teach ethnic studies when no formal credential in ethnic studies has been approved? And without a teaching credential that lays out the knowledge necessary to teach ethnic studies, who exactly is truly prepared to teach these courses? Their questions regarding the absence of ethnic studies teacher credentials critiques the implementation expectations placed upon them. These districts felt acutely unprepared and left on their own to fill in deep gaps, which went beyond their already stretched scope of expertise and the overall shortage of teachers experienced by schools across the state.

Adverse External and Internal Responses to Ethnic Studies

What is proving difficult:

“Interactions with local universities and community colleges who have conflict in and among their faculties on this topic... [and] Statewide advocacy groups wanting to influence the development of the curriculum - emails from these groups indicating they plan to sue us.”

The quote above comes from an administrator at a large school district and provides an example of adverse community reactions coming from both inside and outside of educational institutions.

Adverse Responses from Outside of Educational Systems

As may be expected in the current political climate, there are advocacy groups outside of the educational systems that are seeking to influence what is happening within schools – particularly, the teaching of race and other social differences. 16% of respondents mentioned experiencing some form of hostility from external community organizations to ethnic studies that was creating difficulty as they seek to implement AB101. Some districts were threatened with lawsuits if they implemented any ethnic studies at all.

Adverse Responses from Within Educational Systems

Importantly, participant surveys and interviews also reflected a nuanced understanding of how responses by those working within educational systems may be affecting the implementation of ethnic studies in K-12 schools. One administrator spoke of an unexpected change in enrollment in an ethnic studies elective course when the COVID-19 pandemic necessitated a change in the way that students registered for classes.

“[W]e always had a section of ethnic studies open as an elective course for students to take. And it didn't get a whole lot of traction at the beginning... up until COVID hit and school closure happened. And we started to broaden the spectrum a little bit as far as course offerings. What happened was, students coming in were able to choose their courses online, because we simply weren't able to do the one-on-one sit down with students we typically did. And what we found is that there were a lot of incoming students that were interested.”

As mentioned earlier, without clear standards, guidelines, or course expectations, there is hesitation by some school personnel from recommending ethnic studies. However, district administrators report increasing student interest in these courses. They went on to note that while perceptions about ethnic studies are beginning to shift across California, ideological change takes time, especially for those who would rather maintain existing dominant narratives and systems. One educator pointed out that early on in the history of ethnic studies in K-12, ethnic studies courses were viewed as inferior or less rigorous courses geared for “at risk” students of color. This and other negative perceptions of ethnic studies continue to persist in some school districts. Consequently, ethnic studies teachers and administrators are having to combat not only outside forces against ethnic studies but those coming from other co-workers within their own school.

Question 4. What does your district need in order to move forward in this process?

The majority of respondents reported their district’s need for successful implementation was primarily qualified teachers and teacher training (79%). Secondly, there is a clear need for curriculum support (58%) and thirdly, time for collaboration (37%).

Figure 5: Districts’ Needs for Implementation



Teachers/Training for Teachers

First and foremost, an overwhelming 79% of respondents reported a need for qualified teachers, as well as teacher training in ethnic studies. Staff training, workshop support, ongoing coaching, and a desire for partnerships that will provide these needs were mentioned. In addition to wanting this training for their in-service educators, they stressed the need for new teachers just graduating from Teacher Education Programs. Currently, there is no specific ethnic studies credential offered by the California Commission on Teaching Credentialing (CTC). Instead, ethnic studies courses are offered by English and social studies credentialed teachers.

“We need more teachers coming out of our universities with an understanding of Ethnic Studies and prepared to teach the courses.”

And, as one respondent made clear, there is a need for a specific type of training for those teaching ethnic studies:

“Right now, because it's an elective class, students are choosing this because they want to hear the topic, right? Moving forward, as a mandated requirement, we are going to have folks in the room that may not want to hear some of this content. And so, I want to make sure that the individuals teaching the course have the appropriate professional development of the content. And then the second piece is that they have training in working with – I don't know how else to call it – like a hot topic.”

In the face of the aforementioned strong or adverse community response, this high school administrator identified the particular need for the professional training of ethnic studies educators. In addition to specialized content, they expressed the necessity of how to go about speaking to and teaching content that has been framed as somehow “hot” or “controversial.”

“...who they hire needs to be grounded in ethnic studies. This can't be on-the-job training, not this!”

“There are a lot of strong feelings around Ethnic Studies course and curriculum.”

Curriculum Support

Second, more than half (58%) of respondents also mentioned the need for curriculum support and development. These statements were at times made in combination with a desire to partner with or learn from what other districts are doing and a desire for “state approved materials.”

“We will need robust professional development and coaching/monitoring of implementation. We would also like to develop a clear course syllabus or outline for all educational partners so parents, students, and community members are aware of the course expectations and purpose for this course in 9th grade.”

In addition, an administrator of a medium size district explicitly mentioned the need for “[A]ccess to training, list of curricula/books to use, and ways to communicate with families about ethnic studies to the community.” And, an administrator at a large district stressed the need for professional support for lesson design and delivery.

Collaboration

Third, 37% of respondents commented on their need for greater opportunities to collaborate with other districts, their County Office of Education, local universities, and other district leaders.

What are your district’s needs:

“Access to training, list of curricula/books to use, and ways to communicate with families about ethnic studies to the community.”

Funding

Interestingly, implementation funding was not a significant concern for most school districts. Rather, it was the lack of ethnic studies trained teachers, programs, support, and collaborations for which to spend available funds that was more pressing.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Teachers and district administrators need guidance and training in ethnic studies that is substantive and true to the core tenets of the field.
2. School districts and teachers require robust support in this effort. This includes some form of protection or buffer from organizations or community members hostile to ethnic studies.
3. Successful implementation of ethnic studies goes beyond inserting a particular text into an already existing class or curriculum. It is also a field and course of study that is as much about the production of knowledge as the knowledge itself. Meaning, successful implementation requires careful consideration of how the content is delivered as much as what the content is.
4. Successful implementation is an on-going process. It is not a one-and-done process.
5. Districts must invest in this work. A designated specialist with strong credentials in ethnic studies is essential for successful implementation. This person can facilitate the ongoing professional learning support that districts clearly need.
6. District partnerships with ethnic studies departments at nearby colleges and universities can facilitate successful implementation that is true to the core tenets of ethnic studies while meeting the needs of California's K-12 student population.
7. Create an ethnic studies credential. Such a credential, instituted by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CTC), can require Teacher Education Programs to provide credentials for qualified applicants to participate in a course of study designed to prepare them for teaching courses true to the origins of the ethnic studies movement and historical development. Currently, ethnic studies is offered by English and social studies credentialed teachers.

Appendix: Central Coast High School and Unified Districts

- Blue = Smaller than our criteria (less than 1,000 students enrolled in district)
- Black = Participating School District
- Green = Non-participating School District

School District	Students Served
Big Sur Unified School District	115
Cuyama Joint Unified School District	263
Shandon Joint Unified School District	283
Coast Unified School District	496
Santa Ynez Valley Union High School District	864
Aromas-San Juan Unified School District	1,024
Carpinteria Unified School District	2,099
Gonzales Unified School District	2,181
Carmel Unified School District	2,264
Templeton Unified School District	2,296
Ojai Unified School District	2,301
Scotts Valley Unified School District	2,660
South Monterey Co. Joint Union High School District	2,748
San Benito High School District	3,492
Fillmore Unified School District	3,673
Oak Park Unified School District	4,310
Atascadero Unified School District	4,341
North Monterey County Unified School District	4,515
Santa Cruz City High School District	4,584
Soledad Unified School District	4,849
Santa Paula Unified School District	4,988
San Lorenzo Valley Unified School District	5,534
Moorpark Unified School District	5,845
Paso Robles Joint Unified School District	6,539

San Luis Coastal Unified School District	7,537
Santa Maria Joint Union High School District	9,243
Lompoc Unified School District	9,625
Lucia Mar Unified School District	9,793
Monterey Peninsula Unified School District	9,909
Santa Barbara Unified School District	13,891
Ventura Unified School District	15,359
Simi Valley Unified School District	15,711
Salinas Union High School District	16,525
Conejo Valley Unified School District	16,703
Oxnard Union High School District	18,220
Pajaro Valley Unified School District	18,675
Total Student Population:	233,455
Participating Student Population:	165,205

Endnotes

1. See AB-101 Pupil instruction: high school graduation requirements: ethnic studies - California Legislative Information - See subpoint (G), at https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billCompareClient.xhtml?bill_id=202120220AB101&showamends=false
2. See Appendix for list of school districts in California's Central Coast.
3. Some scholars (Banks, 1993; Sleeter, 2011; Sleeter & Zavala, 2020) also highlight the important work of an Early Ethnic Studies movement (1880s-1940s), as foundational to what was achieved in the 1960s. James A. Banks, author of *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (originally published in 1975), states that the "work in ethnic studies research and the development of teaching materials" (1993, p. 11) by scholars and writers such as George Washington Williams, Carter G. Woodson, Charles C. Wesley, and W.E.B. DuBois was directly linked to what would come later. These Black scholars worked to integrate knowledge about African Americans into colleges and universities in the late 1800s and early 1900s, laying the groundwork for the fruitful protests of the late 1960s.
4. From "Still fighting for ethnic studies: the origins, practices, and potential of community responsive pedagogy," by Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, & Jeff Duncan-Andrade. (2021). *Teachers College Record*, 123(13), 1-28.
5. From "The academic and social value of Ethnic Studies: A research review," by Christine E. Sleeter. (2011). Washington, DC: National Education Association, p.vii.
6. Ibid.: vii.
7. From "The causal effects of cultural relevance: Evidence from an ethnic studies curriculum," by Thomas Dee and Emily Penner. (2016). *American Educational Research Journal* 54, 127-166.
8. Sleeter 2011: viii.
9. See [CenterX's XChange Summer 2016 Issue: Ethnic Studies K-12](#).
10. Research has found that such diversity experiences are particularly positive for white students, whose exposure to a systematic analysis of power is more limited than students of color. See Sleeter (2011).
11. From *We demand: The university and student protests*, by Roderick A. Ferguson, (2017). Univ of California Press.
12. From "Toward an Ethnic Studies pedagogy: Implications for K-12 schools from the research," by Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, Rita Kohli, Jocyl Sacramento, Nick Henning, Ruchi Agarwal-Rangnath, & Christine Sleeter. (2014). *Urban Review*.
13. Ibid.: 120.
14. The Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum is largely an administrative document. While it does have some example lessons and topics (Chapter 4), as well as some lesson resources (Chapter 5), the document itself makes clear that, "Education Code Section 60000(c) states that it is the responsibility of an LEA's governing board to establish courses of study and to select the appropriate instructional materials for those courses" (p. 30). In other words, the LEA (Local Educational Agency) or District, is responsible for curriculum development as well as the selection of instructional materials.