UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

CENSORSHIP CITADELS: GEOGRAPHY AND THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF GIRLS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

AMI ELIZABETH STEARNS
Norman, Oklahoma
2014

Downloaded from SHAREOK. Persistent Handle URL: https://hdl.handle.net/11244/10377

CENSORSHIP CITADELS: GEOGRAPHY AND THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF GIRLS

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

BY

_____
Dr. Susan F. Sharp, Chair

_____
Dr. Ann Beutel

_____
Dr. Tom Burns

_____
Dr. Meredith Worthen

_____
Dr. Penny Pasque

© Copyright by AMI ELIZABETH STEARNS 2014
All Rights Reserved.

Dedicated to my three beautiful sisters and my three closest friends— Carrie, Erin, and Megan. Keep reading!

This dissertation represents the end of a long and difficult journey, but one that I would not trade for the world. Special gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Susan Sharp, who has been a joy to work with and continues to provide a strong example of scholarship, activism, and pedagogy. My educational journey would have been much impaired without Dr. Sharp's guidance and I feel extremely fortunate to have had her as a thesis and dissertation chair. Thank you to Dr. Loretta Bass for accepting me into the program after I had been out of academia for over a decade. To all the professors who profoundly influenced my life and helped me shape a new identity for myself, thank you from the bottom of my heart for such superb teaching and constant encouragement. The remainder of my doctoral committee also deserves recognition for their encouragement, input, and advice during the writing of this dissertation. Thank you, Dr. Ann Beutel, Dr. Meredith Worthen, Dr. Tom Burns, and Dr. Penny Pasque.

During the writing of this project, I received help from wonderful people working at the U.S. Census Bureau, The Guttmacher Institute, the National Vital Statistics System, the American Library Association, and numerous school districts. I was overwhelmed by the quick and efficient communication from strangers willing to help out a doctoral student with information requests. My gratitude goes out to all of them and to everyone who assisted with this project.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction……1

Chapter Two: Religion as a Cultural Force……26

Chapter Three: Race and Class in American Culture…….37

Chapter Four: Theory and Model……...46

Chapter Five: Methodology……....57

Chapter Six: Houston and New Orleans…….76

Chapter Seven: San Antonio and Oklahoma City…….112

Chapter Eight: Tampa and Winston-Salem……...143

Chapter Nine: Conclusion……..175

Endnotes……191

Reference List……192

Appendix A: Books Challenged by Houston between 2000 and 2009……..232

Appendix B: Books Challenged by San Antonio between 2000 and 2009…235

Appendix C: Books Challenged by Tampa between 2000 and 2009…….236

List of Tables

Table 5.1: Censorship Citadels and Comparison Cities: Population and Book Challenges 2000-2009……...65
Table 6.1: City-Level Characteristics of Houston and New Orleans between 2000 and 2009……80

Table 7.1: City-Level Characteristics of San Antonio and Oklahoma City between 2000 and 2009……115

Table 8.1: City-Level Characteristics of Tampa and Winston-Salem between 2000 and 2009……146

List of Figures

Figure 4.1: Theoretical Model……..47

Abstract

This qualitative study examines the way in which local attempts to censor certain books reflect a greater community agenda of controlling young female behavior, specifically sexual and violent behavior. To abet my argument, I draw on Erikson's and Durkheim's theories on boundary maintenance, Gusfield's symbolic crusades, an intersectional feminist perspective, and scholarship on new forms of religious fundamentalism. Using data on frequently challenged books collected by the American Library Association, I identify the top three cities with populations over 100,000 that issued the greatest number of challenges between 2000 and 2009 ("Censorship Citadels") and compare these to three cities of similar size that only challenged one or zero titles. I document the changes in percent white, percent foreign-born, percent homeownership, and rates of poverty in each city, in addition to examining visible boundary breaches by girls for each of the three Censorship Citadels and their comparison cities. Visible boundary breaches by girls include 1) higher rates of births to minor girls, 2) no required notification or permission from parents for a minor's abortion, 3) higher likelihood the school distributes contraceptives and 4) more newspaper articles covering girls' violence. Lastly, I undertake a content analysis of the books challenged by the Censorship Citadels (N=119) and the comparison cities (N=1) and theorize about the relationship between the books' contents and the community's perceived threats from visible norm breaking by girls. I suggest that cities experiencing more demographic changes during the decade and cities housing more megachurches are cities that attempt more social control of girls through frequent book challenges.

Chapter One: Introduction

This project is a content analysis of the books challenged by six American cities between the years of 2000 and 2009, and a qualitative examination of certain characteristics in each city to determine if the books that are challenged have a relationship with the need to control girls' behavior. The main characteristics I examined in each of the six cities are related to the social control of girls[1] and the visibility of girls' deviance, including births to minors, minors' access to abortion and contraception, and newspaper coverage of girls' violent behavior. As the religious climate and demographic evolution of a city also have an impact on the desire to socially control girls' behavior, I also documented the presence or absence of megachurches, along with changes in race, ethnicity, and social class during the years studied in each city. I investigated the possible relationship between the contents of books challenged in each city and the perceived threat presented by visible breaches of girls' behavior norms in those cities. Although I could not definitively point to a specific city-level trait or normative behavior breach that predicted more book challenges, the picture that emerged from the data helped illustrate the way in which the local climate influenced attempts at the social control of girls.

This research contributes to the sociological knowledge base by examining how local communities react to girls' norm breaking behaviors. If a community is so threatened by girls who break normative boundaries that community members turn to local forms of social control, this will assist in identification of the ranges of ways that social control operates and will shed light on attitudes toward girls' sexual and violent

behavior norms in a community context. As Mikel Brown, Chesney-Lind, and Stein (2007) state, "What we think about girls translates to how we control them" (852).

My hope is that this study will contribute to awareness of the role books play in society. Parents, educators, librarians, and school boards are uniquely positioned as gatekeepers of knowledge in young girls' lives. The addition and omission of certain books send messages about what will be tolerated and what will be condemned in young girls' lives. For those girls whose experiences do not fit inside white, middle-class, Protestant, heterosexual prescriptions, the inability to engage critically with literature can have detrimental effects. McDaniel (2004) suggests that critical reading accomplishes a multitude of tasks. This type of literacy allows a population to see itself as oppressed, reveals what populations are expected to be submissive, and leads to transformation in lives. Reading incorporates "critical thinking, questioning, and transformation of self or one's world" (474).

This introductory section begins by visiting the theme of frequently challenged books and the role played in data collection by the American Library Association before moving on to review the larger landscape of symbolic crusades and boundary maintenance. Using those broad themes as a foundation, the work will then narrow in focus to examine the social control of girls, girls' sexuality and violence, and censorship aimed at girl readers.

THE INTERSECTION OF GIRLS AND BANNED BOOKS

The American Library Association (ALA), the clearinghouse for all official challenges to books in the U.S., received 5,099 challenges from the years 2000 through 2009 (American Library Association 2013). During this time period, the top objection

to a book was for sexual explicitness, the top initiator of challenges to books was a parent, and the institution most often harboring the challenged book was a school, followed closely by a school library (American Library Association 2012). These statistics suggest that the majority of challenged books in America are contested due to an assumed deleterious effect on school-aged minors.

Book banning or challenging is no longer a federal matter for the courts in the United States, so an accurate reflection of opposition to titles must come from a source other than court documents. Beginning in the late 1940s, the act of censoring and banning fell to state, county, and city authorities, including school boards, state legislators, state and local libraries, district attorneys, and state textbook committees. Due to the local nature of book censorship, public schools became lightning rods for tensions over curriculum choice and controversial books (Foerstel 1994).

The ALA collects data on each challenged book across the nation. The official act of issuing a challenge is described according to the process below.

> A challenge is defined as a formal, written complaint, filed with a library or school requesting that materials be removed because of content or appropriateness. The number of challenges reflects only incidents reported. We estimate that for every reported challenge, four or five remain unreported. Therefore, we do not claim comprehensiveness in recording challenges (American Library Association 2013).

In other words, the ALA's database is the best possible source for data on challenged titles, but we should keep in mind that these statistics are self-reported and are therefore more than likely underestimated across the nation. In 1990, the ALA began systemically tracking and categorizing challenges, although the organization had been informally reporting on challenges around the country since 1952. The ALA

recorded 157 challenges to books in 1990, but since that time, challenges have climbed (American Library Association 2012). Although books may appear to have decreased in cultural significance due to the emergence of more interactive communication forms such as television, movies, and the Internet, books continue to form the backbone of core curriculum requirements in American schools (Common Core State Standards 2010; Hill 2011) and capture the public attention when challenged (Martinez 2013; Shibata 2013).

As stated previously, parents initiate the majority of challenges to books and most often identify the location of the objectionable text as on school grounds, whether it is on a class reading list or shelved at the school library. If the contention surrounding a challenged work of literature reflects deeper concerns about society (Foucault 1972; Tepper 2011), it follows that the majority of censorship attempts mirror concern about American teens and children.

Censorship, as a form of social control, socializes younger generations by limiting their exposure to concepts that challenge existing cultural values (Segal 1970). Research shows that social control efforts directed at youth are most often concerned with the behavior of female youth rather than the behavior of male youth (Nathanson 1991; Odem 1995; Svensson 2003; Richards et al. 2004; Browning, Leventhal, and Brooks-Gunn 2005; Mallicoat 2007; Chesney-Lind and Irwin 2008; Pasko 2010; Sethna 2010), lending support to this study's underlying assumption that frequently challenged books reflect larger concerns about girls' behavior.

Because complaints about books are most often directed at the local school, a study of book censorship is most relevant at local levels, not national or state levels,

since schools are funded and run by local entities. In addition, research drawing on attribution theory (Kelley and Michela 1980) shows that most individuals who register a complaint against a book or work of art assume that their own personal definitions of inappropriate behaviors are in alignment with the surrounding community, not necessarily in alignment with the dominant national culture or elites (Scott, Eitle, and Skovron 1990). Individuals who find a text contentious enough to officially challenge its existence on a reading list or on the shelves of the school library are defining inappropriate norms not only for their own child, but for all the children in that school district.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This project examines characteristics of the three cities that issued the most challenges to books between 2000 and 2009 ("Censorship Citadels"), comparing and contrasting these cities to three similarly-sized cities in the same Census region that challenged one or no books during the same time period. If censorship is a form of social control aimed especially at girls (Schur 1984), then the Censorship Citadels might exhibit more visible norm breaches by girls, stimulating a sense of fear and a greater desire for implementing social controls. Some visible norm breaches by girls include higher rates of teen pregnancy and teen births (Kelly 2000), easier access to abortions and contraception (Luker 1984), and greater coverage of girls' violent activity such as their arrests and incarcerations (Irwin and Chesney-Lind 2008), all highly visible representations of girls' uncontrolled behavior. The Censorship Citadels may also host a greater number of fundamentalist, evangelical megachurches, or have experienced rapid changes in racial or ethnic makeup, influencing the maintenance of

behavioral norm boundaries. In this study, I suggest that more visible norm breaches by girls in the community may be related to the contents of the books challenged by these three Censorship Citadels.

I had to make a decision regarding the direction of this theorizing. Either a community already had so many regulations in place that challenging books was yet another tactical step in socially controlling girls' behavior, or there existed such a lack of regulations that the community turned to challenging books as a reaction. Drawing from the theoretical model of boundary maintenance proposed by Erikson (1966), lack of regulation, abruptly shifting political and geographical boundaries, and uncertainty about the future creates a climate of apprehension and fear in a community (137). In Erikson's thesis, the witch-hunts occurred as a form of boundary marking in this climate of apprehension and fear. While I do not equate the burning of women with the banning, burning, destruction, or challenging of books,[2] I do argue that these are both forms of boundary marking, and that a community, when threatened by uncertainty and lack of regulation, turns to protest. Based on this framework, I decided that it was the lack of regulation (as interpreted by girls' visible norm breaches) that would influence a higher number of book challenges.

In this review of the literature, I present research arguing that girls are monitored more than are boys, and that girls' sexual behavior and violent behavior are the main focus of this monitoring. I also offer research showing that censorship, as a form of social control, is often employed as a reaction to threatening, boundary-testing behaviors on the part of certain populations. This review of relevant literature also addresses the visible norm-breaking activity I expect to find in the cities that most often

ban or attempt to ban books: higher rates of births to minor girls, easier access to contraception and abortion services, and more newspaper coverage of girls' violent behavior.

Girls Navigating Normative Boundaries

In American culture, sexual behaviors and violent behaviors occupy a place of great significance, where humans distinguish themselves from animals by staying within the boundaries of what is considered appropriate (Segal 1970). Defining social boundaries is one strategy to keep certain populations under control (Erikson 1966). Appropriate behavior for girls and women is a carefully constructed ideal shaped by discourse, relations, and informal, unwritten rules (Schur 1984). Durkheim ([1895] 1938) argued that the ritual of identifying deviants and deviant behavior helped signal normative boundaries to benefit the solidarity of a society.

Forbidden books mark norm boundaries for girls by signaling what is appropriate and what is not. Erikson (1966) and Durkheim (1893, 1895) suggest deviation from norms is a boundary-maintaining device. As a member of the community crosses a deviance boundary, the action must be flagged as inappropriate so that the rest of the community recognizes the placement of the boundary line. In this study, frequently challenged books constitute markers for deviant behavior. The books deemed as inappropriate represent inappropriate behavior and label those who would read them as deviants. What lies between the book covers supports an entire discourse of suppression, what Foucault calls the "forbidden landscape" (1972:23).

Symbolic Crusades: Girls as Folk Devils

Gusfield (1976) argued that certain groups in American culture achieve status through feedback from society, whether that feedback is positive or negative. Groups must take collective action to maintain their prestige, status, and lifestyle in a society, as did white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant (WASP) activists in the Temperance movement at the turn of the twentieth century. At that time in history, the consumption of alcohol became symbolic of the lifestyles of new immigrants (non-WASPs). In order to maintain hegemony over cultural norms and to remain socially dominant, Protestant and evangelical members of the middle- and upper-classes began a collective, successful mobilization to outlaw alcohol in the United States. Winning this battle was a symbolic victory over the power to define what constituted an inappropriate lifestyle.

Symbolic crusades are waged over cultural objects and other cultural behaviors, including anything from movements to ban public smoking, marches to condemn the death penalty, health department posters privileging breastfeeding over bottle-feeding, or petitions protesting a specific book assigned by the local high school English teacher. Public, collective responses to a cultural work help articulate how the group defines their values, whether those definitions concern what constitutes art or what constitutes obscenity. The power to control a definition matters much more than the actual definition itself. When a status group undertakes a symbolic crusade, such as challenging a text in front of a school board, it does so both to preserve its way of life from outside threats and to publicly display the specifics of its values and definitions.

Tepper (2011) applied Gusfield's premise (1976) to conflicts over art and culture, but suggested that battles represented value clashes between local groups, not

national groups. Clashes over a library book or an assigned text are more a matter of what a community considers offensive to its collective value system. Tepper also suggested that conflicts over cultural materials like art and books are rooted in the fear of change (2011:66). This fear expresses itself in action, such as participating in protests, and could be highly relevant in relation to changing norms for girls.

Fear of change, whether it is fear of girls' newfound liberties, fear of secularization, fear of disruption in stereotypical gender roles, or fear of incoming immigrants, anchors a symbolic crusade's mission to modify or constrain behavior, especially at meso-levels. Book censorship may be a completely ineffective form of social control, but the exploration of that proposition is not the aim of this project. Rather, I examine the phenomenon of book challenging to determine why some U.S. cities, but not others, employed this form of social control between the years of 2000 and 2009. Before discussing book censorship more narrowly, I next present the recent history of American society's attempt to exert social control over girls.

History of the Social Control of Girls

Girls' behavior became an increasingly public issue in the mid-nineteenth century, particularly their sexual behavior (Nathanson 1991; Odem 1995). Historically, a girl's virginity, not a boy's, was emphasized as a requisite for a reputable marriage, making her sexual activity in need of greater monitoring than her future husband's (Blank 2007). Prior to the industrialized economy, a girl moved along the pathway to adulthood completely supervised, from her father's home to her husband's home with little exposure to the public sphere in between (Odem 1995). As the structure of the economy changed, girls gained the opportunity to socialize, work, and educate

themselves outside of the private sphere (Godfrey 2004). Less parental supervision meant greater girls' agency, especially in terms of relationships and intimacy. In other words, girls were freer to engage in sexual activity.

The backlash against girls' sexual activity had evolved into a moral panic by the turn of the twentieth century, primarily publicized by middle-class, white, Protestant women who advocated standards of moral purity (Nathanson 1991). Girls' sexual activity was seen as symbolic of a larger societal breakdown, requiring immediate and large-scale political and religious intervention. More girls than boys were (and continue to be) arrested for status offenses such as running away, being incorrigible, immorality, being in need of supervision, truancy, and being out of control (Chesney-Lind 1989). It was the economic structure that shaped behavior, creating opportunities for girls to be out unsupervised going to and from work, school, or socializing, though structural causes were rarely identified by authorities (Pasko 2010).

Organizations like the Women's Temperance Union focused on "girl saving" throughout the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century (Sethna 2010). Activists successfully raised the age of sexual consent (which was as low as ten in some states) and established special police squads, courts, and detention centers for girls (Odem 1995). While the manifest function of these agencies was to protect young girls, the rules and regulations served to further oppress and marginalize girls who employed agency over their own bodies. A delinquent girl almost always meant a sexually active girl in the early twentieth century (Thomas 1923); however, the same connotation did not apply to boys (Nathanson 1991). In addition, a girl who had committed a violent or aggressive act was a threat to the status quo, as "true" women

not only were expected to be morally pure and pious, but also submissive, never aggressive (Welter 1966).

When examining girls' delinquency, it is difficult to disentangle it from sexual activity, especially since the majority of accusations against girls in official court proceedings in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were of a sexual nature (Pasko 2010). However, girls' violence was also a concern of great magnitude (Godfrey 2004). Schlossman and Wallach (1978) argue that boys' delinquency was viewed as an immediate "clear and present danger" (83), while girls' delinquency was a harbinger of long-term societal breakdown. Adolescent psychological theory of the early twentieth century suggested boys were more malleable than girls (Schlossman and Wallach 1978). It followed, then, that girls' delinquency was more pervasive and threatening, necessitating more stringent punishment and stronger social controls.

Censorship as Social Control

In the early eighteenth century, physician and philanthropist Thomas Bowdler claimed that some of the scenes and language in Shakespeare's plays would corrupt girls, so he published censored versions of the Bard's plays (Barker and Petley 2001). Parents, educators, administrators, and other authorities have long focused on girls' behavior norms, more so than focusing on boys' behavior norms, when enacting social controls. Girls must abide by stricter sexual stricter behavioral standards and are subject to greater monitoring and social control efforts (Svensson 2003;Browning, Leventhal, and Brooks-Gunn 2005). The censorship of reading materials, as mentioned previously, is one form of social control. Sentha's (2010) content analysis of the "Self and Sex" sex

education series from the 1800s advised mothers to "keep girls away from romantic novels that inflamed the imagination" (273).

Censorship, Donelson (1980) argues, occurs when the moral views of one person are projected onto the surrounding community. This can happen inside the classroom when teachers believe they are protecting their students by censoring texts (Freedman and Johnson 2000) or when librarians re-shelve a controversial book in another section of the library (Curry 2001). More often, though, it is a local parent accusing a book of containing material that is inappropriate for every minor in the community (American Library Association 2012).

Feminists argue that women's sexual behavior, in particular, is both governed and oppressed in our culture. Radical feminists believe that repression governs most sexual practices, especially those outside of legal marriage bonds (Ferguson 1984). Bartky (2003) stresses the oppression and powerlessness of women in a patriarchal society. Schur (1984) suggests that women are a subordinate and devalued gender with the following four arguments: 1) Gender inequality exists socially and economically, 2) Women are subject to objectification and categorization, 3) Everyday rhetoric, discourses, and media and advertising devalue women, 4) Women are labeled with more deviance statuses than men; meanwhile, deviant acts by men against women are not taken seriously nor are punished accordingly (35-6).

Operating under the assumption that power is correlated with knowledge (Foucault 1978), that women are a relatively powerless group in American society, and that the knowledge presented in books represents forbidden territory, most social controls are aimed at controlling young, unmarried females. Attempting to ban a book

on the grounds that the contents are sexually explicit, obscene, or "unsuited to age group" (American Library Association 2012) demarcates the boundaries of appropriate sexual behavior for girls.

Censorship as a form of juvenile social control has been examined by a number of researchers and includes studies on the censorship of music (McDonald 1988; Jones 1991; Chastagner 1999; Lynxwiler and Gay 2000; Tepper 2009), video games (Ivory and Kalyanaraman 2009; Ferguson 2013), the Internet (Heins 2007) and movies and television (Segal 1970; Barker and Petley 2001). Research on censored books is not as prevalent as research on other media forms, perhaps because books are seen as less relevant in current contexts. Studies examining book censorship are largely historical examinations (Reiman and Greenblatt 2010; Clegg 2011; Nye and Barco 2012), or concentrate on comic books (Lowery and DeFleur 1983; Hajdu 2008; Greenberg 2011) or examine censorship undertaken by librarians and teachers (Donelson 1981; Wollman-Bonilla 1998; Freedman and Johnson 2000; Curry 2001).

Scholars suggest that not only are censorship efforts directed at youth, but attempts are in response to fears about youths' sexual and violent behaviors. McDonald's (1988) meta-analysis on five decades' worth of scholarship focusing on rock-and-roll lyrics concluded that lyrics had no influence on teen sexuality or teen violence.

The designation of certain music lyrics as "deviant" assists in marking moral boundaries, as Gay (2000) found when assessing attitudes toward metal and rap lyrics. Jones (1991) evaluated the much maligned rap lyrics of 2 Live Crew, NWA, and Public Enemy through a lens of power and social control. Jones chronicled the history of music

censorship, from the deaths of traveling minstrels with controversial lyrics in the Middle Ages to the trial of Judas Priest on charges their song instigated two 1990 teen suicides. Jones concluded that music lyrics are a source of power, inviting challenges when they intersect with other forms of power.

When Ivory and Kalyanaraman (2009) examined the public's attitude toward violent video games, they found support for the abstract notion that violent video games do cause violent behavior. Since their inception in the 1980s, computerized video games have been in the crosshairs of censors, but reached a moral panic stage after 1999's Columbine school shooting. The two Colorado teens who gunned down students and teachers had been playing the controversial violent video game "Doom" in the weeks before the massacre, lending support to the reductionist ideology that what children see, children do (Ferguson 2013). Blaming violent games also ignores the possibility that individuals drawn to violent behavior may commit violent acts because these acts work to support ideology already in place.

Books continue to be an integral component of a young person's identity formation, making them a relevant object of research (Gomillion and Giuliano 2011). Content analysis scholarship has evaluated gendered roles and sexual orientation representation in young adults' books (Jenkins 1998; Gooden and Gooden 2001; Clawson 2005; Crisp 2009; MacArthur and Poulin 2011; Cook, Rostosky, and Riggle 2013), family structure in Christian fiction marketed to girls (Christopherson 1999), and ethnic stereotypes in children's books (Reese 2000). These studies emphasized content analysis, but not censorship, and did not focus exclusively on girls' behavior.

There is a gap in the knowledge base where book censorship, social control, girls, and community contexts intersect. To justify my examination of cities and community-level characteristics' relationship with social control, I draw on precedents set by classical deviance studies such as those by Shaw and McKay (1942), Parks and Burgess (1925), and Thomas and Znaniecki (1918), all conducted at community levels. More recent scholarship on community behavior is Tepper's (2011) research on community protests against art. He examined newspaper coverage of protests in seventy-one American cities against controversial plays, paintings, statues, books, and music to determine what city variables predicted more protests. Tepper's study, built on Gusfield's (1976) symbolic crusades, suggested that fear of change due to an influx of immigrants (and the immigrants' lifestyles) within a community was the root cause of public protestations and challenges against art, echoing the work of early theorists like Thomas and Znaniecki (1918). Although Tepper's book did not focus exclusively on youth, or exclusively on books, his emphasis on the local community context and the fear of change that drives protests form the foundation of my proposed project. It is the community's fear of girls' agency, demonstrated through girls' visible breaches of sexual behavior and other deviant behavior, which creates the context for challenges to books.

Girls in "Trouble:" The Visibility of Teen Sexuality and Violence

Certain breaches of behavioral norms by girls are visible to the surrounding community. Pregnancy makes visible a girl's sexual deviation (Nathanson 1991; Kelly 2000), while her violent or aggressive deviations are made visible through media coverage or arrests. In addition, regulations giving girls access to resources that prevent

or end a pregnancy without her parents' knowledge, such as obtaining contraception at school or accessing an abortion that can be obtained without parents' notification, are visible representations of a girl's ability to exercise agency outside of her parents.

Married pregnant women blend into the normative background, but unmarried, young, pregnant girls are much more visible due to their alleged cost to society and the social programs that must be funded to ensure their livelihood (Ward 1995:142). Teenage pregnancy has been constructed as a social problem that largely ignores the male role (Nathanson 1991), and fails to interrogate the middle-class norm of delaying childbearing until after marriage (Choo and Ferree 2010). A recent NPR story criticized the New York City anti-teen-pregnancy poster campaign that features unhappy, (typically) nonwhite babies with tag lines like, "Honestly, Mom, chances are he won't stay with you. What happens to me?" (Adler 2013). While teen birth rates have been experiencing downward trends since the early 1990s, rates of births to Hispanic and black minors have been slower to decline and are still higher than are births to white girls (Wildsmith 2013). The current birth rates per 1,000 for teen girls is 20.5 for whites, 46.3 for Hispanics, and 43.9 for blacks (Wildsmith 2013). Our culture is heavily invested in preventing teenage pregnancies and births, using both moral (Arney and Bergen 1984; Kelly 1996) and economic arguments (Maynard 1996; Bissell 2000) as grounds for disapproval. Due to the variety of birth rates experienced by different races and ethnicities, society also locates the behavior of births to minors as a nonwhite, inappropriate, behavior.

Non-marital, teen pregnancy indicates social disorder, signaling that society's future is in danger (Nathanson 1991) and that the community's way of life is being

threatened (Tepper 2011). If girls are able to absolve themselves of the unwanted effects of sexual activity through the use of contraceptives and abortion, they are able to experiment free of sanctions and free of control.

Adolescent sexual behavior, not just teen pregnancy, has been constructed as a social problem by defining it as a risky behavior (Hofferth, Kahn, and Baldwin 1987; Kahn, Kalsbeek, and Hofferth 1988; Lourie et al. 1998; Blum et al. 2000; Mueller, Gavin, and Kulkarni 2008; Caputo 2009), particularly for girls, because they have the potential to bear children and contract female-specific reproductive diseases (Polit and Kahn 1986; Hofferth, Kahn, and Baldwin 1987; Kahn and Anderson 1992; Billy, Brewster, and Grady 1994). The research cited above has addressed contextual causes of female teenage sexuality, but it fails to examine the social controls put in place to govern young female adolescents' sexual practices. Studies that focus specifically on micro-level causal factors responsible for teenage abstinence (Buhi, Goodson, Neilands, and Blunt 2011; Sipe et al. 2012), safe sexual behavior for females (Lourie et al. 1998; Armitage and Talibudeen 2010), and sexual activity in general (Davila et al. 2009) find rationale for sexual behavior located within the individual. These studies lack attention to social controls that attempt to orchestrate teenage sexual behavior. The literature cited above suggests young adults are either motivated or unmotivated to participate in sexual activity (Billy, Brewster, and Grady 1994) but do not consider the role played by groups or institutions.

DeLamater (1981) argues that institutions, namely family, education, and religion, work to control sexual behaviors within a given society. The general effects of an individual's religion and spirituality on teenage sexuality have been explored

(Cochran and Beeghley 1991; Holder et al. 2000), along with family connectedness (Miller 2002; Markham et al. 2010), yet little focus on specific methods of social control over adolescent sexuality, especially girls' sexuality, exists in the literature.

Some analyses exploring specific forms of social control over sexual behavior do exist. Feminist scholars have explored the social control of female sexual activity by studying how the fear of rape in a patriarchal society influences women's behavior (Brownmiller 1975; Pain 1991). Medical sociologists have looked at the manner in which medical authorities effectively control and construct norms for various behaviors, including sexuality (Waitzkin 1989; Waitzkin and Britt 1993). To my knowledge, however, there is no comprehensive study of censorship as a form of social control over girls' sexual behavior.

Control over access to contraception is one way that the community can control girls' sexual behavior. School-based clinics that dispense contraceptives have not been shown to increase sexual activity among teens (Kirby 2002) but do show increased levels of hormonal contraceptive use by girls and a higher prevalence of girls being screened for sexually-transmitted diseases (Ethier et al. 2011). The National Association on School-Based Health Care (2010) advocates confidentiality for its underage clients, a practice granting further freedom to girls who choose to exercise agency outside of their parents' knowledge. However, American culture harbors both a fear of girls' sexual agency and a desire to control it (Valenti 2010). In an economic and historical context, girls were expected to "wait," bartering virginity for a man's protection and support for not only herself but for her children (Nathanson 1991). Girls who do not "save" their virginity for their future husbands threaten the entire economic, patriarchal system.

Regulations stating that abortions can only be provided to minor girls upon a parent's notification or consent further restrict girls' agency, reminding them that their bodies are the property of others (Kavanagh et al. 2012). Parental notification regulations can also cause additional health risks for 17 year-old girls who wait well past the first trimester in order to access abortion services at their eighteenth birthday (Colman and Joyce 2009).

Attention to parental involvement in minors' reproductive choices began in the 1970s as teen pregnancy became identified as a national social problem (Dailard and Richardson 2005). While this phenomenon was largely associated with the rise in age of marriage, and not with increased sexual activity on the part of minors, there was a recognized need to legislate access to contraceptives and abortion services. Toward the end of the 1970s, Supreme Court decisions recognized the constitutional right to privacy for minors seeking contraceptives and abortions. A religious and conservative backlash occurred, with states passing ever more draconian policies aimed at restricting access to reproductive services for minors, mainly stemming from fear that access would promote promiscuity and hamper parental authority over their children (Dailard and Richardson 2005).

In addition to visible sexual deviations of girls (having babies, accessing abortion and contraception), girls' violent behavior is also made visible to the surrounding community. The media has made "meanness," aggression, and masculinized behavior highly visible across the American cultural landscape. Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, news shows and articles highlighted certain behavior patterns emerging on the part of girls, including increasingly aggressive behaviors, an

upswing in arrests, and participation in gang activity (Worrall 2004; Chesney-Lind and Irwin 2008; Zahn et al. 2008). In theory, a girl is expected to take up less physical space (Martin 1998; Godfrey 2004), which includes the gendered cultural norm of keeping her hands to herself. She is also expected to be submissive and quiet (Welter 1966), in other words, a docile body (Foucault 1977). However, as women became more visible in modern society, they began to be policed more often and more harshly for aggression (Chesney-Lind and Eliason 2006). The media jumped on stories about "bad" girls, claiming that they were achieving equality with knives, guns, and their fists.

The surge in concern with girls' aggression had its roots not only in late nineteenth century moral panics, but also in 1970s research on the "dark side" of feminism (Adler 1975; Simon 1975). Adler's (1975) book, *Sisters in Crime,* argued that liberated women assumed the characteristics of males, including acting in unprecedented violent and criminal ways. The apprehension over girls-gone-bad represents a backlash against feminism (Chesney-Lind 2006), vilifying the feminist movement as causing "out of control" females. While the upswing in girls' arrests has much more to do with legal changes in enforcement and the emergence of schools' zero tolerance policies (Zahn et al. 2008), the fact that girls are being arrested at higher rates is a visible demonstration of changes in girls' agency. Community anxiety about girls' rising violence also justifies harsher punishments and more stringent social controls.

Research suggests that adults are very concerned with violence on television (Salwen and Dupagne 1999: Hoffner and Buchanan 2002) and in song lyrics (McDonald 1988; Tatum 1999), but there is much less scholarship on the violence portrayed by books. However, Suzanne Collins' *The Hunger Games* ended up on the

ALA's most frequently challenged top ten list for two years in a row (American Library Association 2013). The books feature a young heroine, Katniss, who must kill or be killed in a dystopia where dueling children fight to the death on television for an audience's entertainment. Katniss breaks social norms for girls' behavior (Woloshyn, Taber, and Lane 2013) as she navigates her world with the violence it demands. Aggressive girls who act against social constraints, Worral (2004) argued, present a threat to the "moral fabric of society" (44) and symbolize what society can expect by loosening controls on girls and women.

These sexual and behavioral deviations, highly visible to the surrounding community in the form of arrests and incarcerations, are viewed as cause for alarm and mobilization. The visible sexual deviations and visible aggressiveness of girls suggest that society's controls are too loose. Parents, educators, and administrators in the community may search for a space not only to express their discomfort, but a space to apply controls. The local school, school library, and local library may very well be one of the last places that the community can "do" something about girl trouble. After all, public schools and libraries are community-run and community-funded. Local schools and local libraries are finite structures inside the community and physically contain both the target of the censor (books) and the concern of the censor (minors). The same cannot be said about, for example, the Internet or television programs, over which the local community has little to no control.

Do the contents of books represent forbidden territory for girls? Author Judy Blume is one of the most challenged authors of the past three decades (Foerstel 1994). Blume's novels use frank, straightforward narratives to explore topics like death, sex,

virginity, contraception, abortion, masturbation, body size, and menstruation (Wyatt 2004). The pervasive theme of acquiring sexual knowledge, experienced through empathetic heroines, has caused Blume's books to be challenged and banned for a number of years. Blume says:

> I believe that censorship grows out of fear, and because fear is contagious, some parents are easily swayed. Book banning satisfies their need to feel in control of their children's lives. This fear is often disguised as moral outrage. They want to believe that if their children don't read about it, their children won't know about it. And if they don't know about it, it won't happen (Blume 2012).

The literature reviewed in the previous section forms a foundation for the examination of Censorship Citadels and their comparison cities in terms of girls' visible boundary breaches. The preceding scholarship also frames the proposed content analysis of the books banned and challenged by the cities.

This study aims to make a theoretical contribution by building a bridge between book censorship efforts and the social control of girls' behavior. Because I am most committed to research that lends itself to activism and policy, the goals of this project are of a practical nature. One of my passions is translating sociological concepts into "everyday" language accessible to non-sociological audiences. The link between censorship at local schools and girls' behavior in the community should not be confined to academic-speak but instead disseminated in more accessible forms and made available to librarians, teachers, and administrators of public schools. This dissemination would take the form of short articles written for secondary and primary education journals, guest blogs on online educational forums, and even short pieces in mass media magazines.

The danger of failing to expose links between censorship and girls' behavior norms has practical consequences if schools and libraries suppress titles. Girls who are forbidden to access texts that deal with bodies and sexuality are less likely to understand their own bodies and are more prone to risky sexual practices and disease (Kantor et al. 2008; Isley et al. 2010; Sargent 2013), while girls who are homosexual, bisexual, or questioning may feel they have no relevance and no role models, and may suffer emotional damage (Jenkins 1998). Texts that deal with death, divorce, abandonment, abuse, violence, and war provide narratives for those girls whose lives do not follow hegemonic scripts (Edwards 1997). Banning books from schools due to sexual content reinforces the ideology that sex is inappropriate, furthering the stigma experienced by sexually active girls and pregnant girls (Kelly 1996). On a larger scale, censorship at all levels has historically led to negative outcomes for women and girls (e.g., the censorship of information about contraception and women's bodies contributed to unnecessary suffering by women [Chesler 2007]). Finally, if, as I theorize, banned books represent attempts to control or at least comment on girls' agency, the forward motion of the feminist movement may be in danger.

SUMMARY

This dissertation examines city-level characteristics of girls' visible behavior boundary breaches and the contents of books banned by particular cities. The purpose of this examination is to theorize about the social control of girls at community levels through challenges to books. The dissertation also explores the religious climate and the race and class makeup in each Censorship Citadel and comparison city pairing. Using grounded theory to analyze books challenged or banned by three Censorship Citadels

and three comparison cities, in addition to describing the visible breaches of girls' behavioral norms, this study fills a gap in the research on the social control of girls.

The project assumes that challenges to books primarily occur due to concerns about girls' breaches of sexual and aggressive behavioral norms. It assumes that concerns and fears about girls' behavior translate to challenges against books held by the school or required by the school. This project also takes into consideration that a prevalence of fundamental, evangelical churches and rapid changes in racial and social class makeup within a city might also have an effect on perceptions about girls' behavioral norms. By qualitatively examining visible norm breaches by girls and the religious, social class, and racial atmosphere of a city, I theorize about the interconnectedness of these themes and the themes in challenged books from each city.

Chapter Two examines the function filled by religion in boundary maintenance, primarily focusing on the emergence of "megachurches" on the religious landscape. These megachurches changed the face of American religion during the 1990s and were both a product of and an outcome of an increasingly conservative cultural climate. The new church and its impact on the behavioral norms of girls in the community serve as a pivotal framework to discuss why some cities are more likely to challenge books than are other cities. The Censorship Citadels are expected to have a megachurch presence, increasing the likelihood that the church is a driving force behind conservative book-related activism at local schools and libraries.

In Chapter Three, I examine intersections of race and ethnicity, class, gender, and age as locations where subversive morality is assumed of groups that have been "othered" by the mainstream culture. In the 1990s and 2000s, as an increase in

immigration from Latin American countries began to further diversify American cities, Censorship Citadels rapidly evolved from largely homogeneous regions to areas where many different cultures lived in close proximity to one another, stimulating fear and uncertainty about the changing meaning of being an American. With girls as the primary focus of social control efforts, I examine how white, middle-class behavior prescriptions for girls are threatened by the arrival of nonwhite,[3] lower-class groups. Heightened sensitivity to new behavioral norms for girls in the Censorship Citadels might be one reason that these cities tend to voice their fears by targeting immoral themes in questionable books at the local school and library.

Chapter Four presents a conceptual model for the study and explores the different aspects of feminist theory that contribute to the research. I explain how the racial, ethnic, class, and religious climate of a city influence gendered norms, and how changes over time in the demographic makeup of a city cause renewed interest in policing norms. The chapter summarizes the framework of a feminist intersectional perspective that aids in analyzing girls' behavior norms and the contents of challenged books.

Chapter Five describes the methods undertaken in this project, including the research paradigm, research design, data collection, and content analysis. Based largely on a constructivist grounded theory approach, this study aims to use "thick description" to capture the environment of cities that challenged the greatest number of books between 2000 and 2009. I detail the way I operationalized visible breaches in girls' normative behaviors, the race, ethnicity, and class of cities, and the religious climate of cities.

Chapters Six through Eight present each of the three Censorship Citadels and their comparison cities. I examine specific characteristics of each city-set, including the presence of megachurches, changes in racial patterns, changes in social class patterns, and visible norm breaches by girls in each city through the years 2000 through 2009. These chapters also include content analyses of specific books particularly contentious in each Censorship Citadel. Chapter Six compares Houston, Texas, to New Orleans, Louisiana. Chapter Seven examines San Antonio, Texas, and its comparison city, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Chapter Eight presents information on Tampa, Florida, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The concluding chapter, Chapter Nine, links changes in American cities to girls' behavioral norm breaches, the racial and ethnic composition changes, class changes, and the presence of megachurches. This chapter also reflects on the geography of social movements, expanding the notion that social control of girls takes place most saliently at community levels and should therefore be addressed at these same levels. While I could not definitively point to any one specific mechanism within each Censorship Citadel that predicted book challenging activity, I did identify a number of factors that, when considered in tandem with girls' behavioral norm breaches, created a climate conducive to challenges. Chapter Nine concludes with policy implications and opportunities for activism.

Chapter Two: Religion as a Cultural Force

Durkheim ([1897] 1951) examined the ultimate norm deviation, suicide, within the parameters of religion, comparing primarily Catholic countries with primarily Protestant countries. While Durkheim aimed to locate an individualistic behavior within the structure of outside social forces, his study also emphasized the power of religious affiliations in explaining collective belief and individual action. Though this landmark study has been called into question because of data accuracy and ecological fallacy (Stark and Bainbridge 1997), the precedent of studying deviance and religious affiliation is highly relevant to this project. Durkheim, Weber, Marx, and Gramsci all considered religion a fundamental component of culture able to transmit meaning to societies (Edles 2002), but it is with a mainly Durkheimian view of religion's function in society that I cast my eye, especially where society is considered a moral phenomenon (Durkheim [1893] 1933). I also align myself with Marx's conceptualization of religion as an ideological tool of social control that oppresses certain populations.

In this chapter, I survey the recent evolution of American religious institutions from mainline churches into megachurches and the accompanying change in Americans' religious self-identification. This evolution is important to the theory that fundamentalist churches exert social control on the surrounding community of girls. I link the religious climate that began in the 1970s with the country's cultural and political shifts to the right over the past three decades. Next, I cover the influence of churches, specifically evangelical, non-denominational, Protestant megachurches, at

community levels. I then move on to explaining the mechanisms employed by churches to influence community values and promote community activism. This chapter concludes with a discussion of evangelical attitudes toward girls' behaviors and the contents of books, theorizing that the presence of evangelical megachurches in a community may promote more book challenges in local schools and at libraries. This chapter, along with the entire study, rest on the assumption that religion is a form of social control used to influence behavior (Durkheim [1912] 1965; Stark and Bainbridge 1997).

Denominational affiliation and attitudes toward certain norms are interrelated. Frequent churchgoers at conservative churches hold more disapproving attitudes toward abortion than churchgoers at liberal churches (Ebaugh and Haney 1978) and express more concerns about sexual morals (Woodrum and Davison 1992). Smith (1990) aligned American denominations along a fundamental-liberal continuum, finding strong validity when using his taxonomy to predict attitudes toward conventional sex roles, premarital sexual activity, abortion, and contraceptive use. Fundamentalist congregants were found to hold more conservative views toward these issues than were liberal congregants (242) (although certainly variations exist among members when age, education levels, and frequency of church attendance are taken into account, see Gonsoulin and LeBoeuf 2010).

However, taxonomies used prior to the 1990s are no longer theoretically relevant due to the decreasing significance of mainline denominations and the proliferation of evangelical, Protestant, largely nondenominational megachurches (Edles 2002; Finke and Stark 2005; Wilford 2010). We need new conceptions of what

religion in America looks like since the 1990s in order to understand the impact these churches had on community life during this project's timeframe of 2000 through 2009.

To use Berger's (1967) terminology, a sacred canopy once covered all of America, informing values, norms and laws. Mainline denominations such as Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians dominated the religious landscape early in the twentieth century, but structural changes in America heralded in a new era in religious expression. Countries of origin quotas were abolished in the 1960s, ushering in immigrants from the southern hemisphere and Eastern Europe who exposed Americans to alternative belief systems (Finke and Stark 2005). At the same time, American institutions were becoming increasingly secularized. For example, as contraception became much more available and visible, public schools began teaching sexual health education (Irvine 2006; Kantor et al. 2008). The U.S. Supreme Court made school-sponsored prayer unconstitutional in the 1960s (Deckman 2004) and no-fault divorces started disrupting Christian notions of lifelong marriage (Coontz 2005). In short, many institutions in the U.S. were becoming less religious and more secular in the 1960s, leading to the decreasing significance of established religious organizations.

With structural changes affecting the laws, regulations, and the norms of many institutions, Baby Boomers began leaving mainline denominations when they no longer seemed relevant in the midst of such tumultuous and complex shifts (Loveland and Wheeler 2003). The power of religion over American life seemed to lessen as adherents moved away from mainline churches.

Secularization theory suggests that the decline in mainline Christianity's influence in American society can be attributed to post-modern capitalism, rising levels

of income, rising levels of education, and normalization of behaviors that used to be considered deviant (Berger 1967; Hunter 1991; Wilford 2010). For example, structurally, the accessibility and affordability of contraception removed the threat of pregnancy from sex, freeing such a critical mass of women to engage in sexual behavior that mainstream societal norms grew to concede that non-marital sex was no longer sinful (Valenti 2010). Other arguments about the decline of mainline denominations in America posit that, especially beginning in the 1970s, churches were not modern enough, not liberal enough, and no longer asking much from their congregants, leading to loss of adherents (Finke and Stark 2005:248). Many churches did attempt to conform to changes occurring in culture, for example, Edgell's (2006) examination of four congregations in New York suggested that these churches evolved to become more inclusive (through rhetoric and practice) of dual-worker and single-parent families. Edgell's analysis sets a theoretical stage for the idea that local churches do not drive culture, but are products *of* culture.

However, the larger, national, picture of religion in America suggests that the sacred canopy (Berger 1967) covering American institutions and life seemed to be, if not altogether absent, at least beginning to tear in the 1970s. While Berger and other religion scholars viewed the canopy's dismantling as a harbinger of the secularization of the world, this was not the outcome. The canopy's breakdown left space for new forms of religion to arise: "sacred umbrellas" (Smith 1998). These sacred umbrellas were more localized than the sacred canopy, supported mainly by evangelical, Protestant-oriented, anti-secularization movements seeking to express themselves in more localized geographic spaces (Wilford 2010).

Religious adherence began growing in America, not declining, but was occurring exclusively within the evangelical and non-denominational movement (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2013). America's "new" religious form was fundamentalist, evangelical, locally organized, and housed in the megachurch (Loveland and Wheeler 2003; Connell 2005; Wilford 2010).

Channeling televangelist Jerry Falwell's motto that a "cheap church makes God look cheap" (quoted in Loveland and Wheeler 2003:128), megachurches began appearing on the religious landscape in the 1970s. Using the modern shopping mall as their architectural inspiration, megachurches like Saddleback Church in California, Willow Creek Community Church in Illinois, and A Community of Joy in Arizona were designed to meet not only the spiritual needs of the surrounding community, but also (and perhaps more importantly) the social needs. By definition, megachurches typically average 2,000 or more attendees (but some have seating capacities between 10,000 and 14,000) with campuses spread over several acres on the outskirts of major cities (Loveland and Wheeler 2003; Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011).

Where mainline denominations began retreating from local, everyday life, space opened for megachurches and other fundamental, evangelical-oriented churches to take over the function of mapping religious boundaries in the community (Wilford 2010). Megachurches fostered strong ties with community members by offering schools, daycare centers, GED courses, food banks, recreational facilities, sports leagues, fitness classes, 12-step programs, grief and divorce support groups, working mothers' brunches, coffee shops, food courts, concerts, pageants, and small group sessions that met in members' homes or out in the community (Loveland and Wheeler 2003; Finke

and Stark 2005). In other words, these megachurches offered "one-stop shopping" (Loveland and Wheeler 2003:181) to meet a community's social and religious needs.

Religious self-identification also evolved along with the growth of megachurches. The percentage of Americans self-identifying as a member of one of the mainline denominations (Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian) began to decrease in 1990, while the percentage self-identifying as evangelical, born again, fundamentalist, or non-denominational rose during the same time period (Kosmin and Keysar 2009). This self-identification trend indicated a shift in the way Americans conceptualized themselves and their relationship with God. Religion in America became more evangelical and more fundamental at the same time as it became less tethered to traditional forms of organized religion (Kosmin and Keysar 2009).

The prevalence of evangelical Americans and their home megachurches also contributed to a more conservative cultural and political climate that had begun percolating in the 1970s with fundamental movements like "Campus Crusade for Christ" and the Jesus Freaks (Finke and Stark 2005; Young 2010; Cru 2013). Conservatism and fundamentalism became legitimized during the Reagan administration with the political efficacy of groups like the Moral Majority (Hunter 1991; Harer and Harris 1994).

The conservative political, cultural, and religious climate that began decades earlier peaked in the 1990s with massive structural changes in the U.S., most notably increases in immigration, a rise in education levels, visible changes in women's empowerment, religious pluralism, and the change from a manufacturing to a service- and information-based economy (Hunter 1991; Finke and Stark 2005; Jenkins 2011;

Tepper 2011). Though religion appeared to be declining in significance after WWII, conservative, evangelical forces formed the backbone of right wing approaches that aimed to define what it meant to be American during the tumultuous 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s (Scheslinger 1992; Deckman 2004; Connell 2005; Edgell 2006; Wilford 2010; Jenkins 2011). The evangelical movement contributed directly to ideology such as "family values" that came to prominence in the rhetoric of the 1980s and 1990s (Stacey 1997) with goals to bring America back to traditional value systems (though these values typically implied 1950s hegemonic, white, middle-class, heterosexual, Protestant standards).

While the evangelical, conservative, religious right movement emerged victoriously from some national battles (for example, Tipper Gore's successful campaign to label CDs and albums with a warning sticker), most religious organizations within the evangelical and fundamentalist movement chose to "decentralize" (Hunter 1991:297) by concentrating on the immediate community. The evangelical movement began to influence the surrounding community's value system by encouraging members of evangelical churches to run for political positions and seats on the local school board (Hunter 1991; Edwards 1997; Deckman 2004). The movement impacted the community's values through the formation of the megachurch that filled local civic and social needs, in addition to providing a place of refuge and solidarity during periods of cultural upheaval (Jenkins 2011).

The new megachurch and the evangelical, fundamental climate represented a conservative cultural and political outlook toward family, social policy, sexual activity, racial categories, social class, and gender roles (Edles 2002). One way this conservatism

expressed itself was through local protestations against cultural symbols that represented the secularization of the community, for example, contentious works of literature at the local school or a controversial statue displayed at the courthouse.

One vital component of a vibrant and healthy church lies in is its ability to draw moral boundaries, especially in the community (Dochuk 2003; Finke and Stark 2005; Wilford 2010). Through demarcating inappropriate behavior, religious groups define where moral boundaries lie in a rapidly changing world (Erikson 1966; Gusfield 1976; Tepper 2011). This boundary-marking clarifies the community's stance on many issues. However, without the public scaffolds at the town square to enlighten passers-by as to what constitutes deviant behavior, groups must find other public ways to maintain boundaries (although, public shaming is making a small comeback in the form of children and teens holding signs proclaiming their disobedience on street corners).[4] Protests, marches, campaigns, letters to the editor, and official complaints all serve as declarations of the boundaries that exist within a community.

Other institutions and social structures (e.g., race and class, discussed in the next chapter) certainly shape a community's value system and influence the propensity to protest a behavior or lifestyle. But the presence of a megachurch in a community may encourage more protests due to the manifest role of a fundamentalist, conservative church in defining morality and appropriate behaviors. While national battles over lifestyles have been characterized as the struggle to define America (Gusfield 1976; Tepper 2011), local battles over lifestyles may represent the struggle to define the community (Tepper 2011). Frequently, what is between the pages of a book privileges one lifestyle over another, requiring value systems to take sides.

GIRLS, GIRLS, GIRLS

Evangelical Christian ideology about appropriate girls' behavior helped shape early progressive reforms (Odem 1995). A sexually active girl, both then and now, is a problem that can be solved by an application of white, middle-class, heterosexual, and evangelical values (Thomas 1923). Fundamentalist, evangelical morals regarding purity, virginity, sexuality, abortion, and marriage concentrate on unmarried females (Sethna 2010; Valenti 2010) and actively preserve gender stereotypes (Edwards 1997; Rose 2005; Colaner and Giles 2008).

The Christian Right has had a serious impact on social policies concerning female bodies, for example, implementing abstinence-only sex education in schools (Deckman 2004; Rose 2005) and passing abortion regulations (Petchesky 1981). Evangelical conservatism's infiltration of social policies also means that the opportunity to control young females' behavior comes from taxpayer money to fund things like religiously-influenced purity balls[5] (Valenti 2010) and the enactment of "The Chastity Act"[6] to promote and privilege abstinence (Benshoof 1988; Saul 1998).

The ability of religion to define behavioral norms has very real social outcomes. Students who attend schools that teach exclusively abstinence-only sex education can experience negative outcomes. For example, a lower frequency of sexually transmitted diseases are found among students who receive condom education in schools (Dodge, Reece, and Herbenick 2009). The fundamental ideology of a "fallen woman" pervades much of our culture's policy aimed at punishment for impure females such as strict policies aimed at pregnant mothers who use drugs (Gomez 1997) and the educational marginalization of student teen mothers (Pillow 2004). Religious opposition to

emergency contraception puts pregnant females in a double bind: not allowed access to emergency contraception yet stigmatized if they become teen mothers (and further stigmatized if they abandon their newborns). Christian schools can expel pregnant students while public schools can deny pregnant girls access to certain extra-curricular clubs like the National Honor Society (Kelly 2000). There are very real consequences to evangelical involvement in policy.

Harer and Harris' (1994) investigation of book censorship in the 1980s found that the number one complaint of pastors against a book was "sexual content," suggesting that religious leaders in the community remain vigilant about sexual activity norms for teens. This relationship between conservative, evangelical Christianity and girls' behavior is particularly striking at local levels, where churches are in a unique position to recognize and react to community norms (Ellingson et al. 2001), in addition to mobilizing congregants to political causes (Greenberg 2000).

The role of the fundamental church extends to addressing girls' violence and aggressiveness, as well as their sexual behavior, believing women should be meek, quiet, and submissive (Edwards 1997). The evangelical movement's purity standards are primarily standards based on expected norms for white, middle-class girls. The movement's expectations for females who are meek and submissive also take into account the proper behavior norms for white, middle-class girls. The next chapter examines the norms and values of groups that are "othered" from white, middle-class populations.

Chapter Three: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in American Culture

Definitions of appropriate and inappropriate behaviors have historically fallen along racial, ethnic, and class lines. Gusfield (1976) located his examination of social control within the history of the American Temperance movement. Framed as symbolic status warfare between social classes, Gusfield's work informs this dissertation by establishing the concept of symbolic battles that take place over certain behaviors in order to control the behavior and gain relevance for the group in society. The successful implementation of Prohibition, Gusfield argued, was symbolic of the authority of white, middle-class, Protestants to define behavioral norms and was viewed as necessary in response to a mass influx of immigrants into the United States.

Even during Jefferson's presidency, the increase in alcohol consumption became symbolic of a new order, an order in which the old aristocracy saw their power crumbling as the independent, rugged American individualist and entrepreneur emerged with economic force (Gusfield 1976). Regulating the sale and consumption of alcohol meant control over certain populations, specifically Native Americans, African-Americans, and poor Americans.

The concern about alcohol during the Jeffersonian period was reflected later in the Temperance movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when new Irish and German Catholic immigrants flooded cities along with increasing levels of crime, poverty, and disease (Gusfield 1976). Alcohol was not the root of the problem, but it symbolized the root of the problem. The issue for the white, Protestant, middle-

class was the changing face of the American citizen, along with what it meant to be an American.

This chapter examines race, ethnicity, and class in America, especially where race and class intersect with behavior norms for young girls. I examine the historical trajectory of girls' agency within the context of race and class in a changing America, and show how race, class, and gender are inextricably linked. Next, I cover the social class and racial makeup of cities and how a city's particular changing composition (e.g. a majority white, upper middle-class city attracting large amounts of nonwhites or foreign-born populations) might impact the formation of norms about girls' behavior. I show how concern over the changing face of America and the meaning of what America symbolizes expresses itself most saliently at local levels in public outcries against works of art and literature. This chapter on race and class concludes by suggesting that a book's contents are symbolic of changing girls' norms, and that threats presented by the norms of nonwhite, non-middle-class newcomers to a city may encourage more citizens to issue more book challenges in local schools and libraries.

Race is socially constructed, meaning that it is not physical or biological characteristics that define one's race, but rather race is a category defined by society (Edles 2002). While racial categories are subjective, the very real, lived experiences of populations within certain categories are not. The history of America is incomplete without recognizing the pattern of exploitation and marginalization of specific races and ethnicities. Early Americans placed whites, Native Americans, and blacks in categories that were legally, culturally, and geographically constrained (Smedley 2007). White Protestants of Anglo-Saxon descent, especially, were constructed as a "race" of near

mythical proportions, deserving of their place at the top of the hierarchy and the majority share of wealth and status (Smedley 2007).

The decimation of Native American populations and exploitation of their lands led to widespread subordination, as did the enslavement of Africans. Disadvantaged from the beginning, Native Americans and African-Americans were historically relegated to the lower socio-economic classes with little to no influence on hegemonic norms. White Anglo-Saxons exercised dominance over America and considered their way of life as legitimized by the divine (Weber 1930). American norms and values, rooted in white, Protestant, middle-class value systems, formed normative boundaries for everyone. As evidenced by the legal suppression of Native American and African language and customs, the traditional hegemonic values of WASPs were privileged and legitimized by legal codes.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, Italian, Irish, and Polish, and Jewish populations were "othered" as nonwhite races upon their arrival in America (Alba and Nee 2003; Smedley 2007); their traditions and values viewed with suspicion. It was in this context of rapid change that the nation turned its attention not only to alcohol consumption, but to the danger posed to white, Protestant, middle-class girls (Nathanson 1991; Odem 1995). Once the Italians, Irish, Poles, and Jews assimilated into American mainstream culture, however, the focus shifted to immigrants arriving from unfamiliar countries of origin. Beginning in 1965, immigrants to the U.S. were largely made up of individuals from Latin America and Asia (Bean and Stevens 2003). These "new" immigrants have been responsible for a massive shift in America's demographic

makeup, contributing to 60 percent of growth in the population every year (Bean and Stevens 2003:5).

Class and race are tightly coupled together. In fact, the socially constructed category of race is often the basis of exclusionary and exploitative practices leading to marginalization in the lower classes (Allport [1954] 1979). Wilson's (1993) examination of inner-city African-American poverty emphasized class-based explanations rather than race-based explanations, lending support to the concept that, at times, class can serve as a code word for race and ethnicity (Jencks 1991).

Class, race, gender, age, and other social identities interlock, situating an individual at a certain location within different systems of oppression and privilege (Hill Collins 1989; Hill Collins 2000). Former slave, Sojourner Truth, articulated this basic concept of intersectionality in 1851, noting that the mores of the day dictated that men assist women as they climbed into carriages or crossed puddles of water. Truth, acknowledging her multiplicative, intersecting social identities, said no man ever helped her with such niceties. The hegemonic value system specifying rules for the treatment of women excluded Sojourner Truth due to her racial and social class, though these norms implied "women" as a monolithic category.

For the purposes of this study, the concept of intersectionality is a helpful tool to analyze the norms to which all females are accountable. Though structural changes in medicine (the pill), laws (Roe v. Wade, Title IX, and no-fault divorce), and the economy (rise in the female labor force) helped break women out of formerly rigid stereotypes and expectations, the truth is that a component of the pure, pious, domestic, and submissive woman continues to inform behavioral norm expectations (Welter

1966). These norms were and are particularly applicable to upper and middle-class, white, Protestant, heterosexual women (Nathanson 1991; Kelly 2000; Chesney-Lind and Eliason 2006).

Women are held more rigidly to behavior standards than are men (Schur 1984). Girls, especially, as the moral backbone of the nation's future, are allowed little distance outside of normative boundaries (Nathanson 1991; Odem 1995). Throughout America's history, nonwhite, working class norms were considered morally inferior and in fact, were assumed to be the reason individuals stayed economically depressed (Jencks 1991; Gans 1995). Sexual activity, out of wedlock births, and violence on the part of teenage girls has never been part of the normative narrative for acceptable white, middle-class behavior.

The blame for social issues such as crime and economic insecurity is often assigned to scapegoats, with the poor, nonwhites, and other intersectional groups bearing the burden of culpability (Allport [1954] 1979; Gans 1995). Blame for problematic social conditions also often targets women's behavior, not men's behavior, as the cause of certain societal issues, e.g., unemployment rates (Abramovitz 1984), home burglaries (Rengert and Wasilchick 1985), domestic violence (Frank and Golden 1992), fetus and infant health (Logan 1999), sexual harassment (Jensen and Gutek 1982), and rape (Abrams, Viki, Masser, and Bohner 2003). Women, in other words, serve as all-purpose deviants, and it is only through their control that the alleviation of social problems is possible (Schur 1984).

Visible displays of girls' sexual and violent behavior suggest that inverted norms are infiltrating the current value system. These norm-breaching activities present

active threats against prevailing norms and provoke anxiety among community members. If a community is experiencing rapid demographic changes, citizens may associate the existence of teen mothers, pregnant teens, or girls' arrests as being influenced by the norms of immigrants.

As the title of the book, *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us are Brave* (Hull, Bell-Scott, and Smith 1982) suggests, women are not conceptualized often enough in terms of race, class, religion, able-bodiedness, sexual orientation, age, and other identities. An intersectional approach to theorizing about girls allows me to speculate that norms about girls' behavior are really norms about white, middle-class, Protestant, heterosexual girls (Bettie 2003). Attention to race, class, sexual orientation, and religion as each social identity intersects with girls' lives helps reveal prevailing attitudes toward the value systems and behaviors of those groups who have been "othered" in American society.

Mainstream culture constructs the value systems of the poor, the nonwhite, and categories of "other" as immoral and subversive threats to existing morals (Allport [1954] 1979; Jencks 1991; Gans 1995). Poor nonwhites are and have historically been overrepresented in our juvenile centers and prisons (Odem 1995; Freiburger and Burke 2011). Hispanic and black minor girls experience higher rates of births than do white minor girls (even though all race and ethnicity groups have experienced decreases in rates, nonwhites have also decreased more slowly, in addition to having higher rates) (Wildsmith et al. 2013). These trends suggest that the nature of being nonwhite and lower-class is associated with inappropriate behavior norms.

Communities undergoing rapid demographic changes may experience uncertainty or fear from large numbers of immigrants arriving, and area citizens may look for tangible ways to express this discomfort. One accessible format is by challenging books at local schools and libraries that may appear to represent the "subverted morals" held by groups that are nonwhite, poor, non-heterosexual or questioning, non-religious, or non-American (Tepper 2011). The influx of immigrants into a city is a highly visible symbol of changing norms, as immigrants tend to display differences in terms of dress, language, social customs, food, smells, family structure, gendered roles, and a number of other indications that the status quo is being disrupted.

While Tepper (2011) and Gusfield (1976) argue that the arrival of immigrants presents a threat to prevailing value sets and creates conditions that provoke conflicts over behavioral norms and works of art, their research paints broad strokes over the conflagration of race, class, behavioral norms, and works of art. I take these concepts and use them as a foundation for my argument about the contents of frequently challenged books and girls' behavior norms. Cities where rapid demographic changes occurred during the 2000s (operationalized as changes in percent white and changes in percent foreign-born) may have invoked concern or uneasiness in its citizens, creating an atmosphere ripe for contentious behavior. These cities may have had a proclivity to protest themes of violence and sexual behavior at local schools and libraries, themes that would be considered highly inappropriate for white, middle-class, Protestant girls.

BLACK GIRLS, BROWN GIRLS, POOR GIRLS…BAD GIRLS

Popular culture is a pervasive force in society, with the media playing a significant role in the depiction of skin color, gender, age, and class as these identities

relate to appropriate and inappropriate behavior (Chesney-Lind and Irwin 2008). The image of the white, Protestant, middle-class girl as an ideal type has formed the backbone of social policies and attitudes toward girls who are "othered." Chesney-Lind and Irwin's 2008 study of girls and violence concludes that it is not girls that have "gone wild," but out of control media depictions and the policing of girls that have gone wild.

The focus on girls of color as hyper-violent and hyper-sexual serves to signal the inappropriateness of attempting to be like men, and justifies the overrepresentation of nonwhite girls in detention centers (Chesney-Lind and Irwin 2008:184). Controlling images (Hill Collins 1989) of the teenage mother as an African-American girl and the gang member as Latina help reinforce policies that would see all girls internalize behavior that is pure, pious, domestic, and submissive (Welter 1966).

Poor, nonwhite girls are not only overrepresented in the criminal justice system, but also overrepresented among teen mothers dependent on safety net programs such as food stamps (now known as SNAP: Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program), TANF (Temporary Assistance to Needy Families), and WIC (Women, Infants, and Children) (Kelly 2000). Nonwhite, unmarried teen mothers are more at risk of having their children taken by the state and more apt to experience stigma from the public (Kelly 2000).

American ideology promotes the concept that, with good morals comes good behavior. There is a lack of attention to structural obstacles that may constrain poor, nonwhite populations from what is considered "good behavior" (Gans 1995) and certainly there is a lack of attention to the construction of good behavior itself. The

emergence of abstinence-only sex education in the 1990s was not a reaction to rates of rising girls' sexuality, but a renewed attention to girls' behavior in the midst of cultural change (Nathanson 1991), as was the emergence of "girls gone bad" narratives (Chesney-Lind and Irwin 2008).

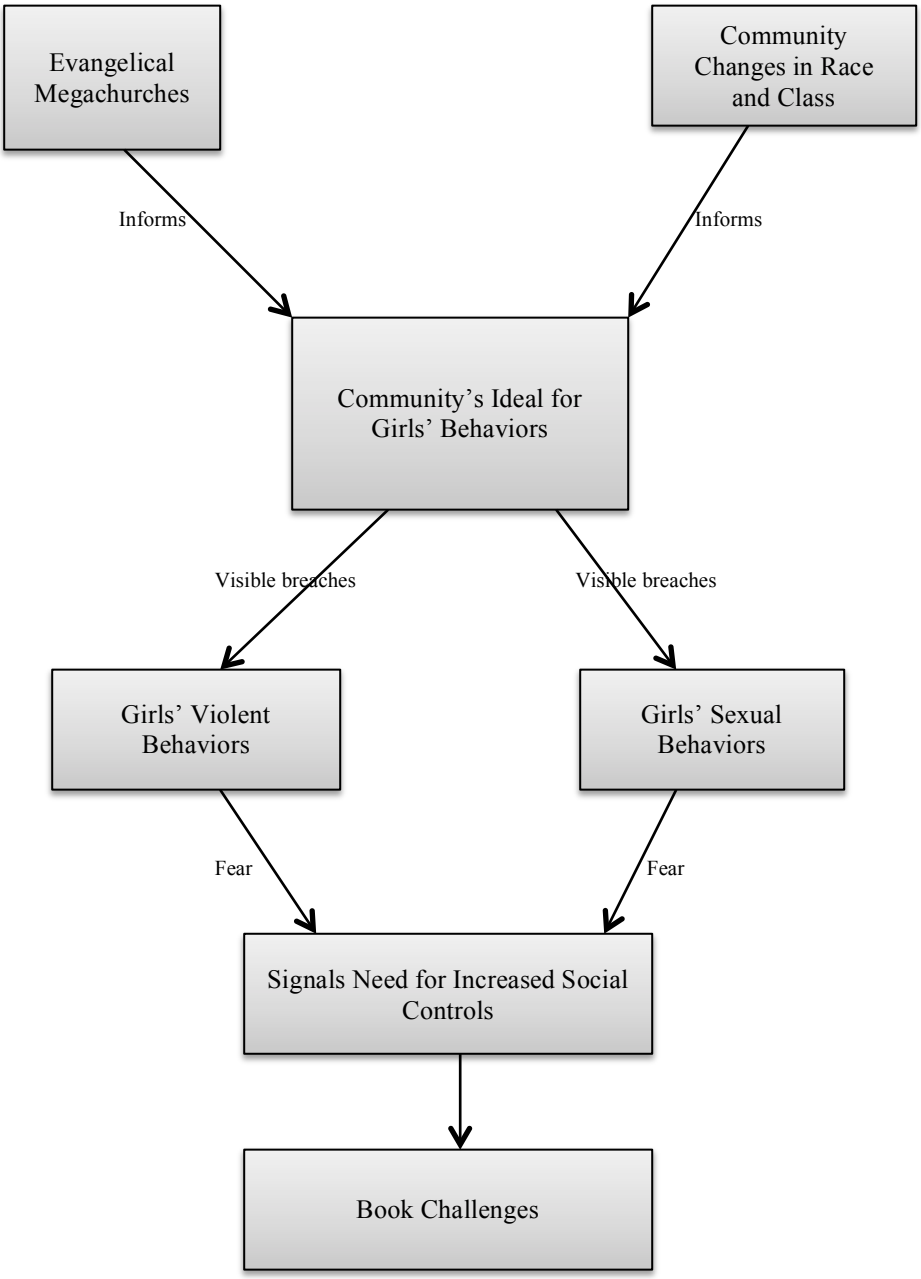
The rate of demographic changes within a city influences that city's propensity to challenge or protest arts and literature (Tepper 2011). Censorship Citadels, the cities that challenged the most books between 1990 and 2009, may have experienced rapid demographic changes that brought about attention to the possibility of social change. In a city where social norms are becoming questioned, where books reflect the morals or behaviors attributed to "othered" groups, a need exists for the marking of norm boundaries, especially for girls.

Cities are complex geographical areas with often shifting moral boundaries. The cultural climate of a city, including the influence of religious fundamentalism and the area's racial and socio-economic makeup, may shape how its citizens react to girls' behaviors. In a city where megachurches are present and where racial, ethnic, and class homogeneity is being rapidly disrupted, more visible displays of girls' norm-breaking behavior may spur community members to "do something" about local girls' behavior. Beginning in the 1990s, the rise in American fundamentalism and conservatism, along with high rates of immigration, seem to have played a role in activism geared toward challenging book titles (Hunter 1983; Foerstel 1994; Nye and Barco 2012). In Chapters Six through Eight, I will examine six of these cities, their religious and demographic characteristics, and the behavior of girls. I will also present a content analysis of books challenged by each Censorship Citadel and its comparison city.

Chapter Four: Theory and Model

Figure 4.1 presents the theoretical model illustrating the basic premise of this dissertation. Girls' behavioral norms for the community are defined by both the community's religious climate and its white, middle-class influence. Community institutions have historically held power over definitions for local girls' normative behavior. As the religious climate became more conservative and changes occurred in cities' racial and social makeup during the early 1990s, fear that girls' normative boundaries might be extending outward spurred a tightening of social controls aimed at youth during the 1990s and 2000s (O'Dougherty 2006; Raby 2010).

Figure 4.1: Theoretical Model



Increased attention on visible breaches of girls' behavioral norms, such as girls' violent behaviors, teen births, and access to abortion and contraception, cultivates fear on the part of religious institutions and white, middle-class groups. The need to "do something" about the girl problem might manifest itself in many different social control efforts, e.g., strict dress codes at school (Raby 2010), chaperone requirements or curfews at the mall (O'Dougherty 2006), or refusal to allow talented female athletes to play on boys' teams (Clark and Paechter 2007). However, this study is concerned with one particular effort aimed at the social control of girls, and one that is not so obviously connected to girls' behavior: challenging books.

The conceptual diagram suggests that a strong religious presence in a community, along with rapid changes in racial and ethnic makeup, will cause more alarm among community members who witness visible breaches of girls' behavior norms. This increased fear, in turn, will push the community to employ methods of social control in reaction.

As discussed in Chapter Two, religious institutions took a decidedly conservative, evangelical, and fundamentalist turn beginning in the 1970s. At the same time, record numbers of immigrants began changing the demographic makeup of American cities, as I articulated in Chapter Three. The visible breaches of girls' behavior norms became symbolic of broader societal disruptions, especially due to an increase in media hyperbole over girl-specific issues like girls' violence and teen pregnancy (Chesney-Lind and Irwin 2008). For religious institutions, changes in girls' behavior signaled the breakdown of the family and the rise of secularism. For the white,

middle-class, changes in girls' behavior represented a threatening shift in the balance of power in American life away from the hegemonic power of white America.

Ehrenreich and English (1978) argue that when women's pre-Industrial work was removed from the home and commoditized, it left them as little more than "housemaid-prostitutes" (Gilman, as quoted in Ehrenreich and English 1978:25) in place to perform reproductive duties only, and to model and instruct behavior for their daughters. Women's activities, by the time the Industrial Revolution gained steam, were defined by their place in the home. However, what is most important about these constraints and limitations upon women were the racial and class assumptions built into the ideology of gender differences. The white middle-class, Ehrenreich and English suggest, served as the model for a standard of "right" living (1978:173), which included standards of behavior for women.

My approach is informed by an intersectional perspective that takes into account a constructionist (Berger and Luckmann 1966) view of society and deviance. The power of literature lies in its ability of "making strange of reality to see the world anew" (Bogdan 1992:85), evoking the image of Mr. Keating from *Dead Poets Society* who forces his students to see the classroom from a different perspective by standing on the teacher's desk. I approach research from a feminist position, looking specifically for the constraints and restraints placed on females in a capitalistic, patriarchal society, whether those constraints and restraints are explicit or implicit. Different positioning can open up new vistas for theorization, and a feminist standpoint might address issues that other standpoints might ignore. As I critically examine the visibility of girls' deviant behavior in each city, the observation of more challenges to books in cities with

higher rates of girls' norm breaches lends support to the theory that these deviance factors contribute to discomfort, unease, and fear on the part of the surrounding community, who react with protests and censorship attempts.

Subordination and deception are embedded in social reality, but can be exposed by critical analyses of everyday items such as books. In the Internet age, books may be the lesser of most evils and be considered "everyday," but they continue to wield power decades (sometimes centuries) after publication; their themes, narratives, and characters must be examined.

This study uses an intersectional perspective to approach the issue of female behavior norms by interrogating the assumptions behind what passes for common sense. Nuclear families, docile female bodies, the abstinence movement, and the sexual double standard must be dissected with an intersectional knife to understand the white, middle-class ideology behind behavioral norms (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Foucault 1972; Hill Collins 1989; Hill Collins 2000). A short summary of the feminist movement and the variety of feminist perspectives, including the intersectional framework, follows.

FEMINIST THEORY

This study relies on feminist assumptions incorporating gender, class, race, and other social identities to argue that girls' behavior is monitored, policed, and enforced more so than is boys' behavior. Because a censored book is rarely, if ever, kept from only boys or only girls (though quite often kept from specific ages), it is with a leap of faith to argue that book censoring is mainly undertaken on behalf of girls. However, as most social control efforts are gendered (Schur 1984), a gendered analysis of book censoring and the characteristics of certain cities may uncover attitudes towards girls'

behavior. In this section, I provide a brief overview of the history of the feminist movement(s) and describe how the dissertation rests upon a feminist orientation, particularly of an intersectional nature.

Liberal feminism can be thought of as the "mother" of feminism, arguably beginning with Wollstonecraft's 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (Wollstonecraft [1792] 2009). In this treatise, Wollstonecraft describes white, middle-class women as kept women who are taught useless subjects and confined by both clothing and norms. Wollstonecraft argues for women as participants, not ornaments, in civic life, mainly through co-education.

The hallmark of liberal feminism is the demand for women's legitimate access to civic and public sphere activities, with a focus on the legal removal of obstacles put in place by sexism and socialization (Daly and Chesney-Lind 1988). Women, free of reproductive work and now included in the productive economy (de Beauvoir [1952] 1989:121), can articulate demands on more equal footing.

In spite of liberal feminism's contribution to increasing the quality of women's experience in the public sphere and over their own bodies (i.e., the passage of the Civil Rights Act, Title IX, Roe v. Wade), critiques against the movement rose. These critiques each evolved into complimentary branches of the feminist perspective.

Backlash against liberal feminism's focus on white, middle-class women and structural changes spurred radical groups of women who wanted to be revolutionists, not reformers (Tong 2009:48). Radical feminists stressed patriarchal control over women's sexual and reproductive processes, and through consciousness-raising, argued, "the personal is political" (Tong 2009:49).

The focus of radical feminism is on liberating women from reproductive processes and creating institutions that are "women-centered" (Daly and Chesney-Lind 1988:538). However, the ontological foundation that women are "good" and creators of life, while men are "bad" and takers of life, became a point of contention for critics of the movement (Tong 2009:90).

To counteract the radical feminist movement's problems with essentialism, Marxist feminists emphasized women's alienation from the forces of production, and relied on class-based arguments to position male elites as having ownership over the labors of women. The perspective also helped explain why women typically occupied low-wage and unpaid positions in a capitalistic economy (Daly and Chesney-Lind 1988; Tong 2009).

Engel's *The Origin of the Family* linked the modern family form to changes in material conditions (Tong 2009). Engels argues that the emergence of bourgeois law concerning property inheritance not only forms the underpinnings of the nuclear family form, but also informs the means by which males constrain the behavior (primarily sexual) of females within the family. Where wealth had accumulated, inheritance issues became paramount and were tied to sexual relations. For males to be certain the offspring was legitimately theirs, females' actions needed to be monitored and controlled. As the emphasis on private property, accumulation of wealth, and inheritance emerged, women's roles in family structure and in society were devalued (Padavic and Reskin 2002; Tong 2009:105). Socialized to be nurturing, caretaking homemakers, women's supposed expertise at domestic activities accompanied them into the workplace, where female-oriented occupations have been and continue to be low

paying: e.g. teachers, nurses, librarians, social workers, maids, and waitstaff (Williams 1992; Ehrenreich 2001). Social and sexual constraints faced by middle- and upper-class women limited them to their own sphere. This female sphere encompassed such duties as homemaking and childrearing, emphasized private life over public life, reproduction over production, and suggested that women were childlike and forever in need of protective oversight (Wollstonecraft [1792] 2009).

The above strains of feminism each have strengths and limitations, but all suffer from lack of attention to intersections of social identity. In addition, the earlier feminist perspectives did not take into account the wide diversity in the experiences of women, and tended to draw criticism from marginalized populations, such as women of color, non-heterosexual, and less educated women (Tong 2009). A multicultural, intersectional approach to feminism began to evolve in the 1970s, vocalized by theorists such as bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins who argued that the interlocking nature of race, gender, and class (among other identities) could not be theoretically separated (Tong 2009).

Intersectionality, while more of a framework, not a theory, relies on an orientation that is postmodern and constructionist (see, for example Berger and Luckmann 1966 and Foucault 1972), interrogating the power disguised behind what passes for everyday knowledge. Combining postmodern theories with critical race and gender perspectives (Davis 2008), intersectionality is poised to investigate white, middle-class norms, especially as they apply to girls.

INTERSECTIONALITY

Lorde's (1995) conception of the "self and the other" insisted that it was not up to nonwhite, non-middle-class women to explain themselves, but rather it was white,

middle-class populations who should be forced to defend their values and norms. It is within this framework that I investigate the meanings behind book challenges and bans, suggesting that claims against many books are made in order to maintain hegemonic norms for girls. As "sexually explicit" is the number one charge made against books (American Library Association 2012), and as sexual norms bring together oppressive systems of race, class, gender, and heterosexuality (Moore 2012), the investigation of book banning can shed light on the systems of oppression that serve to construct reality for all girls.

Rosenberg and Howard (2008) assert that intersectional approaches to research should be the hallmark of feminist sociology. Intersectionality assists in the interrogation of hegemonic norms concerning girls' sexuality and violence, especially on behalf of those girls who exist at marginalized and neglected intersections (Davis 2008). An intersectional perspective informs the underlying goal of this study. Girls cannot and should not be studied without situating them within their intersecting identities (Bettie 2003).

The intersection of race, class, sexuality, and gender for lower-class, nonwhite girls is the point at which subordination and inequality are most salient, especially for those girls who break behavioral norms. Nonwhite girls who become pregnant fall victims to negative controlling images (Hill Collins 2000), such as being welfare queens who bear out of wedlock children in exchange for government benefits (Kelly 2000). Lower class pregnant girls who cannot afford abortions are typically routed to alternative schools, where their opportunities for future advancement are limited than in mainstream classrooms (Kelly 2000).

Hill Collins (2000) suggests that powerful ideology lay behind the controlling images of the welfare queen, the jezebel, or the mammy that characterize Black women. For the American white, middle-class population, teenage motherhood is most comfortable when it stays within the boundaries of stereotypical nonwhite, poor and working-class life. Young, unmarried, black teens are expected to begin childrearing early and often; however, this same behavior becomes a national panic if undertaken by white, middle-class girls. A recent visual analysis of photographs that accompany news stories about teen pregnancy found that an overwhelming majority of photographs emphasized white bodies and middle-class ideology about "poor timing" and "choices" when constructing the reality of the pregnant teen (Vinson 2012). Births to teen mothers—especially white, middle-class teen mothers—are unacceptable mainly because this type of behavior is representative of nonwhite, poor classes.

Punishment for violent or aggressive behavior varies depending on one's location in the matrix of domination as well. While a white, middle-class fight during a powder puff football game in suburbia was cast as a hazing incident, a fight among inner-city nonwhites at a football game was characterized as youth violence (Chesney-Lind and Irwin 2008:30). The suburban youths retained lawyers and escaped punishment, while the inner-city youths were expelled from school and could not graduate, even though no weapons were used and no injuries resulted.

Violent behavior by girls has also historically been located within the realm of the poor and the nonwhite. Lei (2003) suggests that African American girls are stereotypically depicted as loud and aggressive. The controlling image of a violent girl

or a juvenile delinquent is usually a nonwhite girl (Artz 1998; Chesney-Lind and Eliason 2006).

Nonwhite, poor, and/or lesbian girls are doubly deviant. Their ascribed statuses mark them as already norm-deviating in a society that is dominated by a white, middle-class, heterosexual hegemony. Girls who take on behaviors associated with the nonwhite, poor population are indicative of larger societal ills and signal the need for intervention. Intersectionality pays attention to hegemonic behavior norms and narratives, allowing us to re-frame the issue of deviant behaviors. Instead of asking, "Who is deviant?" we ask, "To whom is this deviant and why?" shifting the focus to the invisible power behind norms, in addition to the race, class, gender, and privilege behind norms. To begin the examination of the three Censorship Citadels and their comparison cities, I turn to methods in the next chapter, where I explain how I utilized and operationalized the theories discussed above.

Chapter Five: Methods

This study was a qualitative assessment of city-level characteristics (teen girls'[7] birth rates, accessibility of abortion and contraception for girls, news articles covering girls' violence, racial, ethnic, and class demographics, and the presence of megachurches) in three Censorship Citadels and their three comparison cities between the years 2000 and 2009. In addition, this study undertook a content analysis of all the books challenged in each of the cities.

The decade in question was not selected arbitrarily. I originally intended to focus on the years 1990 through 2009 because ALA first began publishing its database of challenged books in 1990, and the two decades were particularly contentious in terms of protests, culture wars, and shifting demographic and religious trends (Hunter 1991). However, the available newspaper/news article search engines (see the section below regarding my operationalization of girls' breaches of violence norms through documentation of newspaper coverage), were limited to years beginning with 2000. In addition, obtaining information about girls' behavior characteristics over a 10 year span were much more realistic for the scope of this project, as opposed to collecting data over a 20 year span.

APPROACH TO RESEARCH

This dissertation had three interrelated research goals. The first goal of this research was to qualitatively document and describe city-level characteristics of six cities (the three Censorship Citadels and their three comparison cities) in terms of the "visibility" of girls' behavioral norm deviations (teen births, access to abortions and

contraceptives, and newspaper coverage of girls' violence) and the racial/ethnic, social class, and religious landscape of the cities. The second research goal was to undertake a content analysis of the books that were challenged between 2000 and 2009 in each of the cities. A content analysis of the challenged books was expected to yield more information about the types of behaviors considered deviant for girls in each city (for example, frequent banning of sexual themes would suggest girls should not be having sex). The third goal of this research was to integrate the findings of the book content analyses and the city characteristics in order to develop theory that certain city-level demographics, such as teen births, girls' access to contraception and abortion, media coverage of girls' violence, the city's racial, ethnic, and social class makeup and the presence of megachurches, may be associated with that city's propensity to challenge books.

RESEARCH DESIGN

A research method is not atheoretical (Berg and Lune 2011), but rather carries with it sets of underlying assumptions and should not be arbitrarily selected. Qualitative design allows for discovery-based scholarship, rather than hypothesis-driven testing scholarship (Genzuk 2003). Qualitative analysis distinguishes itself not only by the methods used, but by the intellectual effort involved—Geertz's "thick description" (Geertz 1994). Although Geertz employed the term specifically in its relationship with ethnography, thick description has an important relationship with all qualitative methods. The term refers to the presentation of facts accompanied by specific details, context, and interpretations (e.g., the difference between an involuntary eye twitch during class and a wink at the instructor can best be captured with thick description).

Thin description refers to facts presented without context, such as a snapshot of a facial expression that could be interpreted as a wink, a blink, or an eyelid twitch. I employed qualitative "thick description" in this project to examine certain characteristics of the three Censorship Citadels and the three comparison cities. Each city's culture presented a figurative landscape where "social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes" could be thickly described (Geertz 1994:220). By qualitatively documenting characteristics of the six cities and the books challenged, I was able to theorize about the way girls' behavior was conceptualized, and thereby controlled (or attempted to be controlled), within those social contexts (Reinharz 1992).

I took a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz 1990, 2014) to this project, which is built on grounded theory. Grounded theory adopts an inductive, rather than deductive, reasoning process to examine social phenomena (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Grounded theorists do not begin with a hypothesis, nor do they attempt to refute other theories (I like Barbara Risman's (2004) term, "theory slaying"). Instead, grounded theory practitioners begin with the data, interacting with and interpreting findings through an active, iterative method that works its way from the bottom up in building theory (Charmaz 2014). Constructivist grounded theory uses Glaser and Strauss's original concept as a springboard for the incorporation of Marxist and phenomenological perspectives, developing analyses that are informed by a social constructionist viewpoint (Charmaz 1990).

My project's research design aligns with constructivist grounded theory due to its method of data collection, category construction, and analyses of relationships at conceptual levels. I aimed to provide "interpretive portrayals of the studied world"

(Charmaz 2014:6) through content analysis and thick description, following the data's suggestions in order to develop theory. This version of grounded theory accepts that reality is not only relative, but that multiple and overlapping realities exist simultaneously (Charmaz 2008). Constructivist grounded theory allowed me to look for constructions of power, status, and hierarchies (Charmaz 1990:1165) embedded in control over definitions of deviance.

Research that is guided by a constructivist grounded theory approach begins with a general question and moves on to data collection in order to begin building theory (Charmaz 1990). My project began with a general question: Why did some cities challenge more books than others between 2000 and 2009? I gathered a variety of data as a starting point, allowing these data to lead me to further engagements with theory, while at the same time considering the interplay among all the data. In an effort to interpret the local atmosphere of a city, I amassed the specifics regarding each Censorship Citadel's rate of change in the percentage of white residents and foreign-born citizens, along with the rate of change in the percentage of homeowners and individuals in poverty. I also collected information about the number of megachurches in each of the studied cities. Added to this data was the inclusion of the percentage of change among births to girls aged 17 and under, descriptions of minors' access to abortion and contraception, and newspaper accounts of girls' violent behavior. These data from each of the six studied cities were described "thickly," to use Geertz's terminology and were allowed to interact with one another in order to form a representative picture of each geographical location.

My content analysis of the challenged books also began with the data itself. Content analysis is ideal for examining books, due to the method's ability to interrogate and examine "who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect" (Babbie 2005:328). I read the books challenged by each city, allowing the books' contents to interact with the other data collected from that same location in order to reach interpretations about community attitudes toward girls' deviance. The themes that arose most frequently and saliently in each book were coded and placed in conceptual categories (Charmaz 1990:1168), which were then labeled for clarity. For example, I titled my conceptual categories "Magic," "Surviving," and "Destruction of the Body," to name a few. The incorporation of Marxism in constructivist grounded theory afforded me the ability to critically examine the conceptual categories that emerged from the books' contents and focus on the constructions of idealized behavior norms for white, middle-class, Protestant girls.

The type of analysis undertaken in this dissertation was unobtrusive (Reinharz 1992; Berg and Lune 2011) and ethically responsible, due to reliance on public records and databases for evidence of girls' deviance and other city-level characteristics. The content analysis portion of the dissertation was also unobtrusive, as it sought to interrogate only the challenged texts themselves.

As I examined city-level characteristics, I used official statistics from national, state, or city agencies that were relevant to the study (Durkheim [1897] 1951; Babbie 2005). These official statistical sources were combined into my broader theoretical design when I considered the visible breaches of norms by girls and the contents of books challenged in particular cities.

Following in the theoretical footsteps of Durkheim (1895), Erikson (1966), Tannenbaum (1938), and Becker (1963), this study was situated in a classical framework, focusing on constructions of deviance and society's reaction to those who deviate.

DATA COLLECTION

Censorship Citadels and Comparison Cities

The three cities with populations over 100,000 that challenged the greatest number of books from 2000 to 2009 were known as Censorship Citadels in this study, indicating these cities' propensity to challenge books. The reason for choosing only cities with populations over 100,000 was due to availability of data. Due to privacy issues, The National Vital Statistics System (NVSS) does not provide data on births to mothers aged 17 and under in cities with populations less than 100,000. Because I depended upon the NVSS to obtain the rates of births to girls 17 and under, I needed to focus this study on cities with larger populations. In addition, newspaper archives for cities under populations of 100,000 are difficult to attain, as many smaller cities do not maintain digital archives of their newspapers.

My data collection began with statistics provided by the American Library Association (ALA), the most reliable source for information about banned and challenged books for research on censorship attempts in the United States (Foerstel 1994; Gooden and Gooden 2001; American Library Association 2003; Green and Karolides 2009; Kidd 2009; Strothmann and Van Fleet 2009; Magnuson 2011; Akers 2012). Upon request, the ALA provided me with a spreadsheet of information on all challenged books from 2000 through 2009. The spreadsheet detailed the year, city,

instigator, book title, objection to book,[8] context of challenge (library, school, etc.) and outcome (book removed or not).

I was more interested in the number of *challenges* issued to books, not whether or not the title ended up officially being banned. A study could be done examining only the books that were successfully banned in cities across America, but, according to the ALA, these incidents are rare and isolated. Of more theoretical interest to me for the purposes of this study was the phenomenon of official complaints, known as challenges, against a title. Examining only the successfully banned books would severely limit the scope of this particular study, but would be a worthwhile undertaking for future research.

According to the ALA data, the top three cities over populations of 100,000 issuing the greatest number of challenges to books between 2000 and 2009 were, in order: Houston, Texas (91 challenges), San Antonio, Texas (23 challenges) and Tampa, Florida (19 challenges). These three cities were my Censorship Citadels.

The next task was to select three cities to compare with the Censorship Citadels. City-level researchers do not arbitrarily select areas for comparison, but have typically used cities or metropolitan statistical areas that are similarly situated in location on certain official lists. For example, Kahn's (2001) study of urban sprawl and racial housing disparity ranked and compared cities using population data from the Census Bureau, while Brown, Odland and Golledge's (1970) migration study used the U.S. Office of Management and Budget's top 100 Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) to measure patterns of mobility. Hall et al. (2010) relied on the Centers for Disease Control's top twelve MSAs to compare and contrast HIV epidemiology in major cities,

and Butcher and Card (1991) examined immigration and wage distribution among the ten most "immigrant-intense" (1991:292) cities according to the Current Population Study.

Based on the methodological precedents of the above studies, I searched for comparable cities in the same Census Bureau division[9] as each Censorship Citadel, with possible candidates selected from among those cities with populations closest to the Censorship Citadels' populations. This study's interest was in comparing two cities in relatively the same area of the country, which would present a more nuanced look at girls' behavior and book challenges, and would insure that I was comparing community characteristics rather than regional characteristics (i.e., comparing a progressive city on the East Coast with a Midwestern city might actually reveal regional differences, not community or city differences). Further criterion narrowed those comparison city candidates down to those cities with populations over 100,000, in the same Census Bureau region, that had issued either none or only one challenge to books between the years of 2000 and 2009. Table 5.1 presents the Censorship Citadels and their comparison cities.

Table 5.1 Censorship Citadels and Comparison Cities: Population and Book Challenges 2000-2009

Censorship Citadel:	Number of book challenges 2000-2009	Pop. 2000	Pop. 2010	Comparison Cities	Number of book challenges 2000-2009	Pop. 2000	Pop. 2010
Houston, TX	91	1,953,631	2,099,451	New Orleans, LA	1	484,674	343,829
San Antonio, TX	23	1,144,646	1,327,407	Oklahoma City, OK	0	506,671	579,999
Tampa, FL	19	303,447	335,709	Winston-Salem, NC	0	185,776	229,617

Population figures from the U.S. Census Bureau

The cities selected for comparison to the Censorship Citadels, based on location in the same Census Bureau division as the Censorship Citadel, populations over 100,000, and one or less books challenged between 2000 and 2009 were: New Orleans, Louisiana, for comparison with Houston; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, for comparison with San Antonio; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for comparison with Tampa. Although the population of New Orleans is a little over half of Houston's population, all other cities in the Census Bureau's South West Central Division had issued challenges to more than one book between 2000 and 2009 and therefore were disqualified.

Race, Ethnicity, and Class of Cities

To examine the changes in racial and ethnic makeup of each city, I used Census Bureau data documenting changes in percent foreign-born and percent white between 2000 and 2009, as reported in the 2010 Census. The racial demographics of a city often have an impact on that city's propensity to challenge culture and art (Gusfield 1976; Magnuson 2011; Tepper 2011; Nye and Barco 2012), lending support to the examination of a city's demographic makeup in the context of book challenges.

In Tepper's (2011) examination of cities protesting works of art, literature, and plays, he used percent change in foreign-born and percent Hispanic as measures of racial and ethnic diversity within a city. These diversity measures were then used to predict the number of art-related protests in each city. Tepper found that the greatest influence on the number of art-related protests in a city was the percentage change in the foreign-born population during the years studied, followed closely by percent Hispanic (Tepper 2011:102). Operating under the assumption that more historically ethnically diverse cities like Chicago have long since adjusted to demographic changes, Tepper found that cities undergoing recent rapid social change in terms of ethnic makeup experienced identity and solidarity crises leading to increased protests over works of art, literature, plays, and movies (101). While I used changes in percent foreign-born from 2000 to 2009, I used changes in percent white, instead of changes in percent Hispanic, in order to more relevantly measure the white aspect of the "white, middle-class" equation that is reflected in ideals for girls' behavior norms.

I also examined each city's social class demographics. Measures of social class cannot be limited to income alone, but must consider social capital (Bourdieu 2013). Home ownership, as a component of social capital, contributes to the white, middle-class ideal of American life (Rossi 1980; Megbolugbe and Linneman 1993). As the first measure of a city's change in social class, I documented changes in home ownership rates from 2000 through 2009, according to 2010 Census Bureau statistics. I assumed that, as a city's population increases, decreases in rates of home ownership indicated the presence of an increased cash-poor class. Many studies use educational status as proxy for social class; however, because I was documenting rapid change in social class over

one decade, I believed that home ownership, which can change overnight, would be a better indicator than tracking the changing rates of city residents attaining four- or five-year degrees.

A second social class measurement used was changes in the percentage of persons living below the poverty level. As a city grows, an increasing percentage of persons living in poverty suggests that a disruption in middle-class values may occur or higher visibility of non-middle-class values may occur. I used figures from the U.S. Census Bureau to document changes in the percent living below the poverty level in each Censorship Citadel and its comparison city between 2000 and 2009.

These data made up the race, ethnicity, and social class portion of city-level characteristics that I examined. The constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz 1990, 2008, 2014) informed my examination of these demographics, allowing me to ask open-ended questions such as: Did these cities experience dramatic shifts in population demographics? Would this have contributed to unease on the part of the white, middle-class, Protestant population? I documented these data and considered the differences between each Censorship Citadel and comparison city.

Religious Climate of Cities—Megachurches

To examine the influence of religion in each city, I identified the number of megachurches in each Censorship Citadel and comparison city. I also examined each church's website for evidence of community resources offered, alternative language services, and the celebrity status of the pastor. The field of religious geography has experienced renewed attention with the upswing in the United States' fundamental climate (Dochuk 2003; Loveland and Wheeler 2003; Connell 2005; Warf and Winsberg

2010; Wilford 2010). An examination of the presence of megachurches in a city is essential to a study of the geography of literature protests, especially within the context of girls' behavior norms.

As American cities began diversifying ethnically and norms began changing, the American middle-class became attracted to new religious institutions. Warf and Winsberg (2010) argue that the presence of megachurches is a powerful conservative force in the community's politics:

> …issues such as prayer in the schools, tolerance of homosexuality, the teaching of evolution, stem cell research, and a variety of other important topics that are often loosely lumped under the phrase "moral values." Such issues often assume political prominence among an economically distressed middle class…the marriage of political and religious conservatives occurred precisely at the historic moment in which American economic and political hegemony was contested internationally, a moment in which multiculturalism and the postmodern relativity of moral values achieved widespread popularity (38).

If megachurches do serve as a "powerful conservative force" in local politics and attitudes, studies of censorship and norms should pay attention to their presence on the community's landscape. Megachurch leaders frequently encourage their followers to be involved in local politics and to actively protest un-Christian values in their children's schools (Deckman 2004).

Megachurches are located in wealthier middle-class, urban areas, and are comprised largely of educated, young, white adherents with families (Karnes, McIntosh, and Pearson-Merkowitz 2007). While the cities housing these megachurches tend to be ethnically diverse, 82 percent of megachurches report having a majority white congregation (Bird and Thumma 2011).

To evaluate the presence of megachurches in each Censorship Citadel and its comparison city, I consulted data collected by The Hartford Institute for Religion Studies (2011). The Hartford Institute for Religion Studies maintains a database of megachurches and has served as a relevant source for previous studies concerning the influence of megachurches in geographical regions (Karnes, McIntosh, and Pearson-Merkowitz 2007; Warf and Winsberg 2010). I visited the website of each megachurch to ensure they had been established prior to the year 2000 for the purposes of this study.

Using an iterative process to "travel" back and forth among the data, I considered the data collected on each city's megachurch characteristics alongside the city's racial, ethnic, and class shifts throughout the 2000s. The use of a constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 1990, 2008, 2014) assisted me as I worked with these data to compile a picture of each city's cultural climate, especially in terms of how white, middle-class, Protestant residents might locate their norms among changing cultural and religious values.

Visibility of Girls' Sexual Activity

When evaluating the visibility of girls' sexual behavior breaches, I documented three characteristics that suggested evidence of sexual norm breaches in each of the cities: births to girls aged 17 and under, minors' access to abortion without parental knowledge, and minors' access to contraception at school.

The first visible norm breach of girls' sexual behavior, births to mothers aged 17 and under in the Censorship Citadels and their comparison cities, was documented using restricted data acquired from the National Vital Statistics System. I used the mother's residence, not occurrence of the birth (i.e., many girls from cities outside of

Houston proper may have given birth in Houston hospitals, but I was more interested in births to minor girls who resided in Houston, as these young mothers would be more "visible" to Houston citizens than those living outside the city limits). While I could have also chosen to examine teen pregnancy rates, teen births encompass teen pregnancy and are a more reliable measure of sexual activity (i.e., almost every teen pregnancy that has become "visible" ends in an officially-documented birth, but not all pregnant teens seek prenatal care and therefore many escape detection until the birth as far as official statistics).

The second visible breach in girls' sexual behavior examined in this study was minors' access to abortion services. Although seeking abortion services is not "visible" in the sense that a pregnant body is visible, cities allowing minors to receive abortion services without parental knowledge is a reflection of how the citizens feel about the autonomy of girls and their bodies. The availability of an abortion for a minor with no parental notification or consent serves as a symbolic representation of girls' agency over reproduction options and the body itself as a separate entity from the parents.

Parental involvement in a minor's abortion choices can result in objective and subjective harm, including loss of agency, emotional and psychological distress, and forced continuation of an unwanted pregnancy (Kavanagh et al. 2012:161). In 2013, the Nebraska Supreme Court denied the petition of a 16-year-old state ward to obtain an abortion over the religious opposition from her foster parents (Lupkin 2013). The court claimed the minor was too immature to make the decision to have an abortion. Left unsaid by the court was the opinion that a 16-year-old *is* mature enough to make the decision to raise a baby or to give a baby up for adoption. Abortion rights, often hotly

and visibly contested at the state capitol, are a reminder of what minor girls can and cannot legally do with their own bodies.

Abortion laws vary from state to state, and differ on who can perform abortions, what kind of state-mandated counseling (if any) must be given, and what type (if any) of parental involvement is required for teen abortions (Guttmacher Institute 2013b). To examine minors' access to abortion services in each Censorship Citadel and comparison city, I used information obtained from the Guttmacher Institute. The Guttmacher Institute is a nonprofit organization formed in 1968 as a branch of Planned Parenthood (Guttmacher Institute 2013a) and has served as a source of reliable information in similar studies (Benshoof 1988; Rose 2005; Joyce, Kaestner, and Coleman 2006; Kantor et al. 2008). The website is a clearinghouse of state legislation related to access to abortion and contraception for minors, including whether parental notification or consent is required. Legislation regulating access to an abortion for minors is decided at the state level but is enforced at local levels, making this characteristic quite relevant to the study.

The third girls' sexual norm breach I examined in this study was minors' access to contraceptives at school. To ascertain the accessibility of contraceptives at each city's school system, I contacted the school system's director of student health services either by email or telephone. I documented if and what type of contraception was distributed to minors without parental notification or consent and how long the policy had been in place. I quickly ran into a "No, but…" scenario that was not apparent at the outset of this study. Some schools had implemented a School-Based Health Center (SBHC) inside of the school system. For example, in the Houston Public School System, the

school itself does not distribute contraceptives, but the attached SBHC does, as long as parents have submitted a global consent form that encompasses all health needs. In a 2000 census of SBHCs, 25 percent reported that they distributed contraceptives to minors (Juszczak et al. 2003). By 2010, 40 percent of SBHCs reported they distributed contraceptives to minors (Strozer, Juszczak, and Ammerman 2010). The main reason a SBHC gave for declining to distribute contraceptives was school district prohibitions, while the second reason for not distributing contraceptives at a SBHC was due to state laws. Each SBHC throughout the country and within a state has different policies regarding the distribution of contraception and the students' privacy of information from parents. Each school district in the Censorship Citadels and their comparison city were examined to determine the ease of access to contraception, if any. I also found information about minors' access to contraceptives at The Guttmacher Institute.

After examining the three breaches in girls' sexual norms as described above, I also included a picture of violence behavior norms breached by girls in the Censorship Citadels and the comparison cities. Girls are expected to display submissive behavior, among other feminine qualities (Welter 1966). When they do diverge from submissiveness with acts of aggression, they are considered doubly deviant for invading men's natural territory (Schur 1984).

To examine visible norm breaches of girls' violence, official statistics were my first choice. I attempted to obtain data reflecting minor females' arrests, census counts at juvenile detention centers, or counts of girls' involvement in gang activity for each Censorship Citadel and its comparison city. However, the requested time span (2000 through 2009), combined with different methods of keeping records in different states,

made these data impossible to obtain. Requests were made of national offices including the Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency and Prevention, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the FBI, and the National Gang Center. Requests at the state office level were made with the State Juvenile Justice Divisions, State Statistics Analysis Centers, and State Juvenile Probation Boards. Finally, I requested information regarding girls' arrests, girls in detention, or girls' activity in gangs from each city's police department and from the detention centers in or near each city. In all attempts, only partial information could be obtained, or, in some cities, no information at all.

Following the methods in other geographical censorship studies (Tepper 2011), I determined that assessing newspaper coverage of girls' violence in each Censorship City and its comparison city was the best possible mode of examining girls' violent behavior. Newspaper articles, while quite possibly biased, error-filled, or slanted (Franzosi 1987) were an excellent resource for the purposes of this study. Because I was examining visible breaches of violence norms by girls, city newspapers added to (or negated) the visibility of certain issues. Even misleading stories about girls' violence or girls' gangs would still alert the community to the presence of an issue, whether or not that issue actually existed. The authoritative database for city newspapers, the Alliance for Audited Media (da Silva Zago and Bastos 2013; Haughney 2013), provided a definitive list of "Tier 1" newspapers covering cities with populations over 100,000 (Alliance for Audited Media 2014). From this list, I selected the top newspaper associated with each Censorship Citadel and its comparison city.

I used LexisNexis to search newspaper stories from each city's top daily newspaper about girl fights, girl arrests, girls' violence, and girls' gang activity from

2000 through 2009. Although digital news storehouses like LexisNexis are not without their weaknesses, such as an overreliance on searching by keywords as opposed to manual investigations for themes and concepts, LexisNexis is one of the most reliable resources for content analyses (Deacon 2007). I used LexisNexis to research the major newspapers in Houston (*Houston Chronicle*), New Orleans (*The Times-Picayune*), Tampa (*The Tampa Tribune*), and Winston-Salem (*The Winston-Salem Journal*). LexisNexis did not have access to San Antonio's *Express-News* or Oklahoma City's *The Daily Oklahoman*. These two major newspapers maintained their own digital archives, which actually yielded much more satisfactory results than the LexisNexis searches, as I will discuss in Chapter Seven.

Search words included several combinations of phrases including female(s) or girl(s) with fight(s)/fighting, gang(s), violent, violence, and arrest(s) for all newspapers covering each city. I tallied the number of times an article appeared that reported on any aspect of violent girls' behavior. Articles about girls' arrests related to shoplifting were discarded, as shoplifting is assumed to be a woman's crime and does not necessarily break gendered criminal and violence norms (Belknap 1996). To qualify as a news article about violent girls, the stories had to cover a minor girl assaulting, murdering, or attempting or committing robbery with a weapon (Adler and Worrall 2004). If the girl were a victim of violent activity (for example, many articles mentioned girls who had been struck by a stray bullet), I did not include this in the count, unless another girl had committed the violence, as it did not show evidence of a girl behaving violently but rather showed evidence of a girl as a victim of a tragedy.

The data collected in each Censorship Citadel and comparison city were documented and carefully examined as I attempted to explain each city's cultural and religious climate. Following constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 1990, 2008, 2014), I reflected on the process of data collection and analyzed the way that each Censorship Citadel differed qualitatively from its comparison city. Constructivist grounded theory aids in telling stories about the findings, which is what I attempted to do in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight. After creating stories about the cultural and religious climate of all six cities, I began reading the books that had been challenged by each Censorship Citadel (and one comparison city, in the case of Houston and New Orleans). The content analysis portion of this study added more complexity to each city's "story" and is described in detail below.

Challenged Books

The content analysis portion of this study was based on all the books challenged from the three Censorship Citadels and one book challenged by a comparison city (the other two comparison cities did not challenge any titles between 2000 and 2009). The number of books read was less than the number of challenges issued, because some books (the *Harry Potter* series and *The Chocolate War*) received more than one challenge. The total number of challenges issued was 134 (133 challenges from the Censorship Citadels and 1 challenge from the comparison cities), while the actual number of titles read was 120. I classified books as adult fiction, nonfiction, young adult fiction, or children's picture books/easy readers according to standard library and bookstore classification systems.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

"It is as though the feminist reader... has already undergone 'in life' what the 'mainstream' reader comes to literature to find out—that the reader has been betrayed by her gods, that language both says and does not say" (Bogdan 1992:139). To analyze the contents of frequently challenged books, I followed a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz 1990, 2008, 2014), as discussed in the preceding section, to determine what constructions of deviant and normative behaviors were being reproduced when a particular book was challenged.

Because I was studying interrelationships between girls' normative boundaries at the local level and the thematic contents of frequently challenged books, I was interested to see what patterns emerged from the "data." I expected to find that the changing city characteristics were repeated inside the pages of the books that were banned by those cities, and vice-versa. This was not a cause and effect relationship; rather it was interplay among complicated community social controls and perceptions of girls' agency.

When I completed a book, I recorded the themes that emerged most saliently throughout the reading. From these themes, I created conceptual categories (Charmaz 1990:1168) with labels that were parsimonious yet explanatory. With the reading of each subsequent challenged book, I documented the repetitive thematic patterns that revealed themselves. I discovered two categories of themes in the Houston books: Loss and magic/occultism. In the books challenged by San Antonio, the categories of history, sisterhood, destruction of the body, and magic/occultism arose. Tampa's challenged books coalesced around three conceptual categories: survival, disturbing the universe,

and girls' autonomous bodies. This analysis, coupled with the demographic changes, religious climate, and girls' behavioral norms of each city, grounded me in my efforts to theorize about local control over girls' behaviors.

In summary, this qualitative study aimed to document, describe, and analyze the characteristics of six U.S. cities in terms of girls' behaviors, race and class demographic changes, and the presence of megachurches, in addition to ascertaining if the contents of books challenged by each city had some relationship with these characteristics. The next three chapters cover the results found in each Censorship Citadel and its comparison city.

Chapter Six: Houston and New Orleans

In this chapter, I compare and contrast the cities of Houston, Texas, and New Orleans, Louisiana. Houston is a Censorship Citadel, with book challenging activity that far surpassed challenging activity in all other cities during the study years of 2000 to 2009.

Houston was the fourth largest U.S. city throughout the 2000s, behind New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago (U.S. Census Bureau 2000; U.S. Census Bureau 2013b). The Houston metro area, one of the United States' ten most populous metropolitan statistical areas, experienced the greatest population change in the 2000s, with a 26.1 percent increase in population between the 2000 Census and the 2010 Census (Mackun and Wilson 2011; U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). While Houston's metro area includes the cities of Sugar Land and Baytown, for the purposes of this study I examined the city of Houston only.

New Orleans presents a unique case in the history of dramatic population change. Hurricane Katrina devastated the Gulf area in August of 2005, spurring a mass exodus in its wake. New Orleans' population experienced a 63.8 percent drop in the six month period between July 2005 and January 2006 (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). While this decrease in population, combined with a catastrophic environmental episode, might have led me to drop New Orleans as a comparison city, instead I considered the rapid changes in the city as an opportunity to examine book challenges and girls' behavior norms when an entire city's population was preoccupied with survival and rebuilding.

Between the years of 2000 and 2009, citizens of Houston issued 91 challenges to 84 books (see Appendix A for the list of titles). By comparison, during those same years New York City issued five book challenges, Los Angeles challenged one book, and Chicago challenged two books. New Orleans, as the comparison city for Houston in this study, only issued one challenge to a book during the decade of the 2000s.

Operating on the assumption that books are challenged due to concerns about the changing normative behavior of girls, what was happening in Houston that warranted such protestations of books? Why were these books immune from protestation efforts in New Orleans?

This chapter focuses on the Censorship Citadel, Houston, and its comparison city, New Orleans, examining the racial, ethnic, and class makeup of each, in addition to documenting the absence of or presence of megachurches. The chapter moves on to describe girls' behavioral and sexual norm violations in each city before theorizing on the relationship between these two communities' characteristics and book challenging activity. See Table 6.1 for a snapshot of the two cities' characteristics. Historically, Houston and New Orleans both played very important roles as major port cities. Access to the U.S. from the Atlantic Ocean built up the two cities' economies and populations in short order. They are, however, two very different cities.

Table 6.1: City-Level Characteristics of Houston and New Orleans between 2000 and 2009

	Houston	New Orleans
Challenges issued	91	1
Change in % white	-5.2%	3.9%
Change in % foreign-born	2.0%	1.6%
Change in % homeowners	.8%	1.8%
Change in % poverty	2.3%	-2.2%
Number of megachurches	37	3
Minors' access to abortion	Parental notification changed to consent beginning 2005	Parental consent
Minors' access to contraception at school	Can access but no guarantee of confidentiality	None
Change in % of births to mothers aged 17 and under	-.4%	-3.9%
Number of newspaper articles covering girls' violence	8	14

THE BROWNING OF HOUSTON AND THE WHITENING OF NEW ORLEANS: RACE AND CLASS 2000-2009

Houston's economy grew throughout the twentieth century thanks in part to the oil and gas industry, but also due to innovations in healthcare, the biomedical field, and the presence of NASA. The availability of a variety of economic and educational opportunities drew and continues to draw people from all over the world to Houston.

This Censorship Citadel has been a magnet for a diverse citizenry. By the year 1980, Houston schools reported seventy-two different languages spoken at home by enrolled students (Barnes 1991:xi). In 2000, Houston's percent white (not Latino or Hispanic) was 30.8 percent. The percent white decreased 5.2 percent between 2000 and 2009 to 25.6 percent white (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). In its promotional materials, the city boasts that there is no ethnic or racial majority (Greater Houston Partnership 2013). Houston is classified as a majority-minority city due to whites being in the minority.

Like many other major cities, Houston became a multicultural mecca, and home to a large population with foreign nativity. The percentage of foreign-born citizens during the 2000s increased by 2.0 percent, from 26.4 to 28.4 percent, with the largest percentage of Houston's foreign-born population originating from Latin America (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). In addition, estimates place Houston's undocumented Mexican population at somewhere around 400,000 (Klineberg and The Center for Houston's Future 2006).

During the 2000s decade, the percentages of Houstonians who became homeowners rose only slightly, from 45.8 percent of citizens to 46.6 percent of citizens,

resulting in an increase of .8 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). This would signify a slight rise in the social capital of Houston overall, however, the poverty rate grew by 2.3 percent during this same decade, from 19.2 percent to 21.5 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a).

These demographic data of Houston paint very broad strokes of a geographical region that is complex and nuanced. However, what we can see emerging from these basic statistics, at least from a race and class perspective, is a city going through changes during the first decade of the new millennium. Houston experienced a "browning" of its culture, that is, a reduction in the percentage of citizens who consider themselves "White, not Latino or Hispanic." More foreign-born citizens moved into the city, most of them from Mexico and the Latin America region. Home ownership increased only slightly during the decade of 2000 through 2009. However, individuals in poverty rose, suggesting an economic downturn that might cause concern about employment.

Communities experiencing dramatic immigration changes, especially from the nonwhite populations that have characterized immigrants since 1965, might fear that immigrants are overburdening the system and monopolizing scarce resources like jobs, welfare, housing, and health care, and also threatening core values (Johnson Jr., Farrell Jr., and Guinn 1997). White citizens tend to believe an influx of Asian and Hispanic immigrants threatens American culture and tradition (DiCamillo 1988). As Tepper (2011) suggests, a city's perception of threat presented by an increase in nonwhite populations is associated with increased protestations against the arts.

In short, Houston's racial changes and class changes created a climate during the 2000s that would foster challenges to books that might represent changing values or belief systems. The rate of white citizens declined as the rate of foreign-born citizens increased along with poverty levels. These data suggest that middle-class whites may have felt the need to fight to preserve a way of life they saw fading away.

New Orleans presents an unusual case due to the hurricane that decimated the city. Hurricane Katrina hit in August of 2005, causing one of the most expensive natural disasters in the recorded history of the United States. This unprecedented event changed the landscape of New Orleans literally and figuratively, as landmarks were washed away and citizens were displaced.

In the 2000 Census, New Orleans' white population (not Latino or Hispanic) was 26.6 percent; by the end of the 2000s, the white population had risen to 30.5 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). This 3.9 percent increase in the percentage of whites over the course of the decade can be interpreted by examining the effects of Hurricane Katrina on different races and classes. The change in this city's population was attributed to one of the largest, most abrupt evacuations in U.S. history (Fussell 2007; Groen and Polivka 2008). Research suggests that it was mainly the poor, black community that was displaced by the hurricane (Elliott and Pais 2006; Fussell 2007), so it stands to reason that this event disproportionately affected already disadvantaged groups in New Orleans (e.g., the poor, the nonwhite, the poor nonwhites). Those populations without access to personal transportation, without money for extended stays away from the hurricane's reach, and without privileged resources such as homeowner's or renter's insurance were shipped en masse to shelters throughout the country. In the

aftermath, blacks were less likely to return to their home city than were whites (Groen and Polivka 2008). Hurricane Katrina effectively not only "whitened" New Orleans' population during the decade of the 2000s, but also displaced the poor.

Like Houston, New Orleans also began as a multicultural port city and grew to host a sizeable global population with foreign nativity. However, New Orleans' foreign-born population was much lower than Houston's between 2000 and 2009, percentage-wise. New Orleans' foreign-born population increased by 1.6 percent during the 2000s, from 4.2 percent to 5.8 percent of the population (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). In addition, whereas Houston's foreign-born population is mainly from Mexico and Latin America, only 41.8 percent of New Orleans' foreign-born population reported Latin American nativity. Among the foreign-born population in New Orleans, 36.7 percent reported Asia as the geographical area of their nativity (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a) .

New Orleans' rate of home ownership rose 1.8 percent during the 2000s, from 46.5 percent to 48.3 percent, while poverty rates decreased by 2.2 percent during the decade (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). This slight increase would suggest that, overall, the social class capital of the city grew in spite of (or because of) Hurricane Katrina. New Orleans, during the snapshot of time this project studies, became whiter and economically better off by the end of 2009, even as its population decreased by almost 150,000 people. It is uncertain what trajectory New Orleans might have followed, were it not for the severe, lasting impact of Hurricane Katrina.

These facts and figures from the U.S. Census Bureau suggest that, between 2000 and 2009, New Orleans became more stable, more white, and less poor. With the portion of the population displaced representing the nonwhite, poorer classes of the city,

perhaps New Orleans felt less threatened by populations that would model inappropriate behavior for middle-class, white girls.

MEGACHURCHES: THE RELIGIOUS CLIMATE OF HOUSTON AND NEW ORLEANS 2000-2009

Houston boasted a census of 37 megachurches during the years between 2000 and 2009 (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011). Houston happens to be home to America's largest Protestant church, Lakewood Church, led by celebrity pastor Joel Osteen since 1999 (Sermon Central 2014). I use the term celebrity pastor in this study to describe religious leaders that have reached a position of celebrity by authoring books on mainstream bestselling lists, being habitually interviewed by nationally known personalities such as Barbara Walters or Larry King, and having their own television broadcasts, among other markers of celebrity success in our culture. The celebrity pastor is a packaged product of DVDs, motivational youtube.com videos, television broadcasts, devotionals, and self-help books. He (and it is almost always a male) is a symbol of a new type of capitalistic Christianity, mixing brand identity, consumption, and theology on a global scale (Gordon and Hancock 2005).

Attendance figures at Osteen's Lakewood Church averaged at least 40,000 every week by the end of the 2000s (Bogan 2009). Osteen's television ministry claims to reach 100 million American homes and is also broadcast in 100 countries (Joel Osteen Ministries 2014). Osteen holds speaking engagements at places like New York's Yankee Stadium and draws bookstore crowds who wait in mile-long lines to meet the author and pastor (Joel Osteen Ministries 2014). Imagine the influence that a celebrity

like Joel Osteen, who is a globally known charismatic leader, would have on the local community.

The nation's second largest megachurch, Second Baptist Church of Houston, is also located in Houston and claims over 20,000 attendees weekly (Bogan 2009). The smallest of Houston's thirty-seven megachurches claims an average weekly attendance of 2000 (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011).

Evangelicals have long been frontrunners against art and literature in the public sphere, with religious leaders like Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson believing it is their duty to combat moral corruption in television, films, music, and literature (Tepper 2011). I would argue with Tepper, however, that old-school televangelists like Falwell and Robertson have been replaced by hipper, more corporate, more savvy counterparts like Joel Osteen, Max Lucado, and John Hagee (Lucado and Hagee are discussed in the San Antonio chapter), who offer a packaged, consumable product of heterosexuality (Olson, Cadge, and Harrison 2006), middle-class economic success (Schieman and Jung 2012), and white male dominance (Daly 1985; Donovan 1998; Colaner and Giles 2008) with a side helping of eternal salvation to their communities and to the world.

Equipping their followers with mandates for activism within geographical spaces against the forces of secularism, obscenity, and immorality, megachurch adherents are poised to deliver protests against art forms that are threatening to evangelical Protestant values (Edwards 1997; Morris 2012). In the 2000s, Houston had a higher percentage of evangelical Christians than the rest of the not only the state, but the entire nation (Morris 2012; Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2013). Houston

is a notable community not only for its proliferation of evangelicals, but its density of high-attendance megachurches and at least one celebrity pastor.

As described in Chapter Two, the megachurch appeared on the religious landscape as a new form of Christian experience in the 1980s and 1990s. Houston's megachurch presence during the 2000s was especially notable considering that two of its churches are generally recognized as the first and second largest congregations in the nation (Bogan 2009; Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011). Although some of Houston's megachurches are more tolerant than others, the religious climate among Houston's megachurches tends to discourage LGBTQ orientation, premarital sexual activity, prostitution, and sex/pornography addictions (Morris 2012).

Research suggests that evangelical Protestant churches place emphasis on sexual purity, especially for girls, and reinforce stereotypical gender roles (Thomas 1923; Odem 1995; Edwards 1997; Rose 2005; Colaner and Giles 2008; Sethna 2010; Valenti 2010). A heavy concentration of evangelical megachurches in Houston during the 2000s, combined with the high number of banned and challenged books, lends support to previous research suggesting that evangelical, Protestant, megachurches encourage community activism, especially at the school (Edwards 1997).

New Orleans, in comparison, currently has three megachurches. Two of these megachurches were established prior to 2000 and one was established in 2003 (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2013). The combined reported weekly attendance for New Orleans' three megachurches is 20,500, which is roughly half the reported weekly attendance for Houston's Lakewood Church with an attendance of 40,000 weekly (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011). Though we cannot be certain what the

average weekly attendances were during each year from 2000 to 2009, it is safe to argue that attendance at megachurches was considerably lower in New Orleans than it was in Houston during those years. I examined all three church websites and did not see evidence of celebrity pastors.

SEX AND THE CITIES: GIRLS' SEXUAL BEHAVIORS IN HOUSTON AND NEW ORLEANS 2000-2009

In this section, I report on girls' access to both contraception and abortion without parental notification, and births to girls aged 17 and younger between 2000 and 2009. These characteristics operationalize what I consider to be deviations of girls' sexual boundary norms in Houston and New Orleans.

Most states require some parental involvement in their minor daughters' abortions, consisting of either notification or consent from at least one parent (Guttmacher Institute 2009).[10] Because abortion law is enacted at state levels, and does not vary by city within each state, I will describe the abortion policy for each city in terms of the state mandates.

In 2000, Texas began requiring parental notification (but not consent) of a minor's abortion at least forty-eight hours before the procedure (Joyce, Kaestner, and Colman 2006). Beginning September 1, 2005, however, the state began tightening restrictions, requiring not only notification, but consent from one parent or legal guardian before a minor's abortion could be performed (Guttmacher Institute 2005).

One Texas agency, Jane's Due Process, was founded in 2001 soon after the state first began mandating parental involvement (Jane's Due Process 2014). This organization is dedicated to assisting pregnant minors navigate the laws, citing many

negative effects of having to notify a parent about a pregnancy (including physical and emotional abuse).

Texas also regulates the manner in which minor girls access contraceptive services. In 1998, the state legislature decreed that state family planning funding would no longer cover minors' access to confidential contraception (Guttmacher Institute 2001), although clinics receiving federal funding could still provide confidential contraceptives to minors (Boonstra and Nash 2000).

The Houston school district technically does distribute contraception to minors through its School Based Health Center (SBHC), established in 1996 (Baylor College of Medicine 2014). A parent or guardian need only sign a global consent treatment form in order for the student to receive any kind of contraception, but confidentiality is not ensured. Because parents may receive an itemized bill and can inquire about services received, the Houston SBHC typically does not distribute contraception without upfront parental consent. Arguably, during the 2000s, while minors in Houston schools did have access to contraceptives, confidentiality was always in question.

In 2000, the rate of births to girls ages 17 and under in Houston represented 5.5 percent of the city's total births. By the end of the decade, in 2009, the rate was 5.1 percent for a difference of -.4 percent, which barely registers as much of a decrease. These percentage drops reflected an overall U.S. trend in declining rates of teen births during the 2000s, although rates for nonwhite girls, specifically Hispanic and African American, remained twice as high as birth rates to non-Hispanic White teens (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2013). Differential rates of births to girls aged 17

and under reinforce the ideology that pregnancy to teenage girls is primarily a nonwhite occurrence.

Abortion regulations in New Orleans mirror those in Houston when considering the rights of pregnant minors. The state of Louisiana does not allow a minor to obtain an abortion without the consent of one parent or guardian, except in the case of a medical emergency (Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals 2014). This parental consent requirement has been part of the state's laws long before 2000.

Like Houston, the New Orleans School District also hosts an on-campus SBHC. However, unlike Houston, the New Orleans' SBHCs does not distribute contraceptives of any kind, not even condoms. Beginning in the 1992-1993 academic school year, the state mandated that "No contraceptive or abortifacient drug, device, or other similar product shall be distributed at any public school" (State of Louisiana 1992). This statute further stipulates that abstinence must be emphasized as the expected standard for all school-age children (State of Louisiana 1992). Parents and community members can be satisfied that their minor girls will have absolutely no access to contraception unless the legal guardian personally accompanies their child to a medical clinic, unless the minor is married (Guttmacher Institute 2000; Guttmacher Institute 2009).

Rates of births to girls ages 17 and under in New Orleans was 8.0 percent of total births in 2000 and fell to 4.1 percent by the end of the decade, for a decrease of 3.9 percent. This decline appears more significant than Houston's .4 percent drop. The rate of births to minor girls in New Orleans was half the rate at the end of the decade than at the beginning. These lower rates of births to teen girls may have contributed to New Orleans' sense of security and a return to white, middle-class values.

FIGHTING LIKE A GIRL: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF GIRLS' VIOLENCE IN HOUSTON AND NEW ORLEANS 2000-2009

Using LexisNexis to search for stories featuring girls' violence in Houston's major daily newspaper, the *Houston Chronicle*, I found a total of eight articles related to girls' violence between 2000 and 2009. However, all eight articles focused on a single incident that occurred in 2006 when a 15 year-old girl fatally stabbed a teen male through the heart, reportedly during a gang fight. This incident received periodic updates between the summer of 2006 and the case's resolution in September of 2009. No other newspaper stories related to girl fights, girls' violence, girls' arrests, or girls' gang activity were located between 2000 and 2009 in the *Houston Chronicle*. Though only one incident was covered, I documented the number of stories as eight, due to the contribution that each successive column would have on the community's exposure.

Using LexisNexis, I found 14 articles published between 2000 and 2009 related to girls' violence in New Orleans' major newspaper, the *Times-Picayune.* The articles covered 14 different stories, including fights between girls at school, a teenaged girl who had stabbed another teen, two girls arrested for a shooting, a girl who threatened her mother with a knife, and other sensational news stories.

Upon researching these newspaper archives, I was surprised by the lack of newspaper coverage over girls' violence, especially considering the time period and the "hype" reported elsewhere in the country (Chesney-Lind and Irwin 2008). However, as discussed in the previous chapter on methods, there may be a flaw in the dependence on newspaper archives such as LexisNexis, such as overreliance on key words instead of thematic content (Deacon 2007). Although other studies examining newspaper coverage

of events have set precedence for this method (e.g., Tepper 2011), it is possible that a manual search of actual archives (archives or microfilm catalogued and managed by the newspapers themselves) would yield more satisfactory results. In the case of Houston and New Orleans newspapers, however, archives are no longer available except as indexed through the major digital databanks. Because this dissertation uses a variety of methods and does not rely exclusively on newspaper searches, the benefits of using LexisNexis outweigh any potential risks.

THE BOOKS

Houston

Houstonians issued 91 challenges between 2000 and 2009. Of the top 100 books challenged nationwide during the decade of the 2000s (American Library Association 2013), 24 of them were also challenged by the citizens of Houston.

Because five books were challenged more than once (*Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone, Crazy Lady, The Boy Who Lost His Face, Bumps in the Night,* and *You Hear Me?)* the total number of actual titles challenged was 84. Of those 84 titles, 43 were young adult novels, 18 were nonfiction books, 13 were adult fiction, 8 were children's picture books or easy reader books, and 2 were poetry collections. For the purposes of this study, I obtained the majority of challenged books from the university library and the local public library. The remainder of Houston's challenged books I already owned or I purchased.

The combined adult, young adult, and children's fiction numbered 64 titles. Of these 64 works of fiction, 25 books featured a female protagonist, 29 featured a male protagonist (I counted Harry Potter once as a male protagonist, even though there are 7

books), and 10 featured both female and male protagonists. The poetry collections were evenly split with one collection relating exclusively to women (*Loose Woman*) and the second collection featuring poetry authored by male juveniles (*You Hear Me?)*. Four books of fiction were written from an African American point of view, one novel represented a Native American point of view, while the remainder of the fiction titles dealt with main characters implicitly or explicitly described as Caucasian.

The nonfiction books covered a very wide range of topics, with 4 of the titles related to sexual issues (e.g., *Teen Sexuality)*, 3 related to race and ethnicity topics (e.g., *From Slave Ship to Freedom Road)*, and 3 covering celebrity's lives (e.g., *Who Killed Kurt Cobain?).* The remainder of the nonfiction topics covered historical topics, the occult, and satire.

Each book was critically read using a framework of intersectionality, with the intention of opening a line of inquiry into the reasons why these books were challenged beyond the ALA's rigid categories.[11] Using an intersectional lens, I sought to explain where the books' contents and characters were located along dimensions of gender, race, class, and sexuality, with an eye toward white, middle-class, Protestant, and heterosexual norms governing girls' behavior in Houston. I identified two major themes in the books challenged by Houston. The first theme was loss and the second theme was magic.

The theme of loss overwhelmingly permeated almost every book challenged by Houstonians between 2000 and 2009. I explored the ways in which loss was overcome in these narratives, assuming that girls, in particular, are expected to deal with loss in normative ways in our society, e.g., acceptance, submission, despair, and passivity

(Taylor et al. 2000; Wrobel and Dye 2003). In young adult fiction written for evangelical Protestant girls, themes of loss are also prevalent, and girls overcome loss through sexual purity and submission to God's will (Christopherson 1999). The contents of the books that Houston challenged disrupted this ideology, endowing underprivileged characters with agency in order to combat loss. While I expected to find many themes about sexuality and violence as a natural part of the human experience, I did not expect to find sexuality and violence as tools to combat the experience of loss. In the books that Houston challenged, resistance in the form of agentic practices was not only rewarded by the end of the book, but resistance *was* its own reward.

The second theme I identified in the books that Houston challenged was magic. Though concern with the occult is as old or older than most major religions, a moral panic concerning Satanic activity in America began consuming the imaginations of even the non-religious during the late 1980s (Jenkins and Maier-Katkin 1992), leading to the ALA's declaration in 1992 that the highest number of challenges to books that year were for reasons relating to witchcraft and the occult (Foerstel 1994). The Biblical verse most often used as a foundation for a Christian argument against witchcraft and the occult is found in Deuteronomy:

> There shall not be found among you anyone who makes his son or his daughter pass through the fire, one who uses divination, one who practices witchcraft, or one who interprets omens, or a sorcerer, or one who casts a spell, or a medium, or a spiritist [sic], or one who calls up the dead. For whoever does these things is detestable to the Lord (Deuteronomy 18: 9-11, New American Standard Bible).

In the books that Houston challenged, magical powers were most often bestowed upon members of already marginalized populations (e.g., women, minorities, nonwhites, orphans, and the poor) who were able to overcome oppression and

deterministic outcomes by utilizing this power. The following sections will address both the theme of loss and the theme of magic in the books that Houston challenged between 2000 and 2009.

Loss. Death and abandonment plagued nearly every main character in the novels challenged by Houstonians between 2000 and 2009. I found themes of loss in 50 out of the 84 titles. In *Surviving the Applewhites* (Tolan 2002), Jake's mother and father had been incarcerated for growing and selling marijuana while Tito, in *Drive-By* (Ewing 1997) was a witness to his older brother's violent death during a gang-related shooting. In the *Book of Phoebe* (Tirone Smith 2000), Yale senior Phoebe gave up her baby for adoption. Fourteen year-old Billy, the protagonist of the *Farm Team* (Weaver 1999) had to quit the school baseball team to take over farm work when his father was incarcerated for destroying property at a local car dealership. Yolanda, a fifth grader in *Yolanda's Genius* (Fenner 1995) struggled with her move to a new town after one of her best friends was shot and killed at school. Yolanda also felt the absence of her father, who drowned when she was young. A California teenager, David Schumacher, read his way through his deceased father's library in order to get to understand his father more in *Adventures of the Blue Avenger* (Howe 1999). In the course of the book, David made a new friend named Omaha, whose own father abandoned the family years ago. Omaha also had to deal with missing her half-brother who was incarcerated for assault in another state.

In the children's picture book, *This is the Day* (Gershator 2007), loving families adopted babies who have been given up or abandoned by their birth parents. Phoebe's younger brother, Mick, was killed in a bicycle accident just hours after she fought with

him in *Mick Harte was Here* (Park 1996). *All but Alice*'s (Naylor 1992) main character, Alice, grappled with questions about her own body and her life as she moved through middle school without a mother while Cyd from *Gingerbread* (Cohn 2003) wondered why her biological father never wanted to contact her. The main character in *Running Loose* (Crutcher 2003) had a fairytale life until he was suspended from the football team and his girlfriend suddenly died. Janie, the main character in *The Face on the Milk Carton* (Cooney 1990), saw a picture of a missing child and realized that she must have been kidnapped from her real family years ago.

More recognizable titles like *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Twain 1885), *Beloved* (Morrison 1987), *The Color Purple* (Walker 1982), *Bridge to Terabithia* (Paterson 2004), *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* (Lewis 1950), and *Harry Potter* (Rowling 2001-2011) featured characters navigating the loss of dead parents, dead children, and dead friends.

The nonfiction titles also chronicled pervasive loss. Loss of fortunes, land, and livelihood in *The Old West Series;* loss of health and life in *The Voices of AIDS* and *Hearing Us Out;* and loss of control over one's life and loss of humanity itself in *From Slave Ship to Freedom Road.* Celebrities' fame and fortune grew from their agentic responses to loss, for example, Kurt Cobain used his music and lyrics to give meaning to a painful past, including his parents' divorce and his abusive step-father. Jenna Jameson's rise to fame in the adult film industry was framed as a response to Jenna's experience of being raped as a teen and her mother's death.

Though it is impossible to experience life without experiencing loss, what these challenged books share is the way in which characters, especially female characters,

traverse loss. America's cult of true womanhood promises power and happiness through piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (Welter 1966), but the characters in the challenged books found their power and happiness through agentic practices. In the books Houston challenged, loss was not accepted with piety, purity, submissiveness, or domesticity, but resistance. Resistance rather than to acquiescence was rewarded in the course of the unfolding narratives. Even books ending with the character's suicide, which might have served as cautionary tales, conveyed the message that ending one's own life was rewarded with immortality (e.g., Kurt Cobain and Jim Morrison). This resistance to acquiescence in the books that Houston challenged was largely situated in the character's body through acts of sexuality or violence.

Agentic practices, specifically using the body, can be a source of power in the face of loss. The pursuit of connectedness to one's own body and sexual self, in connection to finding sexual pleasure, contribute to agency (Allen 2005; Maxwell and Aggleton 2012). Butler argues that the body can occupy norms or challenge norms (Butler 2004). In other words, the body as a site of resistance can empower women and bring happiness.

The ability to relate to one's own feminine body disrupts gender and racial norms, and challenges the notion that females are simply passive bodies or bodies simply for objectification (hooks 1992). In *The Color Purple* (Walker 1992), the relationship between main character Celie and newcomer Shug was one of bodily and erotic self-discovery. Celie's acceptance of her own body and her exploration of sexual pleasure were the impetuses she used to propel her transformation from powerless to powerful.

When Jody was first turned into a vampire in *Bloodsucking Fiends* (Moore 1995), her physical body immediately became more salient.

> She looked at her feet on the bath mat. Her toes were straight as a baby's, as if they had never been bent and bunched by wearing shoes. The scars on her knees and elbows from childhood accidents were gone. She looked in the mirror and saw that the tiny lines besides her eyes were gone, as were her freckles . . . She was—as far as she could allow herself to believe—perfect (19).

Though Jody lost her humanity, she gained newfound physical and sexual power. The transformation into vampire-ness, as a metaphor for a girl coming into sexual awareness, gave Jody power over the direction of her life. When three men attempted to rape her in a Laundromat, Jody broke their necks. Jody navigated the loss of her mortal self by using her body to engage in sexual acts with a new boyfriend and acts of violence against anyone who threatened her. When a scientist gave her the chance to return to "normal" at the end of the book, Jody instead decided to not only remain a vampire, but also turn her boyfriend into a vampire. She became powerful and happy in her own skin, rewarded for her resistance to gender norms and stereotypes about women's behavior.

In Judy Blume's, *Forever* (1975), a girl's first sexual relationship was framed as just another step in the human journey. The relationship did not ruin Kath, her reputation, or her life. Kath used her body as a site of resistance against true womanhood norms of purity, where "Nice girls didn't, naturally. They were the ones the boys wanted to marry" (35). The loss of Kath's virginity was rewarded by her ability to find true happiness, even as she deliberated whether or not to remain with her boyfriend, and power over the actions of her own body. When she visited the doctor to

get a prescription for the Pill, he gave her a mirror so that she could look between her legs while he explained all the parts to her. The doctor said, "I think it's a good idea to become familiar with your body" (124).

Nineteen year-old Phoebe, in *The Book of Phoebe* (Smith 1985), gave her newborn baby up for adoption. Phoebe refused to get an abortion and refused to tell the baby's father about the pregnancy, maintaining absolute control over her body during the entire duration of her pregnancy. Phoebe's body, in this text, was a symbol of resistance and choice. Instead of mourning the loss of a child, Phoebe's experience giving birth propelled her to change her course of study and become an obstetrician.

Poems about the female body as a source of power abound in Cisneros' (1994) *Loose Woman* poetry collection. Her poem "Down There" addresses menstruation blood and how "excellently female" it is to appreciate one's own bodily processes. "Gelatinous. Steamy and lovely to the light to look at/like a good glass of burgundy. Suddenly/I'm artist each month. The star inside this like a ruby" (83). On Cisneros' website, she states, "When I teach writing, I tell the story of the moment of discovering and naming my *otherness* [italics author's]. It is not enough simply to sense it; it has to be named, and then written about from there. Once I could name it, I ceased being ashamed and silent. I could speak up and *celebrate* [italics author's] my otherness..." (Cisneros 2014).

When the body is written about in a positive, affirming way, the reader and writer can claim authority over one's own experiences. Throughout history, white patriarchy has attempted to control the stories of oppressed groups (Vasile 2011), whether by using controlling images (Hill Collins 2000), "othering" entire populations

(de Beauvoir [1952] 1989), or suppressing voices (Freire 1982). Acceptance and familiarity with one's own body and bodily processes aids in challenging marginalization, including shame and silence.

Even in books with male protagonists, characters that had experienced loss sought answers about their own bodies in order to gain some agency in their lives. *The Adventures of Blue Avenger, The Boy Who Lost His Face,* and *Beware of Kissing Lizard Lips* all contained scenes featuring a health or sexual education class. In these scenes, the students commonly have many exploratory questions about their changing bodies and sexual practices. From *Beware of Kissing Lizard Lips* (Shalant 1995), Zach said*:*

> Health ed was held only once a week. Everyone called it sex ed, because all they talked about was stuff like how bodies developed, reproduction, and the girls' favorite topic, which was getting a crush. Today Zach had a question for the special box Mr. Beemis, the teacher, kept on his desk. You could ask anything you wanted and you didn't even have to put your name on it. Mr. Beemis would answer everything except the joke questions (24).

The ability to obtain sexual knowledge is a form of agency that can be employed by those without power, whether referring to young girls or young boys. Zach, the male protagonist of *Beware of Kissing Lizard Lips,* is an undersized sixth-grader who fears his body will never change. Zach and his classmates ask anonymous questions in class about changing bodies in order to feel that they have some power over knowledge about their own bodies.

As noted in the exploration of *Bloodsucking Fiends* above, violence is another way that girls using agentic practices can find power. Girls' violent behavior is often a coping mechanism employed to deal with losses that are physical, sexual, or emotional (Schaffner 2007). This is atypical behavior, as females are thought to be submissive by

nature, in addition to shying away from violence (Welter 1966). Historically, women have been thought to need special protection from the more unsavory elements of life (Wollstonecraft [1792] 2009).

In the children's picture book, *The Adventures of Isabel* (Nash 1994), Isabel defeated her enemies with her bare hands. Each violent episode made her all the more certain of her power. In the face of a ravenous bear, Isabel simply ate the bear. When a cyclops threatened her, Isabel cut his head off. This picture book exemplifies the raw power of the body, especially when the bearer of such power refuses to give credence to assumptions about female bodies being submissive.

During a scene halfway through the book, *Yolonda's Genius* (Fenner 1997), Yolonda approached three older boys who had roughed up her little brother and smashed his prize harmonica.

> Chimp grunted, rose to leap at her. She'd expected this, and when he jumped she moved into him and pushed him off balance while he was still in the air. *Nobody gonna mess with Yolonda unless they want their head busted.* She caught him by the elbow as he fell. The elbow twisted away from his shoulder and he let out a bellow when he hit the ground. She held on. His arm bent away awkwardly behind his body. She pressed into it and he groaned (95).

Yolonda had witnessed one of her friends shot to death at school and had been abandoned by her father when he drowned in the lake. She expressed her pain through aggressive acts and through the amount of space her oversized body occupied. In the scene above, Yolonda did not use her power in self-defense like Isabel in the picture book, which might be considered acceptable, but instead Yolonda wielded power offensively. Yolonda's aggressive physicality was rewarded throughout the book,

culminating with national fame for her little brother's harmonica ability when she pushed him onstage during a Chicago blues festival.

Lyra, young heroine of *The Golden Compass* (Pullman 1996) lived an unconventional life as an orphan at Oxford University. She spent much of her pastime warring with tribes of the university children and town children using weapons like lumps of heavy clay and unripe plums. Lyra's pain at abandonment expressed itself in her body's violent tendencies and her unwillingness to conform to domesticity. Her skill at inflicting physical pain was rewarded later in the book during an attempted escape from a camp where she and other children were destined for lobotomies. As they ran, Lyra thought, "Children can't fight soldiers. It wasn't like the battles in the Oxford claybeds, hurling lumps of mud at the brickburners' children. Or perhaps it was!" (289). Lyra ordered the escapees to throw clumps of snow at the soldiers' eyes, and her efforts were rewarded when witches swooped in to shoot arrows at the blinded soldiers, allowing the children to escape. Submissiveness, in *The Golden Compass,* equaled death and defeat, which Lyra refused to accept.

In Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (Morrison [1987] 2006) the main character, Sethe, would rather see her children dead than in slavery. When cornered by a slave catcher, Sethe gathered her children in a woodshed and killed the baby with a saw. Though Sethe did not have the chance to kill her other children, the slave catcher deemed them now all unacceptable for work on the Kentucky farm due to the violence of the act. It was only through infanticide that Sethe saved herself and the rest of her children from a life of slavery.

What these books do is provide a script for girls dealing with loss, by modeling agentic practices as the solution for oppression. “We may die, but Shakespeare doesn’t; that is why literature is such a comfort” (Pagan 1994:152). Using the body as a site of resistance is a powerful tool to combat oppression, and the books that Houstonians challenged reflect that concept.

Magic. Magical themes emerged as the second significant theme in the titles challenged by Houstonians. I found themes of magic, the occult, New Ageism, other religions, or Satanism in 25 out of the 78 titles. The books were either completely built upon a magical or otherworldly framework (e.g., *Harry Potter, The Golden Compass, The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe, The Witch Book: The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft, Wicca, and Neo-Paganism*) or featured a character with special powers navigating the “normal” world (e.g., *One Door Away from Heaven, Strega Nona, Midnight on the Moon, The Bear Went Over the Mountain).* Of the 25 titles with magical themes, 17 of these books featured women as the source or bearer of the magical or occult power.

The association of women with witchcraft and sorcery is a universal trope (de Beauvoir [1952] 1989; Garrett 1977), in which females are thought to hold special powers over life and death. These abilities, however, are reviled and punished. Alleged “witches” numbering in the millions burned at the stake throughout the centuries, with women comprising the overwhelming majority. Included in the crime of magic was midwifery, herbology, folk medicine, and astrology (Ehrenreich and English 1978), all of which echo the concerns raised in Deuteronomy.

Leslie, the heroine of *Bridge to Terabithia* (Paterson 1977), did not have magical powers per se, but she and her parents were New Age followers. Leslie created an imaginary world for herself and best friend, Jess, a kingdom called Terabithia where they battled giants and presided as royalty, "a magic country like Narnia" (50). During one scene, Leslie visited Jess's Christian church after mentioning she had never been to a church before. After the Easter service, Leslie told Jess the crucifixion story was entertaining, which Jess found somewhat sacrilegious.

> Jess reached down into the deepest pit of his mind. "It's because we're all vile sinners God made Jesus die."
> "Do you think that's true?"
> He was shocked. "It's in the Bible, Leslie."
> She looked at him as if she were going to argue, then seemed to change her mind. "It's crazy, isn't it?" She shook her head. "You have to believe it, but you hate it. I don't have to believe it, and I think it's beautiful" (108).

Later on in the book, after Leslie drowned trying to cross the river into Terabithia, Jess asked his father if Leslie, a non-Christian, was in hell. His father said, "Lord, boy, don't be a fool. God ain't gonna send any little girls to hell" (148). This line in the book has been a point of contention for many evangelicals (Foerstel 1994). Because Leslie was a New Age follower and had not accepted Jesus (in fact, she had never even heard the crucifixion story), evangelical dogma dictates that Leslie should be in hell. For Jess' father, a church-attending Christian, to tell his son that God would not send a non-believer to hell is nothing short of heretical.

Nate of *Nate the Great* (Sharmat 1989) met a young girl down the street named Rosamund, who was set up in front of her house with a crystal ball and four black cats.

> "I will read your future," Rosamund said. "For two cents."
> "My future is worth more than two cents," I said.
> "Three cents then," Rosamund said. She gazed into her crystal ball (8-9).

Fortune telling, even when played as a game, is part of the sin of witchcraft and occultism, according to evangelical Christians (Jenkins and Maier-Katkin 1992). Among the books that Houston challenged, many of the children's books were challenged on the grounds of occultism, including *Bumps in the Night* (Allard 1979), which featured Madame Kreepy, an alligator who also happened to be a spiritualist.

Inhabitants of a haunted house in *Bumps in the Night* were desperate to find out what was scaring them in the dark, so they hired Madam Kreepy to hold a séance. "'There are people who can talk to ghosts,' Trevor said. 'They are called mediums. A medium acts as a go-between between people and ghosts'" (17-18). The ghost was none other than a friendly horse, Donald, who had lived in the house previously before he died.

Another children's book with occultist overtones was *Midnight on the Moon* (Osborne 1996). This easy reader book is one of a series of books about a Pennsylvania brother and sister who discovered a magic treehouse. The treehouse belonged to sorceress Morgan le Fay (of Arthurian legend fame), and the siblings must solve mysteries in order to free le Fay from a spell. (Interestingly, the books refer to le Fay as a "magical librarian," not a sorceress).

Yet another children's picture book with a witch as protagonist was *Strega Nona* (dePaola 1975). Strega Nona means "Grandma Witch" in this classic children's fairy tale. Strega Nona could work her magic on anyone. "Even the priest and the sisters of

the convent went [to see Strega Nona], because Strega Nona *did* have a magic touch" (1). In the story, Strega Nona asked Big Anthony to watch her pasta pot, but not touch it, while she went to visit a friend. This story reflects the Garden of Eden parable, where Adam and Eve were instructed not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge. In *Strega Nona*, Big Anthony did touch the pasta pot. In fact, he also cast a spell over the pot, nearly strangling the whole town with waves of uncontrollable pasta.

In the YA novel, *Jennifer, Hecate, Macbeth, William McKinley, and Me, Elizabeth* (Konigsburg 1967), Elizabeth met a girl her own age that claimed to be a witch.

> I asked Jennifer why she didn't wear a mask. She answered that one disguise was enough. She told me that all year long she was a witch, disguised as a perfectly normal girl: on Halloween she became undisguised (21).

During the book, Jennifer taught Elizabeth to be an apprentice witch, using spells and rituals to help Elizabeth learn the craft. Only once, during a scene depicting the school play, did the text allude to the fact that Jennifer was African American. "I saw Jennifer's mother sitting in the audience. I knew it was Jennifer's mother because she was the only Black mother there" (1967:56). In all the other Houston-challenged books that featured a female involved in spiritualism, mysticism, witchcraft, or the occult, the character was Caucasian (with the exception of Madam Kreepy in *Bumps in the Night,* who was, of course, an alligator).

Throughout history, those women persecuted for witchcraft were typically also social deviants: poor, old, members of minority groups, unmarried, and powerless – in other words, already marginalized (Garrett 1977). This bias reflects a Puritanical

attitude toward "deviants," where a deviant behavior is considered inherent within certain populations (Erikson 1966). Women's skill and proficiency in the healing arts and ways of knowing, which may have benefitted them in terms of gaining economic or political power, have always been oppressed. This oppression, especially during times of uncertainty, takes shape within available outlets and familiar frameworks, such as accusing marginalized women of witchcraft during the hysteria of the late 1600s in America (Erikson 1966) or accusing women of New Ageism, spiritualism, or occultism (or, feminism, roughly the equivalent of the dark arts, per televangelist Pat Robertson)[12] during the Satanic and occult hysteria of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. When economic or political upheaval occurs, fundamentalism often becomes a solid foundation that some societal members look to for solutions and, perhaps just as importantly, scapegoats (Smith 1998). As the moral panic over Satanism, New Ageism, and the occult spread from the 1980s into the 1990s, fundamental churches may have capitalized upon the issue as one that drew in more members and caused existing members to bond over fear.

A city or community that is host to a large number of evangelical megachurches may foster a climate that persistently encourages the protestation of any material at the local school or library that is deemed non-Christian (Edwards 1997). Jenkins and Maier-Katkin (1992) argue that Christian fundamentalists regard any mystical experience outside of mainstream evangelical Christianity as related to the occult, magic, or Satan (62). For this reason, books that feature a witch (*Strega Nona* or *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe)* or a girl with special powers (*Jennifer, Hecate, Macbeth, William McKinley, and Me, Elizabeth,* or *Distant Soil)*, for example, would be

categorized as having an occultist orientation and are grouped together by fundamentalist Christian censors with books that openly question or critique Christianity (*Bridge to Terabithia* or *The Golden Compass)*.

A recent study of communities that banned *Harry Potter* between 1997 and 2000 noted that all communities held in common a decrease in the percentage of citizens identifying as white only (Knox 2014). This suggested that visible changes in the racial and ethnic makeup of a city triggered fears about the "other."

New Orleans

New Orleans challenged one book, *King and King*, by Linda de Haan (2003), between the years of 2000 and 2009. *King and King* is children's picture book that is in 20th place on the ALA's Top 100 Banned or Challenged Books 2000-2009 (American Library Association 2013). The story is about a queen who is ready to retire, but first, her son must marry. However, the prince said that he did not care for princesses. After a parade of young ladies was brought before him, the prince's eye fell on the brother of one of the princesses. In short order, the two princes married, and the queen happily retired from her throne.

A short picture book does not require much need for nuanced and complex interpretations, especially one with so blatant a theme. Clearly, a New Orleans citizen did not think young children should see evidence of a same-sex relationship, even when relayed in a sanitized and familiar fairytale format.

It is difficult to relate the objections to one short book with overall attitudes about girls' behavior in New Orleans. When examined in comparison with Houston's challenges, however, I can surmise that New Orleans is not as intent on controlling

knowledge for young girls in the city, at least not through the practice of challenging books. However, the concern over this book may be reflective of the social control over boys' knowledge. The title and cover imply it is a picture book for boys, not girls, due to the emphasis on kings instead of the usual princess theme used most often in fairytales aimed at girls (Oskamp, Kaufman, and Wolterbeek 1996; Anggard 2005). Because masculine identity in American culture depends upon homophobia (Kimmel 2004), books like *King and King* threaten prescribed gendered roles.

SUMMARY OF HOUSTON AND NEW ORLEANS

In this chapter, I have detailed some of the characteristics of Houston, a Censorship Citadel, and the characteristics of New Orleans, its comparison city. During the decade of the 2000s, Houston officially issued 91 challenges to books, over four times the amount challenged by other cities with populations over 100,000. This Censorship Citadel's citizens responded to massive upheavals during the 2000s with book protests. Changes in the city included a decline in the percentage of whites, an increase in foreign-born dwellers, an increase in poverty levels, and only a slight increase in the percentage of Houston home ownership. Theoretically, society members respond to change by engaging in certain rituals, such as protesting books, which leads to a sense of control (Erikson 1966; Tepper 2011). In the case of Houston, my theory that a rising visibility of other cultures, races, and social classes on the community landscape would lead to concern over the social control of girls is supported. New Orleans, on the other hand, experienced a massive upheaval of its own, but the trend was toward a whiter, wealthier citizenry. New Orleans' sole book challenge was issued in 2005, the same year as Hurricane Katrina. No book challenges occurred before or

after Katrina. I believe the trend toward a whiter, richer New Orleans played some role in the lack of challenges.

While both Houston and New Orleans were located within states that made it difficult, if not impossible, for teen girls to access contraception or abortions without parental consent, Houston's births to girls 17 and under only fell by .4 percent, while New Orleans dropped by almost 4 percentage points. The negligible decrease in the rate of teen mothers between 2000 and 2009 in Houston may have caused continuing concern during the 2000s on behalf of citizens who believe, like much of Texas, that knowledge about sexuality and sexual experiences will lead to teen sexual activity. Restricting materials, such as books, that contain sexual knowledge, would be a logical step in controlling the sexual breaches of young girls. New Orleans, on the other hand, experienced a dramatic drop in the rate of births to minor girls, and this drop may have assisted in the lack of book protestations.

When I examined newspaper coverage of girls' violent behavior in the major newspapers covering Houston and New Orleans between 2000 and 2009, I did not find much to support my theory that greater exposure of girls' violence would lead to higher rates of book challenges. New Orleans' newspapers actually produced more articles covering more violent incidents than did Houston's newspapers. I could assume that the reason for the discrepancy is that people do not read newspapers at the rate that they did in previous decades, and that there may be a better measurement for "exposure" of girls' violence that could be pursued in future studies.

The presence of megachurches, along with the changing racial, ethnic, and class demographics, seemed to play a large role in the cultural climates of Houston and New

Orleans, specifically considering the propensity to challenge books. The number of megachurches and attendees in Houston far surpass the number in New Orleans. In addition, the fact that Houston is home to a celebrity pastor is highly significant as these well-known religious actors wield a huge influence over the community. Other researchers have suggested that megachurches have become major players in the community role as champions of morality, especially as society becomes more secular (Edwards 1997; Deckman 2004; Connell 2005; Bird and Thumma 2011).

When examining Houston's challenged texts for evidence of behavior that was normative of "othered" groups, I found prevalent themes of girls' agentic practices as a solution for loss and girls' mysticism or magic as a source of power. These characteristics have historically been assigned to marginalized groups, i.e., the poor, nonwhite, and women. For the citizens of Houston, during the tumultuous decade of the 2000s, these themes were candidates for suppression in an effort to exert some measure of control over the community's moral future, the girls (Nathanson 1991; Worrall 2004).

Chapter Seven: San Antonio and Oklahoma City

In this chapter, I compare and contrast two large U.S. cities, San Antonio, Texas, and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. San Antonio is a Censorship Citadel and Oklahoma City is its comparison city in this study.

San Antonio was the seventh largest U.S. city and the second largest Texas city throughout the 2000s (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). The city grew from a population of 1,144,646 in the 2000 Census to 1,327,407 in the 2010 Census (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). Between the years of 2000 and 2009, citizens of San Antonio issued 23 challenges to books (see Appendix B). Although the number of challenges was considerably less than those issued by Houston, San Antonio's challenge to books ranked the city second among U.S. cities with populations over 100,000 during the decade of the 2000s. It is no surprise that the top two Censorship Citadels hail from Texas, as the state finishes first for the number of challenges issued since the ALA began tracking book challenges in 1990 (American Library Association 2014).

San Antonio's comparison city, Oklahoma City, is the state's largest city and serves as the capital. Oklahoma City was the twenty-ninth largest city in the U.S. throughout the 2000s (U.S. Census Bureau 2000), growing from 506,132 residents in 2000 to 579,999 in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). No challenges to books were issued by Oklahoma City during the study period.

This chapter examines race and class changes within each city, and discusses the religious climate through the presence of megachurches. The chapter moves on to describe girls' behavioral and sexual norm violations in each city before describing the

findings of the books' content analysis. I conclude by theorizing on the relationship between the two characteristics of these two cities and their book challenging activity.

Historically, San Antonio served as a juxtaposition of cultures, languages, and geographic boundaries. First occupied by Native American tribes, the area was established as a mission by two Spanish friars stationed in Northern Mexico (Ramsdell 1985). The city was soon the largest Spanish settlement in Texas and remained under Mexican control until 1845 when Texas was accepted as the twenty-eighth state in the Union (Ramsdell 1985). In spite of being populated by Americans, San Antonio remains a city deeply tied to its Spanish and Mexican roots with touches of German and French influence. Texas' first public schools, one for male students and one for female students, were established in San Antonio in 1853 (Ramsdell 1985).

The city is home to several universities, including the University of Texas at San Antonio, Texas A&M University at San Antonio, Trinity University, and St. Mary's University. San Antonio's economy relies heavily upon the military, the oil and gas industry, tourism, and health care. The area also boasts a rich culture of museums, festivals, theaters, and the famous River Walk (San Antonio Convention and Visitors Bureau 2014).

Turning to Oklahoma City, settlers did not choose this area for its proximity to a major body of water or other geographical incentives. Rather, white settlers established the state as a whole when the federal government opened up 1,877,640 acres of lands not assigned to tribes in the middle of Indian Territory (Faulk, Faulk, and Blackburn 1988). Any male or female over the age of 21 could claim 160 acres at no cost

beginning at noon on April 22, 1889 (though many settlers sneaked in sooner than that, hence Oklahoma's nickname, "The Sooner State").

The railroad already had a stop along the North Canadian River called Oklahoma Station, which eventually evolved into the modern capital of Oklahoma City (Faulk, Faulk, and Blackburn 1988). The discovery of oil under the surrounding prairie helped catapult Oklahoma City to a town of mansions, museums, stores, colleges, and churches. Currently, this city of nearly 600,000 inhabitants boasts the largest concentration of aviation and aerospace technology firms in the state, is home to Fortune 500 companies and large energy corporations, and also boasts tourist and entertainment establishments (Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce 2014).

Oklahoma City may most saliently reside in the public imagination as the site of the 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, the worst act of domestic terrorism in the nation's history. In the aftermath, citizens, volunteers, survivors, family members, and emergency personnel came together to create the Oklahoma City National Memorial, which permanently changed the way our culture responds to and memorializes mass murder sites (Linenthal 2001).

A recent *Los Angeles Times* article extolled the virtues of Oklahoma City, mentioning such vibrant spots as Bricktown, Automobile Alley, and the Plaza District. "In booming Oklahoma City," the heading read, "a quest for restaurants giving warehouses, car dealerships, and other old buildings a second life leads to an unexpected adventure in food, history, and architecture" (Bender 2014). San Antonio and Oklahoma City are comparison cities in this study, but aside from being located in

the same geographical region and having similar populations, they are, as seen with Houston and New Orleans, very different communities (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: City-Level Characteristics of San Antonio and Oklahoma City between 2000 and 2009

	San Antonio	Oklahoma City
Challenges issued	23	0
Change in % white	-5.2%	-8.0%
Change in % foreign-born	2.3%	3.5%
Change in % homeowners	-1.6%	.3%
Change in % poverty	2.8%	1.6%
Number of megachurches	12	11
Minors' access to abortion	Parental notification changed to consent beginning 2005	Parental notification
Minors' access to contraception at school	None	None
Change in % of births to mothers aged 17 and under	-1.4%	-1.4%
Number of newspaper articles covering girls' violence	7	35

RACE AND CLASS IN SAN ANTONIO AND OKLAHOMA CITY: 2000-2009

San Antonio's white (not Hispanic or Latino) decreased from 31.8 percent of the population at the beginning of the 2000s to 26.6 percent at the end of the decade, for a change of 5.2 percent. The foreign-born population increased from 11.7 percent to 14.0 percent during the 2000s, for a difference of 2.3 percent, with the majority of foreign-born claiming Latin America as the source of their nativity (U.S. Census Bureau 2013).

The influence of Mexico on San Antonio cannot be underestimated. The norms, food, architecture, language, beliefs, and value systems of the city have been heavily affected by Latino culture (Ramsdell 1985). An *Atlantic Cities* reporter who interviewed several millennials about San Antonio's quality of life for young adults argued that traditional Latino expectations wielded considerable force on the youth culture, encouraging early childbearing and discouraging college (Aronowitz 2013).

San Antonio's majority Hispanic and Latino population makes it less racially diverse than the other Texas Censorship Citadel of Houston (which has no racial or ethnic majority, as discussed in the previous chapter). In 2000, San Antonio's Hispanic and Latino population was around 58.7 percent, rising to 63.2 percent by the end of the decade (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants remain highly segregated from whites in the city, and research suggests this is due to cultural pride, not factors such as income or even years since immigration (Jones 2003). These ethnic enclaves are a highly visible representation of Latino cultural influence in the city.

While I originally intended to only look at the change over time in the percentage of whites in cities, the presence of majority-minority cities (cities in which

whites are not the majority) like Houston and San Antonio on the list of top cities that challenge books caused me to reconsider what might be perceived as threatening to the white middle-class.

The rate of homeowners among San Antonio's population was 58.1 percent in 2000, but fell by 1.6 percent to a rate of 56.5 percent by the end of the decade (U.S. Census Bureau 2013), no doubt due to the housing industry crash. Individuals in poverty rose slightly in San Antonio between 2000 and 2009, from 17.3 percent of the population to 20.1 percent, a change of 2.8 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2013).

In Oklahoma City, the percentage of whites (not Hispanic or Latino) decreased by 8.0 percent during the decade. Beginning in 2000, the rate of whites was 64.7 percent, falling to 56.7 percent over the next ten years (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). While Oklahoma's change in the percentage of whites during the 2000s fell 2.8 percent more than did San Antonio's percentage of change, whites remained the majority in Oklahoma City. Tepper's (2011) analysis of protests in different cities during the late 1990s classifies Oklahoma City as a community that is relatively racially and ethnically homogenous with citizens who are generally in agreement about dominant values (153). A white majority that does not feel threatened by sudden changes in demography might be less prone to protest literature.

The foreign-born population in Oklahoma City was 8.5 percent of the population in 2000 and rose by 3.5 percent to 12.0 percent of the population by the end of the decade (U.S. Census Bureau 2013). Echoing San Antonio, the foreign-born residents in Oklahoma City claimed nativity primarily from Latin America countries.

Oklahoma City residents owned homes at the rate of 59.4 percent of the population in 2000, and rose slightly by .3 percent to 59.7 percent at the end of the decade. Individuals in poverty represented 16.0 percent of the population at the beginning of the 2000s decade, and rose slightly, by 1.6 percent, to 17.6 percent of the population by the 2010 Census (U.S. Census Bureau 2013).

A *USA Today* article (Cauchon 2009) and an NPR story (Scott 2009) reported that Oklahoma City's remarkably stable economy had escaped the recession and the housing crash. The stories credit the area's energy corporations and aerospace repair businesses, along with low house prices and low state income tax, to explain the city's ability to weather what seemed a tumultuous sea for the rest of the cities in this study.

MEGACHURCHES: THE RELIGIOUS CLIMATE IN SAN ANTONIO AND OKLAHOMA CITY 2000-2009

Both San Antonio and Oklahoma City have been fertile ground for megachurches since the early 1990s, with 12 megachurches located in the Censorship Citadel and 11 in Oklahoma City. The megachurches in San Antonio ranged from a high weekly attendance of 17,000 to a low weekly attendance of 1,800 (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011). Some of the community activities offered at San Antonio churches included food banks, counseling, skateboarding parks ("Skateboarding and Scripture" at University United Methodist Church), bingo, yoga classes, an alternative high school, bookstores, coffee shops, bakeries, a homeless ministry, and a military ministry. These San Antonio megachurches boasted multiple campuses scattered across the city, services in English and Spanish, and websites in English and Spanish.

The San Antonio religious landscape not only hosted 12 megachurches with a little over 66,000 weekly attendees (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011), but was home to two celebrity pastors. Max Lucado (the website showed that his name has actually been trademarked, a phenomenon I found highly significant as Lucado is clearly presenting himself, his beliefs, and values as a packaged product—can we say more of what a megachurch offers?) has been a senior pastor at San Antonio's Oak Hills Church since 1988 (Oak Hills Church 2014). Lucado's books have been translated into 41 languages and have hit every major mainstream bestseller list. He maintains a strong (trademarked) social media presence and has been called "America's Pastor" by *Reader's Digest* (Oak Hills Church 2014). The church has six campuses spread out across the city and claims an average weekly attendance of 8,663 (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011).

The second celebrity pastor in San Antonio was John Hagee. In 1987, Hagee founded Cornerstone Church in San Antonio (the Hartford Institute cites 17,000 in weekly attendance, but the church website claims 20,000 weekly attendees) after outgrowing his original 1975 church. Hagee is a televangelist whose broadcasts reach 245 countries and whose books have been *New York Times* bestsellers. He also created Christians United for Israel (CUFI), the largest pro-Israel organization in the U.S. (Rubin 2010) This group lobbies Washington D.C. legislators on behalf of Israel, because Hagee believes the Bible commands Christians to support the nation of Israel politically (Cornerstone Church 2014a). The existence of this group housed within the church models the way that evangelical churches and politics combine at national levels, so it is not a leap to assume this same coupling occurs at lower community

levels. In fact, Cornerstone Church's political involvement in the community is exemplified by its CUFI Kids Camp, held since 2006 in San Antonio in order to influence area children to also support Israel (Cornerstone Church 2014b).

As an illustration of the way in which evangelical Protestant churches follow literal interpretations of the Bible, I will briefly mention here that Cornerstone Church constructed a five million-dollar Noah's Ark replica in 2013, complete with animatronics, in order to expose children to the idea that Bible stories are literal and authentic (Levy 2013). While it seems a superfluous use of millions of dollars (feeding the poor or sheltering the homeless might have been more in line with Jesus' own teachings, for example), Cornerstone's Ark is a physical representation of how evangelicals believe in strict adherence to Biblical stories. Extrapolating this to Biblical scripture about women (e.g., the commandment to submit to husbands and Eve's deviant behavior as representative of all women's deviousness), we can surmise that this ancient misogynistic and oppressive ideology easily frames the church's beliefs about girls' behavior.

Oklahoma City's 11 megachurches hosted 1,800 a week in the smaller churches and 6,500 weekly in the larger megachurches (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011). All of the churches were established prior to 2000 except for People's Church, which began in 2002. Like the megachurches in San Antonio, the Oklahoma City churches also offered church services in English and Spanish, but offered no websites in Spanish. Ministries and resources at the Oklahoma City megachurches included a school of the performing arts, anti-human trafficking activism, cafes, gift shops, grief recovery groups, sports teams, and hunger relief. After researching each of the

Oklahoma City church websites, I found no evidence of celebrity pastors or indicators of strong political organizations embedded within the churches.

SEX AND THE CITIES: GIRLS' SEXUAL BEHAVIORS IN SAN ANTONIO AND OKLAHOMA CITY 2000-2009

As discussed at length in the previous chapter, Texas law, which at the dawn of the 2000s required parental notification for a minor's abortion, began mandating parental consent in September of 2005 (Guttmacher Institute 2005). Because I previously explained the legal ramifications of Texas' abortion law as it relates to minors in the chapter on Houston, there is not much to add due to the fact that state law determines the stipulations for all cities in the state. San Antonio minors face the same obstacles that Houston minors face, primarily that the beliefs of a parent or caretaker override the minor's own beliefs about her own reproductive system.

Access to contraception without parental involvement in San Antonio is also impossible for minors without involving a parent or guardian. The San Antonio school district does have a School Based Health Center (SBHC) attached to the schools, but contraception is not distributed at all, per my correspondence with them. The SBHC is a mission of the Methodist Healthcare Ministries of South Texas, Inc., the largest faith-based non-profit group funding access to healthcare for underserved South Texans (Methodist Healthcare Ministries of South Texas 2014).

Births to girls aged 17 and under represented 6.8 percent of all births in San Antonio in 2000. By 2009, this rate had decreased by 1.4 percent to 5.4 percent of all births. The director of the city's health departments has currently set an agenda in order to lower the teen birth rate even further by expanding sex education programs to more

middle schools and providing better access to contraception (Dimmick 2013). One wonders how support for this project will pan out, seeing as how Texas is an abstinence-only sex education state that mandates parent and guardian interference in girls' reproductive health issues (Guttmacher Institute 2014b).

As of 2013, minors in Oklahoma must have the consent of a parent in order to undergo an abortion, but throughout the 2000s, notification only was required (Guttmacher Institute 2000; Guttmacher Institute 2009). The rate of abortions to minors in Oklahoma has historically been roughly half of the national rate since the 1970s; toward the end of the 2000s, the rate was 5 per 1000 girls under the age of 18 for Oklahoma and 10 per 1000 girls across the country (Guttmacher Institute 2008).

Girls' access to contraception in Oklahoma is equally difficult. No contraception is distributed in schools, nor has been, per the school system's correspondence with me. Between 2000 and 2009, minors could only access contraception autonomously if the minor was married, had ever been pregnant, or was currently pregnant (logically, perhaps access to contraception might have prevented the "currently pregnant" girl from becoming pregnant in the first place) (Guttmacher Institute 2014a).

In Oklahoma City, births to girls aged 17 and under in 2000 were 6.4 percent of all births that year. At the end of the decade, births to minor girls had fallen to 5.0 percent, for a change of 1.4 percent, equaling the percentage of change seen in San Antonio over the same period of time.

FIGHTING LIKE A GIRL: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF GIRLS' VIOLENCE IN SAN ANTONIO AND OKLAHOMA CITY BETWEEN 2000 AND 2009

The method for searching newspaper stories about girls' violence was different for San Antonio and Oklahoma City than for the other city duos. Both the newspapers covering each city, the *San Antonio Express-News* and *The Oklahoman,* maintained their own digital archives and were not represented among the LexisNexis holdings. All major newspapers covering the two other Censorship Citadels in this study and their comparison cities did not have digital archives, so LexisNexis was the technique of choice to find articles on girls' violence in the other four cities. Had this study compared Censorship Citadels with one another, this differing method would have been problematic. However, because both the Censorship Citadel and its comparison city did have searchable archives, this was the best possible outcome.

The search for stories about girls acting violently in San Antonio and Oklahoma City yielded surprising results. The *San Antonio Express-News* produced 7 stories related to girls' violence while *The Oklahoman* published 35 stories between the study years of 2000 through 2009.

In San Antonio, the stories were diverse. The beginning of the decade saw a girl gang member standing trial for a convenience store robbery and the arrest of two seventh grade girls accused of plotting to bludgeon and slash the throats of three other girls. A fight between a group of girls resulted in a stabbing near a middle school in 2001. The next few stories mainly addressed girls' violence more generally. The *Express-News* profiled a former girl gang member who was now an evangelist in the city, reported on a national study claiming that more girls than ever before were going to jail, and covered the local visit of an author who had penned a book on girls'

bullying. At the close of the decade, the *Express-News* printed a story on a 17 year-old girl who had fatally stabbed the father of her child.

The Oklahoman ran stories similar in content to the articles published in the *Express-News* on girls' violence between 2000 and 2009. Only three of *The Oklahoman* stories were general stories about girls getting more violent or aggressive. Topics of these three news stories focused on building girls' self esteem to keep them out of gangs, educators who were unprepared for violent girls, and the Girl Scouts as an example of a program that would discourage gang involvement. The remainder of the Oklahoma City news stories addressed specific violent incidents involving girls aged 17 and under. In Oklahoma City between 2000 and 2009, teen girls killed a store owner, robbed a Sonic, brought knives and other weapons to school, fought at school with fists and knives, stabbed one another, killed their own mothers, set the school bathroom on fire, kidnapped a student, and threatened to bomb the school.

At first glance, the marked difference between the number of San Antonio and Oklahoma City news stories about girls' violence was disconcerting. No other city's newspaper in this study reported so many incidents of girls behaving violently, making the high number of articles difficult to explain in terms of why a community would protest certain books. *The Oklahoman* kept violent girls in the public eye much more than the other newspapers I examined. Because girls' violence is only one aspect of a city's characteristic that I examined, the larger picture of Oklahoma City, not just girls' violence, was required in order to explain the lack of book challenges.

THE BOOKS

Residents of San Antonio challenged 23 books between 2000 and 2009. The *Harry Potter* series (Rowling 1997-2007) was the only title challenge shared in common with the other Censorship Citadels. Houston also challenged the *Harry Potter* series. Houston and San Antonio both issued challenges to three authors in common: Judy Blume (*Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret* ([1970] 2001) in San Antonio and *Forever* (1975) in Houston), Avi (*The Fighting Ground* (1984) in San Antonio and *Something Upstairs ([1990] 2010)* in Houston), and Mavis Jukes (*It's a Girl Thing: How to Stay Healthy, Safe, and in Charge* (1996) in San Antonio and *Like Jake and Me* (1984) in Houston). Among the challenged San Antonio titles and authors, none were shared in common with challenges from the Censorship Citadel of Tampa.

Of the 23 books challenged by San Antonio residents, 8 of the titles appeared on the ALA's top 100 books challenged nationally during the 2000 through 2009 decade, *Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret* ([1970] 2001) and the entire *Harry Potter* series (Rowling 1997-2007) (American Library Association 2013). Young adult fiction made up the majority of the challenges issued by San Antonio, with 17 books belonging to this classification. The Censorship Citadel also challenged three children's books/easy readers and three books of nonfiction. Out of the three Censorship Citadels, San Antonio was the only city that did not issue challenges to any titles classified as adult fiction. Two of the nonfiction books addressed cocaine, while the third book discussed girls' changing bodies. I acquired the majority of the books at my local libraries and purchased three.

The gender of the protagonists in the challenged books of fiction (including the children's books) was evenly split, with seven female protagonists and seven male protagonists (I counted the protagonist of Harry Potter just once even though there are seven *Harry Potter* books.) Only one book, *Like Sisters on the Homefront* (Williams-Garcia 1995), featured nonwhite characters.

The four themes that arose in the books challenged by San Antonio were history, sisterhood, destruction of the body, and the occult. The themes did not stand alone but were interconnected with one another to form a surprisingly tight web that could hold the weight of a girl's inquiries; however, the citizens of this Censorship Citadel found something in these texts worth suppressing.

The first theme, history, emerged as a tool for combatting reified myths about society, such as the justness of the Revolutionary War. Knowing one's own history is an important component toward overcoming oppression (Hill Collins 2000). We are reminded that the winners write history, constructing events for society that have been interpreted through the dominant paradigm. But if we believe that many histories can occur at once, in a sense existing as contradictions, we have the chance to claim our own version. In the books that San Antonio protested, I saw that familiar myths were challenged within the texts, offering more voices to what is currently accepted as mainstream, male-authored, Eurocentric history.

Sisterhood surfaced as the second theme that coalesced from the narratives of the challenged texts. A feminist concept, sisterhood refers to a global or local community of women bonded together through common oppression to achieve common goals (Dill 1983; Hewitt 1985). By feminism's second wave,[13] two disparate

interpretations of sisterhood emerged. Sisterhood was conceived of as a political movement that often conveyed social location; excluding women of color, working-class women, immigrant women, non-heterosexual women, and those marginalized in other matrices (Tong 2009). The second version of sisterhood had long been representative of women's networks in the African American community, but rose to the forefront in response to second wave feminism's oversight (Dill 1983; hooks 1986). Sisterhood among black women also included female kinship relationships that fostered the survival and preservation of the family (Dill 1983).

By presenting the theme of sisterhood in the San Antonio-challenged books, I suggest that sisterhood encompasses not only the two interpretations described above, but can and should provide both political and non-political benefits for girls under the age of 18. Minor girls are disadvantaged due to their bodies being under other people's control; their voices are seldom incorporated in cries for political gain, equality, and access to knowledge. For the characters in these books, sisterhood is an epistemological tool; a resource to aid girls in making sense of the surrounding world as they inhabit bodies that do not belong to them. Sisterhood offers guidelines for navigating between worlds, whether race, age, gender, or other artificial divisions cause the gap. While sisterhood between young girls is often trivialized and downplayed into BFF (text/slang for "Best Friends Forever") status, sisterhood resonated as a powerful epistemological resource among girls in these books.

The third theme I found in the San Antonio-challenged books alluded to the destruction of the body. Many of the characters essentially told their stories with mutilations to the skin or drugs that destroyed the inside (especially the case in the

nonfiction books addressing cocaine). Whether the mutilation was performed by the character's own hand or by the hand of another, the scar or disfigurement served as a source of power for the character, while at the same time "othering" the person and providing a visual signal of their struggle against oppression. Butler (2004) argues that the body is a site of resistance. While her theory is often used in conjunction with examinations of gendered clothing, hair, makeup, grooming, and mannerisms, the body can be modified and become a site of resistance against norms (Foucault 1977). People with body modifications have long been "othered" in the Eurocentric perspective, and this trope arose in the books that San Antonio challenged in some very illuminating ways.

The occult and magic were components of the fourth theme in the San Antonio challenged books, and a theme that was also detected in the Houston books. As discussed in the Houston chapter, evangelical Protestants are especially nervous about the presentation of witches, ghosts, and demonic presences in literature. The *Harry Potter* series (Rowling 1997-2007) is an excellent example of books that have been directly targeted by Christian groups. In fact, *Harry Potter* is credited for bringing back the fairly antiquated practice of book burning (BBC News 2001).

I have briefly contextualized the four themes that emerged from the books challenged by San Antonio between 2000 and 2009. In the following sections, I present excerpts from the texts that further illustrate how these themes took shape in the pages of the challenged books.

History

Six books used history as a major narrative tool. Carle's *Draw Me a Star* (1998) was a vividly-colored children's book depicting the creation of the sun, stars, and earth by an artist who progressively grew older with each page. Each creation asked for another miracle, for example, after the artist drew a rainbow, "Draw me the night, said the rainbow. And the artist drew a dark night" (19). At the end of the book, the elderly artist and his final drawn star flew around the night sky together. This book was clearly a creation story, but in the place of God, the reader was given an artist who was not infallible to aging and death. The author presented the audience with a conflicting history lesson.

The book, *Giants* (Steffens 2006), related mythological stories of ancient gigantic creatures in Earth's past, referencing Biblical tales like the meeting between David and Goliath, myths from the Greeks, and stories from the Scandinavian nations. *Giants* began with a chapter on ancient history but took the concept of mythical beasts up to modern times, citing their appearance in books like *Lord of the Rings* and *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*, as well as in movies such as "Attack of the 50 Foot Woman" (33-36). The author offered giants as metaphor:

> Living in a harsh and sometimes cruel world, human being can feel dwarfed by natural forces such as violent storms, volcanoes, earthquakes, and tsunamis. By telling stories about struggles with giants, people express their fears of being crushed by forces beyond their control (6).

In this book, an alternative version of history was presented, but the author suggested that fear essentially took the shape of monsters. If monsters exist, and fear exists, then we are all predisposed to attack. "Here be dragons" as the ancient saying

goes, leaving a space on the map where fear, uncertainty, and unfamiliar territory collide (Cohen 1990).

The Fighting Ground (Avi 1984) took place during the American Revolutionary War. Jonathan, a 13-year-old boy snuck away from his farm and joined a small platoon of soldiers who had been advised of an ambush by German mercenaries. When the Germans captured Jonathan, he found that they were essentially no different from the American soldiers. Each group had joined a cause they believed in and were willing to die for those beliefs. Jonathan and the German soldiers took refuge in an abandoned cottage, where they found an American couple shot to death in the yard. It wasn't until later, after his escape from the Germans, that Jonathan began to suspect his own American corporal had killed the husband and wife. "'I don't understand,' said Jonathan, struggling against the monstrous idea that had formed in his mind… 'They were Tories,' said the Corporal at last…" (121)

In this book, emphasizing the similarities between friend and foe disrupted the familiar myth of the Revolutionary War. In fact, the reader questions who really was the enemy, the dissenting Americans or the Europeans trying to maintain a hold on their territory. War is a multifaceted affair, and *The Fighting Ground* lent complexity to the reification of America's beginning.

Like Sisters on the Homefront (Williams-Garcia 1995) told the story of 14-year-old Gayle, a problem child in New York who was sent back home to live with extended family in Georgia. Gayle's great-grandmother, Great, was on her deathbed, and the entire family was waiting for Great to recite "The Telling," before she passed away. "The Telling" was the family's history that would be revealed orally to a chosen

descendant before the oldest generation died. Gayle, an unemotional and disconnected teenage mother, surprised even herself by bonding so closely with Great. It was Gayle who received "The Telling," a story of such poetry and hope that it would change Gayle forever:

> It came from Mbeke, torn from her sister, Who told her child Mahalia, Who stole the paper with Mbeke's slave price, Who told her Mahalia that ope'd the gate and gave us our name, Who told her son Luther who like his pa preached in the field. Who told his son Luther that build Freedom Gate to set us free, Who told his wife Abigail that gave her only gat son to the world, Who telling you that you do the same (152).

The entire Telling took three pages of the book. As Great began sinking into the end of her life, Gayle found herself repeating the narrative over and over so she would never forget. The family history became an anchor for Gayle, an illiterate dropout who never cared for words or stories. Storytelling, in the African American tradition, symbolizes entire lived experiences with narratives meant for accepting in full, without analyzing or testing (Hill Collins 2000:258). Storytelling is a valid way of knowing, especially among women, and elevates the position of the listener. Weighted with the story that Great relayed, Gayle understood her place in the family's history and began to see herself as a positive force in the world.

History is considered a concrete, linear, testable certainty. The histories presented in the challenged books offered new, complicated, non-linear historical narratives that disrupted the notions of wrong and right, winner and loser, myth and truth.

Sisterhood

Six of the books' narratives focused on sisterhood, for example, the book *Sisters on the Homefront* as discussed in the history section immediately above. When the book

opened, the reader assumed that the "Sisters" in the title referred to Gayle's New York friends, but when Gayle is shipped to extended family in Georgia, we find that the real sisterhood is the relationship forming between Gayle, her straight-laced cousin, Cookie, and her great-grandmother, Great. Gayle and Cookie were like yin and yang. Cookie was an upper middle-class girl with middle-class, Protestant values that closely aligned with traditionally white values. Gayle, whose mother had left the Georgia family before Gayle had been born, held lower class values. In one scene, the differences between the young cousins threatened to stand between their bonding. "Gayle's free and unrepentant talk of sex stifled the sisterhood trying to grow between them" (109). After Cookie's parents insisted on meeting Cookie's date, Stacey, Gayle, who had already been pregnant twice at 14, stood at the sink washing dishes and wondered about the ritual of courtship among the middle-class. "She filled the sink with hot water and suds and wondered what Cookie and Stacey were talking about. What people actually did on dates. She had hung out with Troy and Jose's daddy. They had both bought her things. But they never took her out on an actual date" (116).

Gayle and Cookie's belief systems frequently collided, but by the book's end, their sisterhood became a source of strength for both of them. Cookie had become a little more like Gayle while Gayle had absorbed some of Cookie's values. At the conclusion of *Like Sisters on the Homefront,* Cookie defied her parents by attempting to sneak away to have sex with her boyfriend. It was Gayle who stopped her by climbing into the car before Cookie could leave. "'Let me save you, Cuz,' Gayle said. 'Just let me save you.' 'Who,' Cookie sniffled, 'gonna save you, Cuz?' 'Yawl,' Gayle sobbed.

'All yawl'" (164). The sisterhood, in this book, had reached across class lines to serve as salvation for both girls.

Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret (Blume [1970] 2001) began with Margaret's family moving to a new neighborhood. The sisterhood in this book was between Margaret and her friends as they shared information about boys, fashion, bras, and periods. The scene below featured Margaret and her friends consulting with one another about breast size:

> "If you ever want to get out of those baby bras you have to exercise," she [Nancy] told us.
> "What kind of exercise?" Gretchen asked.
> "Like this," Nancy said. She made fists, bent her arms at the elbow and moved them back and forth, sticking her chest way out. She said, "I must—I must—I must increase my bust." She said it over and over. We copied her movements and chanted with her. "We must—we must—we must increase our bust!" (46).

For Margaret, the sisterhood served as a strong support network as her body began to change in unpredictable ways. Whether the information the girls shared was factual or not, the sharing was what bonded them. In another scene, the girls decided to go to the drugstore and buy a box of sanitary pads. This incident took three pages to describe, as Margaret and Janie had to depend on one another to be brave enough to successfully purchase this item from a male cashier. "That was all there was to it! You'd think he sold that kind of stuff every day of the week!" (137).

The book, *It's A Girl Thing: How to Stay Healthy, Safe and in Charge* (Jukes 1996), seemed like a nonfiction version of *Are You There God?* Sisterhood, in this sense, was implied through the sharing of information on a comfortable level. Everything from shaving to self-defense to menstruation was covered in this book through what the author termed the "Ladies' Business Club" (127). The female author

established a sisterhood among readers, inviting girls of all ages to join a community of women by speaking directly to the reader:

> Stay informed, so you can stay in charge. Ask questions. Read books and magazines. Stay in school. Gather information, so you can make decisions that will help to keep you safe and strong. Think for yourself! Don't give in to the feeling that you "have to" do what other kids are doing in order to "belong." You belong! (129).

It's a Girl Thing implied all girls would have the same kinds of experiences (e.g., there was a paragraph suggesting girls call a parent if they found themselves in a situation where drinking was occurring. This may not be a high concern for working-class families or girls who are accustomed to household drinking.). However, the notion that girls could call themselves "ladies" and corroborate with one another in the demystification process was symbolic of the sisterhood that can reach across race, class, and age boundaries.

In *Night Riding* (Martin 1989), two girls from opposite worlds become secret sisters in 1950s Tennessee. Prin (short for Princess) was a middle-class girl who lived in the country with her parents when a "white trash" family moved in next door. Mary Faith Hammond appeared on Prin's farm, pregnant and beat up. Prin's aunt said, "…every Hammond girl I ever heard of has been pregnant by the time she was sixteen" (21). Prin was only eleven years old, but smart enough to eventually figure out that Mary Faith's father not only beat her up regularly, but had also impregnated her. Prin and Mary Faith formed a secret sisterhood that intensified after Prin witnessed Mary Faith's father throw her on the ground so hard that the young girl miscarried. Mary Faith's father had attempted to rape Prin when he came across her riding her horse at

night. The following scene occurred after Mary Faith's abusive father had been trampled to death by Prin's horse.

> "Thank you again for trying to save me from your daddy," I blurted. "I know what he did to you. He'd have done it to me, too, if he could've." My throat closed tight.
> Mary Faith hung her head and looked ashamed, lifting things and putting them down where they had been.
> "What he did was his fault, not yours," I tried again, needing to help her feel better. "You don't have to feel ashamed" (188).

The sisterhood between Prin and Mary Faith consisted of mutual information sharing. Mary Faith gave Prin some facts about sex that Prin could not get her mother to volunteer, and Prin showed Mary Faith how to talk and act like a middle-class girl. The sisterhood between Prin and Mary Faith changed each other's lives and served as a source of strength in a very uncertain world.

In *Crosses* (Stoehr [1991] 2003), two girls formed a sisterhood as they both performed ritualistic cutting of themselves. Cutting, a form of self-harm, is normally a solitary activity (Adler and Adler 2005), but in *Crosses,* the cutting was the foundation of sisterhood between Nancy and her new friend Katie in the late 1980s. In one scene, Nancy met Katie for the first time on the smokers' island, where the high school students who smoked would congregate:

> Still giggling, [Katie] reached a fingerless studded glove into her big, black purse and flipped out a Heineken bottle cap. She started making a small cross on the back of her hand. I watched, fascinated. She's just like me! I thought (10).

While *Crosses* served as more of a cautionary tale about the effects of drugs and alcohol (Katie fell from a second-story window after ingesting hallucinogenic mushrooms at the book's end), the narrative reinforced the concept of sisterhood. Both

Nancy and Katie were from dysfunctional families and had only each other to depend upon for support. Though the girls' behaviors were deviant and destructive, they could at least find some measure of comfort in the sisterhood when comfort was in short supply.

Destruction of the Body

Seven of the books challenged by San Antonio dealt with themes of mutilation and destruction of the body. As discussed above, in *Crosses* (Stoehr [1991] 2003), teenagers Nancy and Katie routinely cut themselves with bottle caps, shards of glass, and rocks. The self-mutilation not only served to identify them as a tribe but also allowed them to write out their pain in a format that was permanent. Due to their dysfunctional families, Nancy and Katie had much of their power stolen from them. At school, the girls were outcasts because of their punk looks. The patterns carved into their skin, however, could never be taken away. Nancy and Katie used their bodies as a medium for storytelling. This phenomenon recalled the Houston-challenged book, *Beloved* (Morrison [1987] 2006), whose main character, Sethe, bore her story literally on her back with the whip marks that had scarred into the shape of a tree. In these narratives where the body is used as a medium for a message, whether performed by the girls themselves in *Crosses* or cast upon Harry Potter's brow by Lord Voldemort's killing curse, the act conveys a special power to the bearer.

In *The Hunting of the Last Dragon* (Jordan 2002), Jing-wei, a Chinese girl, had been sold to a traveling circus in England. Kept in a cage like the rest of the circus animals, the ringleader trotted Jing-wei out as a spectacle from town to town. In this scene, the character of Jude saw Jing-wei for the first time:

> Tybalt commanded the freak to do something else, and she sat on a stool and took off her tiny shoes. Being close, I noticed that her fingernails were long and curved, like claws. Her feet were bandaged. At another order from her keeper, and with the torch held close to her, she removed the bindings. Her feet were grotesque, misshapen clumps with the toes and heels curved down and inwards, almost touching underneath. And they were flat, shapeless, as if the bones had all been broke [sic] (23).

Jing-wei's mutilated feet, the ringleader told the crowd, were common to all women from her land. "It's to keep the women in their place, you see. To stop them a-wandering, and gossiping, and getting up to mischief. A very sensible custom we would do well to take on, here" (23). Jing-wei's feet told not only her own story of pain and betrayal, but served as a visual representation of the way women's behavior could be controlled. Later in the book, when Jude rescued Jing-wei, the pair came across an elderly Chinese woman named Lan who offered them sanctuary. One day, Jing-wei said, "'Would you mend my feet, Mother, and undo the brokenness?' 'It will be painful, child,' Lan replied. 'I shall have to break the bones again, and set them straight. It will take time, and much patience'" (79). Though the "undoing" would be as painful as the original mutilation, Jing-wei was determined to resist objectification and "otherness" by experiencing bodily pain. Her feet would be misshapen in a different manner, but those deformed feet would tell her story of overcoming obstacles. Her new feet walked her to the cave where the dragon lived and gave her the courage to plan the creature's death.

Other books on the San Antonio challenged list also featured characters with disfigurements or mutilations. The lightening bolt scar across Harry Potter's forehead (Rowling 1997-2007) was perhaps his singular identifying feature, telling the story of his power at the same time that it set him apart from humans and from other wizards.

The two nonfiction books about cocaine could also be considered as aligned thematically with destruction of the body.

Magic and the Occult

"Magic is hope in the face of inevitable decay" (Atwood 1984:7). Including all the books in the Harry Potter series in the count, 12 of the books challenged by San Antonio were related to magic, the occult, mysticism, or the fantastical. As in the magically themed books challenged in the Censorship Citadel of Houston, the San Antonio books saw previously marginalized characters receive special powers to aid them in navigating their worlds. In the *Harry Potter* series (Rowling 1997-2007), Harry Potter was an orphaned baby cared for by relatives who made him live in a small room under the stairs. It was not until Harry received his summons to attend the Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry that he understood his own magic powers. In *The Witches of Worm* (Snyder 1974), teenager Jessica was a loner living in a poverty-stricken section of San Francisco with a single mother who worked constantly. When a cat named Worm came into Jessica's life, he enabled her to commit evil deeds by communicating with her telepathically. Jim of *Jim and the Beanstalk* (Briggs [1970] 1997) was a poor boy living with a single mother. He helped a giant obtain glasses, false teeth, and a wig to make the giant's life more comfortable. Jude and Jing-wei from *The Hunting of the Last Dragon* (Jordan 2002) were both homeless orphans who were tasked with defeating a powerful dragon.

The preponderance of giants and monsters in the San Antonio books seemed significant enough to merit attention. Cyclopes, fire-breathing dragons, sky-dwelling giants, telepathic cats, blood-sucking vampires, dwarves, and trolls haunted the pages of

the texts that San Antonio had challenged. Margaret Atwood (1984) said that what a culture thinks about witchcraft is a metaphor for how a culture views sexuality and gendered power inequality (7). Building upon this, I argue that the way a culture views magic—which is often women-centric—also reveals how women's power is viewed within that society (Ehrenreich and English 1978). The world of magic challenges gendered power relationships and gendered hierarchical structures, in much the same way as do feminist methods (Foltz 2000).

Magic was once a force of unification in the primitive world. During the Enlightenment, magic splintered into what Weber referred to as the mutually-exclusive realms of rationality and mystic experience (Gerth and Mills 1946:282). To mark this paradigm shift, nearly 40,000 women burned at the stake (Murdock 2008), creating a landscape of fiery boundary markers to indicate unacceptable ideology. When confronted by technological or ideological shifts, communities search for ways to mark their boundaries (Gerth and Mills 1946:275). As an example, copies of *Harry Potter* were burned all across the nation after 9/11, a more modern form of witch-hunting as boundary-marking in unfamiliar territory (Stolow 2005). While book burning is (thankfully) a rare occurrence in the United States, the objections to the portrayal of witchcraft and magic in books continue.

SUMMARY OF SAN ANTONIO AND OKLAHOMA CITY

In this chapter, I described characteristics of the Censorship Citadel of San Antonio and its companion city, Oklahoma City, in an attempt to theorize about these cities' social control of girls through book challenges. Many anomalies presented themselves, as San Antonio and Oklahoma City roughly experienced some of the same

changes in the change of percent white, the change in percentage of births to girls aged 17 and under, and roughly an equal number of megachurches. Oklahoma City's daily newspaper, *The Oklahoman,* featured many more stories about girls' violent behavior than did the *San Antonio Express-News.* As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Oklahoma City did not issue any challenges to books between 2000 and 2009, while San Antonio issued 23 challenges.

A closer look at certain details help shed light on San Antonio's book challenging activity when compared to the lack of such activity on the part of Oklahoma City. First, the status of being a majority-minority city, something I had not considered prior to undertaking the research, turned out to be an important similarity shared among all three Censorship Citadels. The state of losing whiteness while already a majority-minority city during the 2000s appeared to be an important factor in creating a threatening cultural climate. Oklahoma City lost a greater percentage of whites during 2000 and 2009 than did San Antonio, but remained a city with a white majority. Cities that are dominated by citizens identifying as white may feel less threatened by alternative beliefs and values presented in books. Future research could examine more Censorship Citadels to determine if many of them are also majority-minority cities.

The second major qualitative difference between the Censorship Citadel of San Antonio and its comparison city was the nature of the megachurches housed in each city. San Antonio is home to two celebrity pastors, both of whom are internationally famous and well known even in mainstream media. Since the early 1990s, charismatic leaders Max Lucado and John Hagee have wielded considerable sway over thousands of adherents in San Antonio. They pastor churches that seek to influence young people in

the community by hosting political children's camps (Cornerstone Church 2014b) and spending millions on reconstructing biblical stories (Levy 2013). While I did not systematically investigate the specific effects these two megachurches have had on their community, it is notable that Oklahoma City does not host churches with similar power, resources, or bestselling authors as pastors. Previous studies have demonstrated that religious affiliation, such as belonging to a Protestant, evangelical denomination, has a relationship with banning or challenging works of art (; Edwards 1997; Deckman 2004; Tepper 2011). Where my study adds to the literature is in the inclusion of the megachurch as a religious force. Instead of considering typical affiliations, researchers should pay attention to the rise of these new religious forms taking shape not only in America, but globally. Megachurches, with their ability to regulate communities employing a variety of overlapping resources and increasingly powerful leaders, are on the rise and should be incorporated into any geographical examination of beliefs and values.

The third and final detail that I suggest had a significant impact on San Antonio's propensity to challenge books is the general cultural differences between this Censorship City and Oklahoma City. San Antonio's Hispanic and Latino community are an influential and highly visible aspect of San Antonio's culture. Oklahoma City has no such group lending culture to the city's identity. San Antonio, a majority-minority city, may well have experienced heightened panic or fear as the Hispanic and Latino segment of the population continued to swell between 2000 and 2009. The real and imagined sets of values attributed to the Hispanic and Latino population seemed in

opposition to those held by middle-class, Protestant whites and the cult of true womanhood.

Focusing on the intersection of the Censorship Citadel's characteristics and the contents of the challenged books, and again assuming that most social controls are aimed at young girls, I propose that a relationship existed in San Antonio during the study years. The themes in the challenged books suggested that San Antonio girls should rely on a linear, male-centric, Eurocentric historical perspective to make sense of a rapidly changing world. Sisterhood among girls was considered a trivial connection, not an epistemological resource to aid in survival and navigation down the rocky road toward young womanhood. Marking the body, whether to claim one's own skin or tell a story, was not part of white, middle-class, Protestant behavior for girls, whose bodies do not belong to them. Monsters, giants, witches' familiars, wizards, and spells represented the "other" and marked the boundary of forbidden behavior for girls.

Chapter Eight: Tampa and Winston-Salem

This chapter examines the differences between Tampa, Florida, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Tampa is a Censorship Citadel, issuing the third highest number of challenges to books between the years 2000 and 2009 for cities over 100,000. Tampa challenged 19 books (see Appendix C) while Winston-Salem, Tampa's city for comparison, issued no challenges.

Tampa is one of Florida's most populous cities behind only Jacksonville and Miami and is home to the University of South Florida, professional sports teams, and a variety of industry (State of Florida 2014). The Tampa Chamber of Commerce website bills the city, located on the western coast of Florida, as the "gateway to Florida's High Tech Corridor" (2014) touting high-quality hospitals, affordable cost of living, museums, and warm temperatures.

In 1824, the United States government established Fort Brooke in what is now downtown Tampa (Kerstein 2001; Kite-Powell and Dunham N.d.). One of a series of forts built during that period in Florida, Fort Brooke was an important symbol, indicating to the Seminole population in an all too familiar story that their land was no longer theirs. In fact, the government relocated all but 300 Seminoles to Oklahoma (Kite-Powell and Dunham N.d.). When phosphate was discovered near Tampa, the population soon grew, bringing with it churches, railroads, and hotels (Kite-Powell and Dunham N.d.). Along with phosphate, a bourgeoning cigar industry in the nearby settlement known as Ybor City helped boost Tampa into a major port city (Kerstein 2001). However, Tampa faced a series of catastrophic events that threatened to disable

the city's climb to modernization, including bouts of yellow fever epidemics in the late 1800s that decimated the population (Barker 1986) and a 1921 hurricane that destroyed Tampa landmarks and incurred $500,000 worth of damage (Kerstein 2001). The city overcame major obstacles to become Florida's third most populous city and a major cultural and economic force (Kerstein 2001; Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce 2014).

In 2000, Tampa's population was 303,447 and grew approximately nine percent by 2010 to 335,709 (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). Tampa was ranked the 57th most populous city in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000) and had moved up to 53rd place by the 2010 census (U.S. Census Bureau 2013b). Similarly populated U.S. cities include Arlington, Texas, and Anaheim, California.

Winston-Salem, Tampa's comparison city, ranked as the 107th most populous city at the beginning of the 2000s (U.S. Census Bureau 2000), but had moved into 85th place by the end of the decade (U.S. Census Bureau 2013b). With the nickname, "City of Arts and Innovation" (Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce 2014), Winston-Salem's hyphen comes from the merging of two separate communities in 1913 (Winston-Salem Chamber 2014). Salem was settled by a contingent of Eastern Europeans as a center of religious and artistic expression, while Winston, established in honor of a Revolutionary War veteran, was a more secular village built on the tobacco and textile industries (Winston-Salem Convention and Visitors Bureau 2014).

Winston-Salem's population in 2000 was 185,776, expanding to 229,617 by the end of the decade (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). The city is famous for the origins of companies R.J. Reynolds Tobacco, the Krispy Kreme Doughnut Corporation, and

Goody's Headache Powder (Winston-Salem Convention and Visitors Bureau 2014). Salem College, one of the country's oldest continuously run colleges for women, is located in Winston-Salem, along with Wake Forest University and the historically black college, Winston-Salem State University.

Between 2000 and 2009, Tampa issued 19 challenges to books, while Winston-Salem issued none. While the two cities are roughly comparable in terms of population and Census Bureau region, the citizens of the Censorship Citadel appear to have been more apt to issue challenges to books than did the citizens of Winston-Salem. The following section will detail a few key demographic statistics of the Censorship Citadel and its comparison city before moving on to describe megachurch presence and girls' behavior deviations. I also present the emerging themes in Tampa's challenged books that formed conceptual categories. I conclude this chapter by theorizing that a connection exists between city characteristics and book challenging activity in Tampa and the lack of protests against books in Winston-Salem. Table 8.1 presents a summary of each city's key statistics.

Table 8.1: City-Level Characteristics of Tampa and Winston-Salem between 2000 and 2009

	Tampa	Winston-Salem
Challenges issued	19	0
Change in % white	-4.7%	-5.3%
Change in % foreign-born	3.9%	3.3%
Change in % homeowners	-3.3%	1.4%
Change in % poverty	3.2%	4.6%
Number of megachurches	4	3
Minors' access to abortion	Notification	Consent
Minors' access to contraception at school	None	None
Change in % of births to mothers aged 17 and under	-1.6%	-.9%
Number of newspaper articles covering girls' violence	7	0

LOSING GROUND: RACE AND CLASS IN TAMPA AND WINSTON-SALEM 2000-2009

The Censorship Citadel of Tampa attracted diverse residents throughout the 2000s, thanks to its temperate climate and the wide variety of industry established in the area (Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce 2014). However, the recession caused by the housing crisis affected Tampa in many ways beginning in 2007. New construction permits plummeted, sales dropped, unemployment rates skyrocketed, and the area lost approximately 140,000 jobs before beginning a slow recovery in 2009 (Kench 2010).

During this decade of economic uncertainty, Tampa's white population (not Hispanic or Latino) decreased by 4.7 percent, from 51.0 percent to 46.3 percent (U.S.

Census Bureau 2013a). The city also saw a 3.9 percent increase in citizens born outside of the United States, from 12.2 percent of the population to 16.1 percent, with the majority of those citizens claiming nativity from Latin America countries (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a).

Tampa reflected the country's overall instability during the 2000s in its home ownership and poverty rates. Rates of home ownership had dropped 3.3 percent by the time of the 2010 Census, from 55.0 percent in 2000 to 51.7 percent at the end of the decade, while rates of individuals living in poverty rose from 18.1 percent to 21.3 percent, a 3.2 percent increase (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a).

These snapshots of Tampa's basic demographics suggest a city that, while not changing dramatically in terms of race and ethnicity, nevertheless continued to lose whiteness during the decade of the 2000s. In addition, Tampa, along with the other two Censorship Citadels, is a majority-minority city. From 2000 to 2009, the middle-class composition of Tampa appeared to sink into the lower classes, no doubt due in part to the housing crisis and subsequent recession.

Winston-Salem, as Tampa's comparison city, became more diverse in race and ethnicity than did Tampa during the 2000s. Between 2000 and 2009, the percentage of those identifying as white alone (not Hispanic or Latino) fell from 52.4 percent to 47.1 percent for a loss of 5.3 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). Winston-Salem did not begin the decade as a majority-minority city, but by the 2010 Census, it had become one. The number of Winston-Salem residents claiming foreign nativity rose from 8.3 percent of the population to 11.6 percent by the end of the decade, for an increase of 3.3 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a). Similar to Tampa, Latin American countries were

most often indicated as the place of birth for Winston-Salem's foreign-born population (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a).

In terms of social class measures, Winston-Salem presented a contradiction during the 2000s. The city's percentage of homeowners rose slightly from 55.8 percent to 57.2 percent for an increase of 1.4 percent; meanwhile poverty rose 4.6 percent, from 15.2 percent at the beginning of the decade to 19.8 percent at the end of the decade (U.S. Census Bureau 2013a).

MEGACHURCHES: THE RELIGIOUS CLIMATES OF TAMPA AND WINSTON-SALEM 2000-2009

Tampa is home to four megachurches that draw approximately 12,700 in attendance weekly, ranging from 2,200 to 5,000 (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011). These four megachurches have multiple campuses around the city and offer a variety of community programs, including marriage counseling, addiction recovery groups, Spanish language services, nursing home ministries, prison ministries, divorce recovery groups, children's daycares, finance seminars, and family counseling. Three of the churches were in existence prior to the 2000s, and one church was established in 2005, per each megachurch's website.

Winston-Salem is host to three megachurches that were all established prior to 2000. Attendance at these churches is approximately 12,300 per week, ranging from a low of 3,300 and a high of 5,000 (Hartford Institute for Religion Studies 2011). Programs offered by the Winston-Salem megachurches include schools, exercise classes, and outreach services similar to those offered by the churches in the Tampa area.

In the previous chapter, I suggested that there was a marked difference between the religious climate of Houston as compared with New Orleans, and the religious climate of San Antonio as compared to Oklahoma City, mainly due to an influential presence of megachurches led by celebrity pastors. However, there is no such preciseness in the difference between Tampa and Winston-Salem's religious climates.

Both the Censorship Citadel and its comparison city host similar numbers of megachurches with roughly equal numbers of weekly attendants. I examined each church's website to determine if anything, such as denominational affiliation, stood out, but this examination did not yield satisfactory results. According to the church websites, Winston-Salem's three megachurches identified as nondenominational, Assembly of God, and Southern Baptist while Tampa's four megachurches identified as nondenominational and Southern Baptist. Using the websites as representative of the megachurches' amount of community engagement, the Tampa websites suggested their megachurches offered more resources, services, and programs than did the websites of the Winston-Salem churches, however, this could also be interpreted as the comprehensiveness of website creators and not the churches themselves.

SEX AND THE CITIES: GIRLS' SEXUAL BEHAVIORS IN TAMPA AND WINSTON-SALEM 2000-2009

In this section, I examine girls' sexual behavior norm deviations in the Censorship Citadel of Tampa and its comparison city, Winston-Salem. I describe girls' access to contraception and abortion, along with the rates of births to girls aged 17 and under between 2000 and 2009.

As noted in the previous chapter, abortion laws are enacted at state levels, so a discussion about access to abortion services in a city must be analyzed in terms of state law. In 1999, Florida enacted the "Parental Notice of Abortion Act," requiring minors to notify one parent or guardian in advance of an abortion. The law was challenged by a group of abortion clinics, women's coalitions, and doctors in 2003, but the state Supreme Court ruled in favor of the regulation (Florida Supreme Court 2003). While Florida continued to require parental notification throughout the 2000s, the option of a judicial bypass was still available to pregnant girls under 18, though navigating the legalese sometimes proved problematic (Block et al. 2013).[14] The parental notification must occur 48 hours prior to the procedure (Guttmacher Institute 2000; Block et al. 2013), but if the minor is married or is experiencing a medical emergency, notification is waived (Guttmacher Institute 2000).

All females in Florida who wish to receive an abortion must have an ultrasound performed prior to the procedure, but they are not required to view or hear information about the ultrasound (Guttmacher Institute 2014a). Twenty-six states do not have an ultrasound requirement, including Alaska, California, and Colorado, to name a few (Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2014). North Carolina does have an ultrasound component, but it is stricter than Florida's, as described in the Winston-Salem section.

The Tampa School District does not currently distribute any kind of contraceptives through the schools, nor have they in the past, per the school district. The role of sex education in Florida schools is to stress abstinence, not contraceptive practices (Guttmacher Institute 2014a).

In 2000, 5.4 percent of all births in Tampa were to girls aged 17 and under. By 2009, this rate had dropped to 3.8 percent for a difference of -1.6 percent over the decade. As stated in the previous chapter on Houston and New Orleans, this statistic was reflective of an overall decline in births to teen girls during the decade of the 2000s (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2013).

In North Carolina, parental consent is required before a girl under the age of 18 can have an abortion and has been in effect since prior to 2000 (Guttmacher Institute 2014b). A parent or guardian who gives consent for the procedure must accompany girls under 18 and sign the necessary paperwork. Girls who desire an abortion must receive abortion-discouraging counseling in addition to waiting 24 hours before the procedure can be done (Guttmacher Institute 2014b). An ultrasound must be performed and the clinician must display and describe the ultrasound image. Though the female does not have to look at the image, she is required to listen to the description (Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2014). Other prospective patients, for example chemotherapy candidates, do not have to view sounds and images of the pain and distress that accompanies the treatment as a pre-op requirement (Dresser 2007). Although this regulation applied to all females, not just minors, it is another example of the onerous steps a North Carolina minor must take in order to obtain an abortion.

The restrictive nature of obtaining a minor's abortion in North Carolina is currently becoming even more constricting. In 2013, the *Washington Post* (Curtis 2013) chronicled a new bill in the North Carolina legislature that aimed to mandate parent involvement in minors' access to birth control, STD testing, mental health assistance, and substance abuse programs, all services that minors had been able to confidentially

obtain since the 1970s. An additional measure on the floor sought to require public school health education classes to stress the negative effects of abortion, such as premature births for babies born after the mother has had the procedure (Curtis 2013). Although these propositions are being debated after this study's time period of 2000 through 2009, the proposed bills reveal that the nature of North Carolina's attitude toward girls' sexual behavior falls on the strict end of the spectrum, especially when compared to Florida's attitude.

Winston-Salem schools do not, nor have they ever, distributed contraceptives to minor students. Access to contraception for minors without parents' knowledge is through Planned Parenthood centers. However, as described in the paragraphs above, it is quite possible that this will end in the near future as federal and state funds to agencies that deliver contraceptives have been compromised.

In 2000, births to girls aged 17 and under comprised 5.7 percent of total births to women in Winston-Salem. By the end of the decade, births to girls aged 17 and under were 4.8 percent of all births, for a difference of -.9 percent. This slight decrease is reflective of national trends during the 2000s (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2013) and similar to Tampa's decrease of 1.6 percent.

FIGHTING LIKE A GIRL: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE IN TAMPA AND WINSTON-SALEM 2000-2009

My LexisNexis search for newspaper articles about girls' violence, gang activity, or arrests in Tampa and Winston-Salem yielded differential results for each city. The *Tampa Tribune* is the major newspaper covering events and newsworthy items for the city of Tampa (Alliance for Audited Media 2014). Between 2000 and 2009, I

found seven *Tampa Tribune* articles covering incidents related to girls' aggression. However, all articles except one, which I discuss below, were written for the purpose of disseminating information about how to combat girls' violent activity. Six of the articles talked about programs, anti-gang events, and festivals that all aimed to end gang activity. The majority of these articles began with a story about a violent girl or featured a picture of a girl at the event or festival.

The sole article that did not discuss combatting girls' violence through programs fundraisers, or events was published in the *Tampa Tribune* on December 16, 2007. The title, "Hype Over More Violent Girls Lacks Statistics To Back It Up" (Koehn 2007), alludes to the article's argument. The reporter referenced a number of bestselling books about girls becoming more violent, but then quoted a Hillsborough County educator who stated she had seen less fighting, not more fighting, among girls. "Although girl violence is more visible today," Koehn wrote, "panic over an uprising of angry young women would be misguided" (1).

Nonetheless, the 2007 *Tampa Tribune* article addressed the city's apprehension, however "misguided," that Tampa girls were becoming more violent. In a somewhat contradictory vein, Koehn's "Hype" article was followed by a chart describing eleven incidents of girls' violence that occurred in the city between 2002 and 2007. A photo of a teen girl accompanied the article with the caption, "Laisha Landrum was 16 when she repeatedly struck Emily Clemons, 16, over the head with two steel pots, a hammer and a boombox" (2007:5). Clemons later died. I could not find the actual news stories covering these 11 incidents in the *Tampa Tribune* archives.

The major Winston-Salem newspaper is the *Winston-Salem Journal* (Alliance for Audited Media 2014). A LexisNexis search did not find any articles related to girls violence, girls' gang activity, girl fights, or girls' arrests in Winston-Salem between 2000 and 2009.

The newspaper search showed a discrepancy of coverage about girls' violence in the Censorship Citadel and the comparison city. Although it is reasonable to assume girl fights, violence, or arrests occurred in Winston-Salem between the years of 2000 to 2009, these occurrences were not brought into the public eye, at least in the context of newspaper reporting, as much as they were in Tampa during the same years.

THE BOOKS

Citizens of Tampa challenged 19 books between 2000 and 2009. Of those books, 10 of them were also on the ALA's top 100 books challenged during the decade of the 2000s (American Library Association 2013). Unlike Houston's challenges that included multiple challenges to single book titles, Tampa's 19 challenges went to 19 different titles. Only one book on Tampa's list was challenged by another Censorship Citadel. *The Chocolate War* (Cormier [1974] 2000), received challenges from both Houston and Tampa. The two Censorship Citadels also challenged two common authors. The first common author challenged by both Houston and Tampa was Phyllis Reynolds Naylor, author of the *Alice* series. Houston challenged *All but Alice* (Naylor 1992) while Tampa challenged *Alice in Lace* (Naylor 1996) and *Alice the Brave* (Naylor 1995). The second author in common challenged by both Tampa and Houston was Chris Crutcher. Tampa challenged *Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes* (Crutcher 1993) and Houston challenged *Running Loose* (Crutcher 2003). Although this study does not focus

comparisons among the three Censorship Citadels themselves, it was worthwhile to mention the commonalities that arise.

I acquired 17 books from the university library and the public city library. One book was already in my own collection and I purchased one book. Of the 19 titles challenged by Tampa residents, 3 were adult novels, 1 was a children's book, 4 were nonfiction, and 11 were young adult fiction. Tampa did not challenge any collections of poetry. Seven of the fiction titles featured a female protagonist, while 3 of the novels rotated the point of view between female and male protagonists. The remaining 5 books of fiction told the story from a male perspective. The lead character's race and ethnicity varied widely in the selection of Tampa books (a much higher percentage, for example, than the Caucasian characters overwhelmingly portrayed by the challenged books in Houston). Four books featured African American characters, one book featured Jewish characters, and one book featured native Alaskan characters.

The nonfiction books shared similar thematic contents. Three of the books were encyclopedias of criminals and serial killers while one covered a particularly disturbing child abuse case in Florida. Tampa's sole challenge to a children's book was issued to *Captain Underpants Extra-Crunchy Book O' Fun* (Pilkey 2001), a comic book for elementary readers that relied on bathroom humor.

I read each book with an intersectional lens to determine what thematic patterns suggested a deviance from white, Protestant, middle-class, heterosexual norms. Why did Tampa challenge these books when Winston-Salem, a city with similar demographics, did not? What elements of Tampa, a Censorship Citadel, might have affected its tendency to challenge books between 2000 and 2009? Three themes

emerged from Tampa's challenged books: survival, disturbing the universe, and girls' autonomous bodies. The feminist double bind was embedded within the themes of survival and girls' autonomous bodies.

Much like the patterns of death and abandonment that arose saliently in the Houston challenged books, a strongly identifiable theme of survival emerged from the books challenged by Tampa. Singularly at stake was the survival of a girl's physical body and emotional spirit, due to gross abuse and/or neglect of a parent. In many of the narratives, the girl had to navigate complex processes to become the responsible guardian of her own body and soul. The abusive fathers and older brothers in these stories attempted oppression through physical and sexual abuse. The mothers in these books were cast as woefully neglectful and so dependent on drugs or alcohol to cope with their own pain that parenting of younger siblings fell entirely on the teen character. Both parenting styles: abuse and neglect, stole the teen's childhood and necessitated survival skills.

hooks (2000) argues that oppression is absence of choice, and this is precisely how the parents in these challenged books tried to control their girls: with violence. While middle-class parents are addicted to their share of substances and mete out abusive corrections to their children, it is easier for families with access to a variety of resources to hide such dysfunctions, leaving violent family disturbances a characteristic of lower and working class, nonwhite families (Bettie 2003). In the sections below, I will illustrate the ways in which girl characters fought this physical oppression in the Tampa challenged books.

A second emerging theme, disturbing the universe, relates to a commonality among the challenged books in which teens constantly challenged God or denied the existence of a higher power. The phrase, "disturbing the universe," comes from *The Chocolate War* (Cormier [1974] 2000). In this book, Jerry, the teen male protagonist, hung a poster in his locker with the T.S. Eliot quote, "Do I Dare Disturb the Universe?" to encourage his nonconformity. Jerry's nonconformity extended to his rejection of the Catholic school's hierarchy of power and intimidation. Many of the books challenged by Tampa are templates for questioning the existence of a higher power and religious ideology, as I show with examples below. Where God himself is critiqued, the patriarchal structure of society is critiqued (Daly 1985).

Walker (2004) argues that our current version of misogynist, patriarchal Christianity won out more than a century ago over other paradigms, such as Gnosticism, which suggested men and women could equally achieve oneness with the divine. Texts or ideologies that divert from what we now know as Christianity have been suppressed. The practice of questioning the Judeo-Christian paradigm has been grounds for being exiled, shunned, ex-communicated, and even put to death (Ames 2009). Questioning, challenging, or offering divergent paradigms are all historically forms of heresy.

Feminist Biblical scholars are reinterpreting ancient texts to incorporate women more equally into new forms of Christianity and finding ways to disrupt the religious marginalization of women (Ames 2009:89). What I found most interesting about this theme of "disrupting the universe" in the Tampa books was the way in which teens demanded accountability of God and debated the existence of a higher power, behaviors which challenged centuries of Christian dogma. Girls and women, especially, have been

subordinated and suppressed by religion. It is only through consciousness-raising and safe spaces that these oppositions can be voiced. The Tampa books that were challenged provided a way to begin debate about God in the modern world and to solidify girls' place in forming new religious discourses.

The third theme is girls' autonomous bodies. The books that Tampa challenged featured girls who had either undergone abortions, or were considering abortions. In some books, the abortion debate took center stage, for example in *Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes* (Crutcher 1993). The abortion issue, symbolic of the struggle for control over women's bodies (Luker 1984), gains added complexity when the body in question belongs to a minor girl. As I discuss below, pregnant teens are an oppressed population whose bodies are subject not only to law, but to their parents' religious and ideological orientations.

Above, I have briefly summarized each of the three themes in the Tampa challenged books. In the following sections, I will expand on the three themes in addition to using my results from the books' content analysis to illustrate the themes.

Survival

Ten of the books challenged by Tampa between 2000 and 2009 featured survival as a centralizing theme. *Julie of the Wolves* (George 1972) was perhaps one of the more striking examples of this, where 13 year-old Alaskan native Julie lived in the frozen artic wilderness for several months after running away from her husband's rape attempt. She survived physically and emotionally by relying on her own skills; hunting, trapping, and sewing. Julie's tale was a metaphor for the actions that many young girls must undertake to survive trauma at the hands of those assigned to protect and love them.

A similar set of extreme survival appeared in *Fallen Angels* (Myers 1988), where 17 year-old Perry fought his way through the jungles of Vietnam, mainly to escape an abysmal future in Harlem. Though Perry survived the war, the young female medic he met his first day in Vietnam did not. The military leaders had a responsibility to their troops to lead them out of danger, but this rarely occurred, especially in the chaos of Vietnam.

The rest of the books that focused on survival were especially poignant, depicting girl characters negotiating survival in a household with an abusive father, stepfather, or brother (sometimes, as portrayed in *Life is Funny* [Frank 2000]*,* the abuser was the mother). The lead female character in *Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes* (Crutcher 1993) had a sadistic father who pushed her face into a hot woodstove, disfiguring her forever. Sarah continued to live with her father, navigating daily through treacherous territory as she fought to survive. In *Summer of My German Soldier* (Greene 1973), Patty's father regularly beat her for the most minor of transgressions, forcing her to grow up quickly and make independent decisions about an escaped Nazi prisoner.

Abusive relatives also appeared in *My Darling, My Hamburger* (Zindel [1969] 1989)*, Flyy Girl* (Tyree [1993] 1996)*, Life is Funny* (Frank 2000)*,* and *Death from Child Abuse and No One Heard* (Krupinski and Weikel [1986] 2000). The two encyclopedias of serial killers were not stories about filicides necessarily, but these nonfiction books without question focused on the physical and emotional torture or murder of females. I mention the serial killer encyclopedias in this section only because of the books' emphasis on violence against women. The books of fiction and nonfiction,

Death from Child Abuse and No One Heard (Krupinski and Weikel [1986] 2000), struck me as more salient examples of physical and sexual abuse at the hands of adults entrusted with girls' lives.

In *Summer of My German Soldier* (Greene 1973), Patty's father found out she had thrown a rock at a hubcap and hunted her down in his car before finding her hiding behind a bush:

> Only one foot advanced before a hand tore across my face, sending me into total blackness…The pain was almost tolerable when a second blow crashed against my cheek, continuing down with deflected force to my shoulder. Using my arm as a shield, I looked up. I saw the hate that gnarled and snarled his face like a dog gone rabid. He's going to find out someday I can hate too (68-9).

After the initial assault in the quote above, Patty's father continued the beating with his belt, even as the 12-year-old fell to her knees and then blacked out. Her mother never once moved to protect Patty, nor to report the father for his physical abuse toward Patty. When Patty found a Nazi soldier, Anton, who had escaped from the military camp outside of town, she decided to hide him in the family's garage, committing a federal crime that ultimately got her sentenced to a reformatory for girls. Though Patty did not believe her life had any value because of her parents' abuse, Anton taught her that she was important. Because Patty could not trust her parents, she did not seek them for advice with a war criminal. Though Anton was eventually found and killed, it was because Patty had to make adult decisions that led her to believe she would survive.

One of the more horrific fathers was portrayed in *Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes* (Crutcher 1993). During a fight with Sarah's mother, Sarah's father took

the three-year-old girl and pressed her face against the hot woodstove. At the hospital, Sarah's father would not allow reconstructive surgery, so Sarah learned to navigate life behind the prison of her own scarred face. To cope, Sarah drew on a reserve of anger that alienated her from everyone except another outcast, Eric Calhoun. In the scene below, Sarah told Eric what happened the day of her burn accident:

> Mom got a knife out of the drawer and came at him, but he held me in front of him and backed through the open hallway into the living room, laughing. Then he said, 'Here's your pretty little baby for you,' and I looked up and saw the wood stove coming right at my face (104).

It was only because of a caring teacher, Mrs. Lemley, and Sarah's best friend, Eric, that she was finally able to challenge her father's authority and see him sentenced to 20 years in the state penitentiary. Roles were reversed when Sarah, the child, made decisions about her father.

In *Flyy Girl* (Tyree [1993] 1996), Mercedes' father's abusive behavior pushed the teenager to her limit. In one scene, she finally decided to leave home and ran upstairs to pack. Keith, the father, followed her to her room but she slammed the door:

> Keith beat on Mercedes' locked door.
> "Leave me alone! I HATE YOU!" she yelled.
> "Open this damn door. I know what you need. You need a good ASS-KICKIN'! That's what you need" (100).

Mercedes turned to drugs and prostitution to survive. She lived on the edge of a knife, feeling that a move in one direction would send her back home to be abused by her father or in another direction, into the criminal justice system. Ultimately, Mercedes' mother and father both physically and emotionally failed her.

Girls' survival tactics are often criminalized, leaving them in a double bind (Chesney-Lind 1989). Girls' lives are threatened if they stay in the home where abusive behavior is happening, but their lives are also threatened on the street, with relatives, at foster homes, or by the criminal justice system if they leave. The stories in the books Tampa challenged were rife with adults who let children fall through the cracks or who metaphorically pushed them off of cliffs.

An older brother, Nick, molested Keisha when she was nine in the book *Life is Funny* (Frank 2000). As Keisha grew up in a household with an aunt and her brother to raise her, she became independent and brave, ultimately confronting Nick. Before Keisha was set to graduate from high school, she wanted to ensure the continuing bodily safety of her eight-year-old sister, Tory:

> "I have to talk to you," I tell Nick while Eva's out arguing with Workfare and Tory's at After School. Nick swings his legs up and out to fall over the side of his bed so he can sit. I stay at the doorway. One foot in, one foot out. "You have to leave." He chews his lower lip and eyeballs the floor. "Before my last day of school." If he's out a few weeks before me, I can be pretty sure he'll be gone for good. "You can't come back." . . . I've been expecting him to argue shit with me. I have a steak knife up in my sleeve. My hand is curled around the tip so it won't slip out (199).

In the scene above, Keisha, who had not been protected by her Aunt Eva or any adult in the past, realized that she would not be able to move on unless she threatened violence to kick her 24-year-old brother out of the home. That it had come to this, Keisha with a steak knife up her sleeve, showed not only her bravery, but the lengths she was willing to go to in order to assume parental responsibility for Tory, something no one had done for her.

Another character in *Life is Funny,* Grace, waged constant war with her mother, a narcissistic, jealous tyrant. In one scene, Grace's mother took her to a modeling audition, only to tell Grace after she had gotten the part that she would not allow her to take the job.

> "You're a goddamn bitch," I whisper. "And I hate you." She hits me hard. With her fist. The force of it knocks me off my feet, and I stumble backward onto the floor. The part of my head above my left ear feels like it's been blown up (92).

Grace told her friends, China and Ebony, about the fight, and mentioned that she might call child welfare. "'Bad idea," China says. 'They' probably put you in some other home, and you'd get abused or something'" (93). This scene illustrated the classic feminist double bind; Grace could be abused at home or abused in a foster home. Either way, Grace loses because of her mother's failure to love and protect her from physical harm.

In all these scenarios, parents who could not be entrusted with children's lives disrupted the child/parent dynamic. The books that Tampa challenged depicted mothers, fathers, stepparents, and brothers using intimidation, manipulation, and violence to control girls' lives. Parents are supposed to love, support, and nurture their children, and most of them do so (Demo 1992). However, when caretakers fail in these tasks, children become the adults, forced to make decisions that will ensure the continuance of abuse in the best case scenario or endanger them further in the worst case scenario.

The abuse of children, whether it is emotional, sexual, psychological, or physical, is a societal issue that is resolved by adults, with little input from children. In many cases, if children are removed from abusive or neglectful households, they find

themselves in foster homes or institutional settings where abuse continues (Hobbs, Hobbs, and Wynne 1999).

Daring to Disturb the Universe

In eight Tampa books, teen characters debated the existence of God and the meaning of religion among themselves, with teachers, and with other adults. As Perry, the main character in *Fallen Angels* (Myers 1988), hurtled through the confusion of the Vietnam War, he began to question the religious values he had previously held. In *Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes* (Crutcher 1993), the topic of religion took front and center in a high school class called Contemporary American Thought. The characters in *Life is Funny* (Frank 2000) constantly challenged the concept of God in the midst of personal daily life. In *The Chocolate War* (Cormier [1974] 2000), the Catholic school was the site of hypocrisy, fear, and violent intimidation. Both of the *Alice* (Naylor 1995; Naylor 1996) books contain scenes where young girls puzzled through the meaning of religion and sin, questioning the Judeo-Christian norms prescribed for females.

In *Alice the Brave* (Naylor 1995), Alice's best friend, a Catholic named Elizabeth, felt so guilty after stealing her parents' copy of *Arabian Nights* and reading it out loud to her friends that she decided to confess to her priest. "But I have to know that God forgives me" (40). Alice accompanied Elizabeth to church and waited outside until her confession was finished. "He said it's normal to be curious," Elizabeth replied [after exiting the church] (71). The fact that a priest would confirm the normality of girls' interest in sexuality quelled the fear of investigating bodies, love, and lust, which is a universal part of the journey of sexual knowledge through fact-finding that all young girls take.

During the second *Alice* book, *Alice in Lace* (Naylor 1996), the girls questioned Elizabeth when she said a man asking a woman to go topless without being married was immoral. "'It's in the Bible,' said Elizabeth. 'Where?' Pamela challenged. 'Give me the exact verse, Elizabeth, where it says it's a sin to go topless'" (22). The role of Alice and Pamela, whose families were not particularly religious, served the function of challenging Elizabeth's rigid dogma. Elizabeth was always presented as naïve and intolerant, while Alice and Pamela exhibited the bravery necessary to challenge religious teachings.

Keisha and her boyfriend, Gingerbread, were at the library reading about the persecution of Jews during one scene in *Life is Funny* (Frank 2000). "'You think God's white?' Keisha whispers in the deep back of the stacks. 'First, you've got to ask me if I believe in God,' I tell her" (171). Gingerbread then asked Keisha if she believed in God. "'I believe in God except then I don't know why he does things to people,' she tells me and she's got that sad, serious face, that one that makes me stop moving all over the place. 'Why are you so sad?' I whisper… 'Was God mean to you?'" (171-2). Later, Keisha came over to Gingerbread's house for dinner and asked Gingerbread's mother if she believed in God. The mother says, "I'm more interested in understanding why God is so important to people in the first place before I can figure out if God exists" (175). God's existence and the indisputable perfection of God's will are central tenets of evangelical, Protestant denominations, not something to be debated (Hunter 1983).

The Contemporary American Thought class in *Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes* (Crutcher 1993) started the semester with a discussion about religious beliefs, whether or not the world is good or bad, and if God is fair. The main character, Eric, thought, "I

could go either way on this. I don't have a quarrel with Christianity one way or the other. As near as I know, Mom doesn't have religious beliefs, so I wasn't brought up with any" (60). Eric's friend, Ellerby, drove a vehicle known as the Christian Cruiser. The 1973 Pontiac station wagon played "The Old Rugged Cross" when the horn was honked and sported lettering down the side with sarcastic phrases like, "The Wages of Sin is a Buck Fifty" and "A Mighty Fortress is our Dog" and "Oral Roberts Takes Aspirin" (22-3). He drove the vehicle to provoke people, particularly the evangelicals in town. Ellerby grappled with religious doubt after his brother, who was going to become a preacher, had died. "I thought if you were a preacher, God ought to give you a little extra protection. You know, like cops don't give each other tickets" (81). Questioning religion suggests rebellion, which the Bible equates with witchcraft (coincidentally, the sin of witchcraft applies almost exclusively to women) in 1 Samuel 15:23.

Oppression is embedded within organized religion.[15] The narratives referenced above reflect humans' questioning nature as young people expressed doubt that God's will is fair or even right. In these books, the arguments took place in safe public spaces, like classrooms, where facets of religion were debated according to rational guidelines. Teachers and other adults encouraged pluralistic viewpoints. Should a young, white, middle-class female begin to question God, especially the misogynistic discourse behind Christianity, she may then begin to question the categorization of herself as a submissive, dutiful wife, as a virgin, or as one of the meek of the earth. She would, in essence, disturb the universe.

Girls' Autonomy

The pattern of girls' autonomy revealed itself as a common theme in the Tampa books, primarily taking the form of pregnant minors considering or obtaining abortion. Six of the books featured a teen character making decisions about her pregnancy, without input from a parent or other adult. Not only is a pregnant teen a visual indication of teen sexual activity, she is a political symbol of female autonomy in this chaotic time period that is becoming increasingly conservative and anxious (Kelly 2000). The pregnant teen girl is a political icon, fueling abstinence-only sex education legislation (Sethna 2010), draconian regulations on girls' access to abortion (Joyce, Kaestner, and Colman 2006; Kavanagh et al. 2012), and stricter laws affecting the ability for girls to obtain contraception (Rogers and Stein 2010; Curtis 2013).

Kelly's (2000) exploration of teen pregnancy stigma argued that poor, lower class, ethnic minority girls are already considered sexually promiscuous by society. Though middle-class white girls are more likely to obtain abortions than their nonwhite, lower class counterparts (mainly due to the ideology that young motherhood will thwart middle-class girls' economic success so the pregnancy must be terminated. For a more thorough discussion on this topic, see Furstenberg Jr. 1991 and Edin and Kefalas 2011), the association of teen pregnancy with lower class nonwhites remains a strong association in our culture.

The theme of girls' autonomous bodies in the Tampa book strongly suggested that girls should be and can be in control of decisions about their own bodies. In *Alice the Brave* (Naylor 1995), Alice's Critical Choices class instructor gave the students a 5-week assignment to teach decision-making. The students were put in scenarios, such as getting married, planning a funeral, getting caught shoplifting, and buying a car. Alice's

friend, Pamela, received the assignment of teenage pregnancy. When Alice's aunt called to talk to her later in the week, Alice told her about Pamela's assignment. The aunt was horrified and said, "Has your teacher lost his mind?". . . "Talking about things like this will just make students want to try them." (11) Alice thought, "Why do adults think that way, I wonder? Why do they think that if we hear or read about something, we'll rush right out and do it?" (12). This reflects a common panic among adults and contributes much of the impetus behind abstinence-only education (Irvine 2006).

Alice's friend Pamela made phone calls to abortion clinics to weigh her choices, and then she applied for jobs with a pillow inside her shirt to simulate a pregnant stomach. When Pamela reported to the Critical Choices class all the fieldwork she had accomplished, the teacher praised her:

> "This is the kind of thing I'm looking for," Mr. Everett told the rest of us. "Approach your assigned situation as though it were really your personal problem, and try to think of all the people your decision is going to affect. I don't want any dumb speculation. I want you to experience what some of these situations would really mean for you" (77).

The instructor, Mr. Everett, encouraged the fact-gathering process of Pamela's pregnancy assignment. He respected her decision-making ability, even as an eighth grader. The instructor did not ask why Pamela did not consult her parents or why she checked with abortion clinics before checking with adoption clinics. These subtle encouragements pointed to support for a girl's personal decision and autonomy over her body.

Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes (Crutcher 1993) contained both of the two previous themes, child abuse and religious critique. In this book, the topic of abortion also surfaced as a major theme. The Contemporary American Thought class that took

place in the book was organized around debates on religion and abortion. One of the students, Mark Brittain, was depicted as a conservative evangelical who frequently rallied against pro-choice stances. When one of the students suggested that abortion was not murder, but a decision, Mark said, " I agree it's a decision… It's a decision to commit murder" (90).

At one point, Sarah Byrnes, whose own father had horribly abused her and given her a disfigured face, approached Mark during an abortion debate in class:

> "Are you telling me that a woman who's married to a man she knows will disfigure or kill her baby, and who knows she doesn't have the guts to get away from him, should have that baby anyway?"
> Brittain has regained some composure. "We can't make predictions like that," he says. "All life is sacred. Everyone deserves a chance."
> "Think you'd like to have my chance?" Sarah Byrnes asks, pointing to her face (151).

In the subsequent scene, Mark's ex-girlfriend, Jody, revealed to the class that she had undergone an abortion one year ago, at Mark's urging. She had wanted to keep the baby. Though it would seem contradictory to proclaim vociferously against abortion while at the same time asking a girlfriend to terminate a pregnancy, Mark's position is actually reflective of the anti-abortion movement. The rhetoric surrounding abortion that seem to focus on fetal life is actually focused on control over women's bodies (Luker 1984). When Mark said, "all life is sacred," he excluded the sacredness of women's own bodies and the sacredness of choice to control their own reproductive systems.

The 1960s coming of age book, *My Darling, My Hamburger* (Zindel [1969] 1989), featured teen protagonists navigating the rocky ground of initial sexual experiences. One of the high school characters, Liz, became pregnant. Because these

were the days before Roe v. Wade, Liz obtained the services of a backroom abortion doctor, afraid of what might happen if her abusive stepfather found out. She and her friends traveled at night to a large house on a residential street and waited for Liz to be treated. When they arrived back at Liz's home, Liz's friend Maggie found her in a slumped position in the backseat:

> "Liz, what should I do?" Maggie asked. She looked at Rod, but she could see he was just as frightened as she was…
> "I'm bleeding," Liz managed to say. "Oh, God, I'm bleeding."
> Maggie was momentarily paralyzed with fear. Then suddenly it was as if she could see only one way out of the nightmare. She opened the car door and started to run toward the house.
> "Don't tell them. Don't let them know," Liz spit out, raising her head in spite of the pain… "Let me die!" Liz screamed from the car. "Let me die, you lousy traitor!" (107-8).

Liz's predicament in *My Darling, My Hamburger* illustrated the feminist double bind. If she kept the baby, she would suffer shame, stigma, and possibly physical abuse at the hands of her parents. If she obtained an abortion by the only means available to a teenage girl in the 1960s, she risked her life. In this scenario, Liz would lose either way.

One of the fears adults harbor is that girls who have access to abortion and contraception without parents' involvement will be more sexually promiscuous (Joyce, Kaestner, and Colman 2006). This fear has affected policy initiatives to the degree that many states have made access to abortion much more onerous for minors (Colman and Joyce 2009; Joyce 2010).

Society is threatened by girls' autonomy over their own bodies (Irvine 2006), especially when it comes to decisions about pregnancy. In the books that Tampa challenged, I identified a feminist double bind that exists in the way our culture frames pregnant teens, teen moms, and minors' access to abortion. Giving birth to a baby as a

teen is indicative of lower class, nonwhite value systems, while abortion is a moral crime (de Beauvoir [1952] 1989). Teen pregnancy and sexual promiscuity, in the public imagination, are the territory of nonwhite, lower class girls. When middle-class white girls begin invading this territory, it is symbolic of larger societal issues, such as the degradation of morals in America and the uncertainty of shifting boundaries (Hunter 1991).

The only acceptable autonomy for girls is the ability to master self-control (a middle-class quality, per Kohn 1959) over sexual expression. The social acceptance of girls who exhibit self-control is evidenced by the federally-backed abstinence movement in schools that began in the 1990s and emphasized self-control, not contraception (Harris 2004). The abstinence movement and the regulation of girls' autonomy are fulfilled when the internalization of surveillance over sexual thoughts, desires, and behaviors has occurred (Gleeson and Frith 2004).

Girls' autonomy is increasingly being framed as society run amok as more states mandate parental intrusion in girls' pregnancies, autonomy, and bodies. At the same time, girls are reaching puberty earlier while the age for marriage is advancing, leaving wider and wider troublesome waters that girls must navigate in between societal demands and their own desires (LeCroy and Daley 2001).

SUMMARY OF TAMPA AND WINSTON-SALEM

This chapter attempted to interpret the differences between Tampa, a Censorship Citadel, and Winston-Salem in terms of the reasons why Tampa challenged more books. As mentioned at the chapter's opening, Winston-Salem did not challenge any books between 2000 and 2009 while Tampa challenged 19. The cities were roughly

comparable except for the change in percent white (Tampa's white population decreased by 1.3 percent while Winston-Salem's white population decreased more, 4.4 percent), change in the percentage of homeowners (Tampa's homeowners decreased by 3.3 percent during the 2000s decade and Winston-Salem's homeowner rate increased by 1.4 percent during the same time period), and the news coverage of girls' violence (the Tampa newspaper covered seven incidents while the Winston-Salem newspaper covered none).

Standing out among these rather reductionist snapshots of two cities was the fact that, while both cities lost "whiteness" and increased individuals in poverty between 2000 and 2009, Winston-Salem's homeowners increased in number. This may suggest that Winston-Salem weathered the 2007 housing crisis more effectively than did Tampa. Home ownership, in the case of Tampa versus Winston-Salem, served as a more salient visible indicator of a city's class health, as home ownership is coupled tightly with notions of white, middle-class American values (Rossi 1980; Megbolugbe and Linneman 1993). The city of Winston-Salem may have felt somewhat secure enough about its foundation of white, middle-class values to bother challenging troublesome books at the public school or library.

The other difference that stood out was the *Tampa Tribune's* coverage of girls' violence. Although only seven articles focused on girls and the interventions that may solve problems with girls' aggression, these articles in such a prominent newspaper might have been enough to increase the visibility of girls' violence. It is very interesting that a major theme in the books Tampa challenged was violence against girls while the

newspaper articles alleged girls needed to be averted from violence through programs and festivals.

As mentioned in the Houston and New Orleans chapter, I believe that more comprehensive operationalized measures of girls' violence would be a fruitful avenue for future research. The reliance on newspaper coverage, while a valid indicator of the visibility of issues, does have shortcomings when it comes to digital archives and LexisNexis searches on girls' violence (Deacon 2007).

I saw in Winston-Salem a city that had strict regulations over girls' behaviors long before 2000, as well as a solid middle-class foundation that recovered efficiently from the housing crisis. As I theorize, the presence of numerous social controls in existence before the study period of 2000 to 2009 may help ease the unease of turbulent social change. If citizens turn to banning or challenging books as a last effort to control out of control girls, the behavior of Winston-Salem's girls during the study period suggested they were not worrisome.

The fact that Tampa experienced a loss in whiteness and middle-class indicators, combined with increased poverty and a rise in its foreign-born population may have created a perfect storm for protesting literature at the public school and library. Tampa girls only needed notification of a parent, not consent, for an abortion between 2000 and 2009, and the *Tribune* had more to say about girls' violence than did the *Winston-Salem Journal.* All these factors, when taken as a whole, help explain why Tampa citizens challenged 19 books between 2000 and 2009.

Themes in the books that Tampa challenged suggested that the residents had concerns about the cycle of violence in girls' lives and how that related to parental

authority, girls who questioned God, and girls' access to abortion. These patterns take on added meaning when the layers of complexity in each theme, for example, certain race and class membership is conflated with issues of domestic violence and street violence (Miller 1995), teen pregnancy (Kelly 2000), and rejection of Protestant norms (Gusfield 1976).

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

The previous three chapters presented city-level information, descriptions, and statistics, in addition to content analysis from the challenged books, for three Censorship Citadels and their comparison cities. With a feminist lens, I theorized about the relationship that existed between city-level characteristics and the contents of the challenged books to highlight community-specific attitudes toward girls' behaviors between 2000 and 2009.

The Censorship Citadels shared several characteristics in common that, when merged with certain other factors, suggested the creation of a climate conducive to challenging books. All three Censorship Citadels spent the entirety of the 2000s as majority-minority cities, an experience that may exacerbate feelings of uncertainty during economic downturns (Johnson Jr., Farrell Jr., and Guinn 1997; Camarillo 2007). Citizens identifying as white also declined between 2000 and 2009 at a roughly similar rate in all three majority-minority cities. This is another factor that can lead to unsettling feelings in a community, as racial groups struggle to validate themselves through competition for jobs, status, and housing (Tepper 2011).

Each Censorship Citadel's rate of home ownership fell or remained static as poverty rose between 2000 and 2009, suggesting that the middle-classes of Houston, San Antonio, and Tampa were not growing, but losing ground. The Censorship Citadels' financial crises, combined with growing percentages of foreign-born citizens belonging to highly visible cultural groups, contributed to a struggle—whether real or

imagined—over scarce resources (Camarillo 2007) that fertilized the grounds for book challenges.

Two Censorship Citadels, Houston and San Antonio, shared similar religious climates. This finding suggested that the local megachurches (and their powerful celebrity pastors) assisted in creating a more fundamental and conservative community willing to confront anti-Christian values (Edwards 1997; Dochuk 2007). However, this "megachurch effect" may be more prevalent in Texas, since Tampa did not exhibit the same quality or quantity of megachurches as the other two Censorship Citadels.

Commonalities related to the influence of visible breaches in girls' behaviors were more difficult to definitively pinpoint among the Censorship Citadels. There was no single norm-breaking behavior that repeated itself across the cities as a harbinger of social protest. More likely, a complex interplay between girls' norm breaches, racial and ethnic changes, economic uncertainty, and religious climates best captured each city's book challenging activity.

SUMMARY

In Chapter Six's examination of the Censorship Citadel of Houston and its comparison city of New Orleans, I identified several factors that influenced Houston's propensity to challenge books between the years of 2000 and 2009. Concerning visible breaches of girls' behavior norms in Houston, the rates of births to teen girls dropped a little less than half of a percentage point over the decade. Also, girls could access abortion services with notification of a parent as opposed to consent throughout the first half of the decade and contraception was available at the Houston School Based Health Center (albeit without the guarantee of confidentiality, as discussed in the Houston

chapter). These visible norm breaches by Houston girls coalesced with potent demographic and religious factors during the 2000s that encouraged 91 challenges to 84 titles.

Houston is home to the first and second largest Protestant churches in the nation, and a celebrity pastor leads one of these megachurches. These megachurches play a powerful role in regulating community norms, especially during times of uncertainty, which was exactly what Houston experienced between 2000 and 2009. Poverty rates increased, home ownership rates were sluggish, and the portion of the population identifying as white continued to decrease as foreign-born residents poured into this majority-minority city.

Houston's city for comparison, New Orleans, was also a majority-minority city, and faced its own uncertain years in Hurricane Katrina's aftermath. The hurricane divided the city into a very different before and after landscape. Post-Hurricane Katrina was a whiter, wealthier incarnation of its previous self. In addition to an increase in whiteness and social class, New Orleans housed only three megachurches, none of which were led by a pastor with celebrity status. The only visible breach in girls' behavior that stood out in the comparison with Houston was the number of newspaper articles about girls' violence. The *Times-Picayune* covered almost twice as many stories about girls behaving violently than did the *Houston Chronicle.* However, the combination of many volatile factors in Houston (stagnant teen birth rates, economic downturns, demographic shifts, and the religious environment) outweighed the lack of newspaper stories that might have served to heighten the threat of violent girls. Though the *Times-Picayune* kept violent girls in the news, this chapter suggested that New

Orleans' rising economy and surge in the percentage of financially stable, white citizens lent to a climate of complacency, at least where books (and moral boundaries for girls) were concerned. With the exception of a children's book about a gay prince finding a husband, citizens of New Orleans did not need to express their fears over shifting boundaries by challenging literature.

The themes in the books that Houston challenged can be interpreted as generalized concerns about girls' behavior, particularly in a chaotic climate. I found that during 2000 through 2009, narratives featuring girls' agentic practices were challenged. In addition, censors targeted themes revolving around magic or the occult. As illustrated by the change from required parental notification of a minor's abortion to required consent in 2005, Houstonians moved toward stricter regulations on girls' behavior over the course of the decade. Girls needed to be reminded that they had no ownership over the bodies they inhabited.

In Chapter Seven, I documented the differences between the Censorship Citadel of San Antonio and its city for comparison, Oklahoma City. Visible breaches of girls' behavior norms in San Antonio did not look much different from Oklahoma City's. Minor girls in both cities had roughly the same level of parental involvement obstacles in order to access abortion and contraception, and both cities had identical decreasing rates of change in births to teen girls between 2000 and 2009. When I examined newspaper articles featuring stories about girls' violence, however, Oklahoma City's newspaper had produced more than quadruple the stories about violent girls than did San Antonio's newspaper. While this single factor might have predisposed Oklahoma City residents to be more concerned about girls' behavior (leading to increased book

challenges as I had originally theorized), this was not the case. As mentioned in previous chapters, I believe that using newspaper stories as proxy for the visibility of girls' violence has some validity issues that should be rectified in future research. In the meantime, similar to the situation in Houston, San Antonio's economic, demographic, and religious characteristics were what tipped the scale in terms of creating an environment facilitating the social control of girls, not the visibility of girls' behavior.

San Antonio, another majority-minority city, did not weather the tumultuous 2000s as well its comparison city. San Antonio's percentage of white residents decreased as foreign-born residents increased, and poverty increased as homeownership decreased. In the midst of chaos, San Antonio's megachurches provided a solid foundation for a community seeking answers by emphasizing fundamental, literal interpretations of Scripture. Four themes emerged from the 23 books San Antonio challenged. Interpreted through a feminist perspective, the attempt to suppress certain texts in San Antonio suggested that alternative voices in history and sisterhood were not appropriate epistemological sources for girls. In addition, much like Houston's reminder, girls must acknowledge their bodies do not belong to them. Magic, the occult, and witchcraft were designated as behavior outside appropriate boundaries for white, middle-class, Protestant girls as well. Girls were reminded, through the attempted suppression of these books, that possession of magical skills is attributable to "othered" groups that have been demonized throughout male-centric, Eurocentric history.

Oklahoma City, a majority white, solidly middle-class community, evidently did not feel motivated to challenge books throughout the 2000s. Even though over 30

articles about girls' violence were published between 2000 and 2009, this was not significant enough to raise alarm over girls' behavior, at least through book challenges.

I described the differences between the Censorship Citadel of Tampa and its comparison city, Winston-Salem, in Chapter Eight. In terms of visible breaches in girls' behavior norms, the most significant distinctions occurred in the higher number of Tampa newspaper articles about girls' violence and a minor's ability to obtain an abortion with parental notification in Tampa, as opposed to parental consent in Winston-Salem. Teens could not access contraception at school in either city, and the drop in rates of births to girls under age 18 was roughly similar in Tampa and Winston-Salem.

When examining economic factors, the two cities looked remarkably similar on paper, with the exception of the change in the rate of homeownership between 2000 and 2009. Tampa lost a considerable percentage of homeowners while Winston-Salem gained during the same period of time. Demographically speaking, both cities were majority-minority cities (although Winston-Salem did not begin 2000 as a majority-minority city) experiencing decreasing rates of white citizens. Both cities were host to a small, but relatively equal, number of megachurches, none of which were led by a celebrity pastor. These similarities leave me to assume that Tampa's heightened awareness about violent girls, combined with an uncertain economy, fostered a sense of fear about girls' behavior that resulted in 19 challenges to books.

Themes in the Tampa books of surviving abuse or neglect, disturbing the universe by questioning Christianity, and girls' autonomous bodies pointed to general anxiety about girls' behavior. The themes that Tampa residents attempted to suppress

correlated with a rising fear about violence in the community. A book featuring a high-profile Florida child abuse case and countless novels relating stories of family members abusing girls were all targeted by would-be censors. If there is a climate of violence in Tampa, what are girls to do about it? In the books, girls challenge God, they break laws, and they take control of their own bodies.

Winston-Salem challenged no books between 2000 and 2009, suggesting that the economic and demographic shifts were weathered fairly well. In fact, at the beginning of the 2000s, Winston-Salem was not a majority-minority city at all, but presented a white majority. Regulations on girls' abortions in Winston-Salem, due to North Carolina laws, were stricter than were Tampa's regulations, and no articles about girls' violence were located in the city newspaper. I suggested that Winston-Salem did not experience the same climate of trepidation about changing girls' behaviors than did Tampa, contributing to a more stable and cohesive community that felt no need to protest against books.

DISCUSSION

This project aimed to identify a relationship between city-level characteristics and the contents of books challenged by three Censorship Citadels and their comparison cities between 2000 and 2009. Working within a feminist framework, I built upwards from a base of grounded theory and past research to illustrate that the contents of these challenged books symbolized forbidden territory for girls aged 17 and under.

Literature provides a fertile ground for sociological interrogation, mainly due to the implicit messages symbolized within the pages. Works of art are the physical manifestation of a "constellation of ideas, values, and definitions about the nature of

reality" (Tepper 2011:247). Reality, a continual, contentious negotiation among societal members, requires visible markers to help delineate boundary lines and borders of communities. Those living in large municipalities assume they have a sense about the shared values, norms, and beliefs of their fellow city dwellers, even if it is a statistical impossibility to personally know every member. To use more eloquent terminology, the city is an "imagined community" (Anderson [1991] 2012) where borders are policed by some members and tested by others. One effective method of marking boundaries is through protesting literature and other art forms at local levels.

Book challenges, though a relatively rare occurrence in the United States, are notable in the context of this study mainly due to the local beliefs, values, norms, and symbols represented during a book challenge. The challenged text is considered objectionable for the *community*, not just the censor's household, not the state, and not the country. Book challenges are eminently community-specific.

I found that the contents of the books challenged by the three Censorship Citadels had direct application to girls' lived experiences. The books were guides for girls navigating the everyday terrain from childhood to womanhood, terrain that often does not have familiar normative scripts. A letter to frequently challenged author Judy Blume contained the line, "I don't know where I stand in the world…That's why I read. To find myself" (Blume 2012).

A lack of diversity among characters, however, made a strong impact on me. Reflecting other studies involving character trends in YA books (Koss and Teale 2009), the books challenged by the Censorship Citadels lacked voices from LGBTQ, nonwhite, and disability communities. Only four books across all of the Censorship Citadels dealt

with homosexual themes or characters. Two novels presented a character with disabilities, but neither book featured that character as a main protagonist. Out of 120 titles, only 13 were told from a nonwhite perspective (about 10 percent). I suggest that this lack of diversity in books is symptomatic of larger issues concerning American norms. For example, though our nation is only three decades from becoming a country in which whites form the minority (U.S. Census Bureau 2012), movies, television shows, and books rarely represent demographic reality (Miller 1998; Curry, Arriagada, Cornwell, and Jarosch 2004; Messineo 2008). Disabled characters, LGBTQ characters, and members of other marginalized populations seldom receive the privilege of heroism (or even the privilege of being normalized) in American stories.

More "tumultuous" cities banned more books in response to rapid shifts in the economy, the changing demographic makeup, the presence of influential megachurches, and visibility of girls' behavior breaches. The three Censorship Citadels spent the entire decade of the 2000s as majority-minority cities, and continued to see a decrease in the percentage identifying as white. I argue that majority-minority cities experiencing additional economic stress are among the top censors of books in the United States. Cities that were rapidly "browning" with immigrant groups that visibly clung to a home culture also happened to be top censors in this study.

The megachurch as a powerful source of community norm regulation also emerged as a significant finding in this study. In the case of the two Texas Censorship Citadels, the churches appeared to exert a strong effect on the surrounding community, offering definite answers and guidance during uncertain times. This finding supports previous research asserting that the modern role of the church is to meet the

community's social needs, including the regulation of local norms (Finke and Stark 2005; Warf and Winsberg 2010; Wilford 2010).

My findings suggest that cities who had already "clamped down" on girls' behavior previous to 2000 (e.g., implementing draconian obstacles to abortion and contraception) were less prone to carry out restrictions on reading material over the course of the decade, perhaps due to feeling secure by the regulations already in place. Concerning the other two visible symbols of girls' behavior breaches (teen births and girls' violence), the conclusions are more complex. In other words, it was not simply the visibility of a high number of births to minor mothers in Houston, it was this statistic combined with the changing racial makeup of the city, the presence of a powerful megachurch, and the rising poverty over the decade. The factors I examined in each Censorship Citadel were not additive but instead were interrelated. A series of events, experiences, rules, attitudes, and institutions had to collide in order to create the ideal atmosphere for book challenges. While I cannot point conclusively to a specific factor and argue that it was the ultimate cause of book challenges, I hope to have shed a brighter light on the forces that conspire to generate an atmosphere favorable for protesting books.

Content analysis of the challenged books revealed girls' behaviors that were considered inappropriate for the white, middle-class, Protestant girl living in one of the Censorship Citadels during the 2000s. Themes promoting girls' agency and autonomy, acquisition of sexual knowledge, sisterhood experiences, practicing magic, entertaining alternative history myths, survival, and questioning God were all beyond the bounds of behavior for "nice girls" (Greer Litton 1977). The maintenance and policing of these

particular behavior boundaries suggested that girls should be nice, good, passive, pious, domestic, pure, and submissive, constructs that serve to socially control women from an extremely young age (Welter 1966; Schur 1984). Fundamentalist churches play a vital function in the enforcement of these characteristics, regulating norms that align with traditional gender roles aimed strategically at young girls (Donovan 1998; Christopherson 1999; Clawson 2005; Sethna 2010; Sargent 2013).

A word about book challenges in general is advised due to this project's anti-censorship stance. Challenges can be viewed as evidence of a healthy, vibrant community willing to speak out for what it views as fundamental truths (Simmel 1955; Tepper 2011:255). It is possible that the three Censorship Citadels were merely more actively engaged in the democratic process than were its counterparts. The ability to openly debate right and wrong is an integral facet of democratic life that should not be dismissed. In addition, the opportunity to come together as a community and develop conversations about sexuality, religion, and politics—impolite topics among the middle-class (Schank 1977; Blum-Kulka 1990)—should be considered an asset in any local setting.

LIMITATIONS

As with most research projects, any one of a number of potential limitations can arise during the course of investigation. In the case of this particular study, a few troublesome issues presented themselves, but none threatened the overall soundness of the examination.

There may be many more factors that increase the likelihood that a community will challenge books. My study was limited in scope to the number of phenomena

included that may have influenced protest efforts. I do not intend for the characteristics I documented in each city to be definitive or comprehensive reasons for the number or type of books challenged. I recognize that cities are complex and dynamic centers of social living, with an infinite variety of characteristic combinations that give rise to book challenges.

The use of newspaper articles to document the visibility of girls' violence, as mentioned several times throughout this study, may not have been the most valid method of measurement. However, due to significant obstacles obtaining arrest records or incarceration counts in each of the six cities in order to operationalize girls' violence, I settled on newspaper searches as a measure of last resort. The use of newspaper articles as proxy for girls' violence did present a picture, albeit a fractured one, of the extent that the visibility of girls' violence reached the community between the years of 2000 and 2009. This process can be improved in future iterations of this project.

Because I worked with a feminist framework to guide this research, it is reasonable to assume that alternate themes could have emerged from the content analysis if a different social scientist attempted to replicate the findings. However, a feminist standpoint informs all of my research, therefore, all themes were filtered through this perspective in order to determine how girls might be targets of the book challenges. As gender is the primary basis for most social organizing and relationships (Acker 1992; Ridgeway 2009), I felt this perspective was extremely relevant for this project.

This research design did not incorporate the voices of girls, mainly because I focused on the structures and processes that attempted to control or define girls'

normative behaviors. Future study should follow up with anti-censorship activists, particularly those of high school age, and investigate the way in which challenged texts have positively impacted girls' lived experiences.

Research involves making choices, including not only how to study but who to study. I chose to focus on minor girls for this examination as opposed to adults, minor boys, members of the LGBTQ population, or any one of a number of groups existing in contemporary society.

This particular study was limited to three Censorship Citadels and three comparison cities with findings specific to those six municipalities. Results may not be generalizable to cities outside of these geographic regions. The inclusion of more city duos may lend additional insight into associations between community-level characteristics, book challenges, and attitudes toward girls. Speaking of cities, all of the Censorship Citadels had higher populations than their counterparts, which may have complicated the results. While I attempted to be sensitive to outcomes related to population differences between each Censorship Citadel and its comparison city, size may have played a role. However, I did pick comparison cities by modeling my selections after guidelines established by previous city comparison studies (see Chapter Five for a more thorough discussion of selection criteria), so I feel secure in the results.

A final limitation to mention lies in the many avenues by which a community might react against girls' behavior. There are certainly a wide variety of protest forms that community members aim at youth when confronted by uncertainty (e.g., establishing curfews, prohibiting certain plays or concerts, or enacting school dress codes). This examination investigated only one possible reaction to breaches in girls'

behavior norms. I acknowledge that there are many different methods a community could employ to express dissatisfaction with girls' behavior, all of which merit scholarly examination. Again, undertaking a research project means that choices must be made and my choices aligned with my personal interests.

FUTURE DIRECTION

Future plans for this dissertation include turning the work into a book-length project. To accomplish this, the addition of more Censorship Citadels would be beneficial for a number of reasons. First, adding data would enhance the process of theorization, especially since this project was based upon only three city duos. Second, supplementing the study with more cities that are not based in the South would be advantageous in order to explore possible regional differences. The current study happened to contain cities that were all considered southern cities (although many Oklahomans would hotly debate it, the Census Bureau (2007) classifies Oklahoma as part of the South).

Because I believe in disseminating academic work in accessible formats, I also plan to rewrite portions of this dissertation as blog posts or magazine articles that would be read by the general public, educational workers, and readers of all kinds (see the Policy Implications section below). I am especially interested in writing articles that profile the forms of activism[16] employed by minor girls to combat book challenges at their respective schools and libraries. Though my study took the form of unobtrusive research, voices from the dissertation's demographic subjects lacked space.

A final direction for future study includes selecting one frequently challenged title (*Catcher in the Rye* or *The Hunger Games* are popular censor targets), to

investigate the similarities among cities that attempt to censor these books. In other words, are similarities found among certain cities in the type of books challenged?

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

I intended that this project provide practical help for those facing official challenges to books (e.g., teachers, school administrators, school boards, and librarians) and for girls who like to read. In this section, I provide a few propositions that blend feminism, activism, and anti-censorship at community levels.

Local schools should be contacted to see if they currently offer courses on freedom of speech and censorship. Concerned adults who are not employed with the school can volunteer to help a teacher lead a class (gathering materials or making copies).[17] The ALA has materials on the freedom to read at their website, and will work with schools to develop curriculum. High school and junior high students should petition the creation of censorship classes if none are offered (Marsh 1991).

Girls should write, email, tweet, or find any possible way to contact favorite authors, especially if those authors are frequently challenged. Adolescence coincides with the ability to think more abstractly, solve problems, make decisions, and develop future plans (LeCroy and Daley 2001). Written communication not only aids in the process of self-discovery and empowerment (Peterson and Jones 2001), but facilitates the development of 'voice' (Henry 1998). Girls should let authors know how the book helped them relate to their own lived experiences. This is beneficial not only for girls, but for authors, who sometimes have no idea about the impact of their words until they hear from readers.

Girls can organize themselves into book clubs for the purpose of sharing critical responses to frequently challenged books. Even non-readers have shown to be receptive to an agenda that involves reading titles that have been labeled as banned (Williams 1988). Teachers, librarians, or parents can assist by providing space for this type of activity. Young girls, as this dissertation has asserted, are frequently at the mercy of others' decisions. The opportunity to join together, forming a sisterhood over banned books, can lead to empowerment and voice. Book clubs for girls could focus on female authors who are frequently banned. This would not only increase the readership of banned books, but widen the audience for female authors, who usually make only token appearances on literature course syllabi (Showalter 1971; Robinson 1983).

Residents who are concerned about censorship issues and girls' lack of access to contraception and abortion should be active participants in all state and local elections and consider running for school board positions. In the current environment where the "right" to vote is increasingly becoming the "privilege" to vote (Overton 2007; Ansolabehere and Persily 2008), it is imperative that concerned citizens' voices are heard locally.

Finally, the nation should be able to hear a diversity of voices proclaim, "I am a feminist" (Baumgartner and Richards 2000) and witness individuals contributing in practical activism that further the autonomy of girls' lives. Vote, engage with the community, volunteer, teach, and encourage a climate of literacy and critical reading.

Endnotes

[1]In this project, I am using "girls" as a term of respect and empowerment to describe unmarried, minor females (Baumgartner and Richards 2000; Riordan 2001; Gonick 2006; Pomerantz 2009).

[2] However, Heinrich Heine ([1821] 2012) prophesied, "Where they burn books, they will, in the end, burn human beings, too."

[3] I am sensitive to the fact that the use of the term "nonwhite" implies that "white" is the norm and that anything other than white is a deviation from this norm. However, in an effort to retain language that is both sensitive and consistent with the sociological literature, this project employs the usage of the term nonwhite, albeit with much reservation.

[4] Parents across the country have been employing public shaming methods to negatively sanction their teens' behavior. For example, a Florida couple punished their 13-year-old daughter by standing her at an intersection with a sign describing her rebellious attitude and poor grades (Goldstein 2013).

[5] Purity Balls are father/daughter dances during which the girls pledge to remain virgins until marriage and their fathers pledge to protect their daughters' virginity.

[6] The Adolescent Family Life Act (AFLA) is also known as "The Chastity Act." This legislation promoted self-discipline and "family-centered" morality by prohibiting the speech and wording of programs teaching sexuality to minors. The act also promoted adoption as the preferred option of teen mothers (Saul 1998).

[7] By use of the phrase "teen girls" or "teen moms" in this study, I am referring specifically to minor girls, aged 17 and under.

[8] The ALA's 24 possible categories for challenging a book are anti-ethnic, cultural insensitivity, racism, sexism, anti-family, nudity, offensive language, other offensive nature, abortion, drugs/alcohol use, gambling, inaccuracy, technical errors, homosexuality, sexual education, sexually explicit, political viewpoint, religious viewpoint, occult/Satanism, unsuited to age group, gangs, suicide, violence, and unknown. The ALA has since limited the categories to 20, but the objections to books analyzed in the timeframe of this study were categorized into 24 groups.

[9] The U.S. Census Bureau designates nine divisions in America: New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, Mountain, and Pacific Division (U.S. Census Bureau 2007).

[10] The majority of states requiring parental involvement do allow a judicial bypass in the case of medical emergencies, incest, or assault.

[11] See Chapter Five: Methods for the ALA's 24 categories.

[12] Televangelist Pat Robertson penned a fundraising letter in 1992 accusing the feminist movement of encouraging women to practice witchcraft and murder their children, among other nefarious deeds such as destroying capitalism (*New York Times* editorial 1992).

[13] Feminists generally agree that women have organized for equal rights in three distinct time periods. The "second wave" originated in the 1960s (Tong 2009).

[14] The Block et al. (2013) study telephoned all 67 county court offices in Florida to inquire about a judicial bypass on behalf of a pregnant minor friend. In 2/3 of the counties, the caller received erroneous information, incomplete information, or denial that such a procedure existed. The county courthouse in Hillsborough County, where Tampa is located, gave incomplete information about the judicial bypass process.

[15] For example, see the works of Marx.

[16] I have seen stories about students keeping secret libraries in their lockers to distribute banned books. While this sort of activism may well be urban myths fueled by the Internet, the addition of "voice" to this project would play an intriguing role.

[17] This policy suggestion assumes that "concerned adults" have both the time and the education to lead a class, something that is characteristic of the middle-class. I do want to promote policies that encompass all social locations. This particular policy, however, may not apply to all adults, e.g., non-English speakers, working parents, parents with small children, individuals with restrictive work policies, etc.

References

Abramovitz, Mimi. 1984. "Blaming Women for Unemployment: Refuting a Myth." *Social Casework* 65(9):547-53.

Abrams, Dominic, G.Tendayi Viki, Barbara Masser, and Gerd Bohner. 2003. "Perceptions of Stranger and Acquaintance Rape: The Role of Benevolent and Hostile Sexism in Victim Blame and Rape Proclivity." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84(1):111-25.

Acker, Joan. 1992. "From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions." *Contemporary Sociology* 21(5):565-69.

Adler, Christine and Anne Worrall. 2004. *Girls' Violence*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Adler, Freda. 1975. *Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Offender*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Adler, Margot. 2013. "NYC Mayor's Campaign Against Teenage Pregnancy Widely Criticized." *NPR,* March 20. Retrieved April 15, 2013 (http://www.npr.org/2013/03/20/174867735/nyc-mayors-campaign-against-teen-pregnancy-widely-criticized).

Adler, Patricia A. and Peter Adler. 2005. "Self-injurers as Loners: The Social Organization of Solitary Deviance." *Deviant Behavior* 26(4):345-78.

Akers, Carly Grace. 2012. "Which Books are Challenged More, Classics or Contemporary?" *New Library World* 113(7/8):385-95.

Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Allard, Harry. 1979. *Bumps in the Night*. New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell.

Allen, Louisa. 2005. *Sexual Subjects: Young People, Sexuality and Education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan Basingstoke.

Alliance for Audited Media. 2014. "Tier One Newspapers". Retrieved March 11, 2014 (http://www.auditedmedia.com/services/multimedia-audits/audience-snapshot/tier-one-newspapers.aspx).

Allport, Gordon W. [1954] 1979. *The Nature of Prejudice*. New York: Basic Books.

American Library Association. 2012. "Most Frequently Challenged Authors of the 21st Century". Retrieved March 29, 2013 (http://www.ala.org/advocacy/banned/frequentlychallenged/challengedauthors).

—. 2013a. "Number of Challenges by Year, Reason, Initiator & Institution (1990-2010)". Retrieved March 21, 2013 (http://www.ala.org/advocacy/banned/frequentlychallenged/stats).

—. 2013b. "The Top 100 Banned/ Challenged Books of 2000-2009". Retrieved April 1, 2013 (http://www.ala.org/bbooks/top-100-bannedchallenged-books-2000-2009).

Ames, Christine Caldwell. 2009. *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Anderson, Benedict. [1991] 2012. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Old Saybrook, CT: Tantor Media, Incorporated.

Anggard, Eva. 2005. "Barbie Princesses and Dinosaur Dragons: Narration as a Way of Doing Gender." *Gender and Education* 17(5):539-53.

Ansolabehere, Stephen and Nathaniel Persily. 2008. "Vote Fraud in the Eye of the Beholder: The Role of Public Opinion in the Challenge to Voter Identification Requirements." *Harvard Law Review* 121(7):1737-74.

Armitage, Christopher J. and Luke Talibudeen. 2010. "Test of a Brief Theory of Planned Behaviour-Based Intervention to Promote Adolescent Safe Sex Intentions." *British Journal of Psychology* 101(1):155-72.

Arney, William Ray and Bernard J. Bergen. 1984. "Power and Visibility: The Invention of Teenage Pregnancy." *Social Science & Medicine* 18(1):11-19.

Aronowitz, Nona Willis. 2013. "San Antonio's Simple Appeal to Millennials: Diversity, Decent Jobs, and Cheap Living." *The Atlantic Cities*, November 5. Retrieved on March 23, 2014 (http://www.theatlanticcities.com/jobs-and-economy/2013/11/san-antonios-simple-appeal-diversity-decent-jobs-and-cheap-living/7468/).

Artz, Sibylle. 1998. *Sex, Power, and the Violent School Girl*. New York: Teachers' College Press.

Atwood, Margaret. 1984. "Wondering What It's Like to be a Woman." Pp. 1 in *The New York Times*, May 13. Retrieved April 1, 2014 (http://www.nytimes.com/books/97/04/06/lifetimes/updike-eastwickatwood.html).

Avi. 1984. *The Fighting Ground*. New York: J.P. Lippincott.

—. [1990] 2010 *Something Upstairs*. New York: Scholastic Press.

Babbie, Earl. 2005. *The Basics of Social Research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Barker, Eirlys. 1986. "'A Sneaky, Cowardly Enemy': Tampa's Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1887-88." *Tampa Bay History* 8(2):4-22.

Barker, Martin and Julian Petley. 2001. *Ill Effects: The Media Violence Debate*. New York: Routledge.

Barnes, Marguerite Johnston. 1991. *Houston: The Unknown City, 1836-1946*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.

Bartky, Sandra Lee. 2003. "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power." Pp. 93-111 in *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance, & Behavior*, edited by R. Weitz. New York: Oxford University Press.

Baumgartner, Jennifer and Amy Richards. 2000. *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism, and the Future*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Baylor College of Medicine. 2014. "School-Based Clinics Program: Harris Health System School-Based Clinics." Retrieved January 15, 2014 (https://http://www.bcm.edu/departments/family-and-community-medicine/?pmid=8479).

BBC News. 2001. "'Satanic' Harry Potter Books Burnt." in *BBC News World Edition*, December 31. Retrieved March 29, 2014 (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/1735623.stm).

Bean, Frank D. and Gillian Stevens. 2003. *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Becker, Howard S. 1963. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: Free Press.

Belknap, Joanne. 1996. *The Invisible Woman: Gender, Crime, and Justice*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Bender, Andrew. 2014. "In Oklahoma City, Re-Imagined Landmarks." *The Los Angeles Times*, February 24. Retrieved March 21, 2014 (http://www.okcchamber.com/index.php?src=news&submenu=OKCInTheHeadlines&srctype=detail&category=Oklahoma%20City&refno=676).

Benshoof, Janet. 1988. "The Chastity Act: Government Manipulation of Abortion Information and the First Amendment." *Harvard Law Review* 101(8):1916-37.

Berg, Bruce L. and H. Lune. 2011. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

Berger, Peter L. 1967. *The Sacred Canopy*. Garden City, NY: Anchor.

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York: Anchor.

Bettie, Julie. 2003. *Women without Class: Girls, Race, and Identity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Billy, John O. G., Karin L. Brewster, and William R. Grady. 1994. "Contextual Effects on the Sexual Behavior of Adolescent Women." *Journal of Marriage & Family* 56(2):387-404.

Bird, Warren and Scott Thumma. 2011. "A New Decade of Megachurches." Hartford Institute for Religion Research, Hartford, CT.

Bissell, Mary. 2000. "Socio-Economic Outcomes of Teen Pregnancy and Parenthood: A Review of the Literature." *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* 9(3):191-204.

Blank, Hanne. 2007. *Virgin: The Untouched History*. New York: Bloomsbury USA.

Block, Amanda, Audrey Easterwood, Samantha Kohl, Julie Le, Charlotte Myers, Erin Pavacik, and Megan Saumier-Smith. 2013. "Judicial Bypass in Florida: Testing the Pro-Choice Compromise." University of Michigan.

Blum, R. W., T. Beuhring, M. L. Shew, L. H. Bearinger, R. E. Sieving, and M. D. Resnick. 2000. "The Effects of Race/Ethnicity, Income, and Family Structure on Adolescent Risk Behaviors." *American Journal of Public Health* 90(12):1879-84.

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana. 1990. "You Don't Touch Lettuce with Your Fingers: Parental Politeness in Family Discourse." *Journal of Pragmatics* 14(2):259-88.

Blume, Judy. 1975. *Forever*. New York: Atheneum Books.

—. 2012. "Judy Blume Talks about Censorship". Retrieved March 30, 2013 (http://www.judyblume.com/censorship.php).

—. [1970] 2001. *Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret*. New York: Antheneum.

Bogan, Jesse. 2009. "In Pictures: America's Megachurches." *Forbes*, June 26. Retrieved December 18, 2013 (http://www.forbes.com/2009/06/26/americas-biggest-megachurches-business-megachurches_slide_2.html).

Bogdan, Deanne. 1992. *Re-Educating the Imagination*. Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook Publishers.

Boonstra, Heather and Elizabeth Nash. 2000. "Minors and the Right to Consent to Health Care." New York: Guttmacher Institute.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2013. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. New York: Routledge.

Briggs, Raymond. [1970] 1997. *Jim and the Beanstalk*. New York: Putnam and Grossett.

Brown, Lawrence A., John Odland, and Reginald G. Golledge. 1970. "Migration, Functional Distance, and the Urban Hierarchy." *Economic Geography* 46(3):472-85.

Browning, Christopher R., Tama Leventhal, and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn. 2005. "Sexual Initiation in Early Adolescence: The Nexus of Parental and Community Control." *American Sociological Review* 70(5):758-78.

Brownmiller, Susan. 1975. *Against Our Will : Men, Women, and Rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Buhi, Eric R., Patricia Goodson, Torsten B. Neilands, and Heather Blunt. 2011. "Adolescent Sexual Abstinence: A Test of an Integrative Theoretical Framework." *Health Education & Behavior* 38(1):63-79.

Butcher, Kristin F. and David Card. 1991. "Immigration and Wages: Evidence from the 1980s." *The American Economic Review* 81(2):292-6.

Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge.

Camarillo, Albert M. 2007. "Cities of Color: The New Racial Frontier in California's Minority-Majority Cities." *Pacific Historical Review* 76(1):1-28.

Caputo, Richard K. 2009. "Adolescent Sexual Debut: A Multi-System Perspective of Ethnic and Racial Differences." *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 19(4):330-58.

Carle, Eric. 1998. *Draw Me a Star*. New York: Philomel Books.

Cauchon, Dennis. 2009. "Oklahoma City Defies Recession." in *USA Today*. Retrieved March 27, 2014 (http://abcnews.go.com/Business/story?id=8306904&page=1).

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 2013. "Teen Birth Rates Drop, But Disparities Persist". Retrieved February 6, 2014 (http://www.cdc.gov/features/dsTeenPregnancy/).

Charmaz, Kathy. 1990. "'Discovering' Chronic Illness: Using Grounded Theory." *Social Science & Medicine.* 30(11):1161-72.

—. 2008. "The Legacy of Anselm Strauss in Constructivist Grounded Theory" Pp. 127-41 in *Studies in Symbolic Interaction,* edited by Norma K. Denzin, James Salvo, and Myra Washington. Cambridge, MA: Emerald Group Publishing.

—. 2014. *Constructing Grounded Theory.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chastagner, Claude. 1999. "The Parents' Music Resource Center: From Information to Censorship." *Popular Music* 18(2):179-92.

Chesler, Ellen. 2007. *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks.

Chesney-Lind, Meda. 1989. "Girls' Crime and Woman's Place: Toward a Feminist Model of Female Delinquency." *Crime & Delinquency* 35(1):5-29.

—. 2006. "Patriarchy, Crime, and Justice: Feminist Criminology in an Era of Backlash." *Feminist Criminology* 1(1):6-26.

Chesney-Lind, Meda and Michele Eliason. 2006. "From Invisible to Incorrigible: The Demonization of Marginalized Women and Girls." *Crime, Media, Culture* 2(1):29-47.

Chesney-Lind, Meda and Katherine Irwin. 2008. *Beyond Bad Girls: Gender, Violence, and Hype*. New York: Routledge.

Choo, Hae Yeon and Myra Marx Ferree. 2010. "Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities." *Sociological Theory* 28(2):129-49.

Christopherson, Neal. 1999. "Accommodation and Resistance in Religious Fiction: Family Structures and Gender Roles." *Sociology of Religion* 60(4):439-55.

Cisneros, Sandra. 2014. "Sandra Cisneros". Retrieved February 14, 2014 (http://www.sandracisneros.com/).

Clark, Sheryl and Carrie Paechter. 2007. "'Why Can't Girls Play Football?' Gender Dynamics and the Playground." *Sport, Education and Society* 12(3):261-76.

Clawson, Laura. 2005. "Cowboys and Schoolteachers: Gender in Romance Novels, Secular and Christian." *Sociological Perspectives* 48(4):461-79.

Clegg, Cyndia Susan. 2011. "Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England: The Subtle Art of Division." *The Scriblerian and the Kit-Cats* 44(1):84-6.

Cochran, John K. and Leonard Beeghley. 1991. “The Influence of Religion on Attitudes toward Nonmarital Sexuality: A Preliminary Assessment of Reference Group Therapy.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religon* 30(1):45-62.

Cohen, Jack. 1990. "Here be Dragons." *Journal of Biological Education* 24(3):158-60.

Colaner, Colleen Warner and Steven M. Giles. 2008. "The Baby Blanket or the Briefcase: The Impact of Evangelical Gender Role Ideologies on Career and Mothering Aspirations of Female Evangelical College Students." *Sex Roles* 58(7-8):526-34.

Colman, Silvie and Ted Joyce. 2009. "Minors' Behavioral Responses to Parental Involvement Laws: Delaying Abortion until Age 18." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 41(2):119-26.

Common Core State Standards. 2010. "English Language Arts & Literacy in History, Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects: Appendix B: Text Exemplars and Sample Performance Tasks." Retrieved April 3, 2013 (http://www.corestandards.org/assets/Appendix_B.pdf).

Connell, John. 2005. "Hillsong: A Megachurch in the Sydney Suburbs." *Australian Geographer* 36(3):315-32.

Cook, Jennifer R., Sharon S. Rostosky, and Ellen D.B. Riggle. 2013. "Gender Role Models in Fictional Novels for Emerging Adult Lesbians." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 17(2):150-66.

Coontz, Stephanie. 2005. *Marriage, A History*. New York: Penguin.

Cormier, Robert. [1974] 2000. *The Chocolate War*. New York: Dell Laurel-Leaf.

Cornerstone Church. 2014a. "Pastor Hagee: Senior Pastor Cornerstone Church". Retrieved March 23, 2014 (http://www.sacornerstone.org/about-johnhagee).

—. 2014b. "Welcome to CUFI Kids". Retrieved March 25, 2014 (http://www.cufi.org/site/PageServer?pagename=kids_homepage).

Crisp, Thomas. 2009. "From Romance to Magical Realism: Limits and Possibilities in Gay Adolescent Fiction." *Children's Literature in Education* 40(4):333-48.

Cru. 2013. "Cru Historical Fact Sheet". Retrieved May 22, 2013 (http://www.demossnews.com/ccci/additional/cru_historical_fact_sheet).

Crutcher, Chris. 1993. *Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes*. New York: Greenwillow Books.

—. 2003. *Running Loose*. New York: Greenwillow Books

Curry, Ann. 2001. "Where Is Judy Blume? Controversial Fiction for Older Children and Young Adults." *Journal of Youth Services in Libraries* 14(3):28-37.

Curry, Timothy Jon, Paula A. Arriagada, Benjamin Cornwell, and Jeff Jarosch. 2004. "Richer and Whiter: How Publishers of Popular Magazines Construct Their Readerships for Advertisers." *Sociological Focus* 37(2):127-41.

Curtis, Mary C. 2013. "Mommy and Daddy State? N.C. Bill would Require Parental Consent for Birth Control, STD Treatment." *Washington Post*, May 9. Retrieved April 1, 2014 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/she-the-people/wp/2013/05/09/mommy-and-daddy-state-n-c-bill-would-require-parental-okay-for-birth-control-std-treatment/).

Da Silva Zago, Gabriela and Marco Toledo Bastos. 2013. "Visibility of News Items on Twitter and Facebook: Comparative of the Most Replicated News in Europe and the Americas." *Brazilian Journalism Research* 9(1):114-31.

Dailard, Cynthia and Chinue Turner Richardson. 2005. "Teenagers' Access to Confidential Health Services." The Guttmacher Institute. Retrieved April 30, 2013 (http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/tgr/08/4/gr080406.html).

Daly, Kathleen and Meda Chesney-Lind. 1988. "Feminism and Criminology." *Justice Quarterly* 5(4):497-538.

Daly, Mary. 1985. *Beyond God the Father*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Davila, Joanne, Catherine B. Stroud, Melissa Ramsay Miller, Athena Yoneda, and Rachel Hershenberg. 2009. "Romantic and Sexual Activities, Parent, Adolescent Stress, and Depressive Symptoms Among Early Adolescent Girls." *Journal of Adolescence* 32(4):909-24.

Davis, Kathy. 2008. "Intersectionality as Buzzword." *Feminist Theory* 9(1):67-85.

de Beauvoir, Simone. [1952] 1989. *The Second Sex*. Translated by H. M. Parshley. New York: Vintage.

De Hahn, Linda. 2003. *King and King.* Berkeley, CA: Tricycle Press.

Deacon, David. 2007. "Yesterday's Papers and Today's Technology: Digital Newspaper Archives and 'Push Button' Content Analysis." *European Journal of Communication* 22(1):5-25.

Deckman, Melissa M. 2004. *School Board Battles: The Christian Right in Local Politics*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

DeLamater, John. 1981. "The Social Control of Sexuality." *Annual Review of Sociology* 7:263-90

Demo, David H. 1992. "Parent-Child Relations: Assessing Recent Changes." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 54(1):104-17.

dePaola, Tomie. 1975. *Strega Nona*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

DiCamillo, Mark. 1988. "The California Poll." The Field Institution, San Francisco, CA. Release #1451.

Dill, Bonnie Thornton. 1983. "Race, Class, and Gender: Prospects for an All-Inclusive Sisterhood." *Feminist Studies* 9(1):131-50.

Dimmick, Iris. 2013. "Teen Pregnancies Falling in San Antonio, But City Still Lags Nation." *The Rivard Report*, December 11. Retrieved March 27, 2014 (http://therivardreport.com/teen-pregnancies-falling-in-san-antonio-but-city-still-lags-behind-national-average/).

Dochuk, Darren. 2003. "'Praying for a Wicked City:' Congregation, Community, and the Suburbanization of Fundamentalism." *Religion & American Culture* 13(2):167-203.

Dodge, Brian, Michael Reece, and Debby Herbenick. 2009. "School-Based Condom Education and Its Relations with Diagnoses of and Testing for Sexually Transmitted Infections among Men in the United States." *American Journal of Public Health* 99(12):2180-82.

Donelson, Kenneth L. 1981. "Shoddy and Pernicious Books and Youthful Purity: Literary and Moral Censorship, Then and Now." *The Library Quarterly* 51(1):4-19.

Donovan, Brian. 1998. "Political Consequences of Private Authority: Promise Keepers and the Tansformation of Hegemonic Masculinity." *Theory and Society* 27(6):817-43.

Dresser, Rebecca. 2007. "From Double Standard to Double Bind: Informed Choice in Abortion Law." *The George Washington Law Review* 76(6):1599-622.

Durkheim, Emile. [1893] 1933. *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York: Macmillan.

—. [1895] 1938. *The Rules of Sociological Method*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

—. [1897] 1951. *Suicide*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

—. [1912] 1965. *The Elementary Forms of The Religious Life*. Translated by J. W. Swain. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Ebaugh, Helen Rose Fuchs and C. Allen Haney. 1978. "Church Attendance and Attitudes toward Abortion: Differentials in Liberal and Conservative Churches." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17(4):407-13.

Edgell, Penny. 2006. *Religion and Family in a Changing Society.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Edin, Kathryn and Maria Kefalas. 2011. *Promises I Can Keep: Why Poor Women Put Motherhood before Marriage*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Editorial. 1992. "Robertson Letter Attacks Feminists." *New York Times*. August 22. Retrieved January 29, 2014 (http://www.nytimes.com/1992/08/26/us/robertson-letter-attacks-feminists.html).

Edles, Laura Desfor. 2002. *Cultural Sociology in Practice*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Edwards, June. 1997. *Opposing Censorship in Public Schools: Religion, Morality, and Literature*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Ehrenreich, Barbara. 2001. *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting by in America*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Ehrenreich, Barbara and Deirdre English. 1978. *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women*. New York: Doubleday.

Ellingson, Stephen, Nelson Tebbe, Martha Van Haitsma, and Edward O. Laumann. 2001. "Religion and the Politics of Sexuality." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 30(1):3-55.

Elliott, James R. and Jeremy Pais. 2006. "Race, Class, and Hurricane Katrina: Social Differences in Human Responses to Disaster." *Social Science Research* 35(2):295-321.

Erikson, Kai T. 1966. *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Ethier, Kathleen A., Patricia J. Dittus, Christine J. DeRosa, Emily Q. Chung, Esteban Martinez, and Peter R. Kerndt. 2011. "School-Based Health Center Access, Reproductive Health Care, and Contraceptive Use among Sexually Experienced High School Students." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 48(6):562-5.

Faulk, Jodie B., Laura E. Faulk, and Bob L. Blackburn. 1988. *Oklahoma City: A Centennial Portrait*. Brightwaters, NY: Windsor Publications, Inc.

Ferguson, Ann. 1984. "Sex War: The Debate between Radical and Libertarian Feminists." *Signs* 10(1):106-112.

Ferguson, Christopher J. 2013. "Violent Video Games and the Supreme Court." *American Psychologist* 68(2):57-74.

Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark. 2005. *The Churching of America: 1776-2005*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Florida Supreme Court. 2003. "North Florida Women's Health and Counseling Services, Inc., et al., vs. State of Florida." Ruling No. SC01-843.

Foerstel, Herbert N. 1994. *Banned in the USA: A Reference Guide to Book Censorship in Schools and Public Libraries*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Foltz, Tanice G. 2000. "Women's Spirituality Research: Doing Feminism." *Sociology of Religion* 61(4):409-18.

Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon.

—. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

—. 1978. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Random House.

Frank, E.R. 2000. *Life is Funny*. New York: Puffin.

Frank, Phyllis B. and Gail Kadison Golden. 1992. "Blaming by Naming: Battered Women and the Epidemic of Codependence." *Social Work* 37(1):5-6.

Franzosi, Roberto. 1987. "The Press as a Source of Socio-historical Data: Issues in the Methodology of Data Collection from Newspapers." *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 20(1):5-16.

Freedman, Lauren and Holly Johnson. 2000. "Who's Protecting Whom? 'I Hadn't Meant to Tell You This,' a Case in Point in Confronting Self-Censorship in the Choice of Young Adult Literature." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 44(4):356-69.

Freiburger, Tina L. and Alison S. Burke. 2011. "Status Offenders in the Juvenile Court: The Effects of Gender, Race, and Ethnicity on the Adjudication Decision." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 9(4):352-65.

Freire, Paulo. 1982. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Furstenberg Jr., Frank F. 1991. "As the Pendulum Swings: Teenage Childbearing and Social Concern." *Family Relations* 40(2):127-38.

Fussell, Elizabeth. 2007. "Constructing New Orleans, Constructing Race: A Population History of New Orleans." *The Journal of American History* 94(3):846-55.

Gans, Herbert J. 1995. *The War Against the Poor: The Underclass and Antipoverty Policy*. New York: Basic Books.

Garrett, Clarke. 1977. "Women and Witches: Patterns of Analysis." *Signs* 3(2):461-70.

Geertz, Clifford. [1972] 2000. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" Pp. 3-30 in *The Interpretations of Cultures: Selected Essays*, edited by C. Geertz. New York: Basic Books.

Genzuk, Michael. 2003. "A Synthesis of Ethnographic Research." in *Occasional Papers Series*, edited by M. R. Center for Multilingual. Los Angeles: Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Research. Retrieved April 30, 2013 (http://www.rtim.org/downloads/Genzuk%20A%20Synthesis%20of%20Ethnographic%20Research.pdf)

George, Jean Craighead. 1972. *Julie of the Wolves*. New York: Harper and Row.

Gerth, H.H. and C. Wright Mills. 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Glaser, Barney and Anselm Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Co.

Gleeson, Kate and Hannah Frith. 2004. "Pretty in Pink: Young Women Presenting Mature Sexual Identities." Pp. 104-14 in *All About the Girl: Culture, Power, and Identity*, edited by A. Harris. New York: Routledge.

Godfrey, Barry. 2004. "Rough Girls, 1880-1930: The 'Recent' History of Violent Young Women." Pp. 21-40 in *Girls' Violence: Myths and Realities*, edited by C. Alder and A. Worrall. New York: State University of New York Press.

Goldstein, Sasha. 2013. "Public Shaming of Saucy 13-Year-Old Florida Girl a 'Desperate Attempt' to Show Love, Parents Say." *New York Daily News*, March 30. Retrieved May 28, 2013 (http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/florida-parents-publicly-shame-13-year-old-girl-sign-article-1.1294558).

Gomez, Laura E. 1997. *Misconceiving Mothers: Legislators, Prosecutors, and the Politics of Prenatal Drug Exposure, Gender, Family and the Law*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Gonick, Marnina. 2006. "Between 'Girl Power' and 'Reviving Ophelia:' Constituting the Neoliberal Girl Subject." *NWSA Journal* 18(2):1-23.

Gonsoulin, Margaret and Anjeanette LeBoeuf. 2010. "Intra-Group Variation in Conservative Christians' Gender Ideologies (1972-2006)." *The Social Science Journal.* 47(1):225-36.

Gooden, Angela M. and Mark A. Gooden. 2001. "Gender Representation in Notable Children's Picture Books: 1995-1999." *Sex Roles* 45(1-2):89-101.

Gordon, Tamar and Mary Hancock. 2005. "'The Crusade is the Vision': Branding Charisma in a Global Pentecostal Ministry." *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 1(3):386-403.

Greater Houston Partnership. 2013. "2013 Houston Facts." Retrieved December 9, 2013 (http://www.houston.org/economy/).

Greater Tampa Chamber of Commerce. 2014. "About Tampa: Business Climate." Retrieved February 27, 2014 (http://www.tampachamber.com/About-Tampa/Business-Climate.aspx).

Green, Jonathon and Nicholas J. Karolides. 2009. *Encyclopedia of Censorship*. New York: Infobase Publishing.

Greenberg, Anna. 2000. "The Church and the Revitalization of Politics and Community." *Political Science Quarterly* 115(3):377-94.

Greenberg, Marc H. 2011. "Comics, Courts & Controversy: A Case Study of the Comic Book Legal Defense Fund." in *Golden Gate University School of Law Digital Commons*. Golden Gate University School of Law. Retrieved April 30, 2013 (http://works.bepress.com/marc_greenberg/3).

Greene, Bette. 1973. *Summer of my German Soldier*. New York: Dial Press.

Greer Litton, Fox. 1977. "'Nice Girl': Social Control of Women through a Value Construct." *Signs* 2(4):805-17.

Groen, Jeffrey A. and Anne E. Polivka. 2008. "Hurricane Katrina Evacuees: Who They Are, Where They Are, and How They Are Faring." *Monthly Labor Review* 131. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Gusfield, Joseph R. 1976. *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and The American Temperance Movement*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Guttmacher Institute. 2000. "An Overview of Abortion Laws." Guttmacher Institute, New York.

—. 2001. "Minors' Access to Contraceptive Services." Guttmacher Institute, New York.

—. 2005. "An Overview of Abortion Laws." Guttmacher Institute, New York.

—. 2008. "State Data Center". Retrieved April 3, 2014 (http://www.guttmacher.org/datacenter/table.jsp).

—. 2009. "An Overview of Abortion Laws." Guttmacher Institute, New York.

—. 2013. "About the Guttmacher Institute". Retrieved April 4, 2013 (http://www.guttmacher.org/about/index.html).

—. 2014a. "State Reproductive Health Profile: Florida". Retrieved March 6, 2014 (http://www.guttmacher.org/datacenter/profiles/FL.jsp).

—. 2014b. "State Reproductive Health Profile: North Carolina". Retrieved March 7, 2014 (http://www.guttmacher.org/datacenter/profiles/NC.jsp).

—. 2014c. "State Reproductive Health Profile: Oklahoma". Retrieved March 7, 2014 (http://www.guttmacher.org/datacenter/profiles/OK.jsp).

—. 2014d. "State Reproductive Health Profile: Texas". Retrieved March 7, 2014 (http://www.guttmacher.org/datacenter/profiles/TX.jsp).

Hajdu, David. 2008. *The Ten-Cent Plague: The Great Comic-Book Scare and How It Changed America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Hall, H. Irene, Lorena Espinoza, Nanette Benbow, and Yunyin W. Hu. 2010. "Epidemiology of HIV Infection in Large Urban Areas in the United States." *PLoS One*, vol. 5. Retrieved May 10, 2013 (http://www.plosone.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pone.0012756).

Harer, John B. and Steven R. Harris. 1994. *Censorship of Expression in the 1980s: A Statistical Survey*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Harris, Anita. 2004. *All About the Girl: Culture, Power, and Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Hartford Institute for Religion Studies. 2011. "Megachurch Database". Retrieved July 22, 2013 (http://hirr.hartsem.edu/megachurch/database.html).

Haughney, Christine. 2013. "After Pinpointing Gun Owners, Paper is a Target." P. A1 in *The New York Times*, January 6. Retrieved January 14, 2014 (http://people.sju.edu/~ggrevera/se/privacyIssues/NYTimes-After%20Pinpointing%20Gun%20Owners,%20Journal%20News%20Is%20a%20Target.pdf).

Heine, Heinrich. [1821] 2012. *Almansor (Erweiterte Ausgabe)*. Germany: Jazzybee Verlag.

Heins, Marjorie. 2007. *Not in Front of the Children: Indecency, Censorship, and the Innocence of Youth*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Henry, Annette. 1998. "'Speaking Up,' and 'Speaking Out': Examining 'Voice' in a Reading/Writing Program with Adolescent African Caribbean Girls." *Journal of Literacy Research* 30(2):233-52.

Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. 2014. "State Ultrasound Requirements in Abortion Procedure". Retrieved March 17, 2014 (http://kff.org/womens-health-policy/state-indicator/ultrasound-requirements/).

Hewitt, Nancy A. 1985. "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood: American Women's History in the 1980s." *Social History* 10(3):299-321.

Hill Collins, Patricia. 1989. "The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought." *Signs* 14(4):745-73.

—. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought : Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.

Hill, Rebecca 2011. "Common Core Curriculum and Complex Texts." *Teacher Librarian* 38(3):42-6.

Hobbs, Georgina F., Christopher J. Hobbs, and Jane M. Wynne. 1999. "Abuse of Children in Foster and Residential Care." *Child Abuse and Neglect* 23(12):1239-52.

Hofferth, Sandra L., Joan R. Kahn, and Wendy Baldwin. 1987. "Premarital Sexual Activity among U.S. Teenage Women over the Past Three Decades." *Family Planning Perspectives* 19(2):46-53.

Hoffner, Cynthia and Martha Buchanan. 2002. "Parents' Responses to Television Violence: The Third-Person Perception, Parental Mediation, and Support for Censorship." *Media Psychology* 4(3):231-52.

Holder, David W., Robert H. DuRant, Treniece L. Harris, Jessica Henderson Daniel, Dawn Obeidallah, and Elizabeth Goodman. 2000. "The Association between

Adolescent Spirituality and Voluntary Sexual Activity." *The Journal of Adolescent Health* 26(4):295-302.

hooks, bell. 1986. "Sisterhood: Political Solidarity between Women." *Feminist Review* 23:125-38.

—. 1992. "Selling Hot Pussy: Representations of Black Female Sexuality in the Cultural Marketplace." Pp. 113-28 in *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, edited by b. hooks. Boston: South End Press.

—. 2000. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. London: Pluto Press.

Hull, Gloria T., Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith. 1982. *All the Women are White, all the Blacks are Men, but Some of Us are Brave: Black Women's Studies*. Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press.

Hunter, James Davison. 1983. *American Evangelicalism: Conservative Religion and the Quandary of Modernity*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

—. 1991. *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*. New York: Basic Books.

Irvine, Janice M. 2006. "Emotional Scripts of Sex Panics." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 3(3):82-94.

Irwin, Katherine and Meda Chesney-Lind. 2008. "Girls' Violence: Beyond Dangerous Masculinity." *Sociology Compass* 2(3):837-55.

Isley, Michelle M., Alison Edelman, Bliss Kaneshiro, Dawn Peters, Mark D. Nichols, and Jeffrey T. Jensen. 2010. "Sex Education and Contraceptive Use at Coital Debut in the United States: Results from Cycle 6 of the National Survey of Family Growth." *Contraception* 82(3):236-42.

Ivory, James D. and Sriram Kalyanaraman. 2009. "Video Games Make People Violent. Well, Maybe Not That Game: Effects of Content and Person Abstraction on Perceptions of Violent Video Games' Effects and Support of Censorship." *Communication Reports* 22(1):1-12.

Jane's Due Process. 2014. "Jane's Due Process". Retrieved January 14, 2014 (http://janesdueprocess.org/).

Jencks, Christopher. 1991. "What is the Underclass-And is it Growing?" Pp. 28-40 in *The Urban Underclass*, edited by C. Jencks and P. E. Peterson. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Jenkins, Christine. 1998. "From Queer to Gay and Back Again: Young Adult Novels with Gay/Lesbian/Queer Content 1969-1997." *Library Quarterly* 68:298-334.

Jenkins, Philip. 2011. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, Philip and Daniel Maier-Katkin. 1992. "Satanism: Myth and Reality in a Contemporary Moral Panic." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 17(1):53-75.

Jensen, Inger W. and Barbara A. Gutek. 1982. "Attributions and Assignment of Responsibility in Sexual Harassment." *Journal of Social Issues* 38(4):121-36.

Joel Osteen Ministries. 2014. "About Joel Osteen Ministries". Retrieved March 25, 2014 (http://www.joelosteen.com/Pages/About.aspx).

Johnson Jr., James H., Walter C. Farrell Jr., and Chandra Guinn. 1997. "Immigration Reform and the Browning of America: Tensions, Conflicts and Community Instability in Metropolitan Los Angeles." *International Migration Review* 31(4):1055-95.

Jones, Carolyn. 2013. "Getting Mom's Permission." *Texas Observer*, July 30. Retrieved January 14, 2014 (http://www.texasobserver.org/getting-moms-permission/).

Jones, Richard C. 2003. "The Segregation of Ancestry Groups in San Antonio." *The Social Science Journal* 40(2):213-32.

Jones, Steve. 1991. "Ban(ned) in the USA: Popular Music and Censorship." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 15(1):73-87.

Jordan, Sherryl. 2002. *The Hunting of the Last Dragon*. New York: HarperCollins.

Joyce, Ted. 2010. "Parental Consent for Abortion and the Judicial Bypass Option in Arkansas: Effects and Correlates." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 42(3):168-75.

Joyce, Theodore, Robert Kaestner, and Silvie Colman. 2006. "Changes in Abortions and Births and the Texas Parental Notification Law." *New England Journal of Medicine* 354(10):1031-38.

Jukes, Mavis. 1984. *Like Jake and Me*. New York: Knopf.

—. 1996. *It's a Girl Thing: How to Stay Healthy, Safe, and In Charge*. New York: Knopf.

Juszczak, Linda, John Schlitt, Michelle Odlum, Caroline Barangan, and Deirdre Washington. 2003. "2001-2002 National School-Based Health Care Census." National Assembly on School-Based Health Care. Washington, D.C.

Kahn, Matthew E. 2001. "Does Sprawl Reduce the Black/White Housing Consumption Gap?" *Housing Policy Debate* 12(1):77-86.

Kahn, Joan R., William D. Kalsbeek, and Sandra L. Hoffferth. 1988. “National Estimates of Teenage Sexual Activity: Evaluating the Comparability of Three National Surveys.” *Demography* 25(2):189-204.

Kantor, Leslie M., John S. Santelli, Julien Teitler, and Randall Balmer. 2008. "Abstinence-Only Policies and Programs: An Overview." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 5(3):6-17.

Karnes, Kimberly, Wayne McIntosh, and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2007. "Mighty Fortresses: Explaining the Spatial Distribution of American Megachurches." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 46(2):261-68.

Kavanagh, Erin K., Lee A. Hasselbacher, Brittany Betham, Sigrid Tristan, and Melissa L. Gilliam. 2012. "Abortion-Seeking Minors' Views on the Illinois Parental

Notification Law: A Qualitative Study." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 44(3):159-66.

Kelley, Harold H. and John L. Michela. 1980. "Attribution Theory and Research." *Annual Review of Psychology* 31(1):457-501.

Kelly, Deirdre M. 1996. "Stigma Stories: Four Discourses About Teen Mothers, Welfare, and Poverty." *Youth & Society* 27(4):421-49.

—. 2000. *Pregnant with Meaning: Teen Mothers and the Politics of Inclusive Schooling*. New York: Peter Lang.

Kench, Brian T. 2010. "The Great Recession's Impact on the Tampa Bay Economy." in *Florida Economic Symposium*. Tampa, FL: University of Tampa.

Kerstein, Robert. 2001. *Politics and Growth in Twentieth-Century Tampa*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.

Kidd, Kenneth. 2009. "'Not Censorship but Selection:' Censorship and/as Prizing." *Children's Literature in Education* 40:197-216.

Kimmel, Michael S. 2004. "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity." Pp. 81-93 in *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study.*, edited by P. S. Rothenberg. New York: Worth.

Kirby, Douglas. 2002. "The Impact of Schools and School Programs upon Adolescent Sexual Behavior." *Journal of Sex Research* 39(1):27-33.

Kite-Powell, Rodney and Elizabeth Laramie Dunham. N.d. "Brief History of Hillsborough County, Florida." Tampa Bay History Center, Tampa, FL. Retrieved February 2, 2014 (http://tampabayhistorycenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/hillsborough-history-essay.pdf).

Klineberg, Stephen and The Center for Houston's Future. 2006. "An Historical Overview of Immigration in Houston, Based on the Houston Area Survey." Center for Houston's Survey, Houston, TX. Retrieved on January 24, 2014 (file:///Users/amielizabeth1/Downloads/SLKonImmigration2008PDF.pdf).

Knox, Emily J.M. 2014. "The Geography of Censorship: Communities, Challengers, and Harry Potter." Pp. 628-34 in *iConference 2014 Proceedings*.

Koehn, Donna. 2007. "Hype Over More Violent Girls Lacks Statistics To Back It Up." *Tampa Tribune*, December 16. Tampa, FL. Retrieved February 15, 2014 (http://florida-issues.blogspot.com/2007/12/hype-over-more-violent-girls-lacks.html).

Kohn, Melvin L. 1959. "Social Class and Parental Values." *American Journal of Sociology* 64(4):337-51.

Konigsburg, E.L. . 1967. *Jennifer, Hecate, Macbeth, William McKinley, and Me, Elizabeth*. New York: Atheneum.

Kosmin, Barry A. and Ariela Keysar. 2009. "American Religious Identification Survey." Trinity College, Hartford, CT. Retrieved May 16, 2013 (http://commons.trincoll.edu/aris/files/2011/08/ARIS_Report_2008.pdf).

Koss, Melanie D and William H Teale. 2009. "What's Happening in YA Literature? Trends in Books for Adolescents." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 52(7):563-72.

Krupinski, Eve and Dana Weikel. [1986] 2000. *Death from Child Abuse and No One Heard*. South Gulfport, FL: Currier-Davis Publishers.

LeCroy, Craig W. and Janice Daley. 2001. *Empowering Adolescent Girls: Examining the Present and Building Skills for the Future with the Go Grrrls Program*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co.

Lei, Joy L. 2003. "(Un)Necessary Toughness?: Those 'Loud Black Girls' and Those 'Quiet Asian Boys'." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 34(2):158-81.

Levy, Abe. 2013. "Cornerstone Church Set to Unveil $5 Million Noah's Ark for Kids." *My S.A. San Antonio's Home Page*, March 9. Retrieved April 1, 2014 (http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local_news/article/Cornerstone-Church-to-open-5-million-ark-for-4342098.php).

Lieberman, Lisa and Haiyan Su. 2012. "Impact of the Choosing the Best Program in Communities Committed to Abstinence Education." *Sage Open* 2(1). Retrieved April 1, 2014 (http://sgo.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/03/21/2158244012442938).

Linenthal, Edward Tabor. 2001. *The Unfinished Bombing: Oklahoma City in American Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Logan, Enid. 1999. "The Wrong Race, Committing Crime, Doing Drugs, and Maladjusted for Motherhood: The Nation's Fury over 'Crack Babies.'" *Social Justice* 26(1):115-38.

Lorde, Audre. 1995. "Age, Race, Class, and Sex." Pp. 114-15 in *Race, Class, and Gender*, edited by M. L. Anderson and P. Hill Collins. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals. 2014. "Pregnancy Information for Minors". Retrieved January 15, 2014 (http://www.dhh.louisiana.gov/index.cfm/page/1091/n/298).

Lourie, Kevin J., Larry K. Brown, Patricia Flanagan, Pamela High, Priya Kumar, and Stephanie Davis. 1998. "Teens, Tots and Condoms: HIV Prevention and Cultural Identity among Young Adolescent Mothers." *International Journal of Adolescent Medicine and Health* 10(2):119-28.

Loveland, Anne C. and Otis B. Wheeler. 2003. *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.

Lowery, Shearon and Melvin DeFleur. 1983. *Milestones in Mass Communication Research.* New York: Longman.

Luker, Kristin. 1984. *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lupkin, Sydney. 2013. "Court Says Nebraska Teenager Too Immature to Decide on Abortion." *ABC News*, *ABC News*. October 9. Retrieved October 23, 2013 (http://abcnews.go.com/Health/court-nebraska-teenager-immature-decide-abortion/story?id=20507284).

Lynxwiler, John and David Gay. 2000. "Moral Boundaries and Deviant Music: Public Attitudes toward Heavy Metal and Rap." *Deviant Behavior* 21(1):63-85.

MacArthur, Heather and Carmen Poulin. 2011. "Gender Representation in a Selection of Children's Picture Books: A Skewed Ratio of Male to Female Characters?" *Undergraduate Research Journal for the Human Sciences* 10(1). Retrieved May 8, 2013 (http://kon.org/urc/v10/macarthur.html).

Mackun, Paul and Steven Wilson. 2011. "Population Distribution and Change: 2000 to 2010." U.S. Census Bureau. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. Retrieved January 3, 2014 (http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-01.pdf).

Magnuson, Marta L. 2011. "Perceptions of Self and the 'Other:' An Analysis of Challenges to 'And Tango Makes Three.'" *School Library Research*, vol. 14. Retrieved May 8, 2013 (http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ926865.pdf).

Mallicoat, Stacy L. 2007. "Gendered Justice: Attributional Differences Between Males and Females in the Juvenile Courts." *Feminist Criminology* 2(1):4-30.

Markham, Christine M., Donna Lormand, Kari M. Gloppen, Melissa F. Peskin, Belinda Flores, Barbara Low, and Lawrence Duane House. 2010. "Connectedness as a Predictor of Sexual and Reproductive Health Outcomes for Youth." *The Journal of Adolescent Health*. 46:S23-S41.

Marsh, Dave. 1991. *50 Ways to Fight Censorship*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press.

Martin, Karin A. 1998. "Becoming a Gendered Body: Practices of Preschools." *American Sociological Review* 63(4):494-511.

Martin, Katherine. 1989. *Night Riding*. New York: Knopf.

Martinez, Demetria. 2013. "New Mexico Movement Hopes to Put Banned Book Back on Shelves." *National Catholic Reporter*. April 1. Retrieved April 3, 2013 (http://ncronline.org/blogs/ncr-today/new-mexico-movement-hopes-put-banned-books-back-shelves).

Maxwell, Claire and Peter Aggleton. 2012. "Bodies and Agentic Practice in Young Women's Sexual and Intimate Relationships." *Sociology* 46(2):306-21.

Maynard, Rebecca A. 1996. *Kids Having Kids: Economic Costs and Social Consequences of Teen Pregnancy*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press.

McDaniel, Cynthia. 2004. "Critical Literacy: A Questioning Stance and the Possibility for Change." *Reading Teacher* 57(5):472-84.

McDonald, James R. 1988. "Censoring Rock Lyrics: A Historical Analysis of the Debate." *Youth & Society* 19(3):294-313.

Megbolugbe, Isaac F. and Peter D. Linneman. 1993. "Home Ownership." *Urban Studies* 30(4-5):659-82.

Messineo, Melinda J. 2008. "Does Advertising on Black Entertainment Television Portray More Positive Gender Representations Compared to Broadcast Networks?" *Sex Roles* 59(9-10):752-64.

Methodist Healthcare Ministries of South Texas. 2014. "School Based Health Centers". Retrieved March 27, 2014 (http://www.mhm.org/clients/healthcare-services/school-based-health-centers).

Mikel Brown, Lyn, Meda Chesney-Lind, and Nan Stein. 2007. "Patriarchy Matters: Toward a Gendered Theory of Teen Violence and Victimization." *Violence Against Women* 13(12):1249-73.

Miller, Brent C. 2002. "Family Influences on Adolescent Sexual and Contraceptive Behavior." *Journal of Sex Research* 39(1):22-6.

Miller, Chris. 1998. "The Representation of the Black Male in Film." *Journal of African American Studies* 3(3):19-30.

Miller, Jody A. 1995. "Struggles over the Symbolic: Gang Style and the Meanings of Social Control." Pp. 213-34 in *Cultural Criminology*, edited by J. Ferrell and C. R. Sanders. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Moore, Mignon R. 2012. "Intersectionality and the Study of Black, Sexual Minority Women." *Gender & Society* 26(1):33-9.

Morris, Nancy S. 2012. "The Election of a Lesbian Mayor in a Religiously Conservative City: The Case of Houston, TX." Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL. Retrieved from University of Miami Scholarly Repository. Paper 315.

Morrison, Toni. [1987] 2006. *Beloved*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Mueller, Trisha E., Lorrie E. Gavin, and Aniket Kulkarni. 2008. "The Association Between Sex Education and Youth's Engagement in Sexual Intercourse, Age at First Intercourse, and Birth Control Use at First Sex." *The Journal of Adolescent Health* 42(1):89-96.

Murdock, Graham. 2008. "Re-enchantment and the Popular Imagination: Fate, Magic and Purity." *Northern Lights: Film & Media Studies Yearbook* 6(1):27-44.

Myers, Walter Dean. 1988. *Fallen Angels*. New York: Scholastic.

Nathanson, Constance A. 1991. *Dangerous Passage: The Social Control of Sexuality in Women's Adolescence*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

National Assembly on School-Based Health Care. 2010. "Ensuring Confidential Care to Adolescents and Young Adults Receiving U.S. Preventive Services." Retrieved May 8, 2013 (http://www.nasbhc.org/atf/cf/{B241D183-DA6F-443F-9588-3230D027D8DB}/Clinical%20Preventive%20Services%209-17-10.pdf).

Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds. 1992. *All but Alice*. New York: Antheneum.

—. 1995. *Alice the Brave*. New York: Aladdin Paperbacks.

—. 1996. *Alice in Lace*. New York: Aladdin MIX.

Nye, Valerie and Kathy Barco. 2012. *True Stories of Censorship Battles in America's Libraries.* Chicago, IL: American Library Association.

O'Dougherty, Maureen. 2006. "Public Relations, Private Security: Managing Youth and Race at the Mall of America." *Environment and Planning* 24(1):131-54.

Oak Hills Church. 2014. "About Max Lucado". Retrieved March 23, 2014 (http://maxlucado.com/about/max-lucado/).

Odem, Mary E. 1995. *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce. 2014. "Industry". Retrieved March 21, 2014 (http://www.okcchamber.com/index.php?submenu=Industry&src=gendocs&ref=Industry&category=OklahomaCity).

Olson, Laura R., Wendy Cadge, and James T. Harrison. 2006. "Religion and Public Opinion about Same-Sex Marriage." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(2):340-60.

Osborne, Mary Pope. 1996. *Midnight on the Moon*. New York: Random House.

Oskamp, Stuart, Karen Kaufman, and Lianna Atchison Wolterbeek. 1996. "Gender Role Portrayals in Preschool Picture Books." *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality* 11(5):27-39.

Overton, Spencer. 2007. "Voter Identification." *Michigan Law Review* 105(4):631-81.

Padavic, Irene and Barbara F. Reskin. 2002. *Women and Men at Work*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Pagan, Kennedy. 1994. "Stripping." Pp. 39-47 in *Stripping and Other Stories*, edited by K. Pagan. New York: High Risk.

Pain, Rachel. 1991. "Space, Sexual Violence and Social Control: Integrating Geographical and Feminist Analyses of Women's Fear of Crime." *Progress in Human Geography* 15(4):415-31.

Pasko, Lisa. 2010. "Damaged Daughters: The History of Girls' Sexuality and the Juvenile Justice System." *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology* 100(3):1099-130.

Paterson, Katherine. 1977. "Bridge to Terabithia." New York: HarperCollins e-books.

Petchesky, Rosalind Pollack. 1981. "Antiabortion, Antifeminism, and the Rise of the New Right." *Feminist Studies* 7(2):206-46.

Peterson, Elizabeth A. and Ann M. Jones. 2001. "Women, Journal Writing, and the Reflective Process." *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education* 2001(90):59-68.

Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. 2013. "U.S. Religious Landscape Survey". Retrieved May 16, 2013 (http://religions.pewforum.org/affiliations).

Pilkey, Dav. 2001. *The Captain Underpants Extra-Crunchy Book O' Fun*. New York: The Blue Sky Press.

Pillow, Wanda S. 2004. *Unfit Subjects: Education and the Teen Mother, 1972-2002*. New York: Routledge.

Polit, Denise F. and Janet R. Kahn. 1986. "Early Subsequent Pregnancy among Economically Disadvantaged Teenage Mothers." *American Journal of Public Health*. 76(2):167-71.

Pomerantz, Shauna. 2009. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Un/Defining the 'Girl'." *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 1(2):147-58.

Raby, Rebecca. 2010. "'Tank Tops Are OK but I Don't Want to See Her Thong:' Girls' Engagements With Secondary School Dress Codes." *Youth & Society* 41(3):333-56.

Ramsdell, Charles. 1985. *San Antonio: A Historical and Pictorial Guide*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Reese, Debbie. 2000. "Contesting Ideology in Children's Book Reviewing." *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 12(1):37-55.

Reiman, Laura and Ellen Greenblatt. 2010. "Censorship of Children's and Young Adult Books in Schools and Public Libraries." Pp. 247-65 in *Serving LGBTIQ Library and Archives Users: Essays on Outreach, Service, Collections and Access*, edited by E. Greenblatt. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Reinharz, Shulamit. 1992. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Reingert, George F. and John Wasilchick. 1985. *Suburban Burglary: A Time and a Place for Everything*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas.

Richards, Maryse H., Bobbi Viegas Miller, Philip C. O'Donnell, Michelle S. Wasserman, and Craig Colder. 2004. "Parental Monitoring Mediates the Effects of Age and Sex on Problem Behaviors among African American Urban Young Adolescents." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 33(3):221-33.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 2009. "Framed Before We Know It: How Gender Shapes Social Relations." *Gender & Society* 23(2):145-60.

Risman, Barbara. 2004. "Gender as a Social Structure: Theory Wrestling with Activism." *Gender & Society* 18(4):429-50.

Riordan, Ellen. 2001. "Commodified Agents and Empowered Girls: Consuming and Producing Feminism." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 25(3):279-97.

Robinson, Lillian S. 1983. "Treason our Text: Feminist Challenges to the Literary Canon." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 2(1):83-98.

Rogers, Margaret E. and Tara B. Stein. 2010. "Plan B to Plan A: Improving Access to Contraception in School Health." in *National Assembly on School-Based Health Care*. Washington, D.C.

Rose, Susan. 2005. "Going Too Far? Sex, Sin and Social Policy." *Social Forces* 84(2):1207-32.

Rosenberg, Karen and Judith Howard. 2008. "Finding Feminist Sociology: A Review Essay." *Signs* 33(3):675-96.

Rossi, P.H. 1980. *Why Families Move*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Rowling, J.K. 1997. *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone.* New York: Levine Books.

Rubin, Jennifer. 2010. "Onward, Christian Zionists." *Jewish Ideas Daily*, August 2. Retrieved March 27, 2014 (http://www.jidaily.com/cGwn/e).

Salwen, Michael B. and Michel Dupagne. 1999. "The Third-Person Effect Perceptions of the Media's Influence and Immoral Consequences." *Communication Research* 26(5):523-49.

San Antonio Convention and Visitors Bureau. 2014. "Explore San Antonio". Retrieved March 21, 2014 (http://visitsanantonio.com/english/Explore-San-Antonio?utm_source=google&utm_medium=cpc&utm_campaign=2013-leisure&gclid=CMS21dq6pL0CFbTm7AodM1wAHg).

Sargent, Kate. 2013. "Talking and Not Talking: Sexual Education and Ethics for Young Women within the Evangelical Movement in America" *LUX: A Journal of Transdisciplinary Writing and Research from Claremont Graduate University.* Retrieved May 19, 2013 (http://scholarship.claremont.edu/lux/vol2/iss1/25).

Saul, Rebekah. 1998. "Whatever Happened to the Adolescent Family Life Act?" Guttmacher Institute: New York. Retrieved April 1, 2014 (http://sparky.guttmacher.org/pubs/tgr/01/2/gr010205.html).

Schaffner, Laurie. 2007. "Violence Against Girls Provokes Girls' Violence: From Private Injury to Public Harm." *Violence Against Women* 13(12):1229-48.

Schank, Roger C. 1977. "Rules and Topics in Conversation." *Cognitive Science* 1(4):421-41.

Scheslinger, Arthur M. 1992. *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Schieman, Scott and Jong Hyun Jung. 2012. "'Practical Divine Influence': Socioeconomic Status and Belief in the Prosperity Gospel." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 51(4):738-56.

Schlossman, Steven and Stephanie Wallach. 1978. "The Crime of Precocious Sexuality: Female Juvenile Delinquency in the Progressive Era." *Harvard Educational Review* 48(1):65-94.

Schur, Edwin M. 1984. *Labeling Women Deviant: Gender, Stigma, and Social Control*. New York: Random House.

Scott, Joseph E., David J. Eitle, and Sandra Evans Skovron. 1990. "Obscenity and the Law." *Law and Human Behavior* 14(2):139-50.

Scott, Simon. 2009. "What Makes Oklahoma City Recession-Proof?" in *Weekend Edition*, October 24. Retrieved April 1, 2014 (http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=114130247).

Segal, Alan. 1970. "Censorship, Social Control and Socialization." *British Journal of Sociology* 21(1):63-74.

Sermon Central. 2014. "Top 100 Largest Churches". Retrieved March 25, 2014 (http://www.sermoncentral.com/articleb.asp?article=Top-100-Largest-Churches).

Sethna, Christabelle. 2010. "Animal Sex: Purity Education and the Naturalization of the Abstinence Agenda." *Sex Education* 10(3):267-79.

Shalant, Phyllis. 1995. *Beware of Kissing Lizard Lips*. New York: Dutton.

Sharmat, Marjorie. 1989. *Nate the Great Goes Down in the Dumps*. New York: Coward-McCann Inc.

Shibata, Kenzo. 2013. "Chicago Public Schools Banning Books?" *Huffington Post,* March 16. Retrieved April 3, 2013 (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kenzo-shibata/chicago-public-schools-ba_b_2884428.html).

Showalter, Elaine. 1971. "Women and the Literary Curriculum." *College English* 32(8):855-62.

Simmel, George. 1955. *Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations*. Translated by K. Wolff. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Simon, Rita James. 1975. *Women and Crime*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books

Sipe, Theresa Ann, Helen B. Chin, Randy Elder, Shawna L. Mercer, Sajal K. Chattopadhyay, and Verughese Jacob. 2012. "Methods for Conducting Community Guide Systematic Reviews of Evidence on Effectiveness and Economic Efficiency of Group-Based Behavioral Interventions to Prevent Adolescent Pregnancy, Human Immunodeficiency Virus, and Other Sexually Transmitted Infections: Comprehensive Risk Reduction and Abstinence Education." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 42(3):295-303.

Smedley, Audrey. 2007. *Race in North America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Smith, Christian. 1998. *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Smith, Tom W. 1990. "Classifying Protestant Denominations." *Review of Religious Research* 31(3):225-45.

Snyder, Zilpha Keatley. 1974. *The Witches of Worm*. New York: Atheneum.

Stacey, Judith. 1997. *In the Name of the Family: Rethinking Family Values in the Postmodern Age*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Stark, Rodney and William Sims Bainbridge. 1997. *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control*. New York: Routledge.

State of Florida. 2014. "Florida Quick Facts ". Retrieved February 27, 2014 (http://www.stateofflorida.com/Portal/DesktopDefault.aspx?tabid=95).

State of Louisiana. 1992. "Instruction in Sex Education State Statute 281 (A)(3-4)."

Steffens, Bradley. 2006. *Giants*. Detroit, MI: Thomson Gale.

Stoehr, Shelley. [1991] 2003. *Crosses*. Lincoln, NE: iUniverse.

Stolow, Jeremy. 2005. "Religion and/as Media." *Theory, Culture, & Society* 22(4):119-45.

Strothmann, Molly and Connie Van Fleet. 2009. "Books that Inspire, Books that Offend." *Reference & User Services Quarterly* 49(2):163-79.

Strozer, J., Linda Juszczak, and A. Ammerman. 2010. "2007-2008 National School-Based Health Care Census." National Assembly on School-Based Health Care, Washington, D.C.

Svensson, Robert. 2003. "Gender Differences In Adolescent Drug Use: The Impact of Parental Monitoring and Peer Deviance." *Youth & Society* 34(3):300-29.

Tannenbaum, Frank. 1938. *Crime and the Community*. Boston, MA: Ginn and Company.

Tatum, Becky L. 1999. "The Link between Rap Music and Youth Crime and Violence: A Review of the Literature and Issues for Future Research." *Criminal Justice Studies* 11(3):339-53.

Taylor, Shelley E., Laura Cousino Klein, Brian P. Lewis, Tara L. Gruenewald, Regan Gurung, and John A. Updegraff. 2000. "Biobehavioral Responses to Stress in Females: Tend-and-Befriend, Not Fight-or-Flight." *Psychological Review* 107(3):411-29.

Tepper, Steven J. 2009. "Stop the Beat: Quiet Regulation and Cultural Conflict." *Sociological Forum* 24(2):276-306.

Tepper, Steven J. 2011. *Not Here, Not Now, Not That! Protest over Art and Culture in America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Thomas, William Isaac. 1923. *The Unadjusted Girl: With Cases and Standpoint for Behavior Analysis*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.

Tong, Rosemarie. 2009. *Feminist Thought : A More Comprehensive Introduction*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Tyree, Omar. [1993] 1996. *Flyy Girl*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2000. "Cities with 100,000 or More Population in 2000 ranked by Population, 2000 in Rank Order". Retrieved November 11, 2013 (http://www.census.gov/statab/ccdb/cit1020r.txt).

—. 2007. "Regions and Divisions". Retrieved July 15, 2013 (http://www.census.gov/geo/maps-data/maps/pdfs/reference/us_regdiv.pdf).

—. 2012. "U.S. Census Bureau Projections Show a Slower Growing, Older, More Diverse Nation a Half Century from Now." U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved April 1, 2014 (http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb12-243.html).

—. 2013a. "American Fact Finder". Retrieved November 11, 2013 (http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml).

—. 2013b. "Annual Estimates of the Resident Population for Incorporated Places over 50,000". Retrieved February 4, 2014 (http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk).

Valenti, Jessica. 2010. *The Purity Myth: How America's Obsession with Virginity is Hurting Young Women*. Berkeley, CA: Seal Press.

Vasile, Alexandra. 2011. "An Intersectional Approach to Toni Morrison's Intercultural World." *Cogito-Multidisciplinary Research Journal* 2011(4):186-94.

Vinson, Jenna. 2012. "Covering National Concerns about Teenage Pregnancy: A Visual Rhetorical Analysis of Images of Pregnant and Mothering Women." *Feminist Formations* 24(2):140-62.

Waitzkin, Howard. 1989. "A Critical Theory of Medical Discourse: Ideology, Social Control, and the Processing of Social Context in Medical Encounters." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 30(2):220-239.

Waitzkin, Howard and Theron Britt. 1993. "Processing Narratives of Self-Destructive Behavior in Routine Medical Encounters." *Social Science & Medicine* 36(9):1121-36.

Walker, Gillian. 2004. "Fragments from a Journal: Reflections on Celibacy and the Role of Women in the Church." *Studies in Gender and Sexuality* 5(1):81-101.

Ward, Martha C. 1995. "Early Childbearing: What is the Problem and Who Owns it?" Pp. 140-58 in *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*, edited by F. Ginsburg and R. Rapp. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Warf, Barney and Morton Winsberg. 2010. "Geographies of Megachurches in the United States." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 27(1):33-51.

Weber, Max. 1930. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Scribner.

Welter, Barbara. 1966. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18(2):151-74.

Wildsmith, Elizabeth, Megan Barry, Jennifer Manlove, and Brigitte Vaughn. 2013. "Teen Pregnancy and Childbearing." Adolescent Health Highlight. Child Trends. Retrieved May 6, 2014 http://www.childtrends.org/?publications=adolescent-health-highlight-teen-pregnancy-and-childbearing.

Wilford, Justin. 2010. "Sacred Archipelagos: Geographies of Secularization." *Progress in Human Geography* 34(3):328-48.

Williams, Carole A. 1988. "Studying Challenged Novels: Or, How I Beat Senioritis." *English Journal* 77(7):66-8.

Williams, Christine L. 1992. "The Glass Escalator: Hidden advantages for Men in the 'Female' Pofessions." *Social Problems* 253-67.

Williams-Garcia, Rita. 1995. *Like Sisters on the Homefront*. New York: Puffin.

Wilson, William Julius. 1993. *The Truly Disadvantaged*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Winston-Salem Chamber. 2014. "About Winston-Salem". Retrieved February 28, 2014 (http://www.winstonsalem.com/about-winston-salem/).

Winston-Salem Convention and Visitors Bureau. 2014. "About: Past, Present, Future". Retrieved February 28, 2014 (http://visitwinstonsalem.com/about/past-present-future).

Wollman-Bonilla, Julie E. 1998. "Outrageous Viewpoints: Teachers' Criteria for Rejecting Works of Children's Literature." *Language Arts* 75(4):287-95.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. [1792] 2009. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Woloshyn, Vera, Nancy Taber, and Laura Lane. 2013. "Discourses of Masculinity and Femininity in The Hunger Games: 'Scarred,' 'Bloody,' and 'Stunning'." *International Journal of Social Science Studies* 1(1):150-60.

Woodrum, Eric and Beth L. Davison. 1992. "Reexamination of Religious Influences on Abortion Attitudes." *Review of Religious Research* 33(3):229-43.

Worrall, Anne. 2004. "Twisted Sisters, Ladettes, and the New Penology: The Social Construction of 'Violent Girls'." Pp. 41-60 in *Girls' Violence*, edited by C. Alder and A. Worrall. New York: State University of New York.

Wrobel, Thomas A. and Amanda L. Dye. 2003. "Grieving Pet Death: Normative, Gender, and Attachment Issues." *OMEGA--Journal of Death and Dying* 47(4):385-93.

Wyatt, Edward. 2004. "Literary Prize for Judy Blume, Confidante to Teenagers." *The New York Times*. September 15. Retrieved April 1, 2013 (http://www.nytimes.com/2004/09/15/books/15AWAR.html?_r=0).

Young, Shawn David. 2010. "From Hippies to Jesus Freaks: Christian Radicalism in Chicago's Inner-City." *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 22(2):3-28.

Zahn, Margaret A., Susan Brumbaugh, Darrell Steffensmeier, Barry C. Feld, Merry Morash, Meda Chesney-Lind, Jody Miller, Allison Ann Payne, Denise C. Gottfredson, and Candace Kruttschnitt. 2008. "Violence by Teenage Girls: Trends and Context." edited by Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

Zindel, Paul. [1969] 1989. *My Darling, My Hamburger*. New York: Bantam Books.

Appendix A: Books Challenged by Houston between 2000 and 2009 (N=84)

Title (ALA challenge code)	Author	Classification
101 Ways to Bug Your Parents (other)	Wardlow, Lee	YA
Adventures of Blue Avenger, The (O, S)	Howe, Norma	YA
Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, The* (other)	Twain, Mark	YA
Adventures of Isabel, The (V)	Nash, Ogden	Children's
All But Alice* (S)	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds	YA
Alligators in the Sewer and 222 other Urban Legends (other)	Craughwell, Thomas J.	YA
Alpha and the Dirty Baby (V,Occ)	Cole, Brock	Children's
Attack of the Living Mask (V)	Hirschfield, Robert	YA
Bear Went Over the Mountain, The (S)	Kotzwinkle, Wilham	Adult
Beloved* (S, O, V)	Morrison, Toni	Adult
Beware of Kissing Lizard Lips (S)	Shalant, Phyllis	YA
Bloodsucking Fiends (U)	Moore, Christopher	Adult
Book of Phoebe (S, U, O)	Smith, Mary Ann Tirone	Adult
Boy Who Lost His Face, The* (O)	Sachar, Louis	YA
Bridge to Terabithia*† (O)	Paterson, Katherine	YA
Buck Stops Here (P)	Provensen, Alice	NF
Bumps in the Night*† (Occ)	Allard, Harry	YA
Cat in the Dryer and 222 Other Urban Legends, The (other)	Craaughwell, Thomas J.	YA
Chicken Soup for the Soul (series) (other)	Canfield, Jack	NF
Chocolate War, The* (O, S)	Cormier, Robert	YA
Cities of the Red Night (U, S, H)	Burroughs, William S	Adult
Color Purple, The* (O, S, U)	Walker, Alice	Adult
Crazy Lady*† (O)	Conly, Jane Leslie	YA
Cultures of the World: Iran (I, R)	Rajendra, Vijeya	NF
Dear God Help, Love Earl (O)	Park, Barbara	YA
Distant Soil: Vol. 2, The Ascendant (H, S)	Doran, Colleen	Adult
Drive-By (V)	Ewing, Lynne	YA
Evil Pen Pal, The (V)	Hill, Laban Carrick	YA
Face on the Milk Carton, The* (S)	Cooney, Caroline B.	YA
Farm Team (V, O)	Weaver, Will	YA
Forever* (S)	Blume, Judy	YA
From Slave Ship to Freedom Road (V, U)	Lester, Julius	NF
Gingerbread (O, S, U)	Cohn, Rachel	YA
Golden Compass, The* (R)	Pullman, Philip	YA
Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (R, Occ)	Rowling, J.K.	YA

Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (R, Occ)	Rowling, J.K.	YA
Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (R, Occ)	Rowling, J.K.	YA
Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* (R, Occ)	Rowling, J.K.	YA
Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (R, Occ)	Rowling, J.K.	YA
Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (R, Occ)	Rowling, J.K.	YA
Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*†† (R, Occ)	Rowling, J.K.	YA
Hate Crimes (other)	D'Angelo, Laura	NF
Hatemongers and Demagogues (other)	Streissgoth, Thomas	NF
Hearing Us Out (U, H)	Sutton, Roger	NF
How to Eat Fried Worms (O)	Rockwell, Thomas	YA
How to Make Love Like a Porn Star: A Cautionary Tale (S)	Jameson, Jenna	NF
In the Night Kitchen* (U)	Sendak, Maurice	Children's
Jennifer, Hecate, Macbeth, William McKinley and Me, Elizabeth (Occ)	Konigsburg, E. L.	YA
Like Jake and Me (S)	Jukes, Mavis	YA
Loose Woman (other)	Cisneros, Sandra	Poetry
Making the Run (O, S)	Henson, Heather	YA
Mick Harte Was Here* (O)	Park, Barbara	YA
Midnight on the Moon (Occ)	Osborne, Mary Pope	Children's
Nate the Great Goes Down in the Dumps (Occ)	Sharmot, Marjory	Children's
No One Here Gets Out Alive (O, DA, S, U)	Hopkins, Jerry and Danny Sugerman	NF
Old West Series, The (G)	Wheeler, Keith	NF
One Door Away from Heaven (other)	Koontz, Dean R.	Adult
Onion's Finest News Reporting (U, S)	Dikkers, Scott	NF
Panic Snap (S)	Reese, Laura	Adult
Rainbow Boys* (H)	Sanchez, Alex	YA
Road to Nowhere (DA, S, V)	Pike, Christopher	YA
Running Loose (other)	Crutcher, Chris	YA
Sally Go Round the Sun (other)	Fowke, Edith	YA
Sari Says (other)	Locker, Sari	NF
Something Upstairs (other)	Avi	YA
Stand-Off, The (O)	Hogan, Chuck	Adult
Strega Nona (Occ)	DePaola, Tomie	Children's
Stripping and Other Stories (U, S)	Kennedy, Pagan	Adult
Surviving the Applewhites (AF, O, DA, U, Sui, V)	Tolan, Stephanie S.	YA
Teen Sexuality (U)	Nardo, Don	NF
The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe (R, Occ)	Lewis, C.S.	YA

This is the Day! (CI)	Gershator, Phyllis	Children's
To Be a Killer (U)	Bennett, Jay	NF
Trench, The (U)	Alten, Steve	Adult
Twice in a Lifetime (S)	Cohen, Christy	Adult
Voices of AIDS (H, SEd)	Ford, Michael Thomas	NF
What's in a Name (other)	Wittlinger, Ellen	YA
White Power Movement: America's Racist Hate Groups, The (other)	Landau, Elaine	NF
Who Killed Kurt Cobain? (V)	Halperin, Ian	NF
Witch Book: The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft, Wicca, and Neo-Paganism, The (Occ)	Buckland, Raymond	NF
Wrinkle in Time, A* (Occ)	L'Engle, Madeleine	YA
Yellow Raft in Blue Water, A (S)	Dorris, Michael	YA
Yolonda's Genius (other)	Fenner, Carol	YA
You Hear Me?*† (O)	Franco, Betsy	Poetry

*Also on the nationwide 100 most frequently challenged/banned list 2000-2009
†Title challenged two times
††Title challenged four times

NF= Nonfiction
YA= Young Adult Fiction
Adult= Adult Fiction
Children's= Children's picture book or easy reader

Appendix B: Books Challenged by San Antonio between 2000 and 2009 (N=23)

Title (ALA challenge code)	**Author**	**Classification**
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret* (S)	Blume, Judy	YA
Cocaine and Crack (DA)	Chomet, Julian	NF
Crosses (other)	Stoehr, Shelley	YA
Danger: Cocaine (DA)	Chier, Ruth	NF
Dare, The (V)	Stine, R. L.	YA
Draw Me a Star* (S)	Carle, Eric	Children's
Fighting Ground, The* (O)	Avi	YA
Giants (other)	Steffens, Bradley	Children's
Harry Potter (series)* (Occ, AF, R)	Rowling, J. K.	YA
Hunting of the Last Dragon, The (S, V)	Jordan, Sherryl	YA
It's A Girl Thing: How to Stay Healthy, Safe and in Charge (SEd)	Jukes, Mavis	NF
Jim and the Beanstalk (other)	Briggs, Raymond	Children's
Like Sisters on the Homefront (S)	Williams-Garcia, Rita	YA
Night Riding (S)	Martin, Katherine	YA
Vampire Loves (DA, U)	Sfar, Joann	YA
What Kind of Love: Diary of a Pregnant Teenager (S, U)	Cole, Sheila	YA
Witches of Worm, The (Occ)	Snyder, Zilpha Keatley	YA

*Also on the nationwide 100 most frequently challenged/banned list 2000-2009

NF= Nonfiction
YA= Young Adult Fiction
Children's= Children's picture book or easy reader

Appendix C: Books Challenged by Tampa between 2000 and 2009 (N=19)

Title (ALA challenge code)	**Author**	**Classification**
A-Z Encyclopedia of Serial Killers (V)	Scechter, Harold	NF
Alice in Lace* (U)	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds	YA
Alice the Brave* (S)	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds	YA
Bloodletters and Badmen (other)	Nash, Jay Robert	NF
Captain Underpants Extra-Crunchy Book O' Fun* (V)	Pilkey, Dave	Children's
Chocolate War, The* (U)	Cormier, Robert	YA
Coldest Winter Ever, The (U)	Souljah, Sister	Adult
Death from Child Abuse And No One Heard (U)	Krupinski, Eve	NF
Encyclopedia of Serial Killers (V)	Lane, Brian	NF
Fallen Angels* (other)	Myers, Walter Dean	YA
Flyy Girl (U)	Tyree, Omar	Adult
Iceberg (U)	Cussler, Clive	Adult
Julie of the Wolves* (U)	George, Jean Craighead	YA
Life is Funny* (other)	Frank, E.R.	YA
Losing Louisa (U)	Caseley, Judith	YA
My Darling, My Hamburger (U)	Zindel, Paul	YA
Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes* (O, Sui)	Crutcher, Chris	YA
Summer of My German Soldier* (O)	Greene, Bette	YA
We All Fall Down* (O)	Cormier, Robert	YA

*Also on the nationwide 100 most frequently challenged/banned list 2000-2009

NF= Nonfiction
YA= Young Adult Fiction
Adult= Adult Fiction
Children's= Children's picture book or easy reader

ALA-provided codes for reason title was challenged

Other: Reason not specified

AF: Anti-Family

CI: Cultural insensitivity

DA: Drug and alcohol use

G: Gambling

H: Homosexuality

I: Inaccuracy

O: Offensive language

Occ: Occult/Satanism

P: Political view

R: Religious view

S: Sexually explicit

SEd: Sex education

Sui: Suicide

U: Unsuited for age group

V: Violence