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Library Science literature on the subject of library censorship has revealed much about the processes and statistics dealing with the attempts of community members to censor various sources in library collections, as well as the traditional methods that institutions have employed to cope with these attempts. This study describes how the professional outlook on library censorship has changed since the 1950's, and ways in which familiarity with user communities and their concerns can foster more trusting relationships between user and institution. It also includes data collected by the American Library Association's Office for Intellectual Freedom documenting materials challenges at North Carolina public and school libraries from 1990 to 2009, with an analysis of this data by region. The exceedingly low number of reported challenges to public libraries throughout the state during the study time frame is a notable characteristic.

Headings:

Censorship/Public libraries

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CENSORS AND LIBRARIANS: CHANGING PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHING A DIALOGUE
ON PUBLIC LIBRARY CHALLENGES IN NORTH CAROLINA

by
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Introduction

The daily act of living in a pluralistic society brings its inhabitants into at least peripheral contact with a sweeping breadth of cultures, viewpoints, and mores, to the point that it would be difficult to identify any one person who feels familiar and comfortable with every perspective. The human urge to censor sources of information, whether they are books in a library, movies in a cinema, or outspoken individuals with radical or controversial opinions, is a pervasive one. It is easy to understand why someone would want to insulate oneself and loved ones from ideas found to be offensive, disturbing, or even threatening. This impulse, however, stands in direct contradiction with the aims of a democratic society which counts among its key freedoms the freedom to read, assemble, discuss and disseminate information dealing with subjects which may be unorthodox or controversial to the majority. Yet the impulse of the censor persists, a fact attested to by any experienced public librarian.

Niosi (1998) observes that public librarians today are expected to supply not just materials consistent with prevailing cultural norms, but "also materials which represent a wide array of views. Books expressing viewpoints with which the community may disagree are to be represented in libraries" (p. 310). Materials sought by patrons who do not express their information needs because their views differ with those of the community are included under this umbrella. Niosi provides this succinct definition:

"Controversial materials can be defined as those viewed as meaningful and significant to some patrons and offensive or objectionable to others" (1998, p. 313).

One observable by-product of the mission espoused by public libraries—to provide access to materials expressing a variety of viewpoints—comes in the form of objections to controversial materials by patrons. Commonly referred to as either "materials challenges" or "requests for reconsideration" in the profession, these objections are usually marked by a feeling of conflict and tension between libraries and the aggrieved patrons who raise them. Hardly a new phenomenon, challenges to materials from censorious individuals and groups have been made against public libraries since the institutional model emerged in the mid-Nineteenth century (Packard, 1999). This longstanding history is an indication that public libraries will be navigating this contentious issue for a long time to come.

A common misconception is the assumption that challenges only originate with society's most conservative elements, and that therefore a library situated in an enclave of liberal sentiment need not worry about such intrusions. In fact, complaints received by public librarians often come from the liberal side of the political spectrum, most often taking the form of objections to perceived expressions of racism, sexism, materialism and elitism (Saltman, 1998). Moreover, in the extremely common cases where concerned parents object to materials for their children as not being "age-appropriate," the complaint need not have any political basis.

Although children's and young adult materials are frequent targets for challenges, surveys of materials challenged at public libraries in Oregon in 1998 and

1999 (ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom, 2000), Washington in 1992 (Heuertz, 1994), and Colorado in 2001 (Steffen, 2002) and 2006 (ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom, 2008) indicate that books in the adult sections made up sizeable proportions, ranging from 36.1% to 52.9%.

The depth of the problem is underscored by a 2002 estimate from the ALA Office for Intellectual Freedom, which states that for every formal challenge issued there are as many as five unregistered complaints (Steffen, 2002). Even if this is a liberal estimate, it illustrates the pervasiveness of this phenomenon. As an aid to defending against the widespread censorship of "Un-American" materials in the 1930's, the ALA first adopted a Library Bill of Rights in 1939, and amended it in 1948, 1951, 1961, 1967, and 1980, usually for the purpose of adding language to cover expanding definitions of materials and user groups (Samek, c2001). However, while providing an official explanation which invokes the principles of intellectual freedom, thereby defusing a portion of objections from censors, the measure was not enough to keep complaints and challenges from coming through the door, nor did it keep anxious librarians from censoring their own selection choices (Heuertz, 1994; Lowenthal, 1959; McDonald, Stark, Roath, & Minnesota Civil Liberties Union, 1993; Wirth, 1996).

Taking a step back to see the larger picture, we see a history of materials challenges reaching back to the beginnings of public libraries, coming from individuals and groups with a broad spectrum of political perspectives, and aimed at a wide range of genres and media. It is precisely the universal scope of this issue which makes public libraries the most appropriate setting in which to further its study. Public libraries are

designed to serve a universe of patrons and needs: from child to adult, student to professional, educational to recreational, and any points in between. Research in this area would naturally be of interest to public librarians and library staff with an interest in maintaining the integrity of their collections, as well as anyone a public library might serve, including educators, professionals, organizations, and avid readers: In short, knowledge seekers of every kind.

Previous studies in this area have generally taken the form of surveys of challenges made at public and school libraries in a given region or state. Of the studies reviewed here, many include data from interviews with librarians and other staff members, and a few were conducted at the national level (Hopkins & University of Wisconsin--Madison, 1991; Schrader, 1992; Wirth, 1996). Thus far, there has been little research examining a region's challenge history at a more atomic, community-based level. There is a reason for this: Public Libraries and the ALA correctly consider information on specific challenge cases to be sensitive. There is professional concern that close examination of cases could expose institutions, patrons, and patrons' reading selections to public scrutiny. Such exposure would constitute a violation of one of ALA's Core Values of librarianship, that of confidentiality and privacy (American Library Association, 2008). The importance attached to this issue is one of the factors which makes the retroactive study of challenge cases particularly difficult.

The present study employs a novel method of analysis that takes care to address the issue of confidentiality. It selects as its source data a compilation of library materials challenges from a single U.S. state (North Carolina) and groups the records according to

the first three digits of the zip code of the institution where each challenge was recorded. By establishing this intermediate geographic framework for studying the data, it avoids the identification of institutions and individuals, concentrating instead on the challenged materials, reasons for challenges, and challenge outcomes. This approach also results in twenty geographic regions within the study frame (see map **Appendix I**), the data from each of which can be compared, the purpose being to allow a slightly more localized level of analysis of public library challenges.

Literature Review

Of the studies available on materials challenges in libraries, most have adopted the traditional perspective of the embattled public or school librarian trying to fend off hysterical censors from decimating their shelves. While the emotional exchanges that frequently occur between censors and librarians can understandably provoke despair in professional circles, there is certainly room for other interpretations. Stover (1994) holds that the myopia in regards to this issue has had a negative effect on the ability of librarians to defend against challenges. It is all too common for library staff at challenged institutions to fan the flames of animosity through the insensitive handling of cases: "It is vitally important that librarians respond in an open manner that honestly considers the merits of the criticism. A refusal to listen or to dialogue with the protester will often lead to a louder—and probably more powerful—protest" (Stover, 1994, pp. 914-915).

The tone of censorship research has definitely changed noticeably since the 1950's, when the subject carried an element of the taboo. In an early landmark study by Fiske (Lowenthal, 1959), the author's introduction notes that the work was conducted almost two years after it was initially proposed because it was seen as too controversial both inside and outside of the discipline. Contrast this outlook with the kind of straight talk found in writings by LaRue (2007), and it is clear that professionals are having a more open, transparent discussion of the topic. Despite the increase in frankness, however, there is still a lack of research examining the points of view of patrons bringing challenges. This is probably because relevant data in the aftermath of real challenges is often not readily available, partly because of the public library's assurance of patron privacy, but also, as the results of this study show, because of inadequate record keeping.

Surveys on library materials challenges conducted at the national, state and regional levels have certainly provided essential data regarding number and frequency of challenges, types of materials challenged, challenge reasons, selection policies in place, response on the part of librarians and administration, and associated demographic data generally pertaining to the librarian or institution. It is necessary, however, to balance this data with whatever information can be found incorporating the concerns of complainants, and focusing on the conversation between user groups, library staff and program directors that should be ongoing. These could include surveys of public opinion about censorship and the role of the library, public workshops for discussing hypothetical challenge scenarios, or outreach to organizations that have

expressed concern about library service and collections. A broad perspective examining what censorship attempts mean for a community will be required if library censorship is to be understood in all of its aspects.

First though, a quick clarification about the word "censors." The term is used loosely in the present context where it is applied to library patrons or other community members bringing challenges. Both LaRue (2007) and Conable (2009) are quick to point out that patrons voicing challenges are simply citizens exercising their own intellectual freedom by expressing their opinions, a fact often missed by institutions receiving challenges. The term "censor" can only be technically applied to anyone having the power to restrict or remove materials from library collections, or from public consumption in general. This universe includes administrators, board members, elected officials, school officials, and, ironically, librarians themselves. The widespread misunderstanding of this definition is symptomatic of the library profession's frequent failure both to communicate with the public about censorship and to frame the challenge issue as anything but an irresolvable conflict.

Findings from Library Surveys and Interviews

There are many surveys that have been conducted of libraries and their staff members on the subject of censorship available in ILS literature, at national, state and regional levels. Of the ones reviewed here they range by date from 1956-1958 (Lowenthal, 1959) to 2006 (ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom, 2008). The oldest of these, *Book Selection and Censorship: a Study of School and Public Libraries in California*

by Marjorie Fiske, is cited as a landmark in censorship literature and remains one of the most influential of such studies done since. The author is currently indexed under the name Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal and is thusly cited, but is referred to here, as in most of the literature, as Fiske.

Representing an era still under the cloud of suspicion generated by Senator Joseph McCarthy and the investigations by the House Un-American Activities Committee, it paints a very different picture of the profession than we see today. ALA had drafted its first iteration of the Library Bill of Rights nearly two decades before, but the author notes that in the course of librarian interviews an atmosphere of caution was commonplace. There are several reports of librarians that would seem by modern standards somewhat anxious to appease patron demands, an example being the head of a branch library in a large county system that admitted to buying "a scurrilously anti-Semitic book under pressure from a member of a Pro-America club" (Lowenthal, 1959, p. 47), an action that would without question raise eyebrows today. The 150 school librarians interviewed found it difficult even to keep up with frequently shifting policy on just what topics or books were considered acceptable by the school board or community in question.

Despite the increased perceived pressures resulting from socio-political factors, The Fiske study revealed features that future studies on the subject of censorship would echo repeatedly. One was the most common reason for objections to materials: "sex/obscenity" was applied to 38% of all recorded objections in school and public libraries (Lowenthal, 1959)). Another was the frequency with which librarians reported

routine practices of self-censorship in order to avoid conflict with patrons, administrators or co-workers. This censorship took form in the avoidance of materials thought to be controversial, restricting their access by keeping them in the librarian's office or placing them on reserve, and occasionally ordering fewer copies or keeping copies in locked cases. The book discusses the merits of libraries having written selection policies in place, though their effectiveness in settling challenges is debated.

Schrader (1992) presents the findings of a questionnaire study in which personnel from 560 public libraries throughout Canada participated from 1985-1987. The author noted widespread reports of libraries practicing self-censorship, particularly through restricted access to controversial material by minors. In his conclusion, Schrader offers that the two matters of most urgent need were the lack of a consistent method of determining the access rights of minors to various materials including books and videos, and the fact that as many as a third of responding libraries had no written selection policy, despite comments from respondents to the effect that policies were the most useful tools when coping with challenges.

The above assertion is supported in the findings of a study by Hopkins and the University of Wisconsin in Madison (1991), a nationwide survey of challenges to U.S. public secondary school libraries from 1986-1989. Hopkins takes the approach of trying to determine factors having an effect on the outcome to challenges, here defined as whether a challenged item is retained, removed or restricted. Some of the factors examined are specific to school libraries, but others include selection policy, librarian's characteristics and community environment. Factors found to play a positive role in

item retention were the education level of the librarian and the existence (and

consistent use) of a school board-approved selection policy.

In McDonald's (McDonald et al., 1993) study of challenges to public libraries in

Minnesota in 1991, challenges were made to 45.71% of participating institutions, with

89.58% of challenged items being retained. This is largely credited to the fact that

nearly 92% of responding libraries had written selection policies. The report also states

that the top three reported reasons for challenges were morality, obscenity and

profanity, and that nearly two-thirds of respondents reported feeling pressures to

practice self-censorship (McDonald et al., 1993).

The observation of self-censorship continues in Heuertz (1994), whose study was

a Master's thesis on challenges to public libraries in Washington State from 1989-1992.

The study enjoyed an 83% response rate, with every library district in the state

represented and 600 challenges reported overall. Children's fiction and adult non-

fiction were the two most challenged genres. Self-censorship was reported in the form

of non-selection of material thought to be controversial, as well as staff or

administration culling, relocating or marking of items already selected. Although the

study reports an overall 91% retention of challenged materials, the author partly

attributes this to what she calls the "echo effect" (Heuertz, 1994): Her theory is that a

library that has faced a challenge will be less likely to order other controversial materials

as well as more likely to restrict access to ones they already have. Another interesting

finding was that libraries that practiced self-censorship (presumably in an attempt to

forestall censors) proved no less likely to receive challenges: These two types of occurrence were found to be statistically independent (Heuertz, 1994).

A study by Wirth (1996) featuring survey and interview data gathered from U.S. public librarians from 1990-1994 also shows a high level of retention for challenged materials: 90%. Discrepancies appear, however, between respondents' unflinching vocal support for the Library Bill of Rights and the Office of Intellectual Freedom's Freedom to Read statement, compared with responses regarding attitudes to anticensorship. Some responses intimated that, in certain situations, bowing or compromising to community pressures might be appropriate (Wirth, 1996). Books represented the most commonly challenged format, although many respondents expressed a sense of the impending importance of internet service, along with the inevitable complaints. Once again, sexual explicitness was given as the number one reason for challenges.

Moody's (2004) questionnaire-based study of Queensland, Australia's public librarians done in 2003 is removed from the context of challenges per se, choosing rather to explore the issue by an analysis of values and selection practice through long- and short-answer survey items. A list of hypothetical books for acquisition was put forth to which respondents were to indicate likelihood of purchase, with the option of providing comments. Here, as in Wirth (1996), responses revealed discrepancies between respondents' stated values and their practices regarding censorship, with a disproportionately high number of responses indicating a hesitancy to purchase certain items judged to be inflammatory. Moody thought that some responses indicated a form

of unconscious censorship, such as declining to select controversial items under the pretext of reasons like lack of literary merit or high cost, similar to observations made in Fiske (Lowenthal, 1959).

<u>Case Histories</u>

Foerstel's (Foerstel & ebrary, 2002) book *Banned in the U.S.A.: a Reference Guide to Book Censorship in Schools and Public Libraries* takes a broad historical look at case studies and legal precedent involving challenges made to public school districts around the nation. One chapter is composed of profiles of cases that captured a lot of public attention. An example is the situation that erupted in 1986 in Graves County, Kentucky, when a high school student's mother objected to the school's inclusion in the curriculum of William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying* on the grounds that it promoted secular humanism*.* The mother secured the cooperation of several members of the school board and actually got the book withdrawn from the library and the curriculum, only to see it reinstated weeks later under threat of a lawsuit from the Kentucky branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. Cases like this are the basis of another of the book's chapters tracing the history of major court cases dealing with challenges made against schools, school districts, or individuals in schools or on school boards.

A salient point here is how much more legal precedent exists pertaining to censorship in schools than in public libraries. Foerstel reasons that this is because intellectual freedoms like the freedom to read are more broadly protected under the First Amendment when they apply to the public as a whole as opposed to minors as a

subgroup. Also, public libraries usually provide an environment less volatile than that of

school libraries for resolving conflicts quietly (Foerstel & ebrary, 2002). By contrast, the

situation in schools is complicated by mandatory attendance, rigid curriculum

requirements, and the burden of *in loco parentis*, "whereby some portion of parental

authority may be assumed by the school in order that it may carry out its educative

function and teach the child effectively" (Jones, 1983, p. 9). Public libraries bear no such

burden of legal responsibility.

This helps to explain the tacit acceptance of certain forms of censorship as a way

of exercising caution in the absence of a parent, but Shariff and Johnny (2007) probably

hit closer to home in the assertion that the stakes in school settings are usually higher

for all parties: "School censorship controversies impact all the stakeholders involved,

starting with the students, their parents, teachers, school administration and the

community at large. They significantly disrupt learning and can ruin the careers of

teaching professionals involved" (p. xii). In any case and for a variety of reasons, there

are more laws governing school libraries than publics, and as Foerstel observes, "Where

there is law, there is litigation" (2002, p. 74).

While there may not be a lot of legal precedent informing censorship in public

libraries, it does exist, as shown in Jones' (1983) *Defusing Censorship: The Librarian's*

Guide to Handling Censorship Conflicts. Case studies in schools are presented here but

so are several prominent cases stemming from incidents at public libraries. These tend

to have some noteworthy features in common: First, governing bodies that support the

censorship decision often step in to change local regulations, allowing them to get

around traditional support structures for embattled libraries. Second, most of these

high-profile cases involve pressure groups that either initiated challenges or stepped up

to support an individual making a challenge. Happily, these cases are also generally

marked by the actions of associations like the Freedom to Read Foundation and the

ACLU which rally to the library's support (Jones, 1983).

The Public Perspective

In all of the library science literature on censorship, the potential significance of

public opinion analysis is relatively unexplored. Two articles following this avenue of

research are Burke's (2008) study on people's opinions about the removal of gay-

themed materials from public libraries, and Carpenter's (1988) short piece on the views

of North Carolinians about various civil liberties, mainly those of a sexual nature.

Burke's study uses thirty years' worth of opinion trend data extracted from the

General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC).

The data examined was gathered periodically between 1973 and 2006 with the idea that

significant opinion shifts would be observed as a result of the emergence of the gay

rights movement in 1969 (Burke, 2008). Throughout the 1970's, 80's and 90's, images

and writings pertaining to gay culture and identity have moved increasingly into the

mainstream, with the result that "by 1995 even national book-store chains in

conservative areas of the U.S. had extensive gay and lesbian sections" (Burke, 2008, p.

248), and that "gay- and lesbian-themed images are now common in U.S. popular

culture" (Burke, 2008, p. 248).

Burke's findings revealed that a majority of people actually did not support the removal of gay-themed materials from libraries at any time that data was gathered, with an average of 34.7% in support of removal; this was in spite of the fact that a majority of respondents did in fact think that homosexuality was wrong (opinion ranged from 88.6% to 67.7% over time frame) (Burke, 2008). Furthermore, opinion about book removal was shown to shift over the time frame, as did opinion about homosexuality being wrong, both of these values showing a downward trend over time and across all demographics. The data analysis showed the most statistically significant variances in the education level demographic (with less educated people more inclined toward book removal) and in people's opinion on whether homosexuality is wrong (with people agreeing with this view being more inclined toward removal) (Burke, 2008).

Carpenter's (1988) study was conducted in 1987 on a random sample of 497 adults from North Carolina, which incidentally is also the location for this study's research. It was purported to gauge public attitudes with respect to sexual mores and beliefs about civil liberties and censorship. Respondents answered a series of survey questions one of which was the following: "The local library should not remove books from its shelves just because they criticize churches and religion. Which position would you say is closest to your own: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree?" (Carpenter, 1988) The responses to this item were scored and used to divide the respondents into two columns: "defenders" and "censors." Each column group was analyzed in relation to demographic data measured by other questions in the survey relating to religion, political tendency and attitude toward various civil liberty issues,

including questions about pornography, sex education and the right of groups to assemble.

Carpenter's research showed that North Carolinians in the late 1980's were surprisingly permissive regarding sex-related civil liberties. For example, 93% of defenders and 82% of censors thought that public schools should include sex education in their program; and 80% of defenders and 55% of censors thought that any adult that wants to have pornographic materials should be allowed to (Carpenter, 1988). The study concludes that the majority of people in the defenders column identify themselves as churchgoing political moderates, though less inclined to "born again" fundamentalism than the censors group (Carpenter, 1988).

Why Do Libraries Get Complaints, and Who Makes Them?

Instead of focusing exclusively on library responses to challenges, both Curry (2001) and Saltman (1998) take a detailed look at what motivates users to make them. This approach is indicative of a movement in library censorship studies away from simply avoiding conflict with censors and toward a more direct diagnosis of the underlying problems.

Curry's paper examines the most common recorded reasons for challenges in school and public libraries in the U.S. and Canada between 1984 and 1999. According to her findings, when sexual reasons for challenges are combined under one category (sexual activity, homosexuality, and sexual acts considered to be immoral or illegal), they top the list at 34%, followed by profanity at 17%. Reasons citing inappropriate

portrayals of religion, witchcraft, or horror/violence all tie at 9%. Other categories

include rebellion, substance use/abuse, racism/sexism, crime, and suicide/death (Curry,

2001). Saltman's (1998) article is a narrative survey of objections leveled at children's

and young adult literature in the U.S. and Canada going back to the 19th Century,

encompassing an exhaustive range of complaints with seemingly every conceivable

perspective attacked for one reason or another.

LaRue's (2007) book *The New Inquisition: Understanding and Managing*

Intellectual Freedom Challenges proves adept at exploring the motivations of library

censors, probing deeper than most writers in the literature into the cultural, political,

religious, and generational differences that seem to draw clear dividing lines between

many social groups in America. LaRue brings his more than twenty years of experience

as a public librarian to bear in his arguments and is able to identify some convincing

areas of common ground that might help bridge some of these divisions.

LaRue also leads by example in his unusual and courageous tactic for proactively

addressing the censorship issue: maintaining a continuous dialogue with community

groups that have complained of being underrepresented in the library's collection, or

that have been critical of some its holdings. In LaRue's case, these are the Christian

group Friends of the Family and the conservative group Concerned Douglas County

Taxpayers, whose meetings he will often attend (LaRue, 2007). This approach is

commendable, first in that it demonstrates respect for any community member or

group regardless of political or religious persuasion, and secondly because it involves

analyzing community needs by getting to know real community members, including

people associated with groups often denigrated by the library profession.

In the research outlined above, the importance of some form of written

selection policy in dealing with challenges is highlighted in Heuertz (1994), Fiske

(Lowenthal, 1959), Wirth (1996), Schrader (1992), Hopkins & Univ. of Wisc. (1991),

McDonald et al. (1993) and LaRue (2007). Since selection policies are intended to reflect

the information needs of the community, the policy adopted by a public library should

logically address the needs of as many community members as possible. But how is this

to be done when the religious or political affiliation of certain groups in the community

automatically removes them from the conversation? LaRue sums up the value of his

outreach efforts thusly: "It is too easy to demonize our enemies. But it is easiest when

you don't actually have to talk to them" (2007, p. 44).

Although Abbott's (1990) examination of the proliferation of pressure groups

focuses on the political and religious right, it is pointed out that complaints will also

come from the left, citing perennial challenges against Mark Twain's *The Adventures of*

Huckleberry Finn on the grounds of racism. In an appeal to fairness, Abbott proposes

the aim of having a balanced collection, one containing resources that present multiple

sides of a contentious issue such as the evolution vs. creationism debate. The author

nevertheless acknowledges a scarcity of resources that can be used to review

conservative literature for quality (Abbott, 1990). Saltman echoes the point that library

censorship is too often perceived as issuing only from conservative circles, and that in

reality "advocates of censorship of children's literature on the left of the political

spectrum are becoming uneasy bedfellows with the traditional advocates of censorship, those on the right" (Saltman, 1998, p. 9).

Amidst this confusing mix of attitudes, the only clear point to emerge is that more light must be shed on the complex motivations behind library censorship.

As this paper has discussed, one persistent hurdle in making any nuanced observations of challenges at public libraries centers on the concern for safeguarding the privacy of patrons and their reading selections. This exploratory study has attempted a novel way of addressing the confidentiality issue. With the cooperation of ALA's Office for Intellectual Freedom, which maintains a database of reported challenges from across the United States, the researcher received a special set of data relating to challenge cases at public and school libraries in the state of North Carolina. The data omitted institution and patron names, but included the first three digits of the zip codes where challenges were reported. This information permitted the "clustering" of challenges into groups corresponding to regions within the state, large enough to safeguard the confidentiality of individuals, but small enough to permit comparison and contrast across the regions, including some demographic analysis.

In employing this "zoom in" approach, the study intended to realize two main objectives: (1.) To observe the records of formal challenge activity in each 3-digit zip code cluster for trends, patterns, similarities and differences, and (2.) to search for conditions of correlation between challenge data from each cluster and corresponding regional demographic data obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau's website. Such an analysis would not only yield a richer picture of the communities of users in these

regions, but would also afford a more fine-grained view of the challenge process and its

consequences than is generally available to researchers of this phenomenon.

Method

On October 26th, 2009, ALA's Office of Intellectual Freedom sent the researcher

a set of data pulled from the ALA Challenge Database. This database represents a

compilation of challenge records submitted by individuals and news agencies across the

nation. The names of the institutions receiving challenges, their towns, and patron

names are kept confidential. The dataset for this study consisted of the record of every

formal challenge received at public libraries, school libraries and schools in North

Carolina from 1990 to 2009. The columns provided for each record were as follows:

challenged titles and their authors, dates of challenge reports, status of material in each

case (challenge outcome), type or format of challenged materials, reasons cited for each

challenge, type of institution receiving each challenge, and the first 3 digits of the zip

code where each challenge was reported.

The data was in the form of a Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet file. Since challenges

at public libraries are the main focus of this study, the challenge records in the

spreadsheet were sorted by institution type so that records from public libraries could

be analyzed. This data subset was then sorted by 3-digit zip code cluster so that

challenge records could be grouped into regions within the state and analyzed at as

close to a local level as the data would permit and the requirements of confidentiality

would allow.

To obtain demographic data corresponding to the zip code clusters, the researcher consulted the website of the U.S. Census Bureau. By manipulating the site's American Fact Finder querying tool, tables of demographic data for each cluster were retrieved from the 2000 Decennial Census Summary Files 1 and 3 (United States Census Bureau, 2009).

The 2000 Census was chosen as a data source for two reasons: First, this data roughly straddles the chronological middle of the range of challenge report dates. Also, the 2000 Decennial is the most recent Census dataset containing information on 5- and 3-digit Zip Code Tabulation Areas, or ZCTA's, land areas which roughly correspond with U.S. Postal Service zip codes.[1] The 3-digit ZCTA's in particular are near exact matches to the clustered regions represented in the ALA challenge data (**Appendix I**). This made them ideal regions for analysis in this study.

Census data was downloaded and compiled for each ZCTA (or zip code cluster), including measures for population, urban population, populations of North Carolina's primary ethnic groups (African American, Latino, Asian, White), educational attainment, occupation, median household income, population below the poverty level, median age, and various measures of family households.

Challenge data and census data (both arranged by zip code cluster) were then arrayed in spreadsheets so that scatterplot graphs could be generated, thereby permitting a detailed observation of shapes indicating relationships among the arrays.

Findings and Discussion

3-Digit ZCTA	# Challenges
270**	0
271**	0
272**	0
273**	1
274**	1
275**	4
276**	1
277**	1
278**	0
279**	0
280**	0
281**	0
282**	4
283**	23
284**	0
285**	1
286**	0
287**	1
288**	0
289**	0
Totals:	37

Table 1

Some peculiarities in the data on public libraries challenges quickly proved problematic for the kind of demographic analysis initially proposed. To begin with, there were significantly fewer challenges reported at North Carolina public libraries than anticipated—37 challenged resources overall (**Table 1**). Even accounting for the OIF's estimate that informal challenges far outnumber reported ones (Steffen, 2002), 37 challenges over nearly twenty years strikes one as a surprisingly low number. In addition, challenge numbers were extremely imbalanced among the regional clusters. Of twenty total zip code clusters in the state, 11 reported no formal challenges at public libraries whatsoever. Of the remaining regions, several produced between 1 and 4 challenges, while one region (zip codes 283**) reported an astonishingly high outlier value of 23. The range of values between 4 and 23 was completely empty. Identical reporting dates for certain challenges in the 283** region, coupled with similarities in titles challenged, suggest that some cases involved multiple titles being challenged by a single patron or group.

In terms of challenge numbers, a data array with these characteristics naturally produces a fairly flat scatterplot, with a large portion of values resting on the baseline of the *y*-axis. In effect, the discontinuous range of *y* values rendered largely meaningless

shapes in the scatterplots, and the aim of calculating statistical measures of correlation with demographic factors was abandoned in favor of other approaches.

The relative lack of challenge reports at North Carolina public libraries became a major focus of the analysis, prompting several potential explanations for this characteristic:

1. North Carolina public library patrons generally do not challenge public library materials;

2. North Carolina public library patrons are hesitant to register challenges formally;

3. Many North Carolina public library patrons would like to register materials challenges but cannot because their library has no formalized protocol for challenge reports; or

4. Due to poor record keeping and under-reporting by public library administrators, many North Carolina challenges go unrecorded.

It is impossible for the data to tell whether it is the result of any one of the above reasons or a combination, but either proposition provides ample food for thought to any public library in the state. In any case, the features of the data seemed to be leading the analysis in a different direction. Attention was turned to the data subset compiled for challenges to schools and school libraries, to see whether a comparison between the two sets revealed any further insights about points of interest in either set.
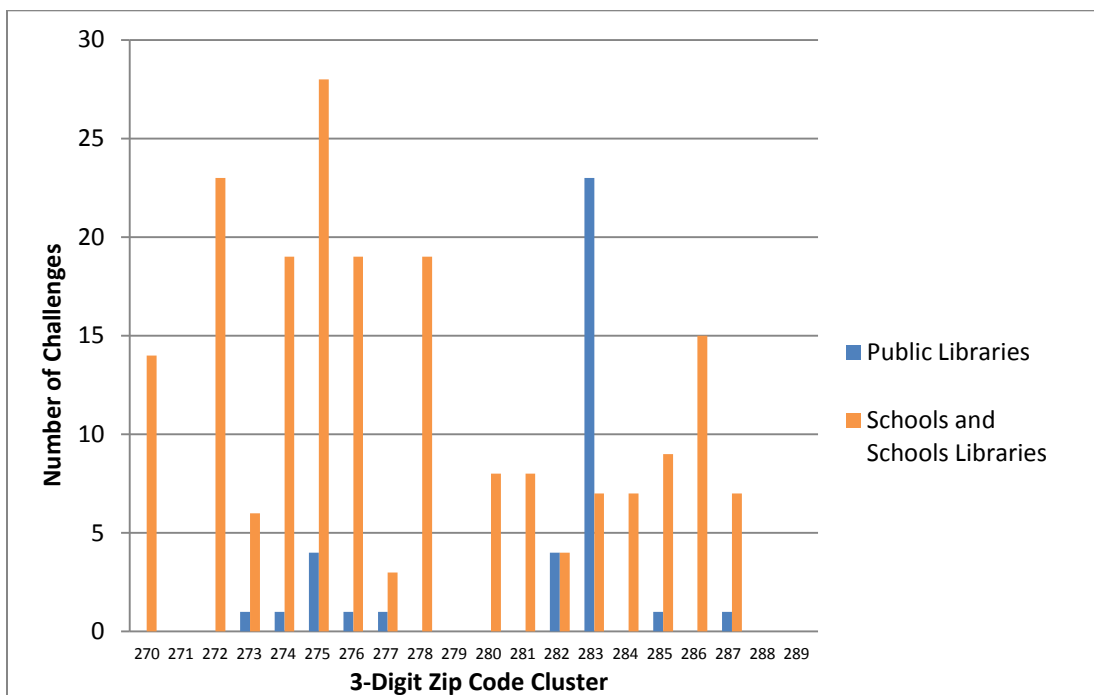
Chart 1

As **Chart 1** illustrates, a side by side comparison of challenge numbers reveals

school libraries to be far ahead of public libraries in this category in every regional

cluster except the rogue 283** cluster for public libraries. Note that neither institution

type records any challenges for the 271**, 279**, 288**, or 289** clusters. The

difference in sheer volume of challenge records between these two groups confirms

assertions made by Foerstel (2002), Jones (1983), and Fiske (Lowenthal, 1959), all of

whom compare challenge phenomena at both types of institutions. Despite a few

clusters that reported no challenges, challenges at schools are more evenly distributed

across the state than at public libraries, suggesting more of a consensus opinion among

North Carolina adults regarding the importance of controlling what their children read in

school.

The information in **Table 2** (**Appendix II**) gives a more detailed representation of challenge activity in both institution types, displaying challenged titles and corresponding authors in each regional cluster side by side. The titles seen in both columns reflect larger trends: Of the thirty most banned books for the years 1990-2000 listed in Green's (2005) *Encyclopedia of Censorship*, 25 of the selections have titles, series, or authors in common with books challenged in North Carolina public and school libraries; 23 of the ALA's top thirty most frequently challenged books for the years 1990-1999 (American Library Association, 2009) have titles, series, or authors in common with the North Carolina lists. As would be expected, the lists in the public libraries column contain several adult titles not seen in the schools column (Henry Miller's *Opus Pistorum*, *Playboy* Magazine). Curiously, there was not a single challenged title in common at both a school library and a public library within a single regional cluster. One might expect that in certain communities where, say, a challenge at a school library receives a public airing, the uproar would result in the same title being challenged at that community's public library, whether brought by the same challenger or a different individual.

All of the reviewed surveys of regional challenges dating from the 1990's that mention format cite books as the most frequently challenged of all public library formats (ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom, 2000; ALA Office of Intellectual Freedom, 2008; Heuertz, 1994; Steffen, 2002; Wirth, 1996), and the North Carolina public library data, while scant, shows that of the 37 recorded challenges 33 (89.2%) were against books, 2 (5.4%) were against magazines, and there was one challenge each (2.7%)

against a video and the online resource *MySpace.com*. Of the much larger set of school

challenges (196 total), the ratio was even more stacked in favor of books, the only

exceptions being 2 magazines, 2 student publications, one video, and one play.

The ALA Challenge Database Form[2] has certain prescribed reasons for materials

challenges, and the reported reasons for challenges in North Carolina cover nearly the

entire spectrum as seen in **Table 3** (**Appendix III**). The only reasons not cited by either

type of institution were "Sexism," "Inaccuracy," and "Abortion." Wirth (1996), Heuertz

(1994) and Fiske (Lowenthal, 1959) have cited reasons of sexually explicit content as the

most prevalent for library challenges, and Curry's (2001) study adds "profanity" as a

runner-up. In school libraries in North Carolina, "Offensive Language" challenges

actually outnumber those for "Sexually Explicit" content, but both top the list at 81

(41.3%) and 62 (31.6%) respectively. Other prominent reasons were "Unsuited to Age

Group" at 42 (21.4%) and "Religious Viewpoint" at 19 (9.6%). In public libraries,

challenges for "Sexually Explicit" content and "Offensive Language" were both

outnumbered by challenges for "Homosexuality" totaling 18, or an extremely high

48.6%. This is mainly attributable to the multiple challenges made against both Michael

Willhoite's *Daddy's Roommate* and Leslea Newman's *Heather Has Two Mommies*, both

titles which are ubiquitous on most-challenged lists from the 1990's. It seems almost

too obvious to mention that protests against books in J.K. Rowling's phenomenally

successful *Harry Potter* series drove up challenges for reasons relating to "Occult or

Satanism" and "Violence," particularly in school libraries.

In studies reviewing outcomes of challenges (i.e. what libraries ultimately decide to do with challenged materials), we repeatedly encounter impressively high rates of material retention in the neighborhood of 80 to 90% (Heuertz, 1994; McDonald et al., 1993; Wirth, 1996). The outcomes of North Carolina's challenges are not so overwhelmingly positive from the library's perspective (**Appendix IV - Table 4**). Totals of materials known to have been removed from shelves are not incredibly high: 1 (2.7%) for public libraries and 7 (3.6%) for schools. But retention rates are also quite low: 5 (13.5%) for public libraries and 27 (13.8%) for schools. It appears that the result of the vast majority of North Carolina materials challenges is "Unknown": 31 (83.8%) in public libraries and 162 (82.7%) in schools! Why would this be? Why should North Carolina be so different from Minnesota, Washington, and the rest of the country in this regard? A safe guess seems to be that the truth of the matter is hidden by incomplete reporting and insufficient records, not on the part of ALA but rather the individuals and institutions submitting the reports. North Carolina may actually have a higher than indicated challenge retention rate, but because of incomplete data, it is impossible now to say.

On a slightly less sour note, the dataset also provided a results column for "Material Stolen or Defaced." This was not included in analysis however, as there was not a single recorded case in the state. This is better news for all parties involved, since a stolen or destroyed article must surely represent a complete breakdown in trust between user and institution. On the other hand, who can say how many cases of this kind lurk in the "Unknown" column?

It should be mentioned that there was a third subset among the data received from ALA. It was also a group of records of challenges at institutions in North Carolina, but in the columns relating to institution type, these records were not indicated as having issued from a school, school library or a public library. Were these 48 challenge records yet more examples of inaccurate record keeping? Considering that the titles of certain of these items seemed more typical of public library collections (e.g. popular music and movie titles, a collection labeled "feminist library"), many of these records very probably were from public libraries. To add them to the array of data for known public library challenges would have enriched that data and potentially yielded more meaningful analysis results, but under the circumstances it was impossible.

When analyzing public library challenges in North Carolina, the data that is not there speaks just as loudly about the topic as the data that is written in black and white. As disappointing as it is to ascribe a low number of challenge records to incomplete data recording, it seems to be the simplest and most logical explanation. How else could North Carolina public libraries only produce 37 challenge cases in two decades while those in Washington State produce 600 in only three years (Heuertz, 1994)?

Conclusion

A corollary to the individual's right of free access to information is the right to express one's opinion about the information accessed, a right that is exercised by every person or group bringing a challenge to a library. While there is not much precedent in library science literature for viewing challenges in this light, challenge procedures that

are in place at most public libraries are for the purpose of addressing genuine community concerns, not for putting up barriers to communication and turning a deaf ear to user input.

If handled correctly and with genuine sensitivity, many challenge incidents should provide the opportunity to begin a productive dialogue between challenger and information provider, some of which may be long lasting (LaRue, 2007). For this process to be effective, however, public librarians must both be conversant with the dynamics, practices, and protocols for handling challenge cases as well as diligent keepers of challenge records, so that librarians in the future can observe and learn from past events.

If a public library continuously has frequent and troubling confrontations with challenge bringers, it could be for any number of reasons. The problems may stem from community members with ulterior political agendas, from ill-defined and inconsistently enforced institutional policy regarding reconsideration requests, or from simple lack of awareness of the principles behind these conflicts. The solution to these problems is not to sweep materials challenges under the rug at the earliest opportunity, but rather to refine the process of receiving challenges so that useful information can be drawn from it, regardless of the outcome. If the challenge process is managed by library administration with due care, the community should be able to move onward from potentially hurtful scenarios, and people who would otherwise feel alienated by library policy might join in the dialogue about censorship.

This kind of proactive approach has the advantage of demonstrating the library's commitment to listen to its community's opinions. In the process, it should also show that the library's defense of its collections is for the purpose of recognizing and including a diverse range of viewpoints, including those held by all members of the community served. Incidentally, the inclusion of outlying viewpoints should be seen as a benefit to the library as well. Without an honest assessment of these perspectives, the public library cannot hope to enter into a real dialogue with every facet of its community, and as a consequence, cannot effectively communicate the importance of its mission.

Notes:

1. USPS zip codes are derived from local lists of mailing addresses and mail delivery routes, whereas U.S. Census Zip Code Tabulation Areas are defined by discrete measurements of land area that contain the populations living at those addresses. The different calculation processes can lead to slight variations in boundary lines.
2. The ALA Challenge Database Form is accessible through the ALA website as a PDF file linked to from this URL: http://www.ala.org/ala/issuesadvocacy/banned/challengeslibrarymaterials/challengereporting/index.cfm

Appendix I. - Downloaded from www.census.gov; American Fact Finder – Data Sets – Decennial Census 2000 Reference Maps
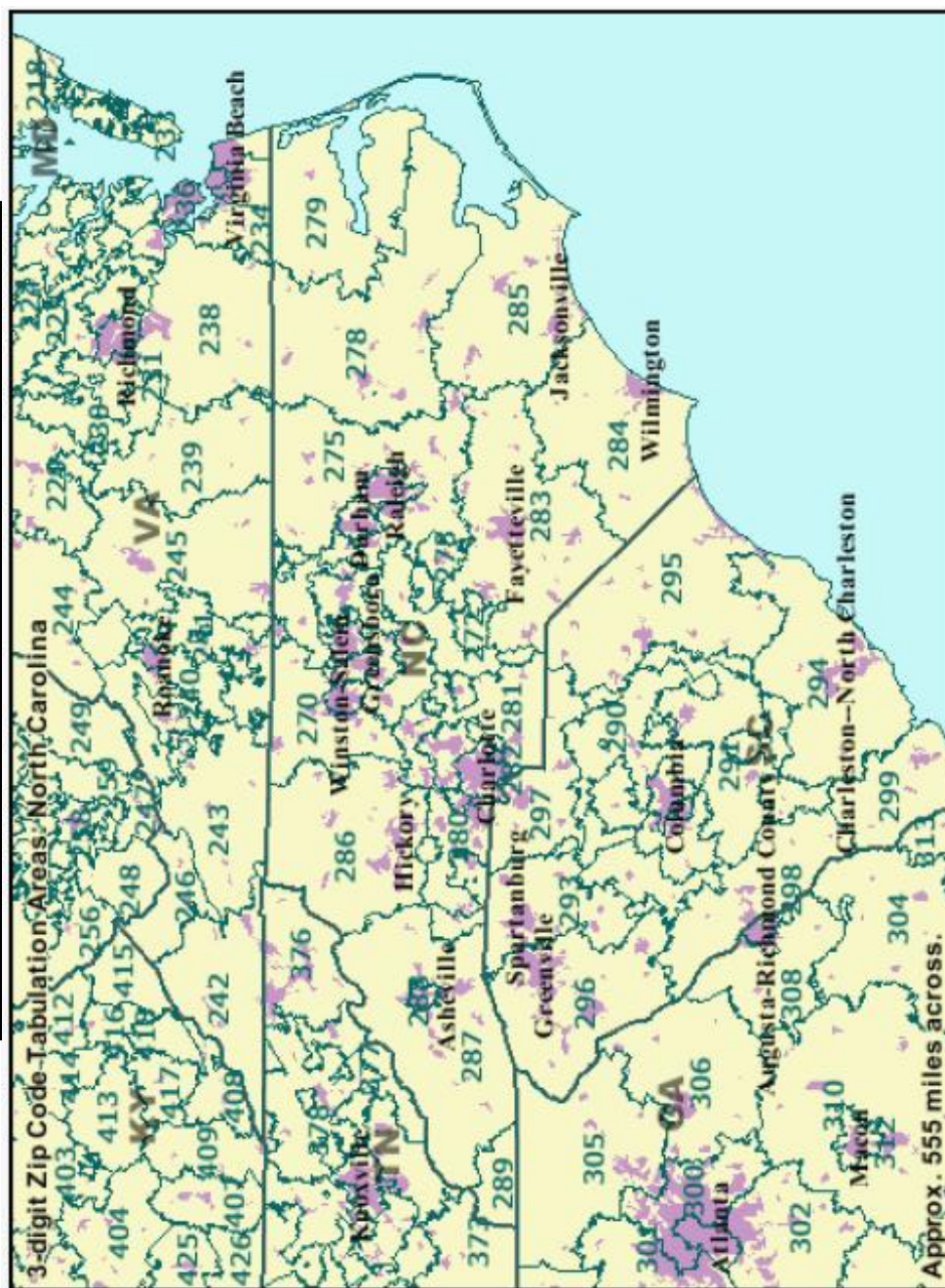
Appendix II. – Challenged Titles, Authors in each zip code cluster

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries		Schools and School Libraries	
	Challenged Title	Author or Performer	Challenged Title	Author or Performer
270**	No Challenges On Record		Crazy Lady	Conly, Jane Leslie
			Felita	Mohr, Nicholasa
			Gulf	Westale, Robert
			I Had Seen Castles	Rylant, Cynthia
			Jack	Homes, A.M.
			James and the Giant Peach	Dahl, Roald
			Johnny Tremain	Forbes, Esther
			Maniac Magee	Spinelli, Jerry
			My Darling My Hamburger	Zindel, Paul
			My Teacher is a Vampire	Mayer, Mercer
			Night Kites	Kerr, M.E.
			Toughing It	Springer, Nancy
			Upstairs Room, The	Reiss, Johanna
			Wild Kid, The	Mazer, Harry
271**	No Challenges On Record		No Challenges On Record	
272**	No Challenges On Record		A Wrinkle in Time	L'Engle, Madeleine
			Achingly Alice	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds
			Boy Who Reversed Himself, The	Streator, William
			Bridge to Terabithia (2)	Paterson, Katherine
			Color Purple, The	Walker, Alice
			DeGrassi Junior High	(Video)
			Draw Me a Star	Carle, Eric
			Eric	Lund, Doris
			Green Berets	Guth, Tom Streiss
			Happy Birth Day	Harris, Robie
			I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings (2)	Angelou, Maya
			I Want to Keep My Baby	Lee, Joanna
			More Scary Stories (To Tell In The Dark)	Schwartz, Alvin
			Outsiders, The	Hinton, S.E.
			Red Pony, The	Steinbeck, John
			Sounder	Armstrong, William

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries		Schools and School Libraries	
	Challenged Title	Author or Performer	Challenged Title	Author or Performer
272** cont.	No Challenges On Record		Staying Fat for Sarah Byrnes	Crutcher, Chris
			Stranger With My Face	Duncan, Lois
			Third Eye, The	Hunter, Molly
			Underworld	(Student Publication)
			Witches, The	Dahl, Roald
273**	Mammoth Hunters, The	Auel, Jean	A Day No Pigs Would Die	Peck, Robert Newton
			Are You In the House Alone?	Peck, Richard
			Find a Stranger, Say Goodbye	Lowry, Lois
			Place of Lions, The	Campbell, Eric
			Rumor Has It	De Grassi Series
			Sounder	Armstrong, William
274**	Playboy	(Magazine)	Anastasia At Your Service	Lowry, Lois
			Are You There, God? It's Me, Margaret	Blume, Judy
			Bridge to Terabithia	Paterson, Katherine
			Castle Roogna	Anthony, Piers
			Color Purple, The	Walker, Alice
			Crewel Lye: A Caustic Yarn	Anthony, Piers
			Deenie	Blume, Judy
			Dragon on a Pedastal	Anthony, Piers
			Isle of View	Anthony, Piers
			Jack	Homes, A.M.
			Kaffir Boy	Mathabane, Mark
			Native Son (2)	Wright, Richard
			Nightmare	Anthony, Piers
			Ogre, Ogre	Anthony, Piers
			Old Gringo, The (2)	Fuentes, Carlos
			Phaze Doubt	Anthony, Piers
			Streetcar Named Desire, A	Williams, Tennessee
275**	Birth of a Nation (Video)	Griffith, D.W.	Agony of Alice	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds
	Black Hole	Burns, Charles	Alice in April	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds
	Daddy's Roommate (2)	Willhoite, Michael	Alice in Between	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries		Schools and School Libraries	
	Challenged Title	Author or Performer	Challenged Title	Author or Performer
275** cont.	See list preceding page		Alice in Rapture, Sort of	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds
			All About Alice	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds
			Beloved	Morrison, Toni
			Blubber	Blume, Judy
			Boy Who Wasn't There, The	Wilhelm, Hans
			Bridge to Terabithia	Paterson, Katherine
			Color Purple, The	Walker, Alice
			Day No Pigs Would Die, A	Peck, Robert Newton
			Earth, My Butt, and Other Big Round Things, The	Mackler, Carolyn
			Fighting Ground, The	Avi
			Goats, The	Cole, Brock
			How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents	Alvarez, Julia
			Jacob Two-Two Meets the Hooded Fan (2)	Richler, Mordecai
			Jump Ball-- A Basketball Season in Poems	Glenn, Mel
			Kaffir Boy	Mathabane, Mark
			My Brother Sam is Dead	Collier, James Lincoln and Christopher Collier
			Reading Between the Labels	Littig, Eileen
			Rice w/o Rain	Ho, Ming Fong
			Scary Stories (series)	Schwartz, Alvin
			Seeing, Saying, Doing, Playing: A Big Book of Action Words	Gomi, Taro
			Sitter, The	Stine, R.L.
			Ultimate Guide to the Justice League of America, The	Beatty, Scott
			What's Happening to Me?	Mayle, Peter
			William's Doll	Zolotow, Charlotte
276**	MySpace	(Online Resource)	A Wizard of Earthsea (2)	Le Guin, Ursula
			Beloved	Morrison, Toni
			Beyond the Chocolate War	Cormier, Robert
			Billy	Brooks, Bruce
			Bridge to Terabithia	Paterson, Katherine

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries		Schools and School Libraries	
	Challenged Title	Author or Performer	Challenged Title	Author or Performer
276** cont.	See list preceding page		Cassell Dictionary of Slang	Green, Jonathan
			Chocolate War, The	Cormier, Robert
			Color Purple, The	Walker, Alice
			Eagle Eye	(Student Publication)
			Harry Potter (series)	Rowling, J.K.
			In the Night Kitchen	Sendak, Maurice
			Junie B. Jones and Some Sneaky, Peaky Spying	Park, Barbara
			Kaffir Boy	Mathabane, Mark
			Outrageously Alice	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds
			Paw Prints	(Magazine)
			Reluctantly Alice	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds
			Rotten Ralph	Gantos, Jack
			Witch Returns, The	Naylor, Phyllis
277**	Mammoth Hunters, The	Auel, Jean	Pirate's Hook	(Student Publication)
			Soul of Christmas	King, Helen
			Upstairs Room, The	Reiss, Johanna
278**	No Challenges On Record		Abarat: Days of Magic, Nights of War	Barker, Clive
			Briar Rose	Yolen, Jane
			Bridge to Terabithia	Paterson, Katherine
			Color Purple, The	Walker, Alice
			Crazy Lady	Conly, Jane Leslie
			Curses, Hexes, and Spells	Cohen, Daniel
			Fahrenheit 451	Bradbury, Ray
			Falling Down	Sachar, Louis
			Harry Goes to Daycamp	Ziefert, James
			Hunt for Red October, The	Clancy, Tom
			Jurassic Park	Crichton, Michael
			Kissing Stars, The (2)	Dawson, Geralyn
			Lizard	Covington, Dennis
			Moves Make The Man, The	Brooks, Bruce
			Rolling Stone	(Magazine)
			Scary Stories to Tell in the Dark	Schwartz, Alvin
			Scorpions	Myers, Walter Dean
			Taming the Star Runner	Hinton, S.E.

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries		Schools and School Libraries	
	Challenged Title	Author or Performer	Challenged Title	Author or Performer
279**	No Challenges On Record		No Challenges On Record	
280**	No Challenges On Record		Fat Kid Rules the World	Going, K.L.
			I Once Knew a Man	Brandenberg, Franz
			Like Water for Chocolate	Esquivel, Laura
			Never Quite Dead	Shubin, Seymour
			Outrageously Alice	Naylor, Phyllis Reynolds
			Sisterhood of the Traveling Pants, The	Brashares, Ann
			Warrior and the Wiseman, The	Wisniewski, David
			Wicked Jack	Wooldrige, Connie
281**	No Challenges On Record		Band of Angels	Thompson, Julian
			Bury Me Deep	Pike, Christopher
			Cold One, The	Pike, Christopher
			Draw 50 Monsters, Creeps, Superheroes, Demons, Dragons	Ames, Lee
			Jack	Homes, A.M.
			Remember Me 3: The Last Story	Pike, Christopher
			R-Rated Videos	
			Then Again, Maybe I Won't	Blume, Judy
282**	Boys and Sex	Pomeroy, Wardell	And Tango Makes Three	Parnell, Peter and Justin Richardson
	Faber Book of Gay Short Fiction, The	White, Edmund	Deenie	Blume, Judy
	Girls and Sex	Pomeroy, Wardell	Mountain Valor	Houston, Gloria
	To Kill a Mockingbird	Lee, Harper	Pinkerton, Behave!	Kellogg, Steven
283**	An Underground Education	Zacks, Richard	Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman with Related Readings, The	Gaines, Ernest
	Chocolate to Morphine: Understanding Mind Active Drugs	Weil, Andrew	Big Ugly Monster and the Little Stone Rabbit, The	Wormell, Chris
	Daddy's Roommate (5)	Willhoite, Michael	Bluest Eye, The	Morrison, Toni
	Dragon Magazine		Deenie	Blume, Judy
	Duke Who Outlawed Jelly Beans, The (2)	Valentine, Johnny	Heart Is a Lonely Hunter, The	McCullers, Carson
	Heather Has Two Mommies (5)	Newman, Leslea	Let's Get a Pup, Said Kate	Graham, Bob
	History Laid Bare	Zacks, Richard	Rolling Harvey Down the Hill	Prelutsky, Jack

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries		Schools and School Libraries	
	Challenged Title	Author or Performer	Challenged Title	Author or Performer
283** cont.	Intimate Circle, The	Ehrenberg, Miriam	See list preceding page	
	It's Perfectly Normal	Harris, Robie		
	Knowing	McMillan, Rosalyn		
	Men In Love	Friday, Nancy		
	Opus Pistorum	Miller, Henry		
	Panic Snap	Reese, Laura		
	Thy Neighbor's Wife	Talese, Fay		
284**	No Challenges On Record		A Woman Called Moses	Heidish, Marcy
			Dogwolf	Carter, Alden
			Fun House	Koontz, Dean
			King & King	de Haan, Linda
			Monkey Island	Fox, Paula
			Nora: Maybe a Ghost Story	Greene, Constance
			Revolting Rhymes	Dahl, Roald
285**	And Tango Makes Three	Parnell, Peter and Justin Richardson	A Bell for Adano	Hersey, John
			A. Nonny Mouse Writes Again	Prelutsky, Jack
			Bingo Brown And The Language Of Love	Byars, Betsy
			Catcher in the Rye, The	Salinger, J.D.
			Color Purple, The	Walker, ALice
			Death Be Not Proud	Gunther, John
			Fallen Angels	Myers, Walter Dean
			Family Secrets	Klein, Norma
			Scary Stories to Tell in the Dark	Schwartz, Alvin
286**	No Challenges On Record		A Wrinkle in Time (2)	L'Engle, Madeleine
			Bluest Eye, The	Morrison, Toni
			Bridge to Terabithia	Paterson, Katherine
			Catcher in the Rye	Salinger, J.D.
			Color Purple, The	Walker, Alice
			Fighting Ground, The	Avi
			Goosebumps (series)	Stine, R.L.
			Great Gilly Hopkins, The	Paterson, Katherine
			Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone	Rowling, J.K.
			It's Perfectly Normal	Harris, Robie
			Kite Runner, The	Hosseini, Khaled
			Missing Mae	Rylant, Cynthia

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries		Schools and School Libraries	
	Challenged Title	Author or Performer	Challenged Title	Author or Performer
286** cont.	No Challenges On Record		Pumsy in Pursuit of Excellence	(Textbook)
			Stupids Die, The	Allard, Harry
287**	Pinkerton, Behave!	Kellogg, Steven	A Separate Peace	Knowles, John
			Bats in the Belfry	(Play)
			Cross Your Fingers, Spit in Your Hat	Schwartz, Alvin
			Day No Pigs Would Die, A	Peck, Robert Newton
			Shattered	Koontz, Dean
			Watchers, The	Koontz, Dean
			Whispers	Koontz, Dean
288**	No Challenges On Record		No Challenges On Record	
289**	No Challenges On Record		No Challenges On Record	

Appendix III. – Reasons for Challenges in each zip code cluster

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries	Schools and School Libraries
	Reasons For Challenges	
270**	No Challenges On Record	Racism (2), Sexually Explicit (1), Offensive Language (7), Religious Viewpoint (1), Unsuited to Age Group (5), Drugs (1), Occult or Satanism (1), Violence (1)
271**	No Challenges On Record	No Challenges On Record
272**	No Challenges On Record	Insensitivity (1), Racism (1), Sex Education (1), Sexually Explicit (7), Anti-Family (1), Offensive Language (7), Religious Viewpoint (7), Unsuited to Age Group (5), Occult or Satanism (1), Violence (4), Other Ground (1)
273**	Sexually Explicit (1)	Racism (1), Homosexuality (1), Sexually Explicit (2), Offensive Language (4), Other Ground (1)
274**	Sexually Explicit (1)	Sexually Explicit (12), Offensive Language (4), Unsuited to Age Group (4), Occult or Satanism (1), Violence (1)
275**	Homosexuality (2), Nudity (1), Anti-Family (1), Political Viewpoint (1), Unsuited to Age Group (1), Violence (1)	Insensitivity (1), Homosexuality (2), Sex Education (1), Sexually Explicit (14), Offensive Language (8), Religious Viewpoint (1), Unsuited to Age Group (7), Drugs (1), Violence (2), Other Ground (5)

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries	Schools and School Libraries
	Reasons For Challenges	
276**	Other Ground (1)	Homosexuality (1), Sexually Explicit (1), Offensive Language (10), Religious Viewpoint (1), Unsuited to Age Group (3), Occult or Satanism (5), Other Ground (3)
277**	Sexually Explicit (1), Offensive Language (1)	Homosexuality (1), Sexually Explicit (1), Offensive Language (1)
278**	No Challenges On Record	Racism (1), Sexually Explicit (3), Offensive Language (10), Unsuited to Age Group (2), Drugs (1), Occult of Satanism (1), Violence (1), Other Ground (3)
279**	No Challenges On Record	No Challenges On Record
280**	No Challenges On Record	Nudity (1), Sexually Explicit (3), Offensive Language (4), Religious Viewpoint (1), Unsuited to Age Group (1), Suicide (1), Other Ground (1)
281**	No Challenges On Record	Sexually Explicit (3), Offensive Language (5), Religious Viewpoint (2), Unsuited to Age Group (6), Occult or Satanism (1), Violence (1)
282**	Racism (1), Homosexuality (1), Sexually Explicit (3), Offensive Language (1)	Homosexuality (1), Sexually Explicit (1), Unsuited to Age Group (1), Violence (2), Other Ground (1),
283**	Homosexuality (14), Sex Education (1), Sexually Explicit (10), Offensive Language (2), Unsuited to Age Group (2), Drugs (1), Occult or Satanism (1), Violence (1)	Sexually Explicit (2), Offensive Language (2), Religious Viewpoint (2), Other Ground (3)
284**	No Challenges On Record	Homosexuality (1), Sexually Explicit (1), Offensive Language (4), Unsuited to Age Group (2), Violence (1)
285**	Anti-Ethnic (1), Homosexuality (1)	Racism (1), Sexually Explicit (2), Anti-Family (1), Offensive Language (3), Religious Viewpoint (1), Unsuited to Age Group (2), Violence (1)
286**	No Challenges On Record	Racism (1), Sexually Explicit (5), Offensive Language (8), Religious Viewpoint (3), Unsuited to Age Group (2), Occult or Satanism (4), Other Ground (1)
287**	Unsuited to Age Group (1), Violence (1)	Sexually Explicit (4), Offensive Language (4), Unsuited to Age Group (2), Occult or Satanism (1), Suicide (1)
288**	No Challenges On Record	No Challenges On Record
289**	No Challenges On Record	No Challenges On Record

Appendix IV. – Outcomes of Challenges in each zip code cluster

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries	Schools and School Libraries
	Outcomes of Challenge Cases	
270**	No Challenges On Record	Material Retained: 2 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 12
271**	No Challenges On Record	No Challenges On Record
272**	No Challenges On Record	Material Retained: 4 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 19
273**	Material Retained: 0 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 1	Material Retained: 1 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 5
274**	Material Retained: 0 Material Remove: 0 Unknown: 1	Material Retained: 2 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 17
275**	Material Retained: 2 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 2	Material Retained: 2 Material Removed: 1 Unknown: 25
276**	Material Retained: 0 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 1	Material Retained: 2 Material Removed: 1 Unknown: 16
277*	Material Retained: 1 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 0	Material Retained: 0 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 3
278**	No Challenges On Record	Material Retained: 1 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 18
279**	No Challenges On Record	No Challenges On Record
280**	No Challenges On Record	Material Retained: 3 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 5
281**	No Challenges On Record	Material Retained: 2 Material Removed: 3 Unknown: 3
282**	Material Retained: 0 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 4	Material Retained: 2 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 2
283**	Material Retained: 1 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 22	Material Retained: 2 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 5
284**	No Challenges On Record	Material Retained: 1 Material Removed: 1 Unknown: 5

3-digit zip code cluster	Public Libraries	Schools and School Libraries
	Outcomes of Challenge Cases	
285**	Material Retained: 1 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 0	Material Retained: 1 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 8
286**	No Challenges On Record	Material Retained: 2 Material Removed: 1 Unknown: 12
287**	Material Retained: 0 Material Removed: 1 Unknown: 0	Material Retained: 0 Material Removed: 0 Unknown: 7
288**	No Challenges On Record	No Challenges On Record
289**	No Challenges On Record	No Challenges On Record
Totals:	Material Retained: 5 Material Removed: 1 Unknown: 31	Material Retained: 27 Material Removed: 7 Unknown: 162

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