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A STUDY OF VALUES AND ATTITUDES
IN A TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY IN
KANAWHA COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA:
AN OVERT ACT OF OPPOSITION TO SCHOOLS

By

Don J. Goode

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF VALUES AND ATTITUDES IN A TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY IN KANAWHA COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA: AN OVERT ACT OF OPPOSITION TO SCHOOLS

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Don J. Goode

Incidents of overt opposition to schools have been recorded almost since the inception of public education in America. While there are many documented incidents of such opposition, little research has been done on the values and attitudes of those involved in those incidents. The purpose of this study has been to test the conceptual framework that those whose values lead them to oppose schools will also oppose other public institutions and that the attitudes they hold toward schools are reflective of more general values that they hold.

The study was developed in two parts. First, an anthropological set of data were collected on the cultural background and the chronology of the event of opposition to the schools, a textbook controversy that took place in Kanawha County, West Virginia. Second, data were gathered (through a survey method) on the values and attitudes of subjects involved in the incident. Each subject was asked to rank eighteen values on the Rokeach Value Survey and to respond to a series of attitude items on a likert-like scale. The

quantitative data were analyzed in order to test four hypotheses generated from the conceptual framework of the study. A total of 175 persons comprised the two groups in the study. Of these, 48 responses were received from subjects favoring the adoption of a set of textbooks and 33 responses were received from persons strongly opposing their adoption.

The findings of the study included the following:

1. There were three values on which the two groups differed to a statistically different degree. The greatest disagreement occurred on the value Salvation where the Pro-Text Group ranked it last and the Anti-Text Group ranked it first.
2. Statistically significant differences between the two groups occurred on six of ten items dealing with attitudes toward education.
3. While no statistically significant difference could be found between the two groups on their attitudes toward other public institutions, there was an observed tendency in that direction.
4. The study showed that for all respondents, their attitudes toward education were reflective of more general values that they held.

To my wife, Jill, who encouraged
this work and supported it in
many ways . . .

To my children, Brad and LariAnn,
who grew through the experience
of sacrifice . . .

To my parents, Ceil and Sol Goode,
who encouraged us to rise
above their shoulders . . .

To America, who rescued my
grandparents from oppression and
allowed us to all know freedom . . .

With deepest love . . .

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background Statement

The United States has a long and continuing history of censorship aimed at school textbooks. While this study will deal generally with attitudes and values that people hold toward public schools, the more specific issue of textbook censorship will be used as an example of citizens' attitudes and values about schools. Textbook censorship has been chosen because movements to ban textbooks have often resulted in clear, overt public opposition to schools. Participants in these banning movements are clearly identifiable for purposes of research.

Group pressures on textbooks in American public schools can be traced as far back as the post Civil War where some veterans of the Civil War raised charges that "textbooks were undermining the causes which they carried into battle at Shiloh, Bull Run, and Gettysburg."¹ The regional loyalties of the Civil War did not die easily and veterans from each side desired that their particular viewpoints should be supported in textbooks. Each side met with some degree of success.

¹J. Nelson and G. Roberts Jr., The Censors and the Schools (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), p. 25.

Textbook censorship movements in the United States have come in cycles, each cycle aimed at a different target. In the 1920s, Charles Grant Miller, a columnist for the Hearst newspaper chain, wrote a series of articles warning parents against "Anglicized" histories, articles that resulted in attacks on textbooks for anti-British reasons.² Antitextbook events subsided during the Great Depression years, but resurfaced in the late 1930s and early 1940s when several national organizations targeted textbooks that they felt threatened their American way of life. Representative of that era were the attacks on the textbooks of Harold Rugg spearheaded by the Guardians of American Education.³ Over a twenty year period, Rugg had produced a series of texts which were in use in over 4,000 American schools. The G.A.E. and other organizations branded Rugg as a "Frontier Thinker," and in a period of about five years the Rugg texts virtually disappeared from school use.

The post World War II years were characterized by attacks on books alleged to foster communism; books which were judged by their critics "to be at variance with morality, truth, justice or patriotism."⁴ In most instances, a national figure or a national organization led the attack against textbooks. While censorship attempts have continued, more recent attempts have been less associated with national figures or organizations and, in most

²Ibid., p. 27.

³Mary Anne Raywid, The Ax Grinders (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 51.

⁴Nelson and Roberts, The Censors and the Schools, p. 53.

cases, these activities are now directed at local schools by local groups.⁵ The targets of contemporary critics have been books that they have judged to be obscene, too value oriented, lacking in basic American ideals, and purveyors of secular humanism.

Much contemporary writing dealing with censorship of school textbooks has to do with trying to establish the incidence with which textbook banning attempts are occurring. Burris⁶ has been the most active in trying to establish the extent to which censorship attempts are taking place. Working with the National Council of Teachers of English, Burris conducted a survey of secondary school teachers who were members of the NCTE. Having compared his 1980 results with surveys taken in 1977 and 1966, Burris concluded that "censorship pressure (incidence) is a prominent and growing part of school life." Feedback from Burris' survey seemed to confirm Taylor's belief that censorship attempts seem to now be associated with local censorship groups.⁷ L.B. Woods⁸ conducted another kind of study by reviewing reported cases of censorship attempts as reported in the Newsletter on Intellectual freedom, a publication of the American Library Association which tracks censorship attempts. Woods concluded that there was

⁵Kenneth I. Taylor, "Are School Censorship Cases Really Increasing?" School Library Media Quarterly II (October 1982): 32.

⁶James E. Davis, ed., Dealing with Censorship (Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1979), p. 36.

⁷Ibid., p. 18.

⁸L.B. Woods, A Decade of Censorship in America (Metuchen, N.J., and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1979).

a significant increase in reported censorship cases from 1970-1975 when his study was completed.⁹

The previously mentioned Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom reports censorship attempts as the publisher becomes aware of them. The March 1982¹⁰ issue reported attempts to ban To Kill a Mockingbird from the Warren Township Schools in Warren, Indiana, a movement to ban Of Mice and Men in Newkirk, Oklahoma and an angry attempt to ban Studs Terkel's Working from classroom use in Girard, Pennsylvania. The January 1982¹¹ issue reported an attempted ban of Alexander Solzhenitzin's One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich in Buchland, Massachusetts. The November 1982¹² issue reported the removal from sixth through twelfth grade classrooms of one hundred copies of the Merriam Webster New Collegiate Dictionary in Carlsbad, New Mexico as a result of a parental complaint about obscenity. Literally hundreds of such events are cited by issues of the publication.

Each of these censorship movements and attempts were characterized by overt opposition to the schools. In each case, it appears that the targeted books contained some content which was offensive to the values of those involved in the opposition movement.

⁹Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁰American Library Association, Newsletter On Intellectual Freedom (Chicago: American Library Association, 1982), March, p. 47.

¹¹Ibid., January, p. 10.

¹²Ibid., November, p. 206.

Problem Statement

The general problem that this research project seeks to address is an insufficiency of available empirical research on the attitudes and values of those individuals involved in overt acts of opposition to the public schools. This problem will be studied by using textbook censorship as an incident through which these attitudes and values will be studied. Most available literature dealing with the censorship of school books has, like the studies of Burris¹³ and Woods¹⁴ dealt with data collection of incidence of textbook banning. While this information is valuable, it does not deal with those people actually involved in censorship attempts. Most literature dealing with censorship simply identifies it as a phenomenon associated with conservative persons or organizations. In contemporary times, publications such as the Kappan¹⁵ have associated censorship attempts with the New Right, a name given to the current conservative element of American society.

Perhaps the most comprehensive scholarly attempt at explaining the values and beliefs of those involved in censorship attempts can be found in a 1959 doctoral dissertation done by Mary Anne Raywid.¹⁶ While her work dealt generally with criticism of the schools, she has hypothesized that much educational criticism is accounted for by deep-rooted differences of belief in our society

¹³Davis, Dealing with Censorship.

¹⁴Woods, A Decade of Censorship in America.

¹⁵Ben Brodinski, "The New Right: The Movement and Its Impact," Kappan (October 1982): 87.

¹⁶Mary Anne Raywid, "Contemporary Educational Criticism: An Analysis and Appraisal" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1959).

regarding what "ought" to be. She referred to this phenomenon as "value cleavages."

Conceptual Framework

"Public education is an instrumentality of society for carrying out a function which society has decreed to be a desirable one - the education of all of the children of all of the people."¹⁷ Each state is charged with the responsibility of providing for the establishment of public schools, a responsibility which has fallen to the states as a result of the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. While each state has developed its own unique way of establishing and maintaining a public school system, a common denominator to each of the states has been the support of the public schools through the taxing of the citizenry. In addition to the funding that citizens provide to the schools, many of these citizens develop further relationships with the schools. Some contribute their time and some develop strong emotional ties to their schools.

Because schools receive such support from the public, they accumulate and control a great many resources, resources that accrue to the public schools a considerable amount of power. With their trained personnel and their control of considerable amounts of equipment and materials, the schools are able to determine the direction of education in their respective communities including, in

¹⁷E. Edmund Reutter, Jr. and Robert R. Hamilton, The Law of Public Education (Mineola, New York: The Foundation Press, Inc., 1976), p. 1.

large part, what children will be taught and by what pedagogical means. It follows, then, that the public school systems have at their disposal both goods and services which they must distribute among the citizenry which provides those resources.

The question of what method might be employed in determining the manner of distribution of these goods and services might be argued from many directions, but for the purposes of this study, emphasis will be placed on Nicholas Rescher's Distributive Justice.¹⁸

Aristotle¹⁹ described distributive justice as justice which "is exercised in the distribution of honor, wealth, and the other divisible assets of the community." Rescher,²⁰ while using Aristotle's definition as a springboard, has expanded on Aristotle's concept:

The scope of our concept will include the distribution of goods and evils generally, without regard to whether the distributing agent is an individual or a person proper, or a collective individual or person such as a corporation or state.

By Rescher's definition, the schools would qualify as an entity, as an arm of the state, which has both goods and evils to distribute. A most perplexing question centers around how these resources should be distributed. Experience tells us that there will be various groups competing for these resources and that these resources are not usually sufficient to fulfill all of the demands

¹⁸Nicholas Rescher, Distributive Justice (Indianapolis, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966).

¹⁹Ibid., p. 5.

²⁰Ibid., p. 6.

upon them. In order to answer the question, Rescher has grounded his theory in the "principle of utility" which asserts that utility should be distributed according to the rule of "the greatest good for the greatest number."²¹

While the "principle of utility" has an ideal sound to it, it is not exact enough in its simplest form to be helpful in determining just how resources may be distributed in a just manner. Herbert Spencer,²² for instance, has questioned the concept of equal shares for all:

"Everybody to count for one, nobody for more than one." Does this mean that whatever is proportioned out, each is to have the same share, whatever his character, whatever his conduct? Shall he if passive have as much as if active? Shall he if useless have as much as if useful? Shall he if criminal have as much as if virtuous? If the distribution is to be made without reference to the natures and deeds of the recipients, then it must be shown that a system which equalizes as far as it can, the treatment of good and bad, will be beneficial. If the distribution is not to be indiscriminate, then the formula disappears. The something distributed must be apportioned otherwise than by equal division. There must be adjustments to amounts to desserts; and we are all left in the dark as to the mode of adjustment - we have to find another guidance.

It would seem, then, that the "principle of utility" cannot stand on its own in answering questions about equity and fairness in distribution. Clearly, there is more than pure equality involved. The "principle of utility" may serve as a part of an explanation of how distribution may take place, but other factors must be examined. Rescher²³ focuses his attention on the matter of claims:

²¹Ibid., p. 8.

²²Herbert Spencer, The Data of Ethics (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1879), sec. 84.

²³Rescher, Distributive Justice, p. 56.

Life is replete with claim creating circumstances typified by the making and breaking of contracts and promises . . . in the nature of things, most distributions are of the functional sort that is unavoidably claim responsive. "The greatest good of the greatest number," always recognizing that the resulting distribution of goods and evils should be commensurate with the legitimate claims of the individual at issue . . . The "principle of utility" cannot be a serious candidate for a principle of distribution when its formulation does not take account of the desert (merit, legitimate claim) of the individuals involved.

There are many kinds of claims that may be registered by individuals against the resources of their institutions. Rescher identifies categories of these claims, which he calls "canons" and lists these as the canons of equality, need, ability, effort, productivity, public utility, and supply and demand.²⁴ But finally, he dismisses the fact that any of these claims taken individually would satisfy distributive justice because they each recognize only one kind of claim.²⁵ Rescher takes the position that distributive justice is based on a "Canon of Claims," that distributive justice consists in the treatment of people according to their legitimate claims, both positive and negative.²⁶ He summarizes the utility of his Canon of Claims as follows:

The Canon of Claims plainly avoids the fault of over-restrictiveness; indeed, it reaches out to embrace all other canons. From its perspective each canon represents one particular sort of ground on whose basis certain legitimate claims--upon whose accomodation it insists--can be advanced. The evaluation of these claims in context,

²⁴Ibid., p. 73.

²⁵Ibid., p. 82.

²⁶Ibid., p. 82.

and their due recognition under the circumstances, is in our view the key element of distributive justice.²⁷

What Rescher is saying is that there are many claims that individuals may register and that each has a legitimate basis on which it should be considered--there is no priority of order. In short, distributive justice requires the accommodation of legitimate claims.

It is a part of the thesis of this study that when individuals contribute to their organizations (and in a wider sense to their public institutions) that they place certain claims upon those institutions and that those claims equate to expectations that they will receive certain benefits in return (benefits in the sense that those institutions will behave in a way that will satisfy their expectations). Peter Blau²⁸ has described this phenomenon as "fair exchange" and he has suggested that individuals' satisfaction with the benefits they receive depends not so much on the quantity of those benefits, but on the fact that their expectations are not disappointed.

It is a further part of the thesis of this study that the expectations that individuals have of their institutions are dependent upon the value systems held by these individuals, and that value systems play an important part in how individuals ultimately behave. Blau has stated that proposition this way: "General

²⁷Ibid., p. 82.

²⁸Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York-London-Sidney: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 156.

expectations . . . are governed by prevailing values and social standards, and by the previously experienced attainments by individuals."²⁹

Mary Ann Raywid³⁰ has woven an interesting hypothesis to support this point of view: "We act in accord with what we think to be true (our beliefs) and with our ideas of what ought to be." Her example of southerners objecting to integration on emotional grounds, but supporting it because they value the rule of law is a helpful example of values guiding behavior.³¹

Raywid³² further hypothesized that we have a tendency toward consistency in our value systems and that our values are arranged in a hierarchial fashion. The work of several scholars would support that point of view. Myrdal³³ wrote that "Most persons want to present to their fellows--and to themselves--a trimmed and polished sphere of valuations where honesty, logic, and consistency rule." William Graham Sumner³⁴ saw a "strain toward consistency" in our valuations, and Myrdal³⁵ has suggested that we have a hierarchy of valuations that we feel some to be more important than others.

²⁹Ibid., p. 145.

³⁰Raywid, "Contemporary Educational Criticism: An Analysis and Appraisal," p. 361.

³¹Ibid., p. 362.

³²Ibid., p. 344.

³³Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 1027.

³⁴William Graham Sumner, Folkways (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1940), pp. 5-6, 34, 35.

³⁵Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 1029.

Assuming that our expectations are guided by our value systems, then it would follow that what benefits we expect from institutions to which we contribute are dependent on what we would consider to be rewarding and, in turn, what we would consider to be rewarding would be dependent upon what values occupy the highest positions in our value hierarchies. The fact that individuals hold different value systems would explain why they react differently to the behavior of their institutions. This would hold true for how individuals respond to public schools. What they expect schools to do with and for their children would be dependent upon their value systems.

The question of how these value systems affect an individual's expectations of the schools may now be addressed. It is the thesis of this study that an individual's educational attitudes (and therefore his expectations of the schools) will be reflective of a more general set of values that he holds, and that his educational attitudes will be consistent with the attitudes (and therefore his expectations) that he has regarding other public institutions.

The question may be raised as to how individuals may respond if they are disappointed in what kinds of benefits they receive from their institutions (if the benefits are at odds with what their values lead them to expect from their institutions). Blau³⁶ continued, "If their sense of justice is so outraged by their

³⁶Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life, p. 231.

oppression . . . retaliation against the oppressors may be more gratifying to them than securing the continuation of their meager rewards."

This study will use an incident of attempted textbook censorship in order to examine the values and attitudes of those involved in overtly opposing the public schools.

Summary

American public schools are financially supported by all of the citizenry, and are supported to an even greater extent by some via the investment of time and emotional support. In that regard, American public schools are thought of as public institutions. American people have certain expectations of their public institutions and those expectations are grounded in the values that individuals hold. While it is not a purpose of this study to investigate how these values are acquired, it seems that values once acquired have a consistency in each individual and that certain of these values occupy a higher priority in their value systems which will influence all of the values held by the individual, including his educational attitudes. Those values, in turn, determine what an individual expects as benefits from the school--he places certain claims on the schools. Schools cannot satisfy all of the claims upon them and those individuals who perceive that their claims are not being rewarded may choose to oppose the behavior of the schools.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to test the conceptual framework that those whose values lead them to oppose schools will also oppose other public institutions and that the attitudes they hold toward schools are reflective of more general values that they hold. An incident of attempted textbook censorship will be used as an example of opposition to schools and data will be gathered from citizens who favored censorship and those who did not in a specific community.

Brief Review of Literature

In order to understand the nature of values and value systems, it is helpful to examine values from the standpoint of what subsystems combine to form and support them. A single definition of values and their subsystems is not easily achieved because of the large number of definitions extant in the literature. For the purposes of this study, definitions developed by Milton Rokeach³⁷ will be used.

Rokeach theorized that values are a kind of belief "centrally located within one's total belief system, about how one might or ought not, to behave, or about some end state of existence worth, or not worth, attaining."³⁸ A belief was described by Rokeach³⁹

³⁷International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 1, "The Nature of Attitudes" by Milton Rokeach, pp. 449-458.

³⁸Ibid., p. 454.

³⁹Ibid., p. 450.

"as any simple proposition, conscious or unconscious, inferred from what a person says or does, capable of being preceded by the phrase 'I believe that . . .'" Building still further on the concept, Rokeach⁴⁰ described a belief system as "the total universe of a person's beliefs about the physical world, the social world, and the self." Finally, Rokeach⁴¹ described a value system as a "hierarchical organization--a rank ordering--of ideals or values in terms of importance."

The idea of a hierarchy of values arranged in some organizational fashion appears in other areas of the literature. Myrdal⁴² speaks of a "value hierarchy that causes people to want to present themselves in a consistent manner." He also speaks of a need for people who present inconsistencies to reconcile those inconsistencies.⁴³ Lowry W. Harding⁴⁴ in psychological literature, has said that harmonizing value conflicts is important to a stable personality. Ashael Woodruff⁴⁵ carries this hypothesis even further in speculating that "the major activities of some maladjusted persons will prove to be out of harmony with their value patterns is a most

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 454.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 455.

⁴²Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 1027.

⁴³Ibid., p. 1029.

⁴⁴Lowry W. Harding, "Experimental Comparisons Between Generalizations and Problems as Indices of Values," Journal of General Psychology 38.1 (January, 1948): 33.

⁴⁵Ashael D. Woodruff, "Personal Values and the Direction of Behavior," School Review 50.1 (January, 1942) 41.

promising hypothesis." Adorno, et al.⁴⁶ have also used as a hypothesis for their study of authoritarianism the belief that "the political, economic and social convictions of an individual often form a broad and coherent pattern as if bound together by a mentality or spirit . . ."

It would appear that there is much agreement that individuals have values which are organized into hierarchical value systems, and that consistency in those value systems may be so important to individuals as to be a value in itself. As we have seen, that consistency may even be an important aspect of a stable personality.

Robert Beech⁴⁷, in his review of literature, provides some insight as to how a value system effects an individual:

A person's value system permits him to make choices between alternatives because of the hierarchical nature of the system itself. As Woodruff and DiVista⁴⁸ state it, "an individual will try to promote all of his higher positive values as opportunity permits, but each value will have precedence over those below it in his pattern when conflict develops . . ."

Kluckhohn, et al.⁴⁹, have gone even further in explaining the affects of values on behavior:

⁴⁶T. W. Adorno, et al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper Brothers, 1950), p. 1.

⁴⁷Robert P. Beech, "Value Systems, Attitudes, and Interpersonal Attraction" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1966), p. 7.

⁴⁸The Relationship Between Values, Concepts, and Attitudes, Educational Psychological Measurement, 1948 quoted by Robert P. Beech, "Value Systems, Attitudes, and Interpersonal Attraction" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1966), p. 7.

⁴⁹Clyde Kluckhohn, et al. in Toward a General Theory of Action, ed. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 396.

Values are ideas formulating action commitments. These ideas are instigators of behavior, ". . . within the individual but are not to be conceived as internal social 'forces' in the classical sense of the word 'force'. Operationally, the observer notes certain kinds of patterned behavior. He cannot explain the regularities unless he subsumes certain aspects of the processes that determine concrete acts under the rubric 'value'."

We see in Kluckhohn's comments further allusion to patterned behavior, but he has gone so far as to place values as the motivators for that patterned behavior. But Kluckhohn⁵⁰ cautions against interpreting this patterned behavior as a result of a neat dual systematic hierarchy of values. His point is simply that we have priority values which are for the most part general in nature, and which contribute to the organization and functioning of the total system.

The role that values play in determining what people expect from their institutions needs investigation, but Jacob and Flink⁵¹ have found values to be associated with what roles human beings play in society and have commented how values effect their expectations:

. . . values have the property of imposing obligations or defining what is socially expected of the person in a certain role. Conversely, role values define the rights which a person can expect to claim by virtue of fulfilling his role obligations according to expectations.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 420.

⁵¹Phillip E. Jacob and James J. Flink, "Values and Their Function in Decision Making," The American Behavioral Scientist, supplement, 9 (May, 1962): 15.

It would seem that the values that a person holds will affect what he thinks he has a right to expect if he fulfills his obligation of supporting public institutions.

Where values equate with expectations, there are certain to be situations that arise where expectations (hence values) are disappointed. Under these circumstances, Blau⁵² has suggested that a revolutionary feeling may surface fostering overt opposition to that social structure.

Allusions to "patterns of behavior" and "consistency" and "hierarchical structures" indicate the need for individuals to arrange their values in a systematic way which may predispose them to act and react to certain situations and objects with a degree of constancy. If that is true, then one might expect that an individual might hold similar expectations for various public institutions which he supports.

Hypotheses to be Tested

Hypothesis I

Between those who supported the adoption of the textbooks and those who opposed them, there are no values on which there are statistically significant differences.

Hypothesis II

There is no significant difference between the educational attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks and those opposing their adoption.

⁵²Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life, p. 232.

Hypothesis III

There is no significant difference between the attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks, toward other publicly supported institutions, and the attitudes toward other publicly supported institutions of those opposing the adoption of the textbooks.

Hypothesis IV

The educational attitudes of those studied will not be significantly related to their general values (terminal values).

Limitations of the Study

1. The study will be limited to the study of a censorship event as it relates to school textbooks.
2. Results of this study will not be generalizable since the study will deal with a specific population (Kanawha County, West Virginia) and since there is no way to determine the total population of those involved in censorship incidents.
3. The study will be limited to the investigation of opposition to the schools by local citizen groups. Other forms of opposition exist as national movements and through national organizations.
4. This study will be limited to public schools (K-12). No attention will be given to private schools or colleges or universities.
5. The study will not be concerned with the outcome of the censorship attempt. Its focus will be on the values involved in raising opposition to the schools.

Sampling and Instrumentation

In 1974, a major textbook censoring event occurred in Kanawha County, West Virginia. From that population, two groups

will be surveyed. One group will include a minimum of thirty persons who favored the censoring of textbooks and the other group will include a minimum of thirty persons who were opposed to the censoring of textbooks.

Data Collection Analysis

Two sets of data will be collected for this study:

Part I: Historical Data

A chronological account of the textbook controversy in Kanawha County, West Virginia will be constructed from news articles appearing in the Charleston Daily News and the Charleston Gazette, the two leading newspapers in Kanawha County. As an introduction to the chronological account, cultural information from pertinent literature will be presented.

Part II: Quantitative Data

Hypothesis I

Between those who supported the adoption of the textbooks and those who opposed them, there are no values on which there are statistically significant differences.

Analysis

In order to determine the difference between the values of those supporting the texts and those opposing them, a

non-parametric median test will be used.⁵³ The median rank for each group will be determined.

Hypothesis II

There is no significant difference between the educational attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks and those opposing their adoption.

Analysis

For the purpose of comparing the educational attitudes of the two groups, an independent t-Test will be employed. The independent variable will be whether the respondent supported or opposed the books. The dependent variable will be the total attitude score on the ten questions dealing with the educational attitudes. This will enable the generation of the two group means so that they can be compared.

Hypothesis III

There is no significant difference between the attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks, toward other publicly supported institutions, and the attitudes toward other publicly supported institutions of those opposing the adoption of the textbooks.

Analysis

For the purpose of comparing the attitudes of the two groups toward the courts, an independent t-test will be employed. The independent

⁵³Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), pp. 111-112.

variable will be whether the respondents supported or opposed the books. The dependent variable will be the total attitude score on the questions dealing with the courts.

For the purpose of comparing the attitudes of the two groups toward Kanawha County government, an independent t-test will be employed. The independent variable will again be whether the respondents supported or opposed the books. The dependent variable will be the total attitude score on the ten questions dealing with Kanawha County Government.

Hypothesis IV

The educational attitudes of those studied will not be significantly related to their general values (terminal values).

Analysis

In order to determine the relationship between the terminal values of each group and their attitudes toward education, the non-parametric median test will again be employed. A determination will be made for the educational attitudes as to whether the individual was "liberal" or "conservative". A median rank for each value of each group will be determined. A comparison will be made of the median rankings for each value across the two groups.

Significance of the Study

Very little empirical research exists on the subject of opposition to schools. Where censorship is concerned, the literature is rich on recipe-type articles on how to deal with censorship

attempts, but it lacks data on personal values which lead individuals to become a part of censorship events. Little has been done in the development of theoretical concepts which may help to explain opposition to schools in general and censorship attempts in particular. This study will be conducted from a theoretical base with a key objective being outcomes which will help to broaden our knowledge of those involved in opposition to schools and in censorship attempts in particular. By testing the conceptual framework of this study, the study may serve as a springboard for further research in this area.

Historical accounts extant about textbook censorship events in this country have tended to conclude that such events have been the result of conservative persons and/or organizations (conservative in the context of sociopolitical definitions). Since contemporary censorship attempts seem to be more local than national (a change from historical precedent through the 1960s) it will be helpful to know if the values and attitudes involved in local events are consistent with those attributed to more national censorship events. The helpfulness may be in the form of providing those involved in textbook selection, or in defense of textbooks, with information that will increase their sensitivities as to how a certain segment of the population may react to particular kinds of textbook content, and their understanding of why that segment of the population is reacting that way. It seems clear that opposition to schools, including textbook challenges, is occurring across the United States

and that a broad audience exists for information on those opposing schools.

Inasmuch as every public school teacher and administrator is a potential target for a textbook challenge, the findings of this thesis may be helpful as a formal preparation tool for them, not only because it addresses the textbook issue, but because it also deals generally with values and attitudes held by a segment of the school community toward public institutions.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature review for this study is divided into five major sections:

1. A survey of definitions of values and value systems;
2. A discussion of the relationship of between values and attitudes;
3. An examination of the effect of values on behavior;
4. An overview of how values are related to this study;
5. An examination of group value homogeneity and Appalachian values.

Values and Value Systems Defined

The term "value" has found its way into the literature of a number of disciplines. Consequently, a single definition for the term "value" that would satisfy researchers in various fields is nearly impossible to establish. What has been a common theme in most discussions of "value", however, is that the term has been used in one of two ways. On the one hand it has been used to refer to the property of an object,¹ and on the other hand it has been given

¹M. Brewster Smith, Social Psychology and Human Values (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), p. 100.

a subjective meaning, a "general term for personal dispositions toward a psychological object or class of objects."² Most generally, and for the purposes of this study, "value" is used in the subjective sense in which it refers to motivational properties in individuals.³

Philosophers have long struggled to assign a definition to values and it was until relatively recent times that the bulk of discussion regarding values was found in the literature of philosophy. In fact, writers in philosophy have been very protective of values as a part of their domain. Handy⁴ has given us the philosopher's point of view:

Problems of values have always been of interest to philosophers. In our tradition the majority opinion has been that a scientific approach to values is not fully adequate; some even maintain that scientific inquiry is basically irrelevant to values.

Handy's reference to scientific inquiry being irrelevant to values is reflective of a school of thought that would discourage the development of some system of value definition and value-measurement that would facilitate the study of values on an interdisciplinary basis. However, in recent times increasing attempts at scientific inquiry have been made in an effort to study human values. It is from the areas of social psychology and psychology that most

²Ibid., p. 100.

³Robert John Homant, "Values, Attitudes and Perceived Instrumentality" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970), p. 1.

⁴Rollo Handy, Value Theory and the Behavioral Sciences (Springfield, Ill.: Charles G. Thomas, 1969), p. 13.

of these efforts have come. Dukes⁵, in a review of psychological research on values, pointed out that psychologists had long ignored the study of values, leaving it to philosophers. But, he continued, "more and more of them (psychologists) seem to concur that psychology is one science which cannot consistently waive its responsibility for dealing with problems of human values."⁶

Clyde Kluckhohn⁷ has commented on the importance of defining values in a way that will allow scientific inquiry:

The concept of value supplies a point of convergence for the various specialized social sciences, and is a key concept for the integration with studies in the humanities. Value is potentially a bridging concept which can link together many diverse specialized studies - from the experimental psychology of perception to the analysis of political ideologies, from budget studies in economics to aesthetic theory and philosophy of language, from literature to race riots . . .

Attempts at defining values have been numerous and there is a diverse body of literature extant on the nature of human values. This review will concentrate on value definitions which have been among the most prevalent and enduring in the literature. While some attention will be given to philosophic themes on values, the preponderance of references will be from those active in the fields of psychology and social psychology, fields which have produced the greatest efforts at scientific inquiry on values. This

⁵William F. Dukes, "Psychological Studies of Values," Psychological Bulletin 52 (1955): 24.

⁶Ibid., p. 25.

⁷Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action," in Toward a General Theory of Action, ed. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 389.

approach is particularly appropriate since this study is based on a scientific approach to the study of values.

Reid⁸ did not attempt to define specific values, but his description of how a value might be defined is helpful primarily because of its consideration for the socialization process by which human values are learned. He described a value as a "feeling that is a product of interrelated past experiences and present experiences that is operating in response to a particular situation."⁹ His concept that a value is activated by a particular stimulus and that it is a "feeling" is shared by many value theorists who perceive values to be primarily affective in nature.

Spranger¹⁰ was one of the first to attempt to establish a typology of values. His work has been used for many years and, as will be shown, his typology provided material for some of the earliest attempts at scientific measurement of human values. Spranger defined six major value types and contended that every person could be regarded as approaching (but not fitting perfectly within) one or more of the value directions. He did not argue that there are six types of people, but that there are six types of values to which each

⁸John R. Reid, A Theory of Value (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), p. 54.

⁹Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁰E. Spranger, Libensformen (3rd ed. Halle: Niemeyer, 1923; translated by P. Pigors, Types of Men; New York: Steckert, 1928).

person may be related to some degree.¹¹ Spranger explained the six types of values as follows:

1. The theoretical - The dominant interest of the ideal theoretical man is the discovery of truth.
2. The economic - The ideal economic man is primarily interested in what is useful.
3. The esthetic - The esthetic man sees his highest value in form and harmony.
4. The social - The highest value of this ideal type is love of people, whether one or many, whether conjugal, filial, friendly, or philanthropic.
5. The political - The political man is interested primarily in power.
6. The religious - The highest value may be called unity. He is mystical, and seeks to comprehend the cosmos as a whole, to relate himself to its embracing totality.¹²

Relying on Spranger's typology of values, Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey,¹³ in 1931, devised a simple paper and pencil test in order to investigate human values. Using a forced choice test, participants were given simple situations and asked to decide how they would respond to them. While the test was used for many years, its primary weakness was that it discovered only the relative importance of the six values to the subject. In that respect, the test was ipsative in that it could not measure value strength, only the relative importance of values to the subject. Though the

¹¹G. W. Allport, Pattern and Growth In Personality (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 297.

¹²Ibid., p. 298.

¹³G. W. Allport, P. E. Vernon, G. Lindzey, A Study of Values (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960).

discovery of only relative rankings of values may have been a scientific weakness in the test, it nevertheless began to clarify the beliefs that people have a hierarchy of values and that in given situations their higher order values will take precedence over other values. This hierarchy of values provides a "value system" for an individual.

Williams¹⁴, has given us yet another definition of values which includes a discussion of value systems:

Values concern the goals or ends of action and are, as well, components of the selection of adequate means. Even so far as choice is not deliberate or conscious, allocation nevertheless is of one kind rather than another. Some balancing of alternatives must occur whenever alternatives exist. Since acts, including failure to act, typically involve a renunciation of other possible courses of behavior, every act "costs something." In this sense, values . . . are defined by choices.

In relation to value systems, Williams continued:

System here refers to some determinate arrangement of parts or entities - that is, to a set of relationships that is more than a chance ordering of parts. To speak of a value system is then, to imply that values are not simply distributed at random, but are instead interdependent, arranged in a pattern, and subject to reciprocal or mutual variation.¹⁵

An interesting contrast in defining values can be seen in the work of Froman and Maslow. Froman¹⁶ perceives values as being at two levels: (1) the desired, which he describes as the needs and wants of a person, and (2) the desirable, those things which

¹⁴Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 375.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 385.

¹⁶Lewis A. Froman, People and Politics (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1962), p. 20.

express what "should" and "ought" to be. Maslow¹⁷, on the other hand, is not concerned with the "desirable". He believes that there is a hierarchy of human needs and that human values are clustered around satisfying those needs.

The concept of what is "desirable", as in Froman's definition, is found in many areas of the literature and well defined in Kluckhohn's definition of values:

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.¹⁸

The "desirable" is what it is felt or thought proper to want. It is what an actor, or group of actors desire - and believe they ought or should desire for the individual or a plurality of individuals.¹⁹

Woodruff²⁰ has defined values as any object, condition, activity, or idea which an individual believes will contribute to his well being. Further, he has reiterated the theme of a value system as a rank ordering of values and that rank order will be used by the individual to judge the possible effects on himself of any situation which may confront him. His rank ordering of values will help him select a course of action in a given situation.

Recurrent in most of these descriptions of values is the idea that choice is an important part of describing values. Values

¹⁷A. H. Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being (New York: Van Nostrand, 1961).

¹⁸Kluckhohn, "Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action," p. 395.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 396.

²⁰Ashael D. Woodruff, "Personal Values and the Direction of Behavior," The School Review 1 (January, 1942): 33.

do not exist in neat individual components, but rather they are a part of a group or hierarchy of feelings that we have and it is from this hierarchy of feelings that we make choices about how we will behave or respond in given situations. Woodruff and Divesta²¹ have emphasized the concept of choices as a part of values and value systems, and they have pointed out that even when a person fails to act in accordance with one of his values, he may justify that by saying that he is trying to satisfy a more important value. Values, it would appear, offer us choices about modes of conduct. Smith, too, has alluded to the concept of choice in attempting to define values:

Whenever we talk about values and valuing, we are confronted - in actuality, in principle, or in retrospect - with persons engaged in processes of selection or choice with respect to objects.²²

Smith²³ believed that these choices could be made to bring about some "end term" in the behavioral sequence or as an instrument to attaining some further object or state of affairs.

Morris²⁴ also included the concepts of choice in his discussion of values:

At times the term "value" is employed to refer to tendencies or dispositions of living beings to prefer

²¹A. D. Woodruff and F. G. Divesta, "The Relationship Between Values, Concepts, and Attitudes," Educational Psychological Measurement 8 (1948): 646.

²²Smith, Social Psychology and Human Values, p. 100.

²³Ibid., p. 100.

²⁴Charles Morris, Varieties of Human Values (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 115.

one kind of object rather than another . . . Such values may be called operative values.

. . . the term value is often restricted to those cases of preferential behavior directed by "an anticipation or foresight of the outcome" of such behavior. In contrast to the operational values, such values may be called conceived values.

Perry²⁵ found the idea of choices as perhaps the most enduring characteristic of values:

It is this all pervasive characteristic of the motor-affective life, this state, act, attitude, or disposition of favor or disfavor, to which we propose to give the name "interest."

This then, we take to be the original source and constant feature of all value.

To this juncture, some recurrent themes have been identified in striving for a definition of values: (1) values are essentially affective orientations toward some object or situation, (2) values appear to be higher order directors of behavior, (3) values exist as a part of value systems, and (4) the concept of human values involves individual choices from among a set or "system" of values that human beings hold. Considering the importance of values in the literature, there have been numerous attempts (several discussed here) to clearly define values in a way that might hold possibilities for scientific inquiry.

Milton Rokeach²⁶, whose work is central to this study, has been an important contributor to the literature on values since the

²⁵Ralph Barton Perry, General Theory of Values (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 115.

²⁶Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York: The Free Press, 1973).

late 1960s. Rokeach has defined values and value systems in the following way:

A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end state of existence. A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end states of existence along a continuum of relative importance.²⁷

Rokeach refers to specific modes of conduct as instrumental values and to end states of existence as terminal values.²⁸ While there is a definite relationship between terminal and instrumental values, this study will concentrate on terminal values as Rokeach has defined them.

Rokeach has identified a list of eighteen terminal values which was gleaned from literature mentioning various American values (and values of other societies), from his own terminal values, and from a list drawn from a large population of students and businessmen.²⁹ Rokeach has related values to attitudes and behavior, and those relationships will be examined in the second and third sections of this literature review.

This study concentrates on the values of two groups of people; those who supported and those who opposed a textbook adoption in Kanawha County, West Virginia. For that reason, this examination

²⁷Ibid., p. 5.

²⁸Ibid., p. 7.

²⁹Ibid., p. 29.

of value definitions and the quest for scientific inquiry in the study of values is central to clarifying the underlying causes for the conflict (described in detail in Chapter IV of this study).

Values and Attitudes: Relationship

The literature on attitudes is far greater than that on values. The reason for this does not seem to be that attitudes are perceived as a more important object of study, but rather an explanation lies in the fact that the measurement of attitudes has been more easily achieved than has the measurement of values.

Rokeach³⁰ has distinguished an attitude from a value in the following way:

An attitude differs from a value in that an attitude refers to an organization of several beliefs around a specific object or situation. A value, on the other hand, refers to a single belief of a very specific kind. It concerns a desirable mode of behavior or end state that has a transcendental quality to it, guiding actions, attitudes, judgments and comparisons . . .

The concept that attitudes are within the service of values is found repeatedly in the literature. In what has become a landmark study, Woodruff and Divesta³¹ concluded that "one's attitude toward a specific object or condition in a specific situation seems to be a function of the way one conceives that object from a standpoint of its effect on one's most cherished values." Woodruff³² also noted

³⁰Milton A. Rokeach, "A Theory of Organization and Change Within Value-Attitude Systems," Journal of Social Issues (1968): 14.

³¹Woodruff and Divesta, "The Relationship Between Values, Concepts and Attitudes," p. 657.

³²Woodruff, "Personal Values and the Direction of Behavior," p. 33.

that attitudes would be functions of the combination of value pattern and specific situation.

Hollen³³ experimented with the manipulation of personal values and found that in nearly every case those whose values changed more also changed their attitudes more than did those whose values did not change substantially. Homant³⁴ attempted to test the relationship of values and attitudes by linking attitude objects to values. He found that by linking attitude objects to important values there was significantly more attitude change than when the attitude objects were linked to less important values. Rosenberg³⁵ had earlier arrived at a similar conclusion stating that value importance is significantly related to attitude position.

Approaching the same position from a slightly different direction, a study by Stogdill³⁶ suggests that people will seek relationships with others who they think will reinforce their own value systems. This has been called a need for "consensual validation."³⁷

³³Charles C. Hollen, "Value Change, Perceived Instrumentality, and Attitude Change" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1972).

³⁴Robert John Homant, "Values, Attitudes, and Perceived Instrumentality" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970).

³⁵Milton J. Rosenberg, "Cognitive Structure and Attitudinal Affect," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 53 (November 1956): 371.

³⁶R. M. Stogdill, Individual Behavior and Group Achievement (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

³⁷H. S. Sullivan, Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry (Washington, D.C.: The William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, 1947).

In a widely read and quoted study, Smith³⁸ surveyed a group of subjects on their attitudes toward Russia. By this method he was able to account for attitudes towards Russia in terms of personal values that the respondents said were important to them. He questioned his subjects on how certain aspects of communism in Russia would affect their value systems. He was able to establish a relationship between their values and their attitudes towards Russia.

Rokeach³⁹, hypothesizing that "whatever the attitude, it is an expression or manifestation of and should therefore be significantly related to some subset of terminal or instrumental values," has conducted several extensive studies showing the relationship of values to attitudes. He argued that certain values and attitudes are within the realm of specific social institutions. That being the case, values identified as being within specific social institutions should be predictors of attitudes within those same social institutions.

Rokeach asked a national sample to first respond to his Value Survey. This required respondents to rank eighteen terminal values and eighteen instrumental values in the order of importance to them. Then he asked the respondents a series of attitude questions on eleven topics which included: (1) civil rights, black and

³⁸George Henley Smith, "The Interrelationships of Attitudes Toward Russia and Some General Desires," Journal of Psychology 21-22 (1946): 91-95.

³⁹Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values, p. 95.

poor Americans, (2) blacks, (3) the Martin Luther King Assassination, (4) student protests, (5) Vietnam (adults), (6) Vietnam (students), (7) communism, (8) church activism, (9) personal importance of religion, (10) extrinsic-intrinsic religion, and (11) dogmatism. The results enabled him to confirm that virtually all of the attitudes were significantly associated with some cluster or subset of values.⁴⁰ For instance, in the dogmatism study, high scores on the dogmatism scale (attitude scale) were found to be significantly associated with high rankings of the values "salvation" and "obedient". However, in attempting to establish values as predictors of certain attitudes, there were some surprising outcomes ("a world at peace" was just as highly prized by hawks as by doves). On the other hand, certain values that had no apparent relation to a given attitude turned out to predict it (racists cared significantly more for "family security" and "happiness" and significantly less for "inner harmony" than do those who are less racist).⁴¹ What Rokeach has shown is that it is possible to relate certain values and certain attitudes within the boundaries of each individual study. This would represent a congruent view with that expressed by Woodruff.⁴²

The Rokeach approach to the relationship of values and attitudes is particularly pertinent to this study where his method

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 117.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 120.

⁴²Woodruff, "Personal Values and the Direction of Behavior," p. 33.

has been replicated to study the relationship between terminal values and attitudes toward selected publicly supported institutions.

Values and Behavior

The term "behavior" may have a wide variety of interpretations ranging from a single act such as selecting a new car to much more complicated modes of conduct such as choosing a wife or husband, or selecting a particular occupation. Despite the simplicity or complexity of behavior, the question addressed here is whether or not that behavior is in the service of values.

Probably the best way for establishing a relationship between values and behavior is to manipulate a value and then observe changes of behavior. However, there are two problems with that approach: (1) first, it is a difficult task to manipulate a personal value, and (2) there are ethical questions involved in the manipulation of personal values. The most common approach has been to wait for an observable value change and then to wait and see if there is a resultant behavior change.⁴³

Homant⁴⁴ has reported on an experiment by Rokeach that has addressed the relationship of values and attitudes:

. . . a group of college students were randomly divided into an experimental group and a control group. Both groups filled out an attitude questionnaire concerned with (among other things) their beliefs about equal rights for Negroes. One week later the group filled out Rokeach's terminal value scale. After they had completed this, the

⁴³Homant, "Values, Attitudes, and Perceived Instrumentality," pp. 12-13.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 12.

experimental group only was given information to the effect that people with a certain value consideration (namely, a relatively low rank of "equality" and high rank of "freedom") were generally against civil rights and that they "care a great deal about their own freedom, but are indifferent to other people's freedom."

Three weeks later, subjects were retested; experimental group subjects showed a significant increase in "equality" (while control subjects did not). At the same time, however, there were no significant changes in either group in their attitudes toward equal rights for Negroes.

Three months after the manipulation, subjects were retested once again. The changes in equality persisted, and furthermore this time there were significant changes in the attitude items concerning equal rights for Negroes (in the experimental groups only).

. . . the manipulation was repeated with a new group of subjects. Three months after the manipulation, all experimental and control group subjects were solicited by mail to join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Compared to 6.5% of the control group subjects, 14.7% of the experimental group subjects paid \$1.00 to join the NAACP. The difference was significant at beyond the .01 level of confidence.

Thus, we have some fairly straightforward evidence that values, attitudes, and behavior form a functional system. A manipulation in terms of "equality" produced changes in "equality", changes in attitude toward civil rights, and differences in behavior with respect to joining the NAACP.

This last study seems to show clearly that attitudes and behavior are in the service of values.⁴⁵

In yet another study, Rokeach and McLellan⁴⁶ gave an experimental group feedback information about the values of a control

⁴⁵Personal communication from Rokeach quoted in Robert John Homant, "Personal Values and Perceived Instrumentality" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970), pp. 12-13.

⁴⁶M. Rokeach and Daniel McLellan, "Feedback Information About the Values and Attitudes of Self and Others as Determinants of Long Term Cognitive and Behavioral Change," Journal of Applied Social Psychology 2 (1972): 236-251.

group, but no information about their own values. The control group was given no information at all. Four months later students were selected to behaviorally support various activities of a "Committee to End Racism." Students in the experimental group showed a significantly greater behavioral effect than did control group subjects. From this they were able to conclude that those who were able to reconsider the position of their values showed behavioral changes that control students did not.

Allport⁴⁷ has referred to the link between values and behavior and believed that man, in fact, molds his future based on his personal values. Woodruff⁴⁸ felt there were important possibilities from efforts to understand the function of personal values in individual behavior and hypothesized that the activities of maladjusted persons might be explained by their behavior being out of harmony with their value patterns. Rokeach⁴⁹ in yet another article has described a value as a standard that tells us how to act or what to want. In all of these articles, the relationship between values and behavior is characterized as a strong tie.

Studies in the area of belief congruence lend support to the concept that a strong relationship exists between values

⁴⁷Allport, Pattern and Growth in Personality, p. 454.

⁴⁸Woodruff, "Personal Values and the Direction of Behavior," p. 41.

⁴⁹Milton Rokeach, "The Role of Values in Public Opinion Research," Public Opinion Quarterly XXXII (Winter 1968-69): 550.

and behavior. Rokeach and Rothman⁵⁰ have described belief congruence:

The principle of belief congruence asserts that we tend to value a given belief, subsystem, a system of beliefs in proportion to their degree of congruence with our own belief system and further, that we tend to value people in proportion to the degree to which they exhibit beliefs, subsystems, or systems of beliefs congruent with our own.

In other words, our behavior may be in accord with that of others who share our values and that we will act in a way that will bring us closer to those who share our values.

Osgood and Tannenbaum⁵¹ have stated the principle of congruity in a slightly different way: "The principle of congruity in human thinking can be stated quite succinctly: changes in evaluation are always in the direction of increased congruity with the existing frame of reference." He asserts that the issue of congruity only arises whenever a message is received which relates two or more objects of judgments. Put another way, we will tend to change our behavior toward a particular person or object only when we can recognize that there are differences between our orientations towards those persons or objects and the orientations of others. In those situations we tend to behave toward objects or persons in a similar manner as those sharing our values.

⁵⁰Milton Rokeach and Gilbert Rothman, "The Principle of Belief Congruence and the Congruity Principle as Models of Cognitive Interaction," Psychological Review 72 (1965): 128.

⁵¹Charles E. Osgood and Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Principles of Congruity in the Prediction of Attitude Change," Psychological Review 62 (1955): 43.

Relying on the concept of belief congruence, Thornton⁵² studied the television viewing habits of selected subjects. He concluded that respondents with similar values tend to view similar television programs. From these conclusions he was able to infer a relationship between values and behavior. Beech's study seems to substantiate Thornton's work. Beech⁵³ found that an interpersonal attraction existed between subjects who perceived that they held similar value systems - people who share similar value systems will behave in a way that will bring them into contact with each other.

It has been possible to measure direct correlations (rather than relationships) between values and behavior in some very specific situations. Homant and Rokeach⁵⁴ conducted a study in which groups of sixth grade children were asked to respond to some value questions of which "honesty" was the value of focus. After determining where the children ranked honesty among twelve values, the children were given the opportunity to cheat under various levels of motivation to do so (rewards for high scores were varied). It was found that children with a higher value for honesty cheated less than children with a lower value for honesty under conditions

⁵²Lee Richard Thornton, "A Correlation Study of the Relationship Between Human Values and Broadcast Television" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1976).

⁵³Robert Paul Beech, "Value Systems, Attitudes, and Interpersonal Attraction" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1966), p. 85.

⁵⁴Robert Homant and Milton Rokeach, "Value for Honesty and Cheating Behavior," Personality 1 (2) (Summer 1970): 153-162.

of high motivation to cheat. The study presented an interesting instance of values guiding behavior.

Other studies have correlated attitudes with behavior and since we have already seen that attitudes correlate with values, we might assume that there is a causal link extant between values, attitudes, and behavior. Therefore, studies of attitudes affecting behavior are indirectly reflective of values affecting behavior. In one such study, DeFluer and Westie⁵⁵ had subjects respond to questions about their feelings toward Negroes. Later, they asked each subject to pose for a picture with a Negro of the opposite sex. They found a strong correlation between stated attitudes toward Negroes and the willingness to pose for the pictures.

Allport⁵⁶, Asch⁵⁷, Murphy⁵⁸, and Stagner⁵⁹ are others who have included values in their accounts of behavior, and Froman⁶⁰ has concluded that the more important a value is to us, the more likely we are to act on it, all other things being equal.

⁵⁵Melvin L. DeFleur and Frank R. Westie, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts: An Experiment on the Salience of Attitudes," American Sociological Review 23 (December 1958): 667-673.

⁵⁶G. W. Allport, Personality: A Psychological Interpretation (New York: Henry Holt, 1937).

⁵⁷S. E. Asch, Social Psychology (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952).

⁵⁸G. Murphy, Personality (New York: Harper, 1947).

⁵⁹R. Stagner, Psychology of Personality (New York: McGraw Hill, 1948).

⁶⁰Froman, People and Politics, p. 20.

Relationship of Literature to the Study

To this point the review of literature has concentrated on the nature of values, attitudes, and behavior. While these three subjects have been treated individually in the review, they are in fact closely interrelated. There is a causal relationship between values, attitudes, and behavior and this review has pointed to the fact that, as Rokeach⁶¹ has said, "values are centrally located within one's total belief system" and as such determine the attitudes and guide the behavior of individuals.

This study is essentially a study of how values affect the attitude and behavior of a group of people who raised overt opposition to the Kanawha County School System (Kanawha County, West Virginia) because they opposed the adoption of certain textbooks by the school system. The nature of the incident is described in detail in Chapter IV of this study. It is the thesis of this study that when individuals support institutions (e.g., schools) that the expectations they have regarding rewards from these institutions are equated with the values that they hold, and that they will oppose those institutions if their expectations are not realized. The leap that occurs between dissatisfaction and political action (as was

⁶¹International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 1, "The Nature of Attitudes," by Milton Rokeach, pp. 449-458.

the case in the Kanawha County controversy) has been described as "relative deprivation."⁶²

It is hypothesized in this study that attitudes toward schools will be related to values and that a similar relationship will exist between attitudes toward schools and other publicly supported institutions.

Since the conceptual framework of this study and the hypotheses designed to test that conceptual framework are focused on human values, it is appropriate that the nature of values and their effects on attitudes and behavior have been reviewed. By understanding the values, value systems, attitudes and their effects on behavior, a measure of the value cleavage that existed between those who supported the books and those who opposed them can be better understood. Additionally, this review has allowed for specific definitions of values and attitudes (definitions by Rokeach) which provide for a clear understanding of the hypotheses and the relationships suggested in them.

To this juncture, no space has been given to discussion of the homogeneity of values in specific social groups or as to how values are maintained or "passed on" in those groups. Literature of that nature is important to this study as the study deals heavily with people who are "Appalachian." The final section of this review will deal with Appalachian values.

⁶²Samuel H. Barnes, Barbara D. Farah, Felix Heunks, in Political Action, ed. Samuel H. Barnes (New York: Sage Publications, 1979).

Appalachian Values

In this study, those who opposed the textbooks in Kanawha County have been identified as people with Appalachian antecedents. A description of their cultural background is found in Chapter IV. Feather⁶³ has provided a strong definition of the relationship between culture and values:

At a very abstract level of analysis, a culture can be thought of as a social system that possesses identifiable and interdependent structures or institutions . . . A culture is associated with a set of shared beliefs, attitudes, and values among its members; these orientations are reflected not only in the behavior of individuals, but also in societal organization and functioning . . .

Feather also emphasized the importance of values in the study of cultural groups:

Values and value systems are important concepts in virtually all analyses of social or national character, whether these values be considered as central reference frames underlying the way in which societies function, or as complete products of historical, economic, technological and others forces, or as both.⁶⁴

The role that culture plays in socializing individuals to its values has been explained by Smith⁶⁵ in the following manner: "They expect such and such of me - but they are everyone (probably including the ghosts of my ancestors); they comprise my whole social world, and their wishes for me in effect constitute the requirements of the objective order." Here we can see how cultures perpetuate

⁶³Norman T. Feather, Values in Education and Society (New York: The Free Press, 1975), p. 195.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 196.

⁶⁵Smith, Social Psychology and Human Values, p. 107.

themselves through their various institutions, thus extending common values down through succeeding generations.

The homogeneity of values within specific groups was highlighted by Stringham⁶⁶ where he found common value systems existing among professors and graduate students of educational administration. Butler⁶⁷ found a high degree of internal group homogeneity among the general public in a value study conducted in an Appalachian community.

Rokeach⁶⁸, in a number of studies, has found that groups are differentiated by the values they hold. He has reported that:

We find that various combinations of these terminal and instrumental values significantly differentiate men from women, hippies from non-hippies, hawks from doves, policemen from unemployed Negroes, good students from poor students . . . retail merchants from salesclerks, Jews from Catholics, Democrats from Republicans, and so forth.

One of the most poignant studies of cultural homogeneity was done by White.⁶⁹ In the study he asked various subjects to do a content analysis of propaganda and public opinion materials on Hitler, Roosevelt and the Nature of Propaganda and of the personality study in Black Boy. A system of symbols was devised whereby the

⁶⁶William Clair Stringham, "Value Systems of Graduate Students in Educational Administration" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1973).

⁶⁷Donald Carroll Butler, "An Analysis of the Values and Value Systems Reported by Students, The General Public, and Educators in a Selected Appalachian Public School District (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973).

⁶⁸Rokeach, "The Role of Values in Public Opinion Research," p. 555.

⁶⁹Ralph K. White, Value Analysis: The Nature and Use of the Method (Glen Garden, N.J.: Libertarian Press, 1951), p. 14.

symbols represented basic values (described in the study as goals and standards of judgment). They are given the following directions:

1. Enter a symbol on the margin for each goal or value judgment that is stated or implied.
2. Tabulate your results.
3. Interpret each numerical unit.

The ratings of the subjects showed a very high correlation (.93). From this, White concluded, "Our culture does have a value system which can be empirically studied, and which constitutes a common background for the most diversified types of research."⁷⁰

It seems clear that each social group will hold similar values and value systems and that we will, therefore, find that there should be identifiable value similarities within cultures. Since this study focuses on a group of citizens identified as being a part of the Appalachian culture, this group should be no exception.

While this study will concentrate on examining Appalachian values within the limits of the Rokeach Value Survey, there have been few other attempts to describe Appalachian values even though inhabitants of Appalachian areas have long been considered as components of a single culture. This paucity of work on Appalachian values may be due, in part, to the decades of illiteracy in Appalachian areas and the resultant scarcity of trained observers and writers.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 87.

Perhaps the most comprehensive look at Appalachian values has been provided by Jack E. Weller⁷¹ in his book, Yesterday's People. Weller spent thirteen years as a minister in an Appalachian area and has based his work on his observations and conversations with numerous Appalachian people during that time.⁷² While much more is said of the characteristics of Appalachian people in Chapter IV of this study, Weller's comparisons of Appalachian people with middle class Americans sheds light on the values of Appalachian people. These comparisons may be seen in Tables 2.1-2.4.

In this study, a group of West Virginia parents steeped in the traditions and values of their Appalachian heritage came into overt conflict with a group of middle class Americans over the adoption of some school textbooks. Where this kind of value cleavage between cultures exists, adversarial situations may very likely occur. As Williams has theorized:

. . . in mass behavior, persistent and widespread value tension leads to political struggle, schismatic cleavages, or to the segregation of various groupings into a kind of mosaic society.⁷³

⁷¹Jack E. Weller, Yesterday's People (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1966).

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷³Williams, American Society, p. 387.

TABLE 2.1.--A Comparative Study of Personal Characteristics.⁷⁴

Middle Class American	Southern Appalachian
1. Emphasis on community, church, clubs, etc.	1. Individualism; self-centered concerns
2. Thoughts of change and progress; expectation of change, usually for the better	2. Attitudes strongly traditionalistic
3. Freedom to determine one's life and goals	3. Fatalism
4. Routine-seeker	4. Action-seeker
5. Self-assurance	5. Sense of anxiety
6. No particular stress on maleness	6. Stress on traditional masculinity
7. Use of ideas, ideals, and abstractions	7. Use of anecdotes
8. Acceptance of object goals	8. Rejection of object goals
9. Oriented to progress	9. Oriented to existence
10. Strong emphasis on saving and budgeting	10. No saving or budgeting
11. Desire and ability to plan ahead carefully	11. No interest in long-range careful planning
12. Placement of group goals above personal aims	12. Precedence of personal feelings and whims over group goals
13. Recognition of expert opinion	13. Expert opinion not recognized

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 161-62.

TABLE 2.2.--Comparative Study of Family Life Characteristics.⁷⁵

Middle Class American	Southern Appalachian
1. Child-centered family	1. Adult-centered family
2. Responsibility for family decisions shared by husband and wife	2. Male-dominated family
3. "Togetherness" of husband and wife	3. Separateness of husband and wife; separate reference groups
4. Home tasks shared by husband and wife	4. Sharp delineation of home tasks between husband and wife
5. Many family activities shared (vacations, amusements, etc.)	5. Few shared family activities
6. Disciplined child-rearing; stress on what is thought best for the child's development	6. Permissive child-rearing; stress on what pleases child
7. Family bound by common interests as well as emotional ties	7. Family bound by emotional ties; few common interests
8. Family a bridge to outside world	8. Separation of family and outside world

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 162.

TABLE 2.3.--Comparative Study of Relationships with Others.

Middle Class American	Southern Appalachian
1. Reference group less important	1. Reference group most important
2. Object-oriented life pattern	2. Person-oriented life pattern
3. Association between sexes	3. Little or no association between sexes
4. Strong pressure of status	4. No status seeking
5. Striving for excellence	5. Leveling tendency in society
6. Readiness to join groups	6. Rejection of joining groups
7. Ability to function in objective ways in a group	7. Ability to function in a group only on a personal basis
8. Attachment to work; concern for job security and satisfaction	8. Detachment from work; little concern for job security or satisfaction
9. Emphasis on education	9. Ambivalence toward education
10. Cooperation with doctors, hospitals, and "outsiders"	10. Fear of doctors, hospitals, those in authority, the well-educated
11. Use of government and law to achieve goals	11. Antagonism toward government and law
12. Acceptance of the world	12. Suspicion and fear of outside world
13. Participation in organized amusements, cultural activities, etc.	13. Rejection of organized amusements, cultural activities, etc.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 162-63.

TABLE 2.4.--Some Contrasting Value Orientations.

Underlying Question	Southern Appalachian	Upper-middle Class (Professional)
What is the relation of man to nature (and supernature)?	Man subjugated to nature and God; little human control over destiny; fatalism	Man can control nature or God works through man; basically optimistic
What is the relation of man to time?	Present orientation; present and future telescoped; slow and "natural" rhythms	Future orientation and planning; fast; regulated by the clock; calendar, and technology
What is the relation of man to space?	Orientation to concrete places and particular things	Orientation to everywhere and everything
What is the nature of human nature?	Basically evil and unalterable, at least for others and in the absence of divine intervention	Basically good, or mixed good and evil; alterable
What is the nature of human activity?	Being	Doing
What is the nature of human relations?	Personal; kinship-based; strangers are suspect	Relatively impersonal; recognize non-kin criteria; handle strangers on basis of roles

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

CHAPTER III

PLAN OF THE STUDY

Chapter III provides a description of the research methods and procedures used in this study. The purpose of this study is to test the conceptual framework that those whose values lead them to oppose schools will oppose other public institutions and that the attitudes that they hold toward schools are reflective of more general values that they hold.

This study of values and attitudes involved in overt opposition to schools was conducted in five stages:

- Stage I - A population site was selected where an incident of overt opposition to schools had taken place (Kanawha County, West Virginia).
- Stage II - Data were collected on the nature of the incident by a search of newspapers and other publications pertinent to the incident (a reconstruction of the incident appears in Chapter IV).
- Stage III - Subjects were selected from Kanawha County who represented both sides of the controversy.
- Stage IV - The Rokeach Value Survey, Form G, and a set of attitude questions concerning education, the courts, and Kanawha County government were administered to the subjects.
- Stage V - Data from the Value Survey and the attitude questions were collected and analyzed by statistical techniques. The findings and conclusions from the data are explained in this study.

The Population Site

Kanawha County, population 231,000, is located in west central West Virginia. Charleston, which serves as both the state capitol and county seat of Kanawha County, has a city limits population of 64,000. The city of Charleston is a metropolitan center and home to a number of major chemical producing companies. Kanawha County was once heavily dependent on the coal mining industry, but today its population is employed in the chemical plants and diverse other industries including glass, machine tools, and wood and clay products.

Kanawha County is designated by the U.S. Census Bureau as a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area with Charleston as its center. However, Kanawha County is different from most metropolitan areas. The urban center of Charleston is surrounded by a series of creeks and hollows (rural Kanawha County) whose inhabitants are, for the most part, descendents of Appalachian settlers. The beliefs and traditions of these rural mountain people are, in many ways, different from today's urban dwellers.

By West Virginia law, all of Kanawha County is serviced by one school system which is governed by a five member board of education. Board members are elected from specified geographic areas of the county so that the board of education may, as much as possible, be representative of all areas of the county. At the time of the textbook controversy, on which this study is focused, the Kanawha County Public Schools had an enrollment of approximately 45,000 students. It was then, and remains, West Virginia's largest

school system. It was because of the textbook controversy that took place in Kanawha County that it was chosen as the population site for this study.

Historical Data

In order to place this study in a proper perspective for both the writer and the reader it was necessary to reconstruct the events of the textbook controversy that occurred in Kanawha County from approximately April 1974, through April 1965. The reconstruction of the event was done in two ways. First, a series of interviews were held in Kanawha County with some of the principal actors on both sides of the controversy. These interviews provided insights from both sides as to perceived reasons for the controversy. Second, the chronological sequence of events was pieced together by examining hundreds of articles which appeared in Kanawha County's two leading newspapers during the duration of the controversy. These newspapers were the Charleston Gazette and the Charleston Daily Mail. Information was cited from more than eighty articles.

In the view of those on both sides of the controversy, the Appalachian background and traditions of many of those who opposed the books were underlying reasons for their opposition and their behavior. For that reason, considerable space is given to a review of Appalachian history and culture as antecedent to the chronological review of the event. The cultural information and the review of the event are included in Chapter IV of this study.

Sample

Hopkins and Glass¹ have stated that a "sample should be selected in a deliberate fashion from the parent population so that the characteristics of the population can be represented." Further, "The method used to select the sample is of utmost importance in judging the validity of the inferences made from the sample population."² For the purposes of this study, two groups were selected from among the people of Kanawha County, West Virginia: (1) a group of Kanawha County citizens who had supported the adoption of the controversial textbooks, and (2) a group of Kanawha County citizens who had protested the adoption of the textbooks. For this study it was determined that these two groups were representative of the larger group of people involved in the textbook controversy and that statistical results could be generalized from the sample group to the population of those who either opposed or supported the books.

In order to establish this stratified sample for the study, leaders from each of the two groups were asked to generate the names and addresses of citizens that they knew to be supporters of their respective sides of the issue. This was accomplished with some difficulty since nearly ten years had passed since the controversy had occurred. Mailing lists had long since been discarded and memories had grown dim.

¹Kenneth D. Hopkins and Gene V. Glass, Basic Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970), p. 182.

²Ibid., p. 183.

A total of 175 persons comprised the two groups involved in the study. Of these, 99 protested the adoption of the books and 76 favored the adoption of the books. Of the 99 opposing the books, 33 responded to the survey. Of the 76 favoring adoption of the books, 48 responded to the survey.

Instrumentation

For this study, a four-part survey instrument was used. All four parts were included in a brochure-style instrument.

The first section of the brochure utilized the Value Survey, Form G, developed by Dr. Milton Rokeach. While the Value Survey typically includes two sections, terminal values and instrumental values, only the terminal values were utilized in this study. This was done in order to reduce the response time in the survey and to make the response task easier for those of lower educational levels. Information from Halgren Tests, publishers of the Value Survey, indicated that the use of the terminal values alone is not unusual. The Value Survey was copied with the permission of Halgren Tests on a one time basis only.

The value survey consisted of one page which contained a list of eighteen terminal values with descriptive words for each. Subjects were requested to rank the eighteen values using the numbers 1-18. Table 3.1 shows the eighteen terminal values, the descriptive words, and the directions given to the respondents.

There have been several versions of the Value Survey. Form D was constructed with a set of gummed labels, each label containing a

TABLE 3.1.--Rokeach Value Survey, Form G.

Below is a list of 18 values arranged in alphabetical order. Your task is to arrange them in order of their importance to YOU, as guiding principles in YOUR life.

Study the list carefully. Then place a 1 next to the value which is most important for YOU, place a 2 next to the value which is second most important to you, etc. The value which is least important, relative to the others, should be ranked 18.

Work slowly and think carefully. If you change your mind, feel free to change your answers. The end result should truly show how you really feel.

- _____ A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)
- _____ AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)
- _____ A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)
- _____ A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
- _____ A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)
- _____ EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
- _____ FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)
- _____ FREEDOM (independence, free choice)
- _____ HEALTH (physical and mental well being)
- _____ INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)
- _____ MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
- _____ NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)
- _____ PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
- _____ SALVATION (saved, eternal life)
- _____ SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)
- _____ SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)
- _____ TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)
- _____ WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)

Please check to be sure that you do not have any duplications or omissions.

value and its describing phrases. Respondents were able to remove the labels and move them around until the values were ranked in an order that they found satisfactory. Form E contained the same values and descriptors but respondents simply ranked the values by writing in the numbers 1-18 in blank spaces - the same manner in which they were asked to respond in this study. The test-retest reliabilities of the latter method are somewhat lower than for the gummed label method.³ A comparison of the reliabilities may be seen in Table 3.2.⁴

TABLE 3.2.--Frequency Distributions of Value System Reliabilities of Forms D and E.

Reliability	Terminal Value Scale	
	Form D	Form E
.90 to .99	21	11
.80 to .89	84	54
.70 to .79	77	45
.60 to .69	29	35
.50 to .59	23	37
.40 to .49	8	9
.30 to .39	5	3
.20 to .29	--	2
.10 to .19	--	3
.00 to .09	2	
-.10 to -.01	--	
-.20 to -.11	--	
-.30 to -.21	--	
-.40 to -.31	1	
N =	250	189

³Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 33.

⁴Ibid., p. 35.

Form G, used in this study, is comparable to Form E since a paper and pencil ranking rather than the gummed labels was employed.

The decision to use Form G (the most recent version of the survey) in this study, but without the gummed label system, was based on a desire to use a brochure-type questionnaire in order to improve the chances of return on a mail survey.

Cohen⁵, in reviewing the Value Survey, commented on the weakness of the instrument because of its ipsative nature (he felt that the instrument could measure only relative strengths of values and not absolute strengths). However, he concluded that:

The reliability, construct validity, and extensive norms are such as to make the RVS a useful research instrument in an early stage of value theory development, but they provide little basis for use in individual assessment in counseling, psychotherapy, and selection.⁶

Kitwood⁷ found the same weaknesses in the instrument, but he concluded that:

Despite these weaknesses, the Rokeach Value Survey is more directly concerned with values, as philosophically understood, than most, if not all, other available instruments . . .

The second section of the questionnaire consisted of ten short questions concerned with attitudes that respondents held toward education. The questions were developed from interviews held with leaders of both sides of the textbook controversy. Before being finalized,

⁵Jack Cohen, Eighth Mental Measurement Yearbook, ed. Oscar Krisen Buros (Highland Park, N.J.: Gryphon Press, 1978), p. 1032.

⁶Ibid., p. 1032.

⁷Tom Kitwood, Eighth Mental Measurement Yearbook, ed., Oscar Krisen Buros (Highland Park, N.J.: Gryphon Press, 1978), p. 1033.

they were shown to leaders of the controversy for the purpose of eliciting comments and suggestions for change. The questions were also given to approximately a dozen people for feedback on clarity and readability.

Section three contained ten questions on attitudes toward the courts. The court system was chosen as a publicly supported institution with which respondents would be familiar. The questions were developed quite simply from attitudes common to various Americans toward the court system. These questions were also administered to approximately one dozen people for clarity and readability.

Finally, the fourth section contained ten questions to elicit responses on attitudes toward Kanawha County government, another publicly supported institution with which respondents would be familiar. These questions were developed as a result of an interview with an executive employee of the Kanawha County Commissioners Office. The questions were shown to roughly ten Kanawha County residents and changes and adjustments were made as a result of their suggestions. Again, the questions were administered to about a dozen people for feedback on clarity and readability.

Collection of Data: Quantitative

The data were collected in this study by means of a mail survey. The Value Survey and the thirty attitude items were included in a mail brochure. The brochure contained directions for responding to the Value Survey and directions for responding to the thirty attitude questions. The brochure contained a self-addressed

and stamped return panel (see Appendix A). In addition, a cover letter (see Appendix B) explaining the purpose of the study and a request for response accompanied the brochure.

Analysis of the Data: Quantitative

Hypothesis I

Between those who supported the adoption of the textbooks and those who opposed them, there are no values on which there are statistically significant differences.

Analysis

In order to determine the difference between the values of those supporting the texts and those opposing them, a non-parametric median test was used.⁸ The median rank for each group was determined.

The use of nonparametric statistical techniques has been chosen because the respondents were asked to rank items. Because ranking was utilized, the resulting scales are ipsotive in nature and lacked the independence needed for parametric statistics. Ranking provides for an ordinal scale. The use of parametric statistics would require at least an interval scale. The use of nonparametric analyses, then, provides a way to deal with ordinal data.

⁸Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), pp. 111-112.

Hypothesis II

There is no significant difference between the educational attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks and those opposing their adoption.

Analysis

For the purpose of comparing the educational attitudes of the two groups, an independent t-test was employed. The independent variable was whether the respondent supported or opposed the books. The dependent variable was the total attitude score on the ten questions dealing with educational attitudes. This enabled the generation of two group means so that they could be compared.

Hypothesis III

There is no significant difference between the attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks, toward other publicly supported institutions, and the attitudes toward other publicly supported institutions of those opposing the adoption of the textbooks.

Analysis

For the purpose of comparing the attitudes of the two groups toward the courts, an independent t-test was employed. The independent variable was whether the respondents supported or opposed the books. The dependent variable was the total attitude score on the questions dealing with the courts.

For the purpose of comparing the attitudes of the two groups toward Kanawha County government, an independent t-test was employed.

The independent variable was again whether the respondents supported or opposed the books. The dependent variable was the total attitude score on the ten questions dealing with Kanawha County Government.

Hypothesis IV

The educational attitudes of those studied will not be significantly related to their general values (terminal values).

Analysis

In order to determine the relationship between the terminal values of each group and their attitudes toward education, the nonparametric median test was again employed. A determination was made for the educational attitudes as to whether the individual was "liberal" or "conservative". A median rank for each value of each group was determined. A comparison was made of the median rankings for each value across the two groups.

CHAPTER IV

THE DATA

Historical Data

The purpose of this study has been to test the conceptual framework that those whose values lead them to oppose schools will oppose other public institutions and that the attitudes that they hold toward schools are reflective of more general values that they hold. In this chapter the general hypotheses are restated, analyses of the quantitative data are presented, and interpretations are developed based on those data. Before the quantitative data are presented, however, a section of this chapter will be devoted to another set of data, a historical set of data which are presented in order to explain the incident and the population around which this study was conducted.

Because those who opposed the adoption of textbooks in this incident tend to very often explain their actions in terms of their Appalachian background, some space has been given to an overview of Appalachian history and characteristics, particularly to those aspects of Appalachian culture that seem to have influenced behavior in the Kanawha County textbook controversy. The review of Appalachian culture is followed by a chronological reconstruction of the textbook controversy. Together (the cultural overview and the chronological review of the incident) they will

aid the reader in understanding the event through which the conceptual framework was tested. This will comprise Part I of this chapter. Part II of the chapter will address the analysis and interpretation of the quantitative data.

Kanawha County is located in west central West Virginia. Charleston, a city of population 64,000, is both the county seat of Kanawha County and the capitol of West Virginia. One of West Virginia's largest cities, it is a major producer of chemicals and is home for some of the nation's larger chemical plants. Driving along the Kanawha River, which divides the city north and south, one is immediately confronted by these sprawling chemical plants peppered with tall smoke stacks from which billows of white smoke rise and disappear over the steep hills that surround the river. Narrow streets and roads wind around these steep hills and ultimately spiral their way to the tops. Along these winding streets many Charlestonians have built their homes. Elevated above the smokey river valley, many of these homes provide panoramic views of the river where one can gain an appreciation for the vastness of the industrial complex and the beauty of the surrounding hills. Visitors to Charleston may occupy their time pleaurably by viewing many of the colonial and antebellum houses still standing in the city.

Much of Kanawha County is, however, quite different from the city of Charleston. The rural area, which surrounds the city, is a series of small country towns which carry names reflective of the area's history, its geography, and its folklore; names such as

Cabin Creek, Campbells Creek, Big Chimney, Nitro, and Hurricane to name just a few. The early mountaineer settlers of these areas never got around to bestowing real names on places, so the names of places as they are known today simply grew out of years of use by reference. When coal companies and railroads began to survey these areas, they needed real names to attach to specific areas and the reference names used by the early mountaineers were the simplest things to deal with.¹ If, for instance, a creek had been named for the family who settled along its banks (e.g., Campbell), then the area eventually adopted the reference name, Campbells Creek. Still, other towns were named by word of mouth folklore that told the story of some particular event that had occurred in the neighborhood. Legend has it, for instance, that a grain miller in the area was known for how slowly he did his work. Those who brought grain to the mill would often try to speed him up. "Hurry Cane!" (his given name) they would admonish him. Years of retelling that story eventually settled the name Hurricane (a mutation of "Hurry Cane") on the community.²

While these names may seem to reflect a solely romantic past of the region, these romantic aspects existed side-by-side with a history of hardship and struggle. Though not the sole contributor, the geography of the area itself was a part of the hardship. Not unlike the rest of the vast Appalachian region, these rural areas

¹Harry M. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands (Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), p. 21.

²Interview with James Lewis, St. Andrews Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 15 April 1983.

around Charleston are characterized by steep hills, bumpy roads, and creeks that wind deeply into the mountains creating the "hollows" in which many of these rural inhabitants make their homes. Difficult to farm and scarred by both tunnel and strip coal mining, the terrain has made even subsistence living difficult for generations. For even the best prepared, this rugged terrain would have provided a challenging life, but the ancestors of these present day mountaineers were, at best, ill prepared for the life that they chose for themselves.

Seventeenth century Britain was filled with teeming cities, cities unequipped to house and feed their populations. Crime was rampant and order was difficult to maintain. Hordes of orphans roamed the streets and the most indigent of the city dwellers were often imprisoned for years for failure to pay their debts.³ Wishing to purge Britain as much as possible from such undesirable elements, Parliament passed laws making it possible to transport orphans, debtors, and criminals to the New World as indentured servants.

And so for many decades there flowed from Merry England to the Piney Coasts of Georgia, Virginia and the Carolinas a raggle taggle of humanity penniless workmen fleeing from the ever present threat of military conscription; honest men who could not pay their debts, pickpockets and thieves who were worth more to the Crown on a New World Plantation than dangling from a rope, and children of all ages and both sexes, whose only offense was that they were orphans . . .⁴

As their terms of indenture were fulfilled, some of these castoffs found their way to the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains

³Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, p. 5.

⁴Ibid., p. 5.

and in steadily growing numbers they made their homes "living under cliffs or in rude cabins."⁵ By about 1775, there was established the seed stock of the "generations" whose descendents have since spread throughout the entire mountain range, along every winding creek bed and up every hidden valley."⁶ Counted among those descendants were, of course, the mountaineers of West Virginia.

The "mountain people" grew to love the seclusion of the hills where they were insulated from the authorities of the cities and where the freedom to control their own lives became a treasured value. The motto of the State of West Virginia, *Montani Semper Liberi* (Mountaineers Are Always Free) is reflective of how deeply ingrained the concept of personal freedom has become in these mountain people. The lesson of how they came to the New World was not forgotten, and the closer to them that established American society moved, the more deeply they retreated into the Appalachian hills. While commerce, industry, and education increased in the country, in the mountains time stood still.⁷

The people spoke as they had always spoken; they preserved the old handicrafts and grubbed out a living in their old ways. They exchanged dried fruits, cured hams, ginseng, furs, and whiskey for cash and manufactured products. The gap between the culture of the towns and the mountains became both wide and deep. By the end of the nineteenth century, the mountaineers were a people apart, molded by the peculiar forces of the terrain, the pressure of economics, and the lack of contact with outsiders.⁸

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

⁶Ibid., p. 6.

⁷Ibid., p. 13.

⁸Jack E. Weller, Yesterday's People (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), pp. 13-14.

Because these first mountain people were originally city dwellers and not country folk, they, unlike the settlers who moved westward with the express purpose of farming the new land, knew little of farming techniques. So, while the agriculturally oriented settlers built their houses on the hillsides and farmed the rich bottom land, the mountain people built their cabins on the bottom land and farmed the hillsides.⁹ These "perpendicular farms" have been the object of much humor, but they provide an example of just how unprepared these mountain people were to deal with the rough terrain. It is no wonder that their skills as hunters and trappers grew to almost legendary proportions, for these skills provided them with the best way they could find to feed themselves and their families.

Much of the history of the Appalachian region is a history of economic struggle, a struggle that continues today and that is likely to continue for generations. Material sacrifices have been heavy in an effort to protect a way of life, a way of life so ingrained and common to the people of the region that they have emerged as a nearly separate ethnic group. There are many sides to the Appalachian culture and the people of the region have been the target population of numerous sociological studies. Their history is uniquely American, yet somehow separate from the greater body of American history. Appalachian history is vast and so filled with fascinating lore, side tales, and legends that the Appalachian story may never really be told. Its a story of survival, violence,

⁹Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, p. 13.

religion, and land and coal - and it is a story of people clinging to traditional ways, a story of Yesterday's People.

For the purposes of this study it is helpful to briefly examine at least three aspects of Appalachian culture; (1) the violence that has intermittently surfaced in the region, (2) the religious life of the Appalachian people, and (3) the central role that land and coal have played in Appalachia.

Violence

The earliest settlers of the mountain regions, it will be remembered, were of rough European stock, "free hands with their fists, knife and rifle, illiterate, uncouth, and hard drinking."¹⁰ In order to establish themselves in the mountain regions, these early settlers were forced to deal with savage Indian inhabitants of the area. These white men not only fought with the Indians, but learned from them.

The white man became, almost, a pale-faced Indian. He ate the Indian's corn and jerked meat. He wore the Indian's deerskin clothes. He even adopted his Tomahawk, and here only, on a rampaging frontier, the white border man collected scalps with all the zest of the Choctaw brave."¹¹

From these early settlers grew a tradition of toughness and violence that would surface throughout Appalachian history. The violence would wear many faces; sometimes the face of organized war,

¹⁰Ibid., p. 13.

¹¹Ibid., p. 14.

sometimes the visage of private war, and sometimes it was unmasked on the battlefields of the coal mines where the bosses and the miners each struggled to gain their share of the profits from vast coal resources.

When Andrew Jackson traveled down the Mississippi in 1814 he had with him a contingent of mountaineers who had decided to follow "Old Hickory" to help him to rid the nation of the hated British. Jackson's victory was earned in part by the contributions of these tough, sharpshooting mountaineers who proved to be ferocious fighters.

The Civil War was a particularly glorious time for these mountaineers, but that same war would ultimately lead to some of the bloodiest chapters of Appalachian history. Mountaineers joined the war in large numbers, but by far the majority of them came into the war on the Union side. Caudill¹² has speculated that the overwhelming Union sympathy was rooted in both jealousy of their more successful southern neighbors and a genuine desire to see enslaved men set free. While these mountaineers once again distinguished themselves as tough fighting men, their desire to be free from authority remained undiminished:

. . . The world may not see again the match for these men as soldiers . . . Indefatigable afoot or in the saddle, they fought on practically every battlefield The fierce cry that became famous as the blood curdling "Rebel yell" had been learned by their forefathers from Indian warriors, and was now carried North and South by soldiers from the Southern mountains. But to their soldierly virtues was added a grave defect - an unrelenting hatred of discipline and order. The highland soldier wore the collar of military discipline with poor grace, frequently

¹²Ibid., p. 38.

deserting when an officer "got too big for his britches."
 The Confederates generally elected their officers . . .
 and at least one soldier refused to vote, explaining
 his stand with, "God damn it, I'm agin' all officers."¹³

As the war progressed, virtually all mountain people declared themselves to be in one camp or another, a situation which was a prelude to a bloody chapter in Appalachian history - the ferocious mountain feuds - "After Appomattox it was as though mortal enemies had been locked in the same prison without taking away the deadly weapons they knew so well how to use."¹⁴ These bloody feuds continued for nearly a half century after the Civil War. The most famous of these feuds, the Hatfield-McCoy War, had its cause in two families fighting on opposite sides during the Civil War, and resulted in sixty-five deaths and, having involved a large number of people, nearly brought the states of West Virginia and Kentucky to war. The French-Eversole War, the Knott County War, and Allen-Edwards Wars were among numerous other feuds that lasted for decades and resulted in untold destruction and death. Nearly every county had its war.¹⁵

By 1915 the Appalachian feuds had subsided, but in the 1920s the bloody killing began again. This time the shooting was linked to prohibition and the booming moonshine business that had grown up in the hills. The killing was widespread and involved rival still owners, and still owners and government agents. The county

¹³Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 46.

feuds may have ended, but the Appalachian tendency to violence had not subsided.

The repeal of the Volstead Act (prohibition) calmed the alcohol related violence of the Appalachian area, but the violence did not disappear. The Great Depression of the 1930's dealt a devastating blow to the Appalachian coal fields and to the mountaineers who depended heavily on the huge coal companies for work, housing, and medical care. As the demand for coal dwindled because of seriously decreased manufacturing in places like Pittsburgh and Detroit, the huge companies reduced their demands for labor and the miners found themselves without jobs, homes, and other essentials. The booming coal fields that had flourished during the "Roaring 20s" fell upon "bust" times and all across the Appalachian region unemployed miners found themselves facing poverty and a seemingly hopeless future. Those miners who did find work were paid meager wages for long hours in the mines so that even those who were fortunate enough to be employed struggled to survive.

Until the Depression hit, the relationship between the great coal bosses and their mountaineer miners had been one of mutual respect. In spite of the fact that most services that the bosses provided for the miners had a profit motive behind them (e.g., the company store and medical services) the miners had responded positively to the noblesse oblige approach of their bosses. The attention paid to their needs by the bosses gave them a feeling of importance and of being needed. As the Depression deepened, however, the huge companies, unable to continue to employ or service

the mountaineers, came to view them as an economic burden. Sensing this change in attitude, the miners grew bitter toward the bosses, causing a deep schism between the two groups which still exists today.

As the relationship between the miners and the coal companies deteriorated, the United Mine Workers stepped up their activities in the area to enlist members from among the disenchanting miners. While the coal bosses hired large "goon squads" to keep union organizers out of the coal fields, more and more miners risked life and limb to join the union. Finally, violence came again to the Appalachians as miners armed themselves and confronted the hated "goon squads." The violence, however, was not confined to miner against boss. More than a few mountain people remained loyal to the companies and refused to join the union so it was inevitable that these two groups would meet in violent skirmishes throughout the coal fields. Reminiscent of the old county feuds, mountaineers fired on mountaineers.

One cannot be certain of the true seeds of Appalachian violence. Perhaps it is rooted in the harshness and struggle for life of the earliest settlers in the area. Perhaps it can be explained as a system somehow agreed upon by people several generations removed from literate leadership to whom the written law was a distant abstraction. It may be, however, that the violence of Appalachia is something quite separate from the face of terrorism that it presents, that it is, in fact, only a continuing story of rebellion against authority, a continuing struggle to keep

mountaineers free to pursue the way of life that drew their ancestors into the winding creeks and hollows of the Southern Mountains.

And Religion

The religious heritage of the Southern Appalachian people has been pictured as "left wing Protestantism." Its characteristics include puritanical behavior patterns, religious individualism, fundamentalism in attitudes towards the Bible and Christian doctrine, little distinction between clergy and laity, sectarian concepts of the church and its mission, and opposition to central authority of state or church.¹⁶

While some sections of the country were settled by people with common religious backgrounds (e.g., the New England Puritans and the Pennsylvania Quakers), that was not the case of the Appalachian settlers. These early mountaineers came from diverse backgrounds religiously - "Scotch Presbyterians, English Puritans and Separatists, and non-conforming sectarians from various backgrounds."¹⁷ Because the early mountaineers were spread so widely across the Appalachian hills, obstacles of geography and communication prevented them from coming together under the umbrella of any one stable religion. Clergy who had been trained and educated in England or along the eastern seaboard of the New World were hesitant to travel the difficult roads and trails into the hills to provide their literate leadership to rugged mountain settlers. Each generation of mountain people was a bit more removed from the formal and literate leadership of any organized church and with the passage

¹⁶Weller, Yesterday's People, p. 121.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 122.

of time the religious beliefs of the mountaineers came to reflect the rugged individualism so characteristic of their way of life.

As the mountaineer became ever more distant from education, the appeal of any kind of literate clergy diminished and finally disappeared. To the mountaineer, so deeply opposed to the superiority and authority of any one man or group of men, preachers were not held exempt from their belief that each man must accept the responsibility of taking care of himself and his family. Preachers were, and are, expected to work like other men - there is little toleration for preachers who want to do only God's work. The Appalachian preacher is a preacher on Sunday, but during the rest of the week he holds a full time job like any other man. "So there grew up a host of lay preachers who were farmers or miners or shopkeepers through the week and preachers on Sunday."¹⁸

The effect of the mountaineer's individualism is to be seen everywhere in his religious life. The Appalachian area is often referred to as the "Bible Belt," but the truth is that only a small number of Appalachian people belong to churches and take part in the regular routines of such organizations.¹⁹ Appalachian people, however, are not unreligious. In fact, the opposite is true. They speak a great deal about religion, and prayers are much a part of their meetings and other organized activities. The purpose of churches, however, is to win souls to faith in God in a very

¹⁸Ibid., p. 123

¹⁹Interview with James Lewis, St. Andrews Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 15 April 1983.

personalistic way. Religion, like other aspects of the Mountaineer's life, is an individual matter.²⁰

Since illiteracy was long extant in the Appalachian region, much of religion and the Bible was passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. To the scriptures of the King James Bible was added bits and pieces of Indian lore and superstitions that abounded in the creeks and hollows of the Southern Mountains. Among the beliefs held by many Mountain people was that the Devil was able to assume tangible forms - "Man is inherently evil - if you don't contain him he is going to break out in evil right in front of your eyes."²¹

While few Appalachian people could read the Bible, the Bible was nonetheless revered and its teachings were to be taken literally. Appalachians are fond of quoting Bible passages, but this history of oral transmission of "the word" has produced not only many inaccurate quotations, but some quotations that do not exist in the Bible at all. Just as frequently, quotations were used out of context to support a point of argument in the many religious discussions in which mountain people love to participate. Many a mountain home may have housed a Bible on an honored shelf, but in a land where the written word was unknown for many years, few could read it.

Since so much of mountain religion is reflective of life in this hard country, it is not surprising that observers find a high

²⁰Ibid., p. 125.

²¹Interview with Doris Colomb, Charleston, West Virginia, 30 March 1983.

degree of fatalism associated with this "old time religion."²² Because Appalachians have experienced too few of life's joys and satisfactions, they are resigned to the fact that this life holds little for them and that their rewards will come in heaven.²³ They have come to expect very little in this world and are convinced that it may not be worth the effort to try - good things are found only in the next world.

Isolated in the hills and hollows of the steep mountains and without benefit of an organized church, mountaineers built a religion that reflected their way of life rather than the dogma of an established Church. These fiercely independent souls made a religion that, while based on fundamental Christian principles, meshed with their individualistic lifestyles. As their whole way of life was tied to the traditions of their earliest Appalachian ancestors, so was their religion tied to "the word" as it had been passed on to them. So inculcated was the concept of individualism that mountain people seldom joined in groups to accomplish anything - churches included. Even today large numbers of very small churches with very small memberships dot the creeks and hollows of rural Kanawha County as they do in other parts of the Southern Mountains. Still today, these small flocks are watched over by lay preachers who maintain the most homey of ways so that no parishioner ever feels that the preacher is trying to rise above him. Every man's individual thoughts

²²Weller, Yesterday's People, p. 128.

²³Ibid., p. 132.

on God, the Bible, and religion are equal to any other man's thoughts on these subjects.

What has emerged from the generations of Appalachians' preoccupation of tailoring the Christian religion to their own needs is a kind of folk religion, rich in both the fundamental concepts of Christianity and reflective of the cultural development of the area. Crickard has provided us with some most appropriate language in summing up the relationship between mountaineers and their religion:

Many social reformers . . . view the local sect churches as a hindrance to social progress. What they fail to see is that it was the Church which sustained us and made life worth living in grim situations. Religion shaped our lives, but at the same time we shaped our religion. Culture and religion are intertwined. The life on the frontier did not allow for an optimistic social gospel. One was lucky if he endured. Hard work did not bring a sure reward. Therefore, the religion became fatalistic and stressed rewards in another life It was a realistic religion which fitted a realistic people. It's based on belief in the original sin, that man is fallible, that he will fail, does fail Every group of people must have meaning in their lives - must believe in themselves. Religion helps to make relief possible. There are few Appalachian atheists.²⁴

That Appalachian culture and religion are intertwined is a key concept in understanding the Appalachian mountaineer. A comparison of this phenomenon is often made with the Cuban people. The Catholic church has so long been a part of Cuban life that even non-members are reflective of Catholic dogma and attitudes. In that respect, it can be said that all Cubans are Catholic.

²⁴Betty P. Crickard, "Cultural Values Influencing Educational Programming in West Virginia" (quoting Jones, Appalachian Values, pp. 110-111), Second Annual Mountain Heritage In-Service Training Workshop, November 1974, West Virginia State Department of Education, West Virginia University Extension Service, West Virginia Arts and Humanities Committee.

The people of today's rural Kanawha County, while much more exposed to progress and to outsiders than were their ancestors, still share much of the religious/cultural heritage of their past. They cling to the fundamentalist Christian concepts of their heritage and turn to their small churches mainly in their times of trial and need. They are led by lay preachers who work as truck drivers, brick masons, or in any other of a thousand different occupations. The Bible is revered and quoted, though more accurately because literacy rates are today much higher than in past generations. And these mountain people protect and embrace the traditions of their forebearers - principals for which they have been known to fight on more than one occasion.

And Land and Coal

For more than one hundred years, the Appalachian mountain people relied on hunting, fishing, and crude agriculture techniques to furnish them with life's necessities. Since they had little of value to exchange for cash money, theirs was a society where monetary purchases or business transactions were virtually unknown beyond the simplest kinds of bartering of goods for goods. While the nation moved more and more toward industrialization, the isolation of the Appalachian community continued almost undisturbed. The material possessions of the mountain people were mainly of their own making, products of the crafts that had developed in the hills over the years.

As settlers found their way into the hills, built their crude cabins, and farmed small patches of land in crops mainly

adopted from the Indians, possession of the land was achieved in different ways. Some mountaineers established formal deeds to the land and others assumed the land to be theirs as a result of having settled it. In any case, mountaineers took the land for granted and the value they attached to it was in terms of the freedom that it accrued to them. In a world with so little commerce, its inhabitants had no concept of the monetary value of goods, a shortcoming that was to deeply effect the future of this beautiful land and its rugged people.

In the period immediately following the Civil War the Industrial Revolution plunged ahead with irrepressible force. Huge industries grew up both in this nation and abroad and the glistening iron rail tracks reached ever further across the land making it possible to both deliver to and bring goods from many parts of the country. It wasn't until about 1900 that the railroads found their way into the Appalachian hills, but by 1875 outsiders began to realize the rich natural resources extant both on and in the Southern Mountains. "Speculators in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York and other northern cities had become aware of the immense stands of still virgin forest, and exploring geologists had begun to report the existence of vast beds of bituminous coal underlying the timbered hills."²⁵

First it was the timber of the mountains that attracted the speculators. Finding the mountaineers without conception of the value of their timber, the speculators purchased thousands of trees

²⁵Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, p. 61.

at a price of only a fraction of their value. In many instances, surveyors for large companies were able to establish that huge tracts of lands had not been properly claimed by the mountaineers and the timber from these lands could be taken for nothing. Tracts of timber were cut and floated down mountain streams to market centers. Other tracts were left standing in anticipation of the time that the railroads would reach the Appalachians. By about 1900, the rails had found their way into the hills and the chopping of the standing tracts began. By about 1925, the hills were left nearly barren of their beautiful trees. Only a stubby secondary growth was left as a remnant of the wild natural beauty that the original settlers had found in these hills. What's more, the mountaineers had little to show for the sale of the timber. While speculators amassed huge fortunes, the mountaineer had sacrificed his treasured environment for little material gain.

If the story of the trees was a sad one, the story of coal was a tragedy. With the monumental expansion of industry in the late 1800s the demand for coal was tremendous. Rich veins of coal ran everywhere through the Appalachian region and the expansion of the railroads into the hills made it possible to transport the coal to the nation's booming industrial centers. With the same guile of the timber speculators, the coal companies embarked upon a campaign of buying large areas of land from the unsuspecting mountaineers at a small portion of their worth. Some acreage purchased at between twenty-five and fifty cents an acre is valued at nearly twenty-five thousand dollars per acre on today's market. Numerous methods were

devised to defraud the mountaineers, and the courts, often strongly under the influence of the coal barons, lent the weight of the law to what the coal companies wished to do.

Still, the mountaineer did not understand the degree to which he had been used. As the coal companies developed mining operations, they employed thousands of these mountain people. Building company towns and coal camps, the bosses provided a standard living for the mountaineer that he had never before known. The company provided housing, medical care and recreational facilities for the miners. By deducting from the miners wages for these things, but keeping him indebted to the company store, and by paying him in company script so that he had no real money, the bosses made the miners totally dependent on the company. Education was unknown in many of these mining communities and so without benefit of really understanding what was happening, the mountaineer was for the first time surrendering his fierce independence. Only when the Great Depression hit the coal fields did the miners, through union organization, begin to understand what had happened to them and begin to rebel against the coal companies.

The legacy of the coal companies was a tragic one. Not only had they taken the land and the dignity of the mountaineer, but they had created a scarred landscape of slag heaps, delapidated company towns, and mountains sheered of foliage during thousands of strip mining operations. Much of the land was so unstable from the mining operations that heavy rains often brought whole hillsides down upon the cabins and creeks that were found all through the mountains.

From the beginning, the coal and timber companies insisted on keeping all, or nearly all, of the wealth they produced. They were unwilling to plow more than a tiny part of the money they earned back into schools, libraries, health facilities, and other institutions essential to a balanced, pleasant, productive, and civilized society. The knowledge and guile of their managers enabled them to corrupt and cozen all too many of the region's elected public officials and to thwart the legitimate aspirations of the people. The greed and cunning of the coal magnates left behind an agglomeration of misery for a people who can boast few of the facilities deemed indispensable to life in more sophisticated areas, and even these few are inadequate and of inferior quality.²⁶

To a large extent, the people who today inhabit the creeks and hollows of rural Kanawha County are the descendants of these hearty mountaineers. The coal industry still exists, but the residents are no longer so heavily dependent upon it. Only about 25 percent of the county's labor force works in the mines.²⁷ The petrochemical plants and other diversified industries of Charleston provide many with employment. Literacy levels have climbed steadily. The median years of school completed are 12.3 for household heads and mothers in families with children under six. Additionally, 52.8 percent of Kanawha County residents have completed four years of high school.²⁸

Since the Great Depression the rural inhabitants of Kanawha County, like those in other Appalachian areas, have had a steadily increasing contact with modern society. By 1972, 96.7 percent of

²⁶Ibid., p. 326.

²⁷Data provided by Appalachian Educational Laboratories, Charleston, West Virginia.

²⁸Ibid.

rural Kanawha County residents had television sets and 78.9 percent had telephones.²⁹ School systems had reached into these areas providing modern books and teaching techniques to a society whose literacy rate was steadily climbing.

Old ways sometimes die hard and despite the apparent rationality of progressive thinkers and actors, there are those whose ties with tradition are too strong to overcome. Change must come slowly for them, and even then the most carefully thought out strategies to foster change must be developed with an eye to the strong resistance that can be anticipated in trying to alter cultural mores. The infusion of modern devices such as telephones and television sets and even an increased literacy rate do not guarantee alteration of cultural values developed over generations. Because the rural inhabitants of Kanawha County installed television sets and telephones and took advantage of an expanding educational system, one cannot assume a concomitant shift to the adoption of an entire new set of values tied to our modern industrialized society. While it may have seemed that the technical and educational advancements in rural Kanawha County had drawn its inhabitants culturally closer together with their city-dwelling neighbors, the events surrounding the adoption of a set of textbooks adopted by the Kanawha County schools gave lie to that assumption.

Beginning in April of 1974 and lasting nearly a year, the controversy surrounding the adoption of the textbooks sharply defined

²⁹Ibid.

a value cleavage still extant in Kanawha County in 1974. The books served as a focal point around which those who protested their adoption would take a stand in favor of their traditional values and against the more progressive values of Kanawha County educators. As will be seen in the next section of this study, these rural inhabitants of Kanawha County rose up in open rebellion against the actions of the Kanawha County Public Schools.

The Event

The Kanawha County School System is the largest of any district in West Virginia. In 1974 the district boasted a student population of some 46,000 students housed in 89 elementary schools, 33 junior and senior high schools, and two vocational high schools spread over 907 square miles. The system employed an instructional staff of 2,500, 2,200 of which were classroom teachers. Governance of the district is vested in a five member board of education. Members of the board are elected at large, although no more than two members can be elected from any one magisterial district. Board members are elected on a plurality system for six year terms.³⁰

On March 12, 1974, a five member textbook selection committee of the Kanawha County Schools presented its recommendations to the Board of Education for the adoption of an English Language Arts series. In addition to the basic book series, the committee recommended the adoption of some supplementary texts. Following the meeting the books were displayed at the Kanawha County Public Library

³⁰National Education Association, A Textbook Study in Cultural Conflict (Washington, D. C.: n.p. 1975), p. 8.

for public examination and the Board of Education Offices for examination by board members.³¹ The recommendation drew little attention from the press. As in the past, textbook recommendations were not particularly newsworthy events. Absent from the March 12 meeting was Alice Moore, wife of a fundamentalist minister, who had been elected to the Board in 1970 on an anti sex education platform. As a result of her work on the Board, sex education is not, and has not been, a formal part of the curriculum of the Kanawha County Schools since the early 1970s.

At the Board's monthly meeting on April 11, Mrs. Moore raised objections to the supplemental texts and convinced the Board to pass a motion that they review the texts with the stipulation that if there were portions that they found objectionable, those portions would not be taught. Mrs. Moore referred to the books as "trash." She complained that the books contained the language of white racism and that "There is a lot of tearing down of traditional values and ideals people have always held."³² At the same meeting, Mrs. Nellie Wood, chairwoman of the selection committee, defended the books. "They are books that, rather than being racist, offer intellectual questions for understanding differences between people."³³ Besides Mrs. Moore, board member Matthew Kinsolving also expressed some reservations about the books at the meeting. (See copies of news-

³¹Ibid., p. 17.

³²"Two Board Members Opposing Some Texts," Charleston Daily Mail, 23 May 1974.

³³Ibid.

paper articles in Appendix C for Mrs. Moore's specific objections to the books.)

At the May 16 board meeting, the selection committee presented its rationale for selecting the books and the Board set June 27 as the date for reaching a final decision on the books.

Throughout late May and much of June, Mrs. Moore was quoted repeatedly in the local press. During that time she appeared before a number of church and community organizations presenting her objections to the books and circulating copies of objectionable passages. She expressed concerns that if these kinds of books were to be a part of public education, then maybe private schools were desirable.³⁴ Her efforts were rewarded when a growing number of people took up the cause against the books. On June 19, the Kanawha County Council of Parents and Teachers voted to oppose some of the books.³⁵ As momentum grew, Mrs. Moore made a taped review of the books available for \$1.50,³⁶ and the public became increasingly aware of and involved in the issue.

The entry of area clergy into the issue was to be an important and lasting part of the textbook controversy. As the June 27 board meeting drew near, clergy on both sides of the issue hurried to get their viewpoints out publicly. On June 25, ten religious leaders

³⁴"Private Schools May Be Way: Alice Moore," Charleston Daily Mail, 19 June 1974.

³⁵"Kanawha P.T.A. Board Opposes Certain Texts," Charleston Daily Mail, 19 June 1974.

³⁶"Mrs. Moore Offers Tape on Textbooks," Charleston Daily Mail, 18 June 1974.

from the Charleston area announced their support for the books after having reviewed them.³⁷ On the same day, the Charleston branch of the NAACP endorsed the books. Countering the endorsement of the ten pro-book ministers, a group of twenty-seven clergy, on June 27, made it a matter of public record that they opposed adoption of the texts.³⁸

The June 27 board meeting was attended by nearly one thousand persons. Many could not get into the meeting room and were forced to stand outside. A number of speakers from both sides of the issue were given time to state their cases. The meeting took on a circus-like atmosphere. Speakers against the books were greeted with shouts of "Amen" and "Yeah" and were rewarded with loud applause while those who defended the books were booed, called communists, and told to sit down. Mrs. Moore questioned book supporters at great length and the meeting occasionally turned into a shouting match between her, the speaker, and the audience. Book protesters presented the Board with petitions containing thousands of signatures and one woman, to the delight of the audience, threatened to remove board members who voted for the books. Applications for a Christian School were passed out in the audience and large anti-book signs were displayed. Finally, after three hours of near chaos, the Board voted 3-2 to accept the books with some minor exceptions.³⁹

³⁷"Ten Clergymen Endorse Books," Charleston Gazette, 25 June 1974.

³⁸"Dunbar Ministers Hit Books," Charleston Gazette, 27 June 1974.

³⁹"Suit Threat Voiced by Alice Moore," Charleston Daily Mail, 28 June 1974.

On July 14, it was disclosed that Mrs. Moore, Matthew Kinsolving, and board member elect, F. Douglas Stump had advised Superintendent, Dr. Kenneth Underwood, at an executive session meeting, to begin looking for a new job.⁴⁰ Several days later Underwood confirmed the disclosure and admitted to being surprised by the action. Discussions regarding the Superintendent's performance appeared quite regularly in the press, but for awhile, save for a number of letters to the editor, the textbook controversy appeared to have settled down. Then, on August 3, the first sign of renewed activity against the texts appeared. A group of antitext people met for a rally at the Municipal Auditorium and planned a boycott of Heck's, a discount store of which Russel Isaacs, a board member who had voted to adopt the texts, was president. For a week or so controversy over the boycott filled pages of the press with most sentiment seemingly against the move because of its potential harm to Heck's employees. While the boycott was not hugely successful, it served to rekindle interest in the book controversy.

Then, on August 28 an article appeared in the Charleston Daily Mail which was the first sign of how serious the book protest was to become. A group of Kanawha County parents calling themselves "Concerned Citizens," and led by Reverend Darrel Beach, had voted the previous evening to boycott the Kanawha County Schools on Tuesday, September 2, the first day of school. Reverend Beach said that the group had decided to send the parents to school rather than the

⁴⁰"Board Ducks Axing Queries," Charleston Sunday Gazette-Mail, 14 July 1974.

students and to continue the boycott until the objectionable books were taken out of the schools. Meetings had been held at St. Albans and at Campbell's Creek, each meeting attended by 200-300 people who voted overwhelmingly to support the boycott.⁴¹ A rally was scheduled for August 31 to gain support for the movement, a rally which was attended by roughly 2,000 people.

On September 2, school opened in Kanawha County, but not in the usual manner. Although it took school officials some time to assess the impact of the boycott, by September 3 they reported a 20 percent absenteeism on the first day of school, a drop of some 12 percent from their usual first day. Pickets had appeared at various buildings, but no trouble was reported. The absenteeism was primarily centered in communities that had become most involved in the protest movement. At least one parent reported being threatened not to send her child to school.⁴²

Wishing to give their movement maximum impact, on Wednesday, September 4 textbook protesters set up pickets in the coal fields of rural Kanawha County. The miners honored the pickets and an estimated 3,500 miners walked off their jobs virtually crippling the coal industry in Kanawha County. In response, the coal operators requested and were granted a temporary restraining order against the protesters. United Mine Workers officials expressed their outrage

⁴¹"Citizens Plan Textbook Boycott," Charleston Daily Mail, 28 August 1974.

⁴²"Boycott Takes Its Toll," Charleston Gazette, 4 September 1974.

at this kind of private pressure being applied in the coal fields and called on the miners to return to work.⁴³ If the protesters perceived that interference in the coalfields would draw attention to their cause, then they were correct. Not only did the wildcat strike occupy the local news media, but stories of the walkout appeared in the press across the nation.

One of the names mentioned as a defendant in the restraining order was that of the Reverend Marvin Horan who would play a key leadership role in the anti-textbook movement and whose involvement would eventually lead him into deep trouble. A truck driver by profession, Reverend Horan was a self proclaimed minister of Kanawha Two-Mile Mountain Mission. On September 4, as he admonished his congregation to continue the school boycott, Reverend Horan spoke of how confident he was that the boycott would bring an end to the use of the objectionable books in the schools. He spoke of victory and he told his flock of a "vision" in which "God has revealed to me a victory speech."⁴⁴

On September 6, another injunction was issued by the Kanawha County Circuit Court. This time the injunction was issued on behalf of the Kanawha County Board of Education. The injunction prohibited demonstrating against textbooks and interference with the operation of the County Schools. Textbook protesters had been around many

⁴³"Miners Hit in Boycott Over Texts," Charleston Gazette, 5 September 1974.

⁴⁴"'The Flock' Certain of Victory," Charleston Daily Mail, 5 September 1974.

schools and in some instances had picketed school bus storage areas preventing the buses from getting out to make their runs.⁴⁵ Protesters' activity around industry had expanded and many workers at the Union Carbide Plant refused to cross the picket lines on September 5.

Kanawha County officials searched for some way to ease tensions and to return to some semblance of law and order. Several people who had disobeyed the court injunction brought by the coal companies were arrested and sentenced to short jail terms. The action, however, had little effect on the now expanding protest movement. Although the school system had publicized the injunction it had received, as school began its second week the protesters continued to blockade school bus terminals in various parts of the county. In some areas no buses moved at all, and in some other areas only about one half of the buses were able to get out, but school officials reported that attendance had run 80 percent, which they considered good in light of the efforts of the protesters.⁴⁶ While many school buses did not run, the public transportation system was even harder hit when drivers for the Kanawha County Regional Transit Authority refused to drive out of sympathy for the book protesters. An estimated 11,000 customers were left without transportation.⁴⁷

⁴⁵"Schools Get Text Fight Injunction," Charleston Gazette, 6 September 1974.

⁴⁶"Protesters Block School Buses Again," Charleston Daily Mail, 10 September 1974.

⁴⁷"Public Bus Drivers in Boycott," Charleston Daily Mail, 10 September 1974.

As protest activity stepped up, a secondary problem was quickly developing behind the scenes which would finally come to the public eye on September 11. Kanawha County Sheriff G. Kemp Melton had apparently been asking for help from the State Police in keeping order in Kanawha County. His force was simply too small to handle so many trouble spots spread across the entire county. The help was not forthcoming and this dilemma would continue through most of the textbook controversy. Accounts of the feud in Charleston newspapers seemed to point to the fact that the Superintendent of State Police was looking for reasons not to extend help, and that Governor Arch Moore, perhaps considering the protest a political hot potato, was executing the same kind of dodge.⁴⁸ For months Melton's small force would be stretched to its limits in trying to maintain order in the County.

On September 11, the Board of Education extended a conciliatory effort to the book protesters. What the Board proposed was that all newly adopted texts would be submitted to a review by a cross section of the community. Each board member would appoint three people to serve on a review committee, which would have thirty days to review the books. While the review was taking place, some books would be removed from the schools (supplemental texts), and others would remain in the classrooms. The protesters would not accept the proposal and vowed to continue the boycott. Reverend Horan said the group would keep their children out of school until all of the

⁴⁸"Melton Caught in Dilemma," Charleston Daily Mail, 11 September 1974.

books were removed. In sympathy with this stand, coal miners and other union workers vowed to stay off of their jobs.⁴⁹ It now seemed clear that any compromise on the textbooks seemed, at least at that time, very unlikely. Perhaps a statement made by Reverend Lewis Harrah to an NEA panel best described the feelings of the protesters at that point in time:

I am a member of the Pentecostal Church. The standards and articles of faith of our church rest completely in our belief that the Bible is the absolute, unfallible Word of God. We do not intend to compromise our beliefs, nor do we intend to agree to go to Hell, even if a majority of the people vote to do so. This is not a situation where opposing views can be reconciled. As you well know, there are some things that are somewhat like night and day, a darkness and light - they are beyond the point of reconciliation. There is no dusk or dawn or in between or neutral zone. There is a line drawn and the people stand either to the right or left of it

. . . This is the root of the problem. There is a line - a line that broadens with every passing day. A vast vacuum has developed in our community. Perhaps it was there to begin with and it took this controversy to reveal it.

- Statement to the NEA Panel
by Reverend Lewis Harrah,
Pastor of the Church of
Jesus Christ, North Charleston

On September 12, Superintendent of Schools Kenneth Underwood announced that the Kanawha County Schools would be closed on Thursday and Friday because "there's apparently no way we can have law and order. Mobs are ruling and we're extremely afraid somebody will be hurt. The safety of children is our paramount objective."⁵⁰ The

⁴⁹"Text Protesters Reject Board's Review Offer," Charleston Gazette, 12 September 1974.

⁵⁰"County Schools Closed in Face of Text Fight," Charleston Gazette, 13 September 1974.

controversy had reached new emotional heights and the violence that Dr. Underwood had feared had begun to surface. A fifty-two-year-old janitor had tried to report to work at the Smith Transfer Corporation which was being picketed by book protesters. When he was shoved and pushed by pickets, he produced a gun and began shooting. After one picket received a minor flesh wound, the janitor was beaten severely by about seventy protesters and was hospitalized.⁵¹ The next day a textbook supporter panicked when he encountered pickets at the UPS truck depot and shot a UPS truck driver in the chest.⁵²

Perhaps fearing that the anti-text movement had become too volatile, Reverend Horan appealed to book protesters to return to work and to return their children to school. He had decided to accept the olive branch compromise offered by the Board a few days earlier.⁵³ Unfortunately, the movement could not be stopped and Horan's leadership role was immediately filled by Reverend Ezra Graley and Reverend Charles Quigley. Reverend Horan, however, did not abandon the movement and played a key role in the continuing controversy.

Boycott efforts continued throughout the month of September, but plans to implement the Board's review committee progressed in spite of Mrs. Moore's at first refusing to name three members to the

⁵¹"Beaten Man Wanted to Work," Charleston Daily Mail, 13 September 1974.

⁵²"Man Panicked, Fired Gun, Lawyer Believes," Charleston Gazette, 14 September 1974.

⁵³"Return to Work, School, Text Fight Chief Urges," Charleston Gazette, 14 September 1974.

committee (she later agreed to do so).⁵⁴ On September 26, the protesters submitted demands to the Board calling for the resignations of Dr. Underwood and the board members who had voted in favor of the texts. Violence continued when a CBS newsmen covering a protesters rally at Campbell's Creek was beaten.⁵⁵ Reverend Graley was arrested for leading a protest group in front of the Board offices in defiance of the injunction. He was fined \$250.00 and jailed. Later he was quoted as saying he was "praying that God would strike three members of the Kanawha County Board of Education dead."⁵⁶

As September ended, the prospects for bringing the controversy to an end were bleak. Miners were still staying away from work, parents were still keeping their children away from school, and the Board seemed unable to find any middle ground on which to deal with the protesters. The broadening line to which Reverend Harrah had referred was more and more evident with each failing effort to end the impasse. Almost unnoticed during the hectic September was the formation of a group of parents who wished to defend the textbooks, the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education (KCQE), a group which exerted subtle but constant pressure on the Board and administration to resist the demands of the protesters.

⁵⁴"Charge by Mrs. Moore Delays Debut of Text Review Panel," Charleston Gazette, 24 September 1974.

⁵⁵"Hearing Saturday in Assault," Charleston Gazette, 12 September 1974.

⁵⁶"'Death Wish' By Quigley Claimed Just to Warn Panel," Charleston Gazette, 30 September 1974.

Hang In There!

Editor of the Gazette:

The textbook controversy . . . should be of vital concern to every parent in America Little has been said of the basic issue: who had control over the minds of children - the state or the parent. If you answer . . . the state, you have accepted the basic characteristic of Communist philosophy. This is that the state is superior to everyone else This controversy has nothing to do with censorship But for one person or group to impose its choice or opinions upon another because they feel they are superior in intelligence, education or training is wrong.

Parents, miners, church leaders, hang right in there! You are right. Remember: Puritans, Pilgrims and Quakers were sent to jail in seventeenth century England for their beliefs I remind you of the words of Mark Twain: "In the first place, God made idiots: that was for practice; then he made school boards."

Dorothy Smith
Chesterhill, Ohio⁵⁷

Don't Submit

Editor of the Gazette:

. . . Incredible . . . A group of radical, right wing, fundamental fanatics disrupted the valley's economic order, disrupted children's educational rights, disrupted personal ideology - and got away with it all . . .

. . . How Christian is it to slander, character assassinate, threaten, show no tolerance for other children of God? How democratic is it to deny pursuit of education to those who disagree with them . . . students whose parents are unopposed to the texts . . . teachers who are trying to educate . . . working individuals? Everyone was used as a pawn in their battle for power - child, educator, citizen.

Now what? Will the board of education feel forced to submit to the demands of a segment of the population?

⁵⁷"Hang In There!" Charleston Gazette, 1 October 1974.

Will people with obvious biases have the power to decide what will be used in all schools for all students? We will as citizens permit such heavy handed manipulation of our board? I, as an individual, as a parent, as an involved member of the community, cannot.

Glori Rae Stewart
Charleston⁵⁸

By the beginning of October, the textbook controversy in Kanawha County was receiving attention in both the national and international press. Textbook publishers were expressing shock at the controversy, particularly those publishers whose books were in question. Picketing and public demonstrations continued, and a group of textbook supporters began to seriously organize.

On October 2, the textbook supporters, Kanawha Citizens for Quality Education, held their first major public meeting with about four hundred people in attendance. The meeting was, for the most part, a discussion of the situation which ended in no plan of action other than to call or write to the members of the board of education to inform them of their support of the texts. Some time was spent trying to clarify and understand the motives and actions of the protesters and there was general agreement that some compromising would have to be in order. A plan was devised to hold similar meetings at various sites around the county.⁵⁹

⁵⁸"Don't Submit," Charleston Gazette, 1 October 1974.

⁵⁹"Write-In Support Effort Called for by Coalition," Charleston Gazette, 3 October 1974.

In early October the book protesters held a telethon to raise money for their cause. The telethon netted about \$7500.00. Marvin Horan reappeared as a protest leader when he told a rally crowd of more than three thousand people to keep their children home from schools in Kanawha and neighboring counties. He asked school employees to stay off their jobs and called on union people to man the picket lines.⁶⁰ The attempted boycott fell short when 80.9% of Kanawha County students attended school. Early in the morning, sixteen picketers were arrested for violating a court injunction as they attempted to prevent buses from leaving the St. Albans school bus terminal. One of those arrested, Reverend Avis Hill, was already facing charges for violating the injunction while picketing the Board of Education offices.⁶¹

During the course of the controversy, Judge John Goad had been sworn in as the judge of the Kanawha Circuit Court. He had let it be known that he was a no nonsense jurist who would do what he had to do to maintain order in the county. On October 8, he let his deeds do his talking. On that day, he sentenced protest leader Reverend Ezra Graley to sixty days in jail and fined him \$1,750.00 for his defiance of an injunction limiting protest activity. In

⁶⁰"2nd Boycott of Schools Advocated," Charleston Gazette, 7 October 1974.

⁶¹"16 Arrested In Book Protest At St. Albans," Charleston Daily Mail, 7 October 1974.

addition to Graley, he sentenced three women to jail for thirty days and fined each \$500.00 for the same offense.⁶²

While the emotionally supercharged atmosphere continued in Kanawha County, the textbook review committee set up by the Board began to produce some results. Of the first group of books they evaluated, eleven favored the texts and six found them unacceptable.⁶³ As one might expect, the decisions on the books broke down along the lines of appointment. Those committee members who favored the books had been appointed by board members who had originally voted for their adoption. Those who did not favor the books had been appointed by two board members who had originally voted against their adoption. Not surprisingly, then, the committee process broke down. The committee members opposing the books decided to hold separate meetings and to file an independent report at the conclusion of the task.⁶⁴

With the textbook controversy still raging, attempts at compromise failing, and the split of the textbook review committee disrupting the one hopeful venture for both sides, the situation escalated to a new and higher level. In the early hours of the morning on Wednesday, October 9, two Kanawha County elementary schools were hit with explosions. At approximately 1:20 a.m. dynamite exploded at the Wet Branch Elementary School on Cabin Creek and

⁶²"Rev. Graley Gets 60 Day Term - \$1500 Fine in Contempt Case," Charleston Gazette, 9 October 1974.

⁶³"1st of Controversial Texts Evaluated by Review Panel," Charleston Gazette, 9 October 1974.

⁶⁴"7 Text Reviewers Form Splinter Unit," Charleston Daily Mail, 10 October 1974.

only three hours later a fire bomb was exploded at the Midway Elementary School on Campbell's Creek.⁶⁵

On the day following the bombings a change in leadership appeared imminent for both groups. Board President Albert Anson Jr. resigned in hopes that his resignation would cool the controversy, and the protesters, now splintered into several groups following different leaders, asked a California actor and media specialist Robert Dornan to officially head their group. Dornan was a professional employee of Citizens for Decency Through Law, a California based anti-pornography group.⁶⁶

If Anson had hoped to cool the controversy by his resignation, no such cooling off was forthcoming. While Arnold Miller, President of the United Mine Workers, did get 3,000 miners to return to work in Kanawha County, a third school, the Chandler Elementary School was hit by a fire bomb on the early morning hours of October 11. Many parents were keeping their children home from school out of fear for their safety.⁶⁷ The next day, the violence took a new turn when the car of a textbook protester, one of the protesters jailed for disobeying the injunction, was burned in front of her home.⁶⁸

⁶⁵"School Damage," Charleston Daily Mail, 9 October 1974.

⁶⁶"Ex-Actor Ponders Book Leader Role," Charleston Daily Mail, 10 October 1974.

⁶⁷"Kanawha Miners Begin Return to Work," Charleston Gazette, 12 October 1974.

⁶⁸"Protester's Car Burned," Charleston Sunday Gazette-Mail, 13 October 1974.

Kanawha County, in these middle days of October 1974, appeared to be in a state of anarchy. Those involved in the textbook controversy had damaged the economic base of the community by closing down coal mines, other businesses, and the public transportation system. Violence was an everyday occurrence, and the educational system was at a near standstill. Leadership was ineffective on both sides while events moved at a furious pace. At the state level of government, the bureaucracy seemed to be unwilling to cope and offered little help in bringing law and order to the troubled county. An article that appeared in the Charleston Daily Mail on October 11 captured the degree of the impasse that existed between county and state officials. The article told of an inquiry held in front of the Legislature Joint Committee on Labor and Finance:

For a period, the two testimonies under oath made it appear (Sheriff) Melton and (State Police Superintendent) Bonar were talking about two different counties.

Melton told of mob violence, firebombs, dynamite, blocking highways, blocking school buses, threats to teachers, businessmen, parents, roughing up of his deputies, students afraid to go to school, students left standing on dangerous streets early in the morning waiting for buses that won't come, and of millions of dollars lost to the state and industry because of protesters he can't control.

He testified he has begged, done everything in his power, to get help, but couldn't even get Bonar to return his calls.

Bonar, on the other hand, said he never got any messages to return Melton's calls. He said he had no reports of protesters blocking public highways and added, "Certainly they wouldn't block our public highways." He also said he wouldn't classify the protesters as a mob.⁶⁹

⁶⁹"Are They Talking About the Same County?" Charleston Daily Mail, 11 October 1974.

Each day, the newspapers of the Charleston area carried accounts of the controversy. Paid advertisements for or against the books were commonplace as churches, service organizations, or simply non-organized groups of people lined upon one side or the other of the controversy. And the violence continued. On October 13 a fourth school, Loudendale Elementary School, was hit by a firebomb.⁷⁰

Until mid-October the textbook protest had been essentially the actions of those living in the rural areas of Kanawha County. Leadership of the movement had been provided by the ministers of the small non-affiliated churches that dotted the creeks and hollows. Because of the heavy involvement of these rural descendants of the early mountaineers, there are those who have characterized the textbook controversy as a religious war fought between the "creekers," the rural inhabitants of the creeks and hollows of Kanawha County, and the "hillers," the Charlestonians who live in the residential neighborhoods on the city's hilltops.

Such an interpretation is too simplistic since the protesters had many sympathizers in the city's hill neighborhoods and the book defenders numbered some rural inhabitants among their allies. Surprising coalitions existed in both groups. In mid-October, then, a new group was formed to protest the texts which did not have its roots in the rural county, and which appeared to be a strange bed-fellow for the rural protesters.

⁷⁰"Fire Bomb Mars Text Calm," Charleston Daily Mail, 14 October 1974.

On October 13, an advertisement appeared in the Gazette-Mail announcing that a group called "The Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks" was being formed "to provide a forum for the moderate sector of the community that is distressed over current educational trends . . ."⁷¹ The group was to be led by Mr. Elmer Fike, owner of his own chemical plant, and a prolific writer for numerous politically conservative publications. The strange thing about this group's sympathy with the protesters was that these were essentially conservative, anti-union business people who were lining up with labor and union-oriented protesters - the same people who were willing to shut down the businesses that employed them in behalf of their cause. For those who may have perceived the controversy as a religious war, the marriage of these two groups seemed strong testimony to the fact that the controversy was not that easily explained. For at least one group, the textbooks were objectionable not for religious reasons, but for political or patriotic reasons.

The first half of October served as a harbinger of things to come in the last part of the month. Following the splintering off of some of the members of the textbook review committee, the Board recognized the remaining members as the official committee. Alice Moore took issue with that decision and claimed that the splinter group was also an official committee, but the Board would not agree with her. On October 15, the review committee recommended the adoption of the D.C. Heath "Communicating" series, one of the

⁷¹Charleston Sunday Gazette Mail, 13 October 1974.

most highly criticized books by the protesters, and also recommended that the series be returned to the classroom.⁷²

On October 18 Superintendent Underwood and the Board tried again to reach some kind of a compromise with the book protesters. Said Underwood:

I personally believe that it is just as wrong to force students to accept instructional materials to which they are ideologically opposed as it is to take those materials from others. Some people believe their children shouldn't read certain materials. Others believe they should. We, as a school system, can guarantee there will be such an option.⁷³

One protest leader, Reverend Quigley, had already rejected the notion of alternate materials, and Alice Moore made it clear that she would not accept the solution unless she could be guaranteed that no dissenting student would overhear discussions of the controversial books.⁷⁴

Throughout the month, Judge Goad continued to jail protesters who were violating his injunction. In response to Judge Goad's actions, Reverend Quigley announced that he would run against Goad in the next election.

Violence continued. Early in the morning of October 18, five shots were fired through the window of a school bus beginning its run in the Pond Gap area. No children were yet aboard and no one was injured.⁷⁵ For the second time in October, the Midway Elementary

⁷²"Revitalized Text Committee Endorses Criticized Series," Charleston Daily Mail, 16 October 1974.

⁷³"Alternate Text Plan Possibility to be Discussed," Charleston Gazette, 18 October 1974.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵"School Bus Shot, Text Action Delayed," Charleston Gazette 19 October 1974.

School in Campbell's Creek was dynamited.⁷⁶ Because of the continued violence and the constant advocacy of boycotting by the protesters, school attendance reached its lowest ebb since the controversy first began (73 percent).⁷⁷ Reverend Horan, now fully back into the book controversy, headed the continuing boycott drive. Attendance continued to fall and on October 24 reached only 64.7 percent.⁷⁸

Until late October, the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education, the group formed to defend the books, had been mainly a discussion group. They had not been involved in any public displays concerning the books, but on October 26 some 4,000 book supporters gathered for a parade and rally in downtown Charleston. Superintendent Underwood joined the rally and ex-Board President Anson, his voice breaking, begged for a return to sanity.⁷⁹ In retaliation, the protesters planned a rally for the following Monday. Reverend Horan asked for local industries to shut down for the day to allow employers to attend the event. While estimates varied, it was felt that nearly 5,000 people turned out for Horan's rally.⁸⁰ One of the leaders of the rally was Robert Dornan, the California media person, who had now agreed formally to lead the anti-book forces.

⁷⁶Charleston Gazette, 23 October 1974.

⁷⁷"School Attendance Hits Low Point in Protesting," Charleston Gazette, 22 October 1974.

⁷⁸"School Attendance Lowest Since September 3rd," Charleston Daily Mail, 25 October 1974.

⁷⁹Charleston Sunday Gazette Mail, 27 October 1974.

⁸⁰"Thousands of Protesters Have 'Dress Rehearsal'," Charleston Gazette, 29 October 1974.

More violence! At 10:55 p.m. on October 30 the Kanawha County Board of Education offices were hit by a dynamite bomb which police speculated contained fifteen sticks of dynamite. A computer operator in the building at the time escaped injury, but considerable damage was done to the building.⁸¹

October ended as it had begun. There was no compromise, no spirit of cooperation between the two groups. Violence was more common than it was unusual. While the Board continued to search for ways of defusing the situation, the protesters remained steadfast in their position that the books must be taken out of the schools.

In early November, teaching staffs from various schools purchased newspaper ads encouraging the return of the books to the schools. These ads were in answer to the many anti-text ads running almost daily in the papers. Until this point, with the exception of the September 26 rally, the teachers had remained for the most part silent. Since the teachers had no union contract with the Board, it is possible that many feared loss of employment if they became involved in the controversy.

November opened on yet another note of violence. The car of Mrs. Donald Means was burned in the driveway of her home. She was the wife of Donald Means, Vice-President of The Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks.⁸²

⁸¹"School Employee Ignores Rumor, Survives Blast," Charleston Daily Mail, 31 October 1974.

⁸²"Vandals," Charleston Daily Mail, 1 November 1974.

As if the Board was not faced with enough problems, a former Superintendent of Kanawha County Schools publicly chastised the Board for not enforcing truancy laws against students and parents participating in the boycott. As a result of his assertion, the Board and administration would spend considerable time in the ensuing months pursuing truancy hearings in the courts. The truancy hearings would further alienate the protesters and bestow a kind of martyrdom on parents who were breaking the compulsory school attendance laws by keeping their children out of school.⁸³

The Board's efforts to defuse the controversy failed again when, on November 3, the text protesters rejected a plan whereby the D.C. Heath Communicating series, one of the most controversial of the texts, would be returned to the schools but not to the classrooms. The plan called for the books to be placed in school libraries along with an alternate series that met with the approval of the protesters. The books would have to be used in the libraries or taken home. Reverend Horan announced that his people had rejected the whole package out of fear the D.C. Heath books would be quietly returned to the classroom after the controversy died down.⁸⁴ The reason Reverend Horan gave for the rejection of the plan was testimony to how deeply the protesters distrusted those in authority in the school system. A statement made by Reverend Horan to an NEA

⁸³"Disregarding Truancy Law Is Questioned," Charleston Gazette, 2 November 1974.

⁸⁴"Textbook Protesters Reject Board Plan," Charleston Daily Mail, 4 November 1974.

inquiry panel in January perhaps most clearly evidenced the position taken by the protesters:

We are very skeptical of what people want to do with us or to us; especially those that are in authority, because we've been put through the wringers of deceit by the courts, by the lawyers, by the Board of Education, and we just don't feel that we can jeopardize any more of our integrity to the likes of this. So we have decided to come together and stand together until the books are removed.

Statement to the NEA Panel
by Reverend Marvin Horan⁸⁵

Reverend Horan's words brought some clarity to the actions of the protesters. One could see that the history and culture of the Appalachian mountain people was tightly intertwined in the textbook controversy and that perhaps the textbooks were only a focal point for a much larger set of issues at work in the minds of the mountaineers. Their years of avoiding and resisting authority, their experiences of being defrauded of their land and its minerals by giant companies, their emphasis on traditional ways, and their fundamentalist Christian roots were all converging as an issue that had presented itself at a certain point in time. One can ponder whether or not these mountain people might not have behaved in a similar manner had any number of other issues presented themselves. The textbooks, which represented to them progressive kinds of education in a world already moving in non-traditional ways, may have presented a single issue on which to focus, an issue which, because of its local nature, seemed somehow to be controllable

⁸⁵ National Education Association, A Textbook Study in Cultural Conflict (Washington, D.C.: n.p. 1975), p. 13.

in a world where so many things seemed so far removed from their control.

On Election Day 1974, Judge John Goad, who had stood firmly in enforcing anti-protest injunctions in an attempt to bring order to Kanawha County, felt the full backlash of having been a part of the book controversy. Seeking reelection to the County Circuit Court, he was soundly defeated by a candidate who had steadfastly refused to comment on the controversy during the campaign. Much of Goad's defeat could be directly traced to overwhelming support for his opponent in rural areas.⁸⁶

Friday, November 7, 1974 was to be a pivotal day in the textbook controversy. On that day the Board was to meet and make a final decision on the disposition of the books that had been removed from the schools for review. The Board was under tremendous pressure. The book protesters had continually made it clear that they would accept no compromise - only the total removal of the books from the schools would satisfy their demands. On the other hand, the NAACP and the KCQE had threatened legal action against the Board if the books were not returned to the schools. The fact that the meeting was to be held in the Charleston Civic Center and televised added to the tension. State police had been brought in to help insure a peaceful assembly. Alice Moore's husband had publicly discouraged her from attending the meeting because of the volatile nature of the situation. In the end, Mrs. Moore did attend.

⁸⁶Charleston Daily Mail, 6 November 1974.

Fears of violence at the meeting were not realized. Afraid that they would be blamed for any trouble, the protesters and many supporters stayed away. Only two hundred spectators appeared at the seven thousand seat facility. What the Board decided upon by a 4-1 vote was a compromise that they hoped would placate both sides. They agreed to return most of the controversial texts to the classrooms but would require no students to use books which their parents found objectionable. Parents would be given the opportunity to present written statements listing objectionable materials which their children were not to use. However, the controversial D.C. Heath series was to be placed only in school libraries and no additional copies of it were ever to be ordered.⁸⁷ Only Alice Moore voted against the compromise. "What happened here isn't even a partial victory for persons opposed to the textbooks," she said.⁸⁸

On the day following the meeting, two thousand protesters held a rally at the Civic Center to plan future activities. They talked of establishing private schools and educating their children at home if the texts stayed in the public schools.⁸⁹ Two days later a fire bomb exploded under the car hood of a man who had refused to keep his children out of school for the boycott.⁹⁰ Two more school

⁸⁷"Choice Between Order, Anarchy Prevailing View," Charleston Daily Mail, 9 November 1974.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹"Private Schools Planned," Charleston Daily Mail, 11 November 1974.

⁹⁰"Auto Owner Links Bombing to Protest," Charleston Daily Mail, 12 November 1974.

buses were shot⁹¹ and phone threats were rampant between the factions.⁹² A State Police cruiser came under rifle fire at Campbell's Creek⁹³. Finally, on November 12, for the first time since the book controversy had begun, state and county law enforcement officials coordinated plans to halt interference in the operation of Kanawha County Schools.⁹⁴

If there was any chance that the textbook controversy would settle down after the Board's compromise decision and the arrival of the State Police, that hope was dashed when, on November 14, the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks purchased space in both Charleston papers to present "What Your Children Will Read" which was a lengthy list of excerpts taken out of context from a number of the disputed texts.⁹⁵ The publication of these lists had a devastating effect. Those protesters who had never really read the books were even more adamant after seeing the lists, but for thousands of Kanawha County residents who had not been involved in the controversy, it was shocking. If there was one single incident in the controversy that stood above all others in turning people against the books, the publishing of

⁹¹"Two School Buses Shot, Pickets Halt Moving Others," Charleston Gazette, 12 November 1974.

⁹²"Phone Threats Rampant, Says Superintendent," Charleston Daily Mail, 12 November 1974.

⁹³"Shots Fired at Cruisers," Charleston Daily Mail, 13 November 1974.

⁹⁴"State, County Lawmen Unite to Halt School Interference," Charleston Gazette, 13 November 1974.

⁹⁵"What Your Children Will Read," Charleston Daily Mail, 14 November 1974.

"What Your Children Will Read" was it. (See Appendix D for a copy of "What Your Children Will Read").

Several days later marked the occurrence of one of the most bizarre incidents of the controversy. Bishop D. Frederick Wertz had invited leaders of both sides to his Methodist Church for an unofficial conciliation meeting. Shortly after Superintendent Underwood and three board members arrived, they were arrested by a constable from Witchers Creek and charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors by permitting the use of textbooks labeled un-American and un-Christian by protesters. The warrants were drawn up by the Upper Kanawha County Mayors Association. Since there was a television camera outside of the Church to cover the event, it was clear that the superintendent and board members had been "set up." The charges against them were later dismissed.⁹⁶

For awhile things calmed in the county as school officials busied themselves pressing truancy cases, parents filled out approval forms for book use, and protesters talked at length about the establishment of private schools. Occasional stories appeared in Charleston papers about Grand Jury work in investigating the bombings and some occasional arrests were announced, but their reasons were not made public.

During this lull in textbook activity, Mrs. Alice Moore presented to the Board a proposed set of guidelines for future textbook adoptions. With some rewording, her guidelines were approved by the

⁹⁶"Underwood, Three on Board Arrested for Textbook Roles," Charleston Gazette, 16 November 1974.

Board in a room jammed with protesters. The guidelines appeared to have addressed themselves to all of the objections that anti-book protesters had raised throughout the controversy:

- Textbooks must respect the privacy of students' homes and may not ask personal questions about inner feelings or behavior of students or their parents. They may not encourage students to criticize their parents.
- Textbooks must not contain offensive language.
- Textbooks must not ridicule the values and practices of any ethnic, religious, or racial group.
- Textbooks must not encourage or teach racial hatred.
- Textbooks must not encourage sedition or revolution against the U.S. government or teach that an alien form of government is superior.
- Textbooks used in the study of the English language must teach that traditional rules of grammar are a worthwhile subject for academic pursuit and are essential for effective communication.
- Textbooks must not defame the nation's historical personalities or misrepresent the ideals and causes for which they struggled and sacrificed.⁹⁷

Perhaps the protesters felt a sense of victory in the adoption of the guidelines, or perhaps those involved were just catching their breath, but the remainder of November was calm. There were occasional stories about bomb investigations, some advertisements by Reverend Horan, but November 26 was reported as the quietest Monday since school had opened. It was the first time during the school year that police hadn't been called for assistance.⁹⁸

⁹⁷"School Board Sets Guidelines for Future Textbook Adoption," Charleston Daily Mail, 22 November 1974.

⁹⁸"Schools Open on Quietest Monday Yet," Charleston Gazette, 26 November 1974.

In early December, another major protest rally was held by the anti-text forces and was attended by about two thousand people. By that time the National Education Association (NEA) had announced that they would be holding an inquiry into the text controversy in Kanawha County in December. Addressing herself to that inquiry, Mrs. Alice Moore told those attending the rally, "I'm going to tell them right now they don't have to investigate. There is a conspiracy. A conspiracy of parents to take over the education of their children."⁹⁹

On December 1, a stick of dynamite was detonated outside the Mary Ingles Elementary School, a sad ending to the relative calm of the previous two weeks,¹⁰⁰ and a movement began to secede the Upper Kanawha Valley from Kanawha County so as to form a new county which Mrs. Patsy McGraw, a Democratic Committeewoman from the area, wanted named McGraw County.¹⁰¹ The movement never succeeded.

On December 9, 10, and 11 the NEA held inquiry hearings on the textbook controversy. In spite of large numbers who picketed the hearing, many respondents on both sides of the issue appeared before the panel to answer questions and to make statements. The results of those hearings were published by the NEA in a booklet entitled Kanawha County, West Virginia: A Textbook Study in Cultural

⁹⁹"Renewed Shutdown Efforts Vowed by Text Protesters," Sunday Charleston Gazette Mail, 1 December 1974.

¹⁰⁰"Dynamite Blast, Roving Picketing Mark Book Action," Charleston Daily Mail, 2 December 1974.

¹⁰¹"Party Officer Wants New Area 'Namesake'," Charleston Gazette, 4 December 1974.

Conflict.¹⁰² The booklet was sensitively done and is helpful to anyone wishing to understand the book controversy. A statement made to the inquiry panel and repeated in the booklet may reflect a keen insight into what happened in Kanawha County:

The West Virginia State law, which organizes the counties of the state as school districts, creates a special problem for Kanawha County. Coupled with the power and influence of a city, which is the state capital, are the rural areas of the county which we often identify as hollows. For many of the people who live outside the city limits, there is a sense of powerlessness born of the absence of an adequate voice to influence the decision-making process. It is more than an economic or cultural gap. It is a feeling of being voiceless and powerless. For some, the textbooks became a trumpet for voiceless people, and the protest became an instrument in the hands of powerless people.¹⁰³

Statement to NEA Panel
by Bishop D. Frederick Wertz

More violence! The regular business of the December 12 school board meeting had come to a close and board members were preparing to hear informal reports when protesters from the audience moved to the front of the room and began striking board members and administrators. They apparently made their move on cue. The clash lasted only a minute and broke up when a woman in the audience sprayed mace at Superintendent Underwood. A Deputy Superintendent of Schools suffered a permanent hearing loss as a result of the attack.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²National Education Association, A Textbook Study in Cultural Conflict (Washington, D.C.: n.p. 1975).

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁰⁴"Five Officials Assaulted During Board Meeting," Charleston Gazette, 13 December 1974.

Beginning in mid-December, events began to unfold which would spell the beginning of the end of the Kanawha County textbook controversy. While the controversy would linger on for three or four more months, major defusing of the situation began on December 13 when three Cabin Creek men were indicted for conspiracy to bomb the Wet Branch Elementary School on October 9. The indictment indicated that there were also others involved.¹⁰⁵ Two days later, the woman who sprayed mace at Superintendent Underwood at the December 12 board meeting was arrested.¹⁰⁶ On December 17, two more men were arrested for illegally disposing of dynamite near two elementary schools.¹⁰⁷ The next day, one of the three arrested for the Wet Branch bombing pleaded guilty to his alleged role in the incident. As a result of plea bargaining for a reduced sentence, he agreed to testify against the other two indicted men.¹⁰⁸ As the indictments continued to be handed down, the Reverend Marvin Horan, by now the leading figure in the anti-textbook forces, publicly shifted the blame for the bombings to the Board of Education. He was quoted from a phone call placed to the Charleston Daily Mail:

The board members have provoked these people and directly or indirectly, they are responsible for whatever happens. (Concerned Citizens) could not commit or condone such

¹⁰⁵"3 Indicted as Dynamiters, Jailed in School Bombing," Charleston Gazette, 14 December 1974.

¹⁰⁶"Woman Charged in Board Fracas," Charleston Daily Mail, 16 December 1974.

¹⁰⁷"Two Ordered to Appear On Dynamite Charges," Charleston Gazette, 17 December 1974.

¹⁰⁸"Cabin Creek Man Admits Role In School Dynamiting," Charleston Daily Mail, 19 December 1974.

acts of violence We realize that somebody is responsible for this minor property damage. At the same time the Board of Education is responsible for a major disaster destroying an entire generation of young people.¹⁰⁹

The early indictments and those which came later were to finally end the violence associated with the textbook controversy. The final blow to the protest movement came on Friday, January 17, 1975 when additional indictments were handed down which included Reverend Marvin Horan, the most recognized leader of the protest movement who had only weeks before blamed the Board of Education for the bombings. Horan was named as a conspirator in the bombings. He was accused of having provided money for the purchase of blasting equipment, of having given his gasoline can for use in the bombings, and of having told those who actually did the bombing that he had paid enough taxes to consider the elementary school his own, and that he gave his permission to do anything they wanted to the elementary school.¹¹⁰ On January 21, yet another indicted person pleaded guilty to the bombings and further implicated Reverend Horan.¹¹¹ On April 18, Horan and one of the other accused were found guilty and faced prison sentences and steep fines.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹"Horan Says Bombings School Board's Fault," Charleston Daily Mail, 21 December 1974.

¹¹⁰"Here's Text of Indictments," Charleston Gazette, 18 January 1975.

¹¹¹"Midway School Bomb Suspect Pleads Guilty," Charleston Daily Mail, 21 January 1975.

¹¹²"Bomb Trial Defendant's Sentencing Set May 19," Charleston Gazette, 19 April 1975.

While the immediate activity of the text controversy for the most part ended with the indictment of Reverend Horan, the aftermath of the controversy bore the scars of the long and bitter struggle. As a result of the controversy, the West Virginia Board of Education recommended to the Legislature that lay persons be included in textbook selection committees. Superintendent Kenneth Underwood, worn out from the controversy and hopeful that his removal from the situation would have a calming effect, resigned his position. After only thirteen candidates applied for a position that had once attracted more than one hundred and fifty applicants, the Board hired John Santrock, a local school administrator, who asked to be sworn in with his hand on an open Bible.¹¹³ The Ku Klux Klan held their own inquiry into the book controversy, but failed in attempts to make any real impact in the county.¹¹⁴ The Kanawha County Board of Education decided to open several "traditional schools" as alternatives for existing programs and visited other states to see schools of a "bygone era" in action.¹¹⁵ A U.S. District Court Judge dismissed a suit brought by text protesters which alleged that the books were unconstitutional because they were used in attempting to establish a religion (secular humanism).¹¹⁶ The

¹¹³"Quiet Marks School Board Administration Changeover," Charleston Daily Mail, 1 February 1975.

¹¹⁴"Klan Lawyer To Take Over Protest Probe," Charleston Gazette, 22 February 1975.

¹¹⁵"Kanawha Board Plans To Ask Site Study Of Alternate Schools," Charleston Daily Mail, 16 January 1975.

¹¹⁶"Judge Says Books Not In Violation Of U.S. Constitution," Charleston Daily Mail, 31 January 1975.

NEA released a report saying that the text controversy would not have been so long or intense had it not been infiltrated by right wing extremist groups such as the John Birch Society, the Heritage Foundation, the National Parents League, and the Ku Klux Klan. The report also advocated an aggressive public information program by the school system.¹¹⁷ Board member Alice Moore, who had initiated opposition to the texts, advocated removing selected books from school libraries,¹¹⁸ but her suggestion brought only a set of complaint guidelines for parents objecting to library books.

The textbook controversy in Kanawha County lasted for nearly a year. The controversy, steeped in violence, left the Kanawha County Schools changed for years to come. The incident had a profound effect on American textbook publishers who, at first bewildered by the reaction to the books, would adopt a more cautious posture toward how some issues in textbooks would be received by parents and students. Clearly, some different value systems had collided on the textbook issue and the battleground had been Kanawha County, West Virginia. The values of these descendants of mountain people, who still lived along Appalachian creeks and hollows, had confronted, face-to-face, the value systems of their more urbane city neighbors. Because these two groups seemed to so little understand each other, a form of warfare had been created. Perhaps if more were known of

¹¹⁷"NEA Says Right Wing Fed Text Controversy," Charleston Daily Mail, 6 February 1975.

¹¹⁸"Textbook Protest Broadens: Libraries Target of Mrs. Moore," Charleston Gazette, 2 February 1975.

these value differences, any future conflicts of this nature might be mediated and avoided. This study addresses those value differences.

Quantitative Data-Analyses

The purpose of this study has been to test the conceptual framework that those whose values lead them to oppose schools will oppose other publicly supported institutions and that those attitudes that they hold toward schools are reflective of more general values (terminal values) that they hold. In this section of Chapter IV the hypotheses are restated, analyses of the quantitative data are presented, and interpretations are developed based on the analyses of the data.

In all, eighty-one responses were received to the questionnaire. Of the eighty-one responses, forty-eight respondents were from the group who supported the textbooks and thirty-three respondents were from the group who opposed the adoption of the books.

Hypothesis I

Between those who supported the adoption of the textbooks and those who opposed them, there are no values on which there are statistically significant differences.

Analysis

In order to determine the differences between the values of those supporting the texts and those opposing them, a nonparametric median test was employed. Medians for each terminal value were

determined for the entire group of respondents and then a determination was made as to how many respondents in each group rated each value above or below the median. The comparisons were measured at the .05 level of significance.

Table 4.1 indicates medians and rankings of the terminal values by each of the two groups (Pro-Text Group and Anti-Text Group).

TABLE 4.1.--Medians and Value Rankings of Pro-Text Group and Anti-Text Group.

Value	Pro-Text Group Med.	Pro-Text Group Rank	Anti-Text Group Med.	Anti-Text Group Rank
Comfortable Life	14	15	13	14
Exciting Life	12	12.5	15	16
Sense of Accomplishment	6	4.5	9	9.5
World at Peace	8	9	7	6
World of Beauty	12	12.5	15	16
Equality	7	6.5	10	11
Family Security	4	1	5	3.5
Freedom	5	2.5	5	3.5
Health	5	2.5	4	2
Inner Harmony	8	9	8	7.5
Mature Love	9	11	10	11
National Security	14	15	9	9.5
Pleasure	15	17	16	18
Salvation	17	18	1	1
Self Respect	6	4.5	8	7.5
Social Recognition	14	15	15	16
True Friendship	8	9	10	11
Wisdom	7	6.5	6	5

It is interesting to note that the value Salvation was ranked last by the Pro-Text Group and first by the Anti-Text Group. It is also of interest that both groups ranked the value of Freedom relatively high (5), but the value of equality was ranked relatively high by the Pro-Text Group (6.5) and relatively low by the Anti-Text Group (11). This is in line with previous research and will be discussed further in Chapter V of this study.¹¹⁹

The results of the nonparametric median test may be seen in Table 4.2.

A review of Table 4.2 reveals that for three of the terminal values there were statistically significant differences in the way in which the Pro-Text Group and the Anti-Text Group rated the terminal values. The three values on which significant differences existed were, A World of Beauty, National Security, and Salvation.

The null hypothesis that there are no significant differences between the values of the two groups is rejected since significant differences did exist on the three values.

For the value A World of Beauty, the overall median was 13, which would seem to indicate a value of lesser importance to both groups. Interestingly, while the value seemed to be of less importance fully two-thirds of the Pro-Text respondents ranked A World of Beauty as more important than the total group while the opposite held true for the Anti-Text Group. Two-thirds of that group found A World of Beauty to be less important than the total group.

¹¹⁹ Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York: The Free Press, 1973), pp. 165-173.

TABLE 4.2.--Comparison of Value Rankings of Those Involved in Kanawha County Textbook Controversy.

Value	Pro-Text Group			Anti-Text Group		
	Med.	N	N>Med.	N<Med.	N	p
Comfortable Life	(14)	48	22	36	33	.54
Exciting Life	(14)	48	16	32	33	.10
Sense of Accomplishment	(9)	48	15	33	33	.29
World at Peace	(8)	48	24	24	33	.86
World of Beauty	(13)	48	16	32	33	.00*
Equality	(8)	48	22	26	33	.59
Family Security	(5)	48	22	26	33	.73
Freedom	(5)	48	24	24	33	.93
Health	(5)	48	20	28	33	.80
Inner Harmony	(8)	48	22	26	33	.85
Mature Love	(10)	48	20	28	33	.71
National Security	(12)	48	28	20	33	.05*
Pleasure	(16)	48	15	33	33	.29
Salvation	(7)	48	34	14	33	.00*
Self Respect	(6)	48	19	29	33	.10
Social Recognition	(15)	48	17	31	33	.34
True Friendship	(9)	48	18	30	33	.31
Wisdom	(7)	48	24	24	33	.21

*Significant at a .05 level of significance. Ho: $M_1 \neq M_2$ was rejected.

The value National Security also occupied a place of lesser importance in the overall group rankings (12), but a similar pattern existed. Of the Pro-Text respondents, twenty-eight ranked it as less important than the total group and twenty ranked it as more important than the total group. Among the Anti-Text respondents, twenty-two thought it more important than the entire group and eleven thought it less important.

The third value where a statistically significant difference occurred, Salvation, received a much higher group ranking (7) than either A World of Beauty or National Security. In the case of Salvation, thirty-four of forty-eight Pro-Text respondents ranked it as less important than the entire group. Conversely, twenty-seven of thirty-three Anti-Text respondents ranked Salvation as more important than the entire group.

Among the overall group of eighty-one respondents, Family Security, Health, Freedom, and Self Respect were the highest ranked values while Pleasure, Social Recognition, A Comfortable Life, and an Exciting Life were the four lowest ranked values.

Hypothesis II

There is no significant difference between the educational attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks and those opposing their adoption.

Analysis

For the purpose of comparing the educational attitudes of the two groups, an independent t-test was employed. The independent

variable was whether the respondent supported or opposed the books. The dependent variable was the total attitude score on the ten questions dealing with educational attitudes. This enabled the generation of group means so that they could be compared.

In order to assess the educational attitudes of those supporting the textbooks and those opposing the textbooks, the same ten-item questionnaire was submitted to subjects from each group. The ten items are shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.4 indicates the frequency of responses to each of the ten educational attitude questions by respondents from the Pro-Textbook Group. The responses are shown by numbers and percentages as to whether the respondents chose to Agree Strongly, Agree Somewhat, Disagree Somewhat, or Disagree Strongly.

Table 4.5 indicates the frequency of responses to each of the ten educational attitude questions by respondents from the Anti-Textbook Group. The responses are shown by numbers and percentages as to whether the respondents chose to Agree Strongly, Agree Somewhat, Disagree Somewhat, or Disagree Strongly.

Table 4.6 presents the means and standard deviations of the responses to each item by each group and a t-test on each item determining whether significant differences existed between the two groups on each item.

As may be seen in Table 4.6, the Pro-Text Group and the Anti-Text Group significantly differed on six of the educational attitude items. Those items and the topics they generally addressed were: Item 1, Basic Skills; Item 3, Prayer in Schools; Item 4, Importance

TABLE 4.3.--Items 1-10 from Questionnaire.

-
1. I would favor the schools eliminating all subjects but those that teach the basic skills.
 2. It is important for children to learn about both the successes and failures of our nation.
 3. Prayer should have a place in our nation's schools.
 4. One of the most important jobs for school teachers and administrators is to maintain discipline.
 5. The most important function of the schools is to train students for a trade or vocation.
 6. In school, students should be taught to distinguish between right and wrong by discussing different points of view.
 7. School teachers should be required to teach traditional Christian and American values.
 8. An important job of the schools is to develop a positive self image in each student.
 9. Extracurricular activities provide valuable learning experiences not available in classroom situations.
 10. Schools should provide special services (such as hot meals and day care centers) that some families can't provide.
-

TABLE 4.4.--Responses to Education Attitude Items by Pro-Textbook Subjects.

Item	Total N	Agree Strongly N	Agree Strongly %	Agree Somewhat N	Agree Somewhat %	Disagree Somewhat N	Disagree Somewhat %	Disagree Strongly N	Disagree Strongly %
1	48	1	2.1	3	6.3	6	12.5	38	79.2
2	48	40	83.3	7	14.6	0	0.0	1	2.1
3	47	5	10.6	10	21.3	6	12.8	26	55.3
4	48	8	16.7	17	13.5	13	27.1	10	20.8
5	47	4	8.5	6	12.8	25	53.2	12	25.5
6	48	31	64.6	14	29.2	2	4.2	1	2.1
7	48	2	4.2	9	18.8	12	25.0	25	52.1
8	48	37	77.1	9	18.8	1	2.1	1	2.1
9	48	30	62.5	18	37.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
10	48	23	47.9	16	33.3	7	14.6	2	4.2

TABLE 4.5.--Responses to Educational Attitude Items by Anti-Textbook Subjects.

Item	Total N	Agree Strongly N	Agree Strongly %	Agree Somewhat N	Agree Somewhat %	Disagree Somewhat N	Disagree Somewhat %	Disagree Strongly N	Disagree Strongly %
1	33	2	6.1	9	27.3	10	30.3	12	36.4
2	33	20	60.6	11	33.3	1	3.0	1	3.0
3	33	22	66.7	7	21.2	2	6.1	2	6.1
4	33	16	48.5	12	36.4	5	15.2	0	0.0
5	33	5	15.2	8	24.2	14	42.4	6	18.2
6	32	15	46.9	13	40.6	1	3.1	3	9.4
7	33	12	36.4	11	33.3	6	18.2	4	12.1
8	33	23	69.7	9	27.3	1	3.0	0	0.0
9	33	13	39.4	17	51.5	2	6.1	1	3.0
10	33	10	30.3	9	27.3	8	24.2	6	18.2

TABLE 4.6.--Comparison of Educational Attitudes of Those Involved in Kanawha County Textbook Controversy.

Item	Pro-Text Group		Anti-Text Group		t-value
	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.	
1	1.32	0.69	2.03	0.95	3.94*
2	3.79	0.54	3.52	0.71	1.92
3	1.87	1.10	3.49	0.87	7.02*
4	2.48	1.01	3.33	0.74	4.14*
5	2.04	0.86	2.36	0.96	1.56
6	3.56	0.68	3.25	0.97	1.74
7	1.75	0.91	2.94	1.03	5.47*
8	3.71	0.62	3.67	0.54	0.30
9	3.63	0.49	3.27	0.72	2.68*
10	3.25	0.86	2.70	1.10	2.58*

*Significant difference at a .05 level

of discipline; Item 7, Teaching traditional Christian and American values; Item 9, Value of extracurricular activities; Item 10, Providing social services for families.

According to the coding system set up in the questionnaire, the lowest scores indicated the strongest disagreement (Disagree Strongly = 1) and the highest scores indicated the strongest agreement (Strongly Agree = 4). Looking again at Table 4.6, it can be noted that the item on which the Pro-Text Group most strongly disagreed (mean = 1.32) was Item 1, "eliminating all subjects except those teaching the basic skills." The item on which the Pro-Text Group most strongly agreed (3.71) was Item 8, "An important job of schools is to develop a positive self-image in each student."

The Anti-Text Group also most strongly disagreed with Item 1 (2.03), "eliminating all subjects except those teaching the basic skills." The item on which the Anti-Text Group most strongly agreed was Item 8 (3.67), "an important job of the schools is to develop a positive self-image in each student."

It can be noted that while both groups most strongly disagreed on Item 1, there was a statistically significant difference on the item. It can be seen, then, that it was possible for the two groups to be in agreement, but to statistically significant different degrees.

In order to test the null hypothesis, an independent t-test was employed. To run the t-test it was necessary to develop a scale score for each group. For the purpose of generating the scale scores, it was necessary to reverse score some of the questions. Those questions which were reverse scored are marked by a single asterisk on the copy of the questionnaire in Appendix A.

In some cases respondents did not answer all of the questions on attitudes toward education. To avoid the problem of missing data, an average item score was utilized. Each respondent's total score was divided by the number of questions that he/she answered. Thus, an average item score could range from 1.00-4.00.

The results of the t-test are shown in Table 4.7.

TABLE 4.7.--Comparison of Group Scores of Pro-Textbook Group and Anti-Textbook Group on Attitudes Toward Education.

Group	N	Mean	St. Dev.	t-value	p-value
Pro-Textbook	48	3.34	.40	6.22	.00*
Anti-Textbook	33	2.72	.49		

$H_0: M_1 \neq M_2$ is rejected

*Significant difference at .05 level

The null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between the educational attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks and those opposing them is rejected.

Hypothesis III

There is no significant difference between the attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks, toward other publicly supported institutions, and the attitudes toward other publicly supported institutions of those opposing the adoption of the textbooks.

Analysis

For the purpose of comparing the attitudes of the two groups toward the courts, an independent t-test was employed. The independent variable was whether the respondents supported or opposed the books. The dependent variable was the total attitude score on the ten questions dealing with the courts.

For the purpose of comparing the attitudes of the two groups toward Kanawha County government, an independent t-test was employed.

The independent variable was again whether the respondents supported or opposed the books. The dependent variable was the total attitude score on the ten questions dealing with the courts.

In order to assess the attitudes of each of the two groups toward the court system, the same ten questions were submitted to subjects from both groups. The ten questions are shown in Table 4.8 (Items 11-20 on the questionnaire).

Table 4.9 indicates the frequency of responses by the Pro-Textbook Group to each of the ten questions dealing with the courts. The responses are shown by numbers and percentages as to whether the respondents chose to Agree Strongly, Agree Somewhat, Disagree Somewhat, or Disagree Strongly.

Table 4.10 indicates the frequency of responses by the Anti-Textbook Group to each of the ten questions dealing with the courts. Again, the responses are shown by numbers and responses as to whether the respondents chose to Agree Strongly, Agree Somewhat, Disagree Somewhat, or Disagree Strongly.

Table 4.11 presents the means and standard deviations of the responses to each item (11-20) by each group and a t-test on each item determining whether significant differences existed between the two groups on each item.

As may be seen in Table 4.11, the Pro-Text Group and the Anti-Text Group significantly differed on six of the attitude questions dealing with the courts. Those items and the topics they generally addressed were: Item 11, Giving criminals too many rights; Item 12, Judges making laws rather than interpreting them; Item 14, The

TABLE 4.8.--Items 11-20 from Questionnaire.

-
11. In recent years, our courts have given criminals too many rights.
 12. Judges often seem to make laws rather than interpreting the laws we already have.
 13. Courts seem to be harder on poor people because poor people can't afford expensive lawyers.
 14. The Supreme Court's decision to abolish prayer in the schools was a right and just decision.
 15. Courts have made decisions which interpret our Constitution in ways that preserve the traditional values of our country.
 16. The courts have done a good job in making decisions which make all men equal in our country.
 17. In most instances, courts make very fair judgments in cases.
 18. Courts should make decisions based on what most people think in the community.
 19. Courts seem to favor those with more political and personal power.
 20. Courts are guided more by legal technicalities than by what is good for the community.
-

Supreme Court's decision to abolish prayer in the schools; Item 15, The court's decisions preserving traditional values of our country; Item 16, The court's decisions making all men equal in our country; Item 17, The court's making fair judgments in all cases.

As in Hypothesis II, the lowest mean score indicated the greatest disagreement on items, while the highest mean scores indicated the greatest amount of agreement on items. A study of Table 4.10 reveals that the item on which the Pro-Text Group most strongly disagreed was Item 18 (1.69), "Courts should make decisions

TABLE 4.9.--Responses to Attitude Items About the Court System by Pro-Textbook Subjects.

Item	Total N	Agree Strongly N	Agree Strongly %	Agree Somewhat N	Agree Somewhat %	Disagree Somewhat N	Disagree Somewhat %	Disagree Strongly N	Disagree Strongly %
11	48	9	18.8	18	37.5	11	22.9	10	20.8
12	48	5	10.4	23	47.9	15	31.3	5	10.4
13	48	16	33.3	21	43.8	8	16.7	3	6.3
14	48	31	64.6	9	18.8	5	10.4	3	6.3
15	48	5	10.4	23	47.9	17	35.4	3	6.3
16	48	2	42.0	26	54.2	16	33.3	4	8.3
17	48	6	12.5	22	45.8	19	13.6	1	2.1
18	48	3	6.3	3	6.3	18	37.5	24	50.0
19	48	12	25.0	21	43.8	10	20.8	5	10.4
20	46	9	19.6	21	45.7	11	23.9	5	10.9

TABLE 4.10.--Responses to Attitude Items on the Court System by Anti-Textbook Subjects.

Item	Total N	Agree Strongly N	Agree Strongly %	Agree Somewhat N	Agree Somewhat %	Disagree Somewhat N	Disagree Somewhat %	Disagree Strongly N	Disagree Strongly %
11	33	21	63.6	10	30.3	2	6.1	0	0.0
12	33	17	51.5	14	42.4	2	6.1	0	0.0
13	32	8	25.0	12	37.5	7	21.9	5	15.6
14	32	3	9.4	5	15.6	3	9.4	21	65.6
15	32	2	6.1	12	37.5	6	18.8	12	37.5
16	33	0	0.0	13	39.4	7	21.2	13	39.4
17	33	1	3.0	18	54.5	12	36.4	2	6.1
18	33	3	9.1	3	9.1	10	30.3	17	51.5
19	33	9	27.3	19	57.6	4	12.1	1	3.0
20	33	7	21.2	22	66.7	4	12.1	0	0.0

TABLE 4.11.--Comparison of Attitudes Toward the Courts of Those Involved in the Kanawha County Textbook Controversy.

Item	Pro-Text Group		Anti-Text Group		t-value
	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.	
11	2.54	1.03	3.58	.61	5.19*
12	2.58	.82	3.46	.62	5.23*
13	3.04	.87	2.72	1.02	1.50
14	3.42	.92	1.69	1.06	7.76*
15	2.63	.76	2.13	1.01	2.52*
16	2.54	.71	2.00	1.90	3.00*
17	2.69	.72	2.55	.67	4.92*
18	1.69	.85	1.76	.97	.34
19	2.83	.93	3.09	.72	1.35
20	2.74	.91	3.09	.58	1.96

*Significant difference at .05 level

based on what most people think in the community." The item on which the Pro-Text Group most strongly agreed was Item 14 (3.42), "The Supreme Court's decision to abolish prayer in the schools was a right and just one."

Among the Anti-Text Group, the item on which they most strongly disagreed was Item 14 (1.69), "The Supreme Court's decision to abolish prayer in the schools was right and just one." This was exactly opposite of the Pro-Text Group. The item on which the Anti-Text Group most strongly agreed was Item 11 (3.58), "In recent years our courts have given criminals too many rights."

In order to assess the attitudes of each of the two groups toward the Kanawha County Government, the same items were submitted to subjects from both groups. The ten items are shown in Table 4.12 (Items 21-30 on the questionnaire).

TABLE 4.12.--Items 21-30 from Questionnaire.

-
21. The Sheriff's Department has provided equal protection for all areas of Kanawha County.
 22. The County Commissioners have been elected in a way that promotes fair representation of all parts of the county.
 23. The county's financial support of parks and recreation has been fairly distributed to all parts of the country.
 24. Return of coal tax monies to the various communities in the county has been done in a fair way.
 25. The Regional Transit Authority, which the county helps to fund, is designed to deliver adequate services to all parts of the country.
 26. Individual communities which have contracted with the county for emergency services (e.g., fire and ambulance) have received nearly equal service from the county.
 27. If West Virginia allows counties to go to a professional management form of government, all parts of the county might be better served.
 28. The County Commissioners have tried to be as helpful with problems raised by the individual citizens as they have with problems raised by business.
 29. Some services now provided by the county might be better if each individual community were to run its own services.
 30. If citizens could afford to pay higher property taxes, the services provided by the county would improve.
-

Table 4.13 indicates the frequency of responses by the Pro-Textbook Group to the ten items dealing with the Kanawha County Government.

TABLE 4.13.--Responses to Attitude Items About Kanawha County Government by Pro-Textbook Subjects.

Item	Total N	Agree Strongly N	Agree Strongly %	Agree Somewhat N	Agree Somewhat %	Disagree Somewhat N	Disagree Somewhat %	Disagree Strongly N	Disagree Strongly %
21	48	5	10.4	18	37.5	13	27.1	12	25
22	48	4	8.3	16	33.3	20	41.7	8	16.7
23	47	3	6.4	13	27.7	18	38.3	13	27.7
24	46	2	4.3	13	28.3	21	45.7	10	21.7
25	48	6	12.5	19	39.6	20	41.7	3	6.3
26	45	6	13.3	22	48.9	15	33.3	2	4.4
27	46	15	32.6	21	45.7	6	13.0	4	8.7
28	47	2	4.3	19	40.4	18	38.3	8	17.0
29	48	2	4.2	10	20.8	26	54.2	10	20.8
30	46	15	31.9	20	42.6	11	23.4	1	2.1

Table 4.14 indicates the frequency of responses by the Anti-Textbook Group to the ten questions dealing with the Kanawha County Government.

Table 4.15 presents the means and standard deviations of the responses to each item (21-30) by each group and a t-test on each item determining whether significant differences existed between the two groups on each item.

Table 4.15 reveals that the Pro-Text Group and the Anti-Text Group significantly differed on three of the attitude questions dealing with Kanawha County Government. Those items and the topics that they generally addressed were: Item 27, "County Commissioners being as helpful with problems of individuals as they are with problems of business; Item 29, "Services now provided by the county might be better if each individual community were to run its own services"; Item 30, "If citizens could afford to pay higher property taxes, the services provided by the county would improve."

In Table 4.15 the lowest mean scores indicated the greatest disagreement on items and the highest mean scores indicated the greatest agreement on items. A study of Table 4.15 reveals that the item on which the Pro-Text Group most strongly disagreed (2.08) was Item 29, "Some services now provided by the county might be better if each individual community were to run its own services." The item on which the Pro-Text Group most strongly agreed was Item 30 (3.04), "If citizens could afford to pay higher property taxes, the services by the county would improve."

TABLE 4.14.--Responses to Attitude Items About Kanawha County Government by Anti-Textbook Subjects.

Item	Total N	Agree Strongly N	Agree Strongly %	Agree Somewhat N	Agree Somewhat %	Disagree Somewhat N	Disagree Somewhat %	Disagree Strongly N	Disagree Strongly %
21	32	4	12.5	21	65.6	2	6.3	5	15.6
22	32	7	21.9	12	37.5	9	28.1	4	12.5
23	33	1	3.0	13	39.4	12	36.4	7	21.2
24	30	0	0.0	15	50.0	11	36.7	4	13.3
25	33	2	6.1	21	63.6	5	15.2	5	15.2
26	31	4	12.9	18	58.1	8	25.8	1	3.2
27	31	5	16.1	8	25.8	9	29.0	9	29.0
28	30	1	3.3	14	46.7	8	26.7	7	23.3
29	33	3	9.1	16	48.5	9	27.3	5	15.2
30	33	0	0.0	5	15.2	14	42.4	14	42.4

TABLE 4.15.--Comparison of Attitudes Toward Kanawha County Government of Those Involved in the Kanawha County Textbook Controversy.

Item	Pro-Text Group		Anti-Text Group		t-value
	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.	
21	2.33	.98	2.75	.88	1.95
22	2.33	.86	2.69	.97	1.75
23	2.13	.90	2.24	.83	.58
24	2.15	.82	2.37	.72	1.18
25	2.58	.79	2.61	.83	.15
26	2.71	.76	2.81	.70	.55
27	3.02	.91	2.29	1.07	3.25*
28	2.32	.81	2.30	.88	.10
29	2.08	.77	2.52	.87	2.36*
30	3.04	.81	1.73	.72	7.51*

*Significant difference at .05 level

Among the Anti-Text Group, the item on which they most strongly disagreed was Item 30 (1.73), "If citizens could afford to pay higher property taxes, the services provided by the county would improve." This was exactly opposite of the Pro-Text Group. The item on which the Anti-Text Group most strongly agreed was Item 26 (2.81), "Individual communities which have contracted with the county for emergency services have received nearly equal service from the county."

In order to test the null hypothesis, two independent t-tests were employed. One of the t-tests compared attitudes toward the courts and the other toward Kanawha County Government. For the purpose of generating

scale scores it was necessary to reverse score some of the questions. Those questions which were reverse scored are marked by a single asterisk on the copy of the questionnaire in Appendix A.

In some cases, respondents did not answer all of the questions on attitudes toward the courts and Kanawha County Government. To avoid the problem of missing data, an average item score was utilized. Each respondent's total score was divided by the number of questions that he/she answered. Thus, an average item score could range from 1.00-4.00.

The results of the t-tests are shown in Table 4.16.

TABLE 4.16.--Comparison of Group Scores of Pro-Textbook Group and Anti-Textbook Group on Attitudes Toward the Courts and Toward Kanawha County Government.

Group	N	Mean	St. Dev.	t-value	p-value
Pro-Textbook (courts)	48	2.68	.37	6.70	.00*
Anti-Textbook (courts)	33	2.09	.42		
Pro-Textbook (county)	48	2.40	.43	0.24	.81
Anti-Textbook (county)	33	2.38	.47		

Ho: $M_1 \neq M_2$ - failed to reject

*Significant difference at .05 level

Examination of Table 4.16 reveals that a significant difference existed between the Pro-Text Group and the Anti-Text Group in their attitudes toward the courts ($p = .00$). However, no significant difference existed between the two groups in their attitudes

toward Kanawha County Government ($p = .81$). Both t-tests were run at a .05 level of significance.

In order to reject the null hypothesis that "There is no significant difference between the attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks toward other publicly supported institutions and the attitudes toward other publicly supported institutions of those opposing the adoption of the textbooks," it would have been necessary for the t-tests on both of the issues to have produced significant differences at the .05 level. Since a significant difference existed only on the issue of the courts, we have failed to reject the null hypothesis.

While the t-test on Kanawha County Government failed to show a significant difference, it might be said that by examining the means of the two groups (Pro = 2.40 and Anti = 2.38) that there is an observed difference, although not significant, in the same direction as the tests run on educational attitudes and attitudes toward the courts.

Hypothesis IV

The educational attitudes of those studied will not be significantly related to their general values (terminal values).

Analysis

In order to determine the relationship between the terminal values of each group and their attitudes toward education, the non-parametric median test was again employed. A determination was made for the educational attitudes as to whether each individual was

"liberal" or "conservative" (in a normative sense). A comparison was made of the median rankings for each value across the two groups.

Before a frequency distribution was developed, reverse scoring was used again on the ten educational attitude questions (items 1-10). Those questions which were reversed scored are marked by a single asterisk in Appendix A. Scores were developed for all respondents on the educational attitude scale (these are mean scores). The mean scores ranged from 1.6-4.0. The frequency distribution of the educational attitude scores may be seen in Table 4.17.

As may be seen, the median mean score in Table 4.17 was 3.2. For the purposes of testing this hypothesis, respondents to the educational attitude questions were divided into two groups; the first group were those who scored higher than 3.2 (for example 2.7), and the second group were those who scored lower than 3.2 (for example 3.4). Because of the scoring systems, those who scored higher than 3.2 were termed conservatives (which is a normative term rather than a political one) and those who scored lower than 3.2 were termed liberals (again, a normative term). By this distinction, there were forty conservatives and forty-one liberals in the total group.

In order to test the null hypothesis, a nonparametric median test was run comparing the two groups on their values. Table 4.18 presents the results of the test.

As may be seen in Table 4.18, the conservative and liberal groups (based on their educational attitude scores) significantly differed on three values; World of Beauty, Salvation, and Self Respect.

TABLE 4.17.--Score Summary for all Respondents on Educational Attitude Survey.

Mean Score	f	%
1.6	1	1.2
1.8	1	1.2
1.9	1	1.2
2.1	1	1.2
2.2	3	3.7
2.3	2	2.5
2.4	3	3.7
2.5	2	2.5
2.6	2	2.5
2.7	3	3.7
2.8	7	8.6
2.9	5	6.2
3.0	2	2.5
3.1	7	8.6
3.2*	4	4.9
3.3	9	11.1
3.4	6	7.4
3.5	7	8.6
3.6	3	3.7
3.7	4	4.9
3.8	5	6.2
3.9	2	2.5
4.0	1	1.2

*Median mean score was 3.2

The null hypothesis that the educational attitudes of those studied will not be significantly related to their general values (terminal values) is rejected since significant differences appeared

TABLE 4.18.--Comparison of Value Rankings of Those Who Were Conservative or Liberal on the Educational Attitude Survey.

Group	Conservatives				Liberals			
	Med.	N	N>Med.	N<Med.	N>Med.	N<Med.	Chi Sq.	p
Comfortable Life	(14)	40	18	22	16	25	.102	.75
Exciting Life	(14)	40	19	21	15	26	.593	.44
Sense of Accomplishment	(9)	40	19	21	11	30	2.876	.09
World at Peace	(8)	40	20	20	19	22	.011	.92
World of Beauty	(13)	40	26	14	13	28	7.705	.01*
Equality	(8)	40	21	19	19	22	.110	.74
Family Security	(5)	40	19	21	16	25	.298	.59
Freedom	(5)	40	16	24	24	17	2.091	.15
Health	(5)	40	14	26	18	23	.351	.55
Inner Harmony	(8)	40	16	24	21	20	.625	.43
Mature Love	(10)	40	21	19	15	26	1.482	.22
National Security	(12)	40	15	25	24	17	2.796	.10
Pleasure	(16)	40	18	22	12	29	1.527	.22
Salvation	(7)	40	8	32	32	9	25.021	.00*
Self Respect	(6)	40	25	15	14	27	5.434	.02*
Social Recognition	(15)	40	19	21	14	27	.993	.32
True Friendship	(9)	40	20	20	15	26	.988	.32
Wisdom	(7)	40	14	26	21	20	1.560	.21

Ho: $M_1 \neq M_2$ was rejected

*Significant at a .05 level of significance

on three of the values. While it is not possible to say that the attitudes were necessarily caused by certain values, it has been shown that when separated by some criterion (in this case educational attitude), certain values will tend to discriminate between the two groups.

It is interesting to note that two of the three values showing significant differences between liberals and conservatives (Salvation and World of Beauty) also appeared as two of the three values on which there were significant differences when comparing the values of the Pro-Textbook and Anti-Textbook Groups (see Table 4.2). On those two values, both the Pro-Textbook Group and the liberals agreed that A World of Beauty was more important than the total group and both the Anti-Textbook Group and the conservatives agreed that Salvation was much more important than the total group.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to test the conceptual framework that those whose values lead them to oppose schools will also oppose other public institutions and that the attitudes they hold toward schools are reflective of more general values that they hold. An incident of attempted textbook censorship was used as an example of opposition to schools and data were gathered from citizens who favored censorship and those who did not in a specific community.

Development of the Method

Since this study addressed itself to overt opposition to public schools, it was necessary to identify an incident where such opposition had taken place on a large enough scale so as to provide a population large enough to validate statistical measurements. The incident chosen was a textbook controversy that arose in Kanawha County, West Virginia in 1974-75.

The Kanawha County textbook controversy was characterized by strong and sometimes violent opposition to a set of textbooks adopted by the Kanawha County Schools. The opposition was generated generally, although not exclusively, by a large group of rural Kanawha County citizens, most of Appalachian ancestry.

In order to explain the incident, a section of the study was developed to sketch some of the characteristics of Appalachian culture and to reconstruct chronologically the chain of events that unfolded in the controversy. This section relied heavily on some of the better known literature on Appalachian culture and on hundreds of newspaper articles that reported the controversy from beginning to end.

In addition to the gathering of data on Appalachian culture and on the event itself, four hypotheses were established and tested in order to test the conceptual framework of the study.

Application of the Quantitative Method

A survey instrument was developed which asked subjects to rank a set of terminal values and to respond to thirty items on a Likert-like scale. Ten items dealt with attitudes toward education, ten with attitudes toward the courts, and ten with attitudes toward Kanawha County Government. The surveys were done by mail (which included follow-up mailings). A total of 175 persons comprised the two groups who were surveyed. Of these, 99 protested the adoption of the books and 76 favored their adoption. Of the 99 opposing the books, 33 responded to the survey (33.3%). Of the 76 favoring adoption of the books, 48 responded to the survey (63.2%).

Subjects were identified by leaders of both sides of the controversy. This was done with some difficulty since nearly ten years had passed since the incident had occurred.

The items included in the survey instrument were derived from several different sources. The values that subjects were asked to rank were used directly from the Rokeach Value Survey. Ten items dealing with educational attitudes were generated from interviews with leaders from both sides of the textbook controversy. Items addressing the court system were developed from attitudes common to various Americans toward the court system. Finally, items regarding Kanawha County Government were a result of an interview with an executive employee of the Kanawha County Commissioners Office. All items were field tested for clarity and readability.

Analyses

The analyses of the data was accomplished by means of various appropriate statistical techniques. Areas dealing with value rankings required the application of nonparametric statistical techniques. Areas dealing with attitudes were analyzed with the use of independent t-tests. These analyses were conducted in an effort to test the hypotheses of the study.

Conclusions

The following are the conclusions of the study with reference to the hypotheses which were tested.

Hypothesis I

Between those who supported the adoption of the textbooks and those who opposed them, there are no values on which there are statistically significant differences.

The null hypothesis was rejected at a .05 level of significance. The Pro-Text Group and the Anti-Text Group significantly differed on three terminal values: (1) A World of Beauty, (2) National Security and (3) Salvation.

The data presented relative to this hypothesis indicated some other interesting information. For instance, the value Salvation was ranked as first in importance by the Anti-Text Group but as last in importance by the Pro-Text Group.

A further interesting point can be seen in how each of the two groups ranked the values, Freedom and Equality. While both groups ranked the value Freedom relatively high (5), the value Equality was ranked relatively high by the Pro-Text Group (6.5) but relatively low (11) by the Anti-Text Group.

Rokeach¹ has discussed what he calls "A Two Value Model of Political Ideology." He has hypothesized that all major varieties of political orientation will have to take an explicitly favorable, a silent, or an explicitly unfavorable position with respect to two values in particular - Freedom and Equality - not only ideologically to advance one's perceived self-interest, but also to oppose perceived competing interests."² Following this line of reasoning, he has studied various outcomes dependent on the juxtaposition of these values to each other; e.g., Freedom and Equality both judged to be high, Freedom and Equality both judged to be low in value, etc.

¹Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 165.

²Ibid., p. 169.

According to his studies, a high ranking for both Equality and Freedom would indicate a liberal political persuasion, while a high ranking for Freedom and a low ranking for Equality would indicate a relatively conservative political orientation.

Relative to Rokeach's ideology theory, then, results of this study would seem to indicate the Pro-Text Group was of a liberal political persuasion and the Anti-Text Group was of a more conservative political stripe.

Hypothesis II

There is no significant difference between the educational attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks and those opposing their adoption.

This null hypothesis was rejected at a .05 level of significance. An independent t-test determined that a significant difference did, in fact, exist between the two groups.

The data generated for the purpose of testing this hypothesis provided some interesting information on specific items since the Pro-Text Group and the Anti-Text Group showed significant differences on six of the ten educational attitude items. For instance, the Pro-Text Group showed the strongest disagreement to a statement which said "I would favor the schools eliminating all subjects but those that teach the basic skills." Likewise, the Anti-Text Group showed the same disagreement with that statement, but to a statistically different degree. Additionally, the Anti-Text Group showed strong agreement with statements favoring prayer in schools, the relative importance

of discipline, the teaching of traditional Christian and American values, the lack of value of extracurricular activities and disfavoring the providing of social services by the schools. On each of these items the Pro-Text Group generated opposite reactions in enough strength to produce significant statistical differences.

It seems clear from the data that a wide schism existed in the educational attitudes of those supporting and those opposing the adoption of the textbooks.

Hypothesis III

There is no significant difference between the attitudes of those supporting the adoption of the textbooks, toward other publicly supported institutions, and the attitudes toward other publicly supported institutions of those opposing the adoption of the textbooks.

We failed to reject this null hypothesis at a .05 level of significance. Two independent t-tests determined that no significant difference existed between the two groups.

For the purpose of testing this null hypothesis, two publicly supported institutions were identified, the court system and Kanawha County Government. Ten attitude items on each institution were submitted to subjects.

In order to reject this null hypothesis, it was determined that significant differences must exist on both t-tests, one on the court system and one on Kanawha County Government. A significant difference was found to exist on an attitude scale relative to the court system, but no significant difference was found on an attitude scale relative to Kanawha County Government. However, examination

of the Anti-Text Group mean reveals an observed difference, although not statistically significant, in the same direction as the t-tests done on educational attitudes and attitudes toward the courts.

Data developed for testing this hypothesis produced some noteworthy results on specific items. On specific items dealing with attitudes toward the courts, the Pro-Text Group and Anti-Text Group differed on six of the ten items. The item on which the Anti-Text Group most strongly disagreed was "The Supreme Court's decision to abolish prayer in the schools was a right and just one." It was on this same item that the Pro-Text Group most strongly agreed. Additionally, the Anti-Text Group strongly agreed with items stating that courts give criminals too many rights, that judges make laws rather than interpreting them, that the courts have not preserved traditional values in our country, that courts' decisions have not made all men equal, and that courts do not make fair decisions in all cases. The Pro-Text Group disagreed strongly enough on these items to produce statistically significant differences.

The results of specific items on attitude scale scores for the two groups indicate that the Pro-Text Group has far more confidence in the court system as a public institution than does the Anti-Text Group.

Data generated on attitude items dealing with Kanawha County Government produced significant differences on only three of the ten items. The Anti-Text Group felt that county commissioners were more helpful with problems of businesses than with problems of individuals. The Pro-Text Group disagreed with that position. The same was true

where the Anti-Text Group felt that services might be better if provided by each individual community rather than by the county.

The last item where a statistically significant difference occurred is of particular interest. That item read "If citizens could afford to pay higher property taxes, the services provided by the county would improve." The Pro-Text Group strongly agreed with this statement while the Anti-Text Group showed strong disagreement. The Anti-Text Group seemed to be saying that even with improved resources given to the county, that they did not have confidence in that publicly supported institution.

Hypothesis IV

The educational attitudes of those studied will not be significantly related to their general values (terminal values).

This null hypothesis was rejected at a .05 level of significance. The conservative and liberal groups significantly differed on three values: (1) A World of Beauty, (2) Salvation, and (3) Self Respect.

In order to test this hypothesis, two groups were established according to individual scores on the educational attitude items. The half of the respondents with the higher scores were termed conservatives (in a normative rather than a political sense) and the half of the respondents with the lower scores were termed liberals. In order to test the null hypothesis, a nonparametric median test was run comparing the two groups on their values.

While it is not possible to say generally that certain attitudes are always necessarily caused by certain values, it has been shown that when separated by some criterion (in this case educational attitudes), certain values will tend to discriminate between the two groups.

Rokeach³ has discussed the manner in which values and attitudes may be said to relate:

On theoretical grounds, it should be possible to specify in advance some, but not all, of the values that might be related to a given attitude. Theory and knowledge in the social sciences are not yet sufficiently developed to enable us to predict all the values that might underlie a given attitude. A given attitude held by different persons need not be in the service of the same value on the same subset of values. A favorable attitude toward socialized medicine, for instance, may serve the value of "equality" in one person and the value of "family security" in another; an unfavorable attitude toward the church may serve one person's value for "honesty"; a favorable attitude toward blacks may be in the service of one person's value for "equality" and another person's value for "kindness."

Nevertheless, there are theoretical grounds for anticipating that certain values will more often be related predictably to a given attitude than other values. For one thing, there are logical relations between certain values and attitudes. For another, certain values and attitudes are within the specialized domain of specific social institutions. In general, values that can be identified as being within the specialized concern of a particular institution should be the best predictors of those attitudes and behaviors that are within that domain.

Within the framework of Rokeach's discussion, then, it is possible to say that a relationship existed between values and attitudes and, further, to say that the attitudes were reflective of values within the domain of specific groups. For instance, in

³Ibid., p. 95.

testing Hypothesis IV the respondents were separated into conservative and liberal groups according to their responses on educational attitude items. As has already been mentioned, the three values that discriminated between the two groups were Salvation, A World of Beauty, and Self Respect. When the Pro-Text Group and Anti-Text Group were asked to rank terminal values and then comparisons were made, two of the same values, Salvation and A World of Beauty, discriminated between those two groups. In the case of the value Salvation, both the Anti-Text Group and the conservative group rated the value very high. For A World of Beauty, the Pro-Text Group and the liberal group rated it very high. It would seem, then, that in this study conservative attitudes toward education are reflective of conservative values and that liberal attitudes toward education are reflective of liberal values.

The Review of Literature in Chapter II of this study centered on personal values, their relationship with attitudes, and their effect on behavior. Additionally, the literature addressed the concept of homogeneity of values and discussed values characteristic of Appalachian people.

Hypothesis IV of this study has dealt with the relationship between values and attitudes within the domain of this particular study. Conclusions have been drawn which indicate that in this study the educational attitudes of those involved in the Kanawha County textbook controversy seem to be reflective of more general values held by the subjects of the study. These findings are con-

gruent with the literature that has said that attitudes are in the service of values.

A second area of the Review of Literature has indicated that behavior may also be in the service of values. Further, it has been a part of the thesis of this study (stated in the Conceptual Framework) that the expectations that individuals have of their institutions are dependent upon the value systems held by these individuals, and that value systems play an important part in how individuals behave.

The Kanawha County textbook controversy was characterized by a rebellion against a school system as a result of its adoption of a group of textbooks perceived by a portion of the population as "trendy" in form and content. This study has shown that the Anti-Text Group was essentially Appalachian in nature. Qualitative data in Chapter IV of this study has shown Appalachian people to hold deeply fundamentalist religious beliefs including very fatalistic outlooks on what is to be expected from life in this world. That part of their belief system has been reinforced quantitatively by their very high ranking of the value Salvation. Guided by such values, these Appalachian people might, for example, expect the school system which they support to teach their children definitive lessons in what is "right and wrong" so that they might clearly understand the behavior that will prepare them for heaven. When values clarification was introduced in a set of textbooks it was

offensive to those that believed in teaching children clear moral lessons. As a result of actions offensive to their values, this group of people behaved in a manner which they hoped would encourage the school system to change the manner in which it distributed its resources. It can be said, then, that their behavior was in the service of their values.

The concept of homogeneity of values was discussed in the Review of Literature. The literature cited in that section of this study stressed that specific sets of values may be found within specific reference groups and that those values may be passed along to succeeding generations through the socialization process. When the values of the Pro-Text Group and the Anti-Text Group were compared it was found that significant differences existed. The primarily Appalachian Anti-Text Group, for instance, ranked Salvation as its highest value. That was congruent with qualitative data presented in Chapter IV. Additionally, when viewed in reference to Rokeach's Two Value Theory of Political Ideology, the juxtaposition of the values Freedom and Equality showed the group to be more conservative than the Pro-Text Group. In that respect the Anti-Text Group displayed a homogeneity in their values, as did the Pro-Text Group.

This study has centered on the study of values and attitudes of those involved in the Kanawha County Textbook Controversy. While results have tended to reinforce recurrent themes in the literature, it should be remembered that the study was done some ten years after the controversy took place, and that the data on values and attitudes

were gathered from individuals after they had been involved in a highly emotional set of circumstances that included heavy media attention. The possibility exists that different results might have been produced if a survey of respondents had been done before or during their involvement in an event of such proportions. If such pre- and during-event statistics had ever been generated, there is the possibility that comparisons might show changes in values and attitudes as a result of involvement in the textbook controversy.

Implications for Practitioners

The Board of Education and the administration of the Kanawha County Schools faced a volatile wave of resistance from a significant segment of the Kanawha County residents. What began as a routine adoption of school textbooks emerged into a major incident of overt opposition to the schools. The selection system used in choosing the books was the same as it had been used historically in the system. The opposition came, not as a result of the structure of the system, but as a result of what the system had produced, a set of textbooks whose content offended many in the community.

Kanawha County is not unique in the land for the cultural diversity of its citizens. In fact, there are increasingly fewer American communities which are culturally or ethnically cloistered. The increased mobility of Americans, and rapidly shifting housing and population patterns have mixed Americans more than ever. The school systems that service these communities face cultural cleavages that may not be unlike the circumstances facing the Kanawha County Schools.

If such cultural differences are extant in so many American communities, how are school systems to avoid the kind of problems that befell the Kanawha County Schools? The conceptual framework of this study alluded to the concept of "distributive justice," a concept which addresses itself to the problem of how best to distribute the assets of the community. Is there an equitable way to distribute these assets so as to satisfy all of the different claims levied by the various groups in the community against those agencies controlling those assets?

It is perhaps in addressing the question of "distributive justice" that an answer may be found for school systems to avoid the same unhappy fate that befell the Kanawha County Schools. If the concept can be helpful in sensitizing school systems to their communities, then it may be of importance in the education and training of those who will lead school systems.

Much has been done by modern school systems in the fields of public relations and needs assessments. There are numerous academic and workshop activities dealing with public relations and many systems have invested heavily in elegantly designed needs surveys with the goal of adjusting the use of school resources to deliver services that address the higher priority items generated in these needs assessments. These are, of course, valuable efforts.

If these kinds of efforts are already in place, then where may the concept of "distributive justice" come into the picture? The concept of "distributive justice" goes beyond parameters of needs assessment activities. Needs assessments address known educational

options already extant in school systems and some known in the field that are not already a part of school programs. "Distributive justice" is a much broader concept which delves more deeply into the nature of the community. It deals with the reward systems or "claims" that various community factions expect to have fulfilled and with the struggle to determine how to return to them shares of the community's resources that will satisfy them.

In Kanawha County services were provided by the schools (the textbook selection) that led a segment of the community to rebel as a result of what they felt was a denial of their claims - the schools were giving them educational tools that were offensive to their personal values and to their attitudes toward what schools ought to do.

For practicing school leaders there may be some valuable leadership concepts to be learned from the Kanawha County experience. It may not be enough to develop sleek public relations programs, and it may not be enough to determine priority educational needs of a community. This study has shown that educational attitudes are reflective of much more general values that people hold, and it follows that in understanding those general values, school leaders may be able to find key incidents which are pervasive. A knowledge and understanding of those incidents may lead to clearer understanding of community claims and what rewards may satisfy those claims.

What is being suggested is that it may be well for school leaders to be aware of the concept of "distributive justice" so that they may more fully understand the forces at work in their

communities. It may be immensely important to attempt to ascertain the nature of the values associated with various groups in the community so that they can attempt to equate those values with what claims the community may place upon the schools. The kind of knowledge that might be generated can be a part of decision making processes that may help to avoid the kind of dilemma that confronted the Kanawha County Schools.

Implications for Future Research

The general problem that this research project seeks to address is an insufficiency of available empirical research on the attitudes and values of those individuals involved in overt acts of opposition to the public schools. The problem has been studied by using a single textbook controversy in Kanawha County, West Virginia. In this section observations and opinions of this researcher concerning the implications of the study are presented.

In this study, it has been shown that value differences existed between those opposing the actions of the public schools and those supporting those actions. Further, it has been shown that the attitudes toward education of each of these groups tend to be reflective of the general values that they hold. While this study has not produced definitive evidence that those opposing schools also oppose other publicly supported institutions, data developed in pursuit of answering that question indicates that this may be a topic for further research.

The idea of examining values and attitudes toward public institutions has not been a deeply explored area primarily because

the measurement of human values, as indicated in the Review of Literature, still remains in a youthful stage of development. Consequently, the challenge of being able to predict attitudes from values also remains in an exploratory stage. The door is wide open to further exploration of these phenomena, especially if acquired information may be helpful in avoiding other controversies of the intensity of the Kanawha County experience.

There are clearly many communities across the land where value cleavages are in evidence. In many communities both blacks and whites live side-by-side and support the same public institutions. Other communities are characterized by ethnic rather than racial population mixes and still others may be culturally homogeneous. In all of these instances, knowledge of what community values and attitudes are served by public institutions may be invaluable to those who are working parts of those public institutions.

A long-standing philosophical question facing public schools has been whether it is the mission of school systems to "lead" or to reflect perceived community needs. The concept of "leading" has been characterized by attitudes of school people that decisions made about educational programs are the province of the professionals employed by the school systems. That seems to have been somewhat true in the incident studied in this research project. However, an interesting question that arises as a result of this research is whether or not school districts are "leading" when they make decisions that are sensitive to public values. In other words, do citizens perceive school leadership when their values and attitudes are sought in

advance of school decisions. It may be an interesting research question as to how the public perceives the concept of leadership by schools. An answer to that question may be found through value and attitude studies.

In the Kanawha County textbook controversy it has been shown that a cultural conflict was at work. Interviews with residents of Kanawha County have produced information that the citizens of that county were generally aware of strong cultural differences even before the school textbook controversy arose. It is reasonable to assume that in communities where strong cultural differences exist, citizens are generally aware of them. Yet empirical study of how public institutions may function as decision makers knowing that each decision may be met with reactions that reflect cultural values is scarce. Perhaps research in the area of communications may yield some helpful results.

The findings of this study suggest that some of the previous questions, and others, might be addressed by further use of the method used in this study. Some further uses of the method might be:

1. Application of the method to study overt opposition to publicly supported institutions other than public schools.
2. Application of the method to study community values and attitudes toward specific school programs.
3. Application of the method to study congruence of values and attitudes in the hiring of key school personnel.
4. Application of the method of this study might be used in research where members of specific groups might be asked to rank the values of other specific groups as they perceive them. Results from such studies might prove very beneficial for communication purposes.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Copy of Brochure

VALUE SURVEY

Below is a list of 18 values arranged in alphabetical order. Your task is to arrange them in order of their importance to YOU, as guiding principles in YOUR life.

Study the list carefully. Then place a **1** next to the value which is most important for *you*, place a **2** next to the value which is second most important to you, etc. The value which is least important, relative to the others, should be ranked **18**.

Work slowly and think carefully. If you change your mind, feel free to change your answers. The end result should truly show how you really feel.

- _____ A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)
- _____ AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)
- _____ A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)
- _____ A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
- _____ A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)
- _____ EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
- _____ FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)
- _____ FREEDOM (independence, free choice)
- _____ HEALTH (physical and mental well being)
- _____ INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)
- _____ MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
- _____ NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)
- _____ PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
- _____ SALVATION (saved, eternal life)
- _____ SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)
- _____ SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)
- _____ TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)
- _____ WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)

Please check to be sure that you do not have any duplications or omissions.

*Indicates items which were reverse scored.

1967 and 1982
Milton Rokeach
Permission to Reprint
Halgren Tests
Sunnyvale, California

DIRECTIONS: For the following 30 questions, please circle the number in the answer column that goes with the choice that *best* suits *your opinion*.

AGREE STRONGLY = 4
AGREE SOMEWHAT = 3
DISAGREE SOMEWHAT = 2
DISAGREE STRONGLY = 1

ANSWER COLUMN

Choose which *best* suits
your opinion
 (Circle your answer)

QUESTION COLUMN

EDUCATION

- *1. I would favor the schools eliminating all subjects but those that teach the basic skills
- 2. It is important for children to learn about both the successes and failures of our nation
- *3. Prayer should have a place in our nation's schools
- *4. One of the most important jobs for school teachers and administrators is to maintain discipline
- *5. The most important function of the schools is to train students for a trade or vocation
- 6. In school, students should be taught to distinguish between right and wrong by discussing different points of view
- *7. School teachers should be required to teach traditional Christian and American values
- 8. An important job of the schools is to develop a positive self image in each student
- 9. Extracurricular activities provide valuable learning experiences not available in classroom situations
- 10. Schools should provide special services (such as hot meals and day care centers) that some families can't provide

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE SOMEWHAT	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	DISAGREE STRONGLY
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	

(continue)

THE COURTS

- *11. In recent years, our courts have given criminals too many rights
- *12. Judges often seem to make laws rather than interpreting the laws we already have
13. Courts seem to be harder on poor people because poor people can't afford expensive lawyers
14. The Supreme Court's decision to abolish prayer in the schools was a right and just decision
15. Courts have made decisions which interpret our Constitution in ways that preserve the traditional values of our country
16. The courts have done a good job in making decisions which make all men equal in our country
17. In most instances, courts make very fair judgments in cases
- *18. Courts should make decisions based on what most people think in the community
- *19. Courts seem to favor those with more political and personal power
- *20. Courts are guided more by legal technicalities than by what is good for the community

KANAWHA COUNTY GOVERNMENT

Questions 21-30 Deal *Only* with Kanawha County

21. The Sheriff's Department has provided equal protection for all areas of Kanawha County
22. The County Commissioners have been elected in a way that promotes fair representation of all parts of the county
23. The county's financial support of parks and recreation has been fairly distributed to all parts of the county . . .
24. Return of coal tax monies to the various communities in the county has been done in a fair way

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE SOMEWHAT	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	DISAGREE STRONGLY
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
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4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	
4	3	2	1	

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE SOMEWHAT	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	DISAGREE STRONGLY
25. The Regional Transit Authority, which the county helps to fund, is designed to deliver adequate services to all parts of the county	4	3	2	1
26. Individual communities which have contracted with the county for emergency services (e.g. fire and ambulance) have received nearly equal service from the county	4	3	2	1
* 27. If West Virginia allows counties to go to a professional management form of government, all parts of the county might be better served	4	3	2	1
28. The County Commissioners have tried to be as helpful with problems raised by the individuals citizens as they have with problems raised by businesses	4	3	2	1
* 29. Some services now provided by the county might be better if each individual community were to run its own services	4	3	2	1
30. If citizens could afford to pay higher property taxes, the services provided by the county would improve	4	3	2	1

Don Goode
2941 Footman Drive
East Lansing, MI 48823

APPENDIX B

Cover Letter

2941 Footman Drive
East Lansing MI 48823
June 24, 1983

In 1974-75, there was a major controversy in Kanawha County over a group of textbooks adopted for use in the schools by the Kanawha County Board of Education. The controversy involved, among other things, a difference in personal values between those who supported the books and those who opposed them. Unfortunately, no one has studied what those value differences were in order to help to answer the question of what different groups of citizens expect from their schools and other governmental bodies.

You are one of a small group of people in Kanawha County who are being asked to give their opinions on these matters. Your name was drawn from a sample of those people who either supported or opposed the textbooks. In order that the results truly represent the people of Kanawha County, it is important that each questionnaire be completed and returned. The questionnaire has two parts: the first is a Value Survey and the second is a group of opinion questions which I think you will find interesting. Simple sets of directions are found on the questionnaire. The questionnaire contains a self-addressed stamped panel for your convenience. Upon completion, all you need to do is to staple or tape it together and drop it in the mail.

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. The questionnaire has an identification number for mailing purposes only. This is so that we may check your name off the mailing list when your questionnaire is returned. Your name will never be placed on the questionnaire.

The results of this research will be used in my doctoral dissertation at Michigan State University and will eventually be available to educators and community members alike.

I would be most happy to answer any questions you might have. Please feel free to write or to call me collect (517-351-4077).

Thank you for your kind assistance.

Sincerely,

Don J. Goode
Doctoral Student
Michigan State University

Enclosure

APPENDIX C

Mrs. Moore's Objections to Books

Monday, June 3, 1974

Tone, Poor Taste Upset Mrs. Moore

By Kay Michael
Staff Writer

Alice Moore doesn't object to supplemental texts being used in conjunction with basic books in Kanawha County schools.

And she said during an interview that she doesn't strongly oppose teaching material of informal speech, which she said is the type of books chosen by the textbook committee approach cultural patterns and language.

The tone of the material, she said, lacks taste, serves no real purpose, and denounces the nation's most traditional institutions.

MRS. MOORE, a member of the Kanawha County Board of Education, also claims the books often present only one side of an issue.

"The Language of Man series discusses white racism. The author says most black people are aware and sensitive to problems of minorities, but whites are insensitive.

See Intercepted Message on Page 61

"Then, they begin the next sentence with the word, 'Whiteness.' It isn't italicized. And they continue to use the word several times."

Such use of the "Whiteness" reference, she claims, is in itself discriminatory.

Accounts of atrocities against blacks are included in the supplemental books. These accounts, she says, can only create hatred and revolution. "If they're going to be included, then we would have to include incidents of atrocities committed against whites."

Another reads: "Why walk the street and look for your dimes and nickels and pennies on the sidewalk when you can be robbed? And if you rob and get away with it, you're lucky. But if you can't, then don't all your life, then don't all your life," then don't all your life. So va figure like this: You're gonna spend a couple of times in jail."

MOST OF ALL, she said, she feels the approach to teaching English is moving away from the idea that there is a correct and an incorrect way to speak. "There's a move toward teaching children that any manner of speech is acceptable and that if a child says he 'done' it, he did it.

"If we're going to do this with English, we may as well eliminate it as a cause of study."

"One book says students are reading themselves silly. I've never heard that mentioned. They may be watching television until they're silly, but they certainly aren't reading themselves silly."



Mrs. Alice Moore
Books Offensive

Mrs. Moore believes black parents may find cultural descriptions of their historical development offensive. A discussion of the "emergence of a black bourgeoisie" contends that divorces and scandals in family and sexual behavior enhance the prestige of middle-class black families.

know how I feel. I'm nice and cordial, but people sense something about me. I don't know, maybe I don't like them. Maybe I feel I'm above them. I can't think of anyone I love or respect."

The books in question have been approved by the board of education with the understanding that board members would review them and have an option to reject any they find unacceptable. They have not yet been ordered.

POLITICAL references have also come under fire from the outspoken board member.

"One section says the idea that there's a Communist conspiracy is a farce. That's a political opinion. A lot of people might disagree very strongly."

She also rejects the concept of the role of the suppressed in the winning in war is tantamount to mutual annihilation. "These are political opinions. If they belong anywhere, they belong in a social studies class, not in English class."

She also deplores the hopelessness of narratives illustrating types of informal language. One example she finds distressing begins this way:

"I don't notice the world. I'm very bored. I really don't

Intercepted Message

Dear Alice:
No need to eliminate English. Just make it a foreign language.

George

Alice Moore,
Book worm,
Charleston
(Story on Page 1A)

Two Board Members Opposing Some Texts

By LYNN WITHROW
Of The Daily Mail Staff

At least two members of the Kanawha County Board of Education have found several English textbooks under consideration for adoption to be objectionable in content, and they plan to voice those opinions at a special board meeting tonight.

However, staff employees who worked on textbook adoption committees have called the same books "beautiful and honest" relating the "real nature of human experiences in the real world."

Board member Mrs. Alice Moore, who called the texts "trash", said she objected to "racist statements in the texts and hatred portrayed between the races."

Another board member, Matthew Kinsolving, said he had looked at some of the texts in question and had found them objectionable.

The controversial books are part of a series by McDougal, Littell and Co. and are de-

signed for high school students. They are multi-culture, multi-ethnic books with a number of literary selections by minority authors.

In addition, Mrs. Moore also is objecting to a series of grammar texts because of the approach they take to teaching of English.

"They say there is no such thing as an improper or bad way of speaking," she commented, pointing out some of the books say the use of "ain't" has become acceptable, good grammar.

Mrs. Nellie Wood, a teacher at George Washington High School and chairwoman of the textbook committee, defended the texts and commented the "Man" series had won a number of awards.

"It is a series which treats students with respect and encourages self-growth," she commented. "It serves as a stimulus for them to do more reading and offers flexibility in classroom approach."

"They are not racist texts," she continued. "They are books that, rather than being racist, offer intellectual questions for understanding differences between people."

While Mrs. Moore and Kinsolving said they probably would vote tonight to exclude what they consider objectionable texts from the adoption list, another board member, Dr. Harry Stansbury, said he wanted to take an objective view.

"I have seen the books," he said, "and frankly I'm disturbed about some of the language and stories. I want to hear somebody tell why the books should be used."

Members of the textbook adoption committee will be at the meeting to explain their selection of the texts to board members.

Mrs. Moore said she had shown the books to a number of teachers and "every one has been shocked."

"I have discussed them with some members of the board and the reaction of most of them has been the books are trash," she said.

Mrs. Moore noted that some of the chapters in the offending books deal with "rapping in the black ghetto" and "the language of white racism."

She explained white people are referred to as "whitey" and slang words such as

(Turn to Pg. 4A, Col. 4)

TEXTS

Continued From Page One

"shucking" and "copping a plea" are discussed.

"There is a lot of tearing down of traditional values and ideals people have always held," the St. Albans resident said, adding she felt the books were "highly political."

"Books which are true to life and about life must present some of the ways people talk," Mrs. Wood said. "They must look at the broad scope of language. We are attempting to help students understand how language and man would work for him so he won't be manipulated."

At its April meeting, the board approved the recommendation list which included these books. On a motion by Mrs. Moore, board members agreed to approve the books with the stipulation they could review the texts and if there were portions which they did not want included in instruction, the board would vote not to have those sections taught.

APPENDIX D

"What Your Children Will Read"

The Charleston Gazette, Thursday, November 14, 1974

What Your Children Will Read . . .

Listed below are actual excerpts from the textbooks returned to the schools by the Kanawha County Board of Education on November 8, 1974. Don't be misled!!! These excerpts are in your children's books! If there is any doubt about the authenticity of what you read, consult the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks, Room 206 Union Building, Kanawha Blvd., E., Charleston, W. Va. 25302. Phone 346-8895

Webster/McGraw-Hill Series

THE ART OF NARRATION: THE SHORT STORY

Page 324—"You son of a Bitch, and he and the fat wop went out through the tables." "... looked sick as hell ..."

Page 322—"Sure is hell keeping it down, Joe,"

Page 327—"... and you feel like swearing and goddamning worse and worse."

Page 328—"... and could have rode him instead of that son of a bitch."

THEMES IN THE ACT PLAY

Page 32—"He hasn't said a damn thing."

Page 34—"For Christ's sake, ...", "Damn It, ..."

Page 37—"Damn it, ..."

Page 39—"Listen, you yellow bastard, what the hell's the idea ..."

Page 57—"He'll be glad to see me too—like hell!", "What the hell ..."

Page 60—"Well, I'll be damned!"

Page 61—"The damned son-of-a-gun!", "Serve him damn right if I done it." "Aint that a hell of a fine old man for yuh!", "Ain't he a hell of a nice old man for a guy to have?"

Page 62—"Ain't he a hell of an old man to have?", "... not by a damned sight!", "I ain't made to be no damned dirt-puncher—not me!"

Page 63—"Come on, pal. T'hell with supper."

Page 94—"I've never met a bastard like you before!", "I'm the bastard." "Damn you!"

Page 122—"You damned right you don't."

Page 125—"Damn it ..."

Page 128—"Hell, yes!"

Page 205—"Is there such a think as a black human brain?", "Damn good riddance."

Page 204—"Oh, damn your mother's cups."

Page 212—"Dammit, I know what I said!"

Page 213—"Good God!"

Page 218—"Dammit, you unlocked the door, didn't you?"

Page 217—"What are you doing? (pause) Gilbert? Is that you (creaking springs) What are you ... no, no ... go back to your own bed and go to sleep. (pause, silence) Gilbert? (pause, creaking springs) Gilbert we are old people ... This is ... This is ... you shall not. (pause) Please ... please, Gilbert (Gilbert grunts several times) How dare you, dare you attempt this disgusting behavior!"

Page 248—"God damn it. Here's the son of a bitch!"

AFRICAN IMAGES

Page 79—"Two deaths for a goddam nigger."

Page 132—"Where's the goddam pass?"

Page 133—"The blerry bastard. "Blerry black whore."

Page 134—"Law Bastards.", "Hell what you crying for?"

Page 135—"What the hell.", "They are wearing me down, goddammit!"

THEMES IN SCIENCE FICTION

Page 7—"You're a bunch' bastards all. damn your eyes."

Page 9—"What the hell's going on here?"

Page 40—"... well, nell man, what else can we do?"

Page 51—"the damn fools ..."

Page 54—"Oh, go to hell."

Page 56—"... bastard culture ..."

Page 57—"For Christ's sake!"

Page 124—"For God's sake!"

Page 302—"You sons of bitches, "You stupid damn wretch", "Time hell."

Page 303—"... and rotted with it as you and your goddamned friends have."

Page 310—"Damn you Myrion."

Page 311—"For Christ's sake, Myrion, lie down."

Page 318—"Hell, it's about time somebody told about my friend ..."

Page 319—"Von Kleigstadt was in one hell of a state."

Page 320—"Dammit, Pat! Please marry me!"

Page 327—"Damn near shook me out of my seat!"

Page 328—"Terror, hell! "Trim charges, hell!"

Page 329—"Hell, it'll damp out by then!"

Page 346—"...other instruments knocked to hell..." "What the hell! What ship is that?" "For godsake man stop talking nonsense..."

JUMP ROPE JINGLES AND OTHER USEFUL RHYMES

Sally Drank Marmalade
Sally Drank Beer
Sally Drank everything
That Made Her Feel Queer

A-WHOOPSIE Went The Marmalade.
A-WHOOPSIE Went The Beer.
A-WHOOPSIE Went Everything
That Made Her Feel Queer.

"Fudge, Fudge"
Fudge, Fudge
Call The Judge.
Mama's got a newborn Baby!
It's not a girl,
and it's not a boy.
It's Just A Newborn Baby!
Wrap It Up In Tissue Paper.
Put It On The Elevator.
One, Two, Three,
And
Out Goes She!

"I Was Standing On The Corner"
I Was Standing On The Corner,
Not Doing Any Harm.
Along Came A policeman
And Took Me By The Arm.
He Took Me Around The Corner,
And He Rang A Little Bell.
Along Came A Police Car
And Took Me To My Cell.

OBJECTIONS TO GALAXY SERIES— SCOTT FORESMAN COMPANY

THRUST

The most depressing stories in the textbook adoption are found in the Galaxy Series. There is disregard for governmental authorities, stealing, beating, shooting, hate and lying.

Some stories suggest that it is best not to tell the truth as you might embarrass someone.

The article "God Bless This Child" suggests that money and independence can solve all problems.

FOCUS

"The Kitten" page 67 is a senseless story of cruelty, telling about the killing of a kitten.

"Spoil A Child" page 174. Tells of a mother being cruel to her son and his not knowing why she was cruel.

VANGUARD

The language used in the dialogues contains much slang and vulgarity. Any time religion is mentioned in the text, it is depicted in a bad way.

There are 11 poems scattered throughout the book. None of them reflects anything but depressing and morbid thoughts. None of them show any beauty or depict the joy of living.

PERSPECTIVE

The overall theme of this book is violence, hatred of different races, murder, dope, drinking, disrespect for parents and older people. Out of 600 pages, only 87 were used for teaching English.

The stories in this book were all sad, terrible stories. There were no happy thoughts at all. This is written more like a murder mystery than an English book.

ACCENT

"The Legend of Joe Lee" The main character, who is described as irresponsible, concerned with nothing but himself, his car, and his girlfriend, ends up the hero in the story.

"The fate of The Hero". Comment: Violence seems to prevail. The hero is pointed out as being unthinking, dumb, and hated or resented by his fellow employees because of his desire to make good, his honesty, his willingness to work, and his safety-mindedness, giving rise to the thought that these traits are not to be desired.

COMPASS

There is excessive cursing and taking the name of God in vain. These are supposed to be multicultural stories, but do we have to subject our youth to the bad side of life. Don't children love their parents anymore? The morbid stories far outweighed the good stories in this book.

1. "On Saturday Afternoon". page 112. The story of a ten year old boy who was helping a man to hang himself.

MAN by McDougal, Littell & Company, 1970-71

MAN in the Fictional Mode 1

Page 6—Use of God's name in vain.

Page 62—Use of God's name in vain.

Page 69—Goddamn, and What the hell.

MAN in the Fictional Mode 4

Page 32—"for God works in mysterious, but inefficient ways, and He needs help."

MAN in the Fictional Mode 6

Pages 1-17—Damn, hell, God's sake, knock the Living Jesus out of you.

Pages 20-39—The bully speaks of doing God's dirty work.

MAN in the Expository Mode 2

Page 99—"How the boy trembles and delights at the sight of white excrement of the bird!"

The Charleston Gazette, Thursday, November 14, 1974 Page9A.

Pages 75-81—Hell, ass whippin, dumb damn lid.

Pages 1-16—"All praise to Allah that I went to Boston when I did.
If I hadn't, I'd probably still be a brainwashed black Christian."

MAN In the Dramatic Mode 2

Pages 1-19—Hell, ass.

MAN In the Dramatic Mode 5

Pages 14-15—Refers to "the preservation of the law in all its sick dignity."

MAN In the Poetic Mode 4

Page 74—"Telling children that God is in heaven and all's right with the world is wrong."

MAN In the Poetic Mode 5

Page 4—"God's No One."

Page 48—11 (picture of Marilyn Monroe's face) "pondering of her perfect breasts"

MAN In the Poetic Mode 6

Page 27—"Oh, all the laws!" "apples, perfect for window cracking."

AMERICA READS (SCOTT FORESMAN)

PROJECTION IN LITERATURE

Page 449—"No, damn it!" my father reared.

Page 450—"Damn it, give it to me," . . .

COUNTERPOINT IN LITERATURE

Page 51—"Damn fool"

Page 74—"Where the hell you been?"

Page 133—"stupid damn fool" "Oh God" "What the hell shall I do?"

Page 114—"My God"

Page 116—"damn good"

Page 141—"Kill that damn thing."

OUTLOOKS THROUGH LITERATURE

Page ——"damn fool" "the hell with Butchie" "who the hell do you . . ."

OUTLOOKS THROUGH LITERATURE

(Grade Nine Teacher's Research Book)

Page 3—From article Censorship and the Values of Fiction.

"There you have found such things as teenagers speaking profanities, the phrase "fuck you" repeatedly and a schoolboy visit to a prostitute. It must seem to you that I am being merely perverse when I say that such a book is really highly moral when read properly, yet I mean something quite real and concrete by this claim."

Page 3—"those goddamn little bastards" "Christ, man.", "no shit", "he's a mean son-of-a-bitch", "they'll beat the shit out of me," "how the hell are you"

EXPLORING LIFE THROUGH LITERATURE

- Page 20—"And then that damned tea's always filling himself up with."
- Page 23—"Peter's always so damnably resentful when anyone else . . ." "I'll be damned if this isn't the best thing you've hit on yet."
- Page 35—"You can be damn sure you won't lose by it."
- Page 35—"Still—damn it all—you must remember."
- Page 42—"I'm damned if I'll put up with that."
- Page 43—"It's disgraceful that these damn bureaucrats should be . . ."
- Page 44—"It'd be a damn nuisance if he did."
- Page 46—"Who the hell cares about danger." "You're always so damned frightened, Alaskan."
- Page 49—"But then damn it all . . ." "But damn it!"
- Page 50—"Damn it, there he is!"
- Page 52—"They don't care a damn about the general good."
- Page 57—"My name's Peterson alright—But I'll be damned if . . ."
- Page 58—"—the damnable solid majority. . ."
- Page 59—"No damn it—you've never had the courage."
- Page 64—"Well—to hell with it."
- Page 65—" . . .that damned expression—!"
- Page 66—"To hell with my practice!"
- Page 68—"Damn it." Ignorant, damnable mongrels that the are!"
- Page 70—"They both got away—damn them!" "No I'll be damned if we are Katrine . . ."

ATTENTION TEACHERS

Many teachers have rejected the published statements that "Teachers support the textbooks" and have joined our organization. If you are a teacher and would like to support the antitextbook protest movement, join the Teacher's Chapter of the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better TEXTBOOKS. For more information contact the Alliance at Room 206 Union Building, Phone 345-8395 or 768-3124. Your membership will be kept confidential at your request.

THE U. S. IN LITERATURE, "All My Sons" Edition "All My Sons" by Arthur Miller, the words "damn", "for God's sake", "God damn newspaper", "hell", "Helluva time", "damn fool", "God", and "Goddamn" are used 39 times in this play.

FICTIONAL BIOGRAPHY Two

- Page 2—"bastards"
- Page "You old son of a bitch"
- Page —"There no telling what the fool white folks will do"

FICTIONAL MEMOIR ONE

- Page 22—"bastard"
- Page 30—Boy says poem to father "Look up, look, down, look at my thumb, gee you're dumb."
- Page 41—"I could hear his Goddam eye blinking."

The Charleston Gazette, Thursday, November 14, 1974 Page 9A.

MEMOIR

- Page 31—"Damn grandmother's got it together."
 Page 34—"were bitching that their maids stole"
 Page 25—"Black as a nigger."

NARRATIVE POETRY

- Page 61—"Ballad of the Carpenter"—Mockery of Christ's life and death on the cross.
 Page 90—Malcolm X—"I hustler, I pimp, I unfulfilled black man."

COMMUNICATE

- Page 47—"The most dangerous threat in the modern world is based on the "either-or" fallacy, namely; that we must choose between "capitalism" and "Communism."

Scripts 2

- Page 163—"Feel my old bag's tits"
 Page 173—"them sons-bitches too onery"
 Page 190—Goddammit! All this crapping 'round and footsyng .. Ass!"

Scripts 3

- Page 87—"That fat old bitch"
 Page 91—"God, he'll fix it. "Hell, no."
 Page 92—"Damn thing" "Yes, by God."
 Page 99—"Goddam cards"

Autobiography One

- Page 10—"I beat the hell out of her."
 Page 11—"Pig-tailed bitch"
 Page 29—"I pissed in my pants"
 Page 32—"Get your ass over here"
 Page 77—"You bastard"

Diaries

- Page 38—"goddam"
 Page 82—"bloody bastard"
 Page 87—"goddam"

Fables

- Page 13—"The True Christian"—sarcastic and cynical view of the Christian religion.
 Page 35—"H-Y P-TT"—Sacriligious, blasphemous and intentionally offensive toward Christianity.

PLAN OF ACTION

1. Support the present legal action Williams vs. School Board, which is protesting against the textbooks on the basis of anti-religious bias under the First Amendment.
2. Initiate court action to contest the legality of using two systems of instruction based on different cultural content. The courts have ruled that such an approach will inevitably result in discrimination against one group or the other and have rejected similar arrangements.
3. Encourage the proposal of Senator St. Galperin, calling for a practical recall procedure so that a petition for a recall of board members will be practical.
4. Take legal action to protect those persons who are discriminated against by their employers because of their participation in the anti-textbook protest.
5. Take other legal action as may become necessary to guarantee the removal of morally reprehensive instructional materials and methods from Kanawha County Schools.

THE BOARD APPROVES... DO YOU???

THE TRUE STORY!

The local and national media have carried many stories critical of the textbook protest movement here in Kanawha County. Typical is the Los Angeles Times News Service story written by the local Episcopal minister James Lewis. These stories are filled with half truths and innuendos. It would be difficult, as well as pointless, to try to counter the various charges. However, there are some glaring inconsistencies and omissions that ought to be brought to light.

CONTEXT

We are criticized because we take excerpts out of context and present them unfairly, but it is only when they are in context that the total impact is recognized. Many of the selections do not sound so bad by themselves, but when they are taken in the context of complete anti-moral, and anti-social, anti-American, anti-religious, anti-free enterprise, and anti-patriotic context our objections become more understandable. The complete lack of balance is one of the objectional characteristics.

MULTICULTURAL

We are told that according to federal guidelines textbook content must be multicultural. We do not object. When, however, one cultural group objects to thousands of passages and another cultural group does not object to a single passage, it suggests that the books are monocultural, that they appeal to only one culture. As Superintendent Underwood is quoted as saying, "If public education is ever directed to a single group, it's the death of public education."

CENSORSHIP

We are accused of censorship, that we will not even accept such classics as "Jack and the Beanstalk", or "Pinocchio" or even the writings of Mark Twain. What is not said is that some of these classics have been changed to convey a different message than the original version and that the liberals started this censorship when they insisted that classics ranging all the way from "Little Black Sambo" to "Huckleberry Finn" and "Little Women" be deleted.

BLIND PREJUDICE

Some of the protesters have been criticized because they objected to the books before they had read them all. What has not been publicized is that past policy of the Board had been that they would not read the books until they were adopted. Only because Alice Moore refused to honor this agreement and read some of the books before the May meeting was the public alerted to the content of the books.

VIOLENCE

It is implied that the book protesters are responsible for the violence, but, when violence has been directed against individuals, it has been the protesters who have suffered most. Furthermore, William Noel, who is alleged to have shot Philip Cochran, was member of the "Concerned Parents for Better Education," an organization whose name was changed immediately following the incident to "Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education," the most outspoken group of supporters.

RACISM

The protesters are accused of racism, yet we supported the only black candidate running for the legislature. Mr. James Lewis refused to do this.

When Avis Hill, one of the protesters, was in Washington on Sunday and wanted to attend a church service, he attended a black church, entered into the service, and was well received, not as a spectator but as an active participant.

Racism has been charged because some of the writings objected to were authored by blacks. When our president, Mr. Fike, obtained permission and appeared before the NAACP to state our position, he tried to read from a black author, George Schuyler, but was shouted down. When a white objects to a black author, it's called racism. When a black objects, it's acceptable.

RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

It is futile for us to try to convince people like James Lewis that our objections to the books are valid. We understand why certain groups object to "Little Black Sambo", and we honor their objection. All we ask is that our group be given the same consideration. We do not insist that they agree with our position but we do expect them to honor it.

It is possible that if all minority objections were honored the schools might be reduced to teaching the basics, but would that be so bad?

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION HAS RULED THAT NO STUDENT CAN BE FORCED TO READ A BOOK THAT EITHER THE STUDENT OR STUDENT'S PARENTS FIND OBJECTIONABLE. IF YOU INTEND TO SEND YOUR CHILD TO SCHOOL BUT OPPOSE THESE TEXTBOOKS SEND THIS COUPON WITH YOUR CHILD.

NOTICE TO THE KANAWHA COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

CONSIDER THIS OFFICIAL NOTICE THAT MY CHILD/CHILDREN ARE STRICTLY FORBIDDEN TO READ OR BE INSTRUCTED FROM ANY OF THE LANGUAGE ARTS TEXTBOOKS RETURNED TO THE SCHOOLS NOVEMBER 8, 1974 EITHER IN THE LIBRARY OR THE CLASSROOM.

CHILD'S NAME(S)

PARENT/OR GUARDIAN

SCHOOL(S)

PLEASE ENROLL ME AS A MEMBER OF—THE BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE FOR BETTER TEXTBOOKS.

206 UNION BLDG. KANAWHA BLVD. EAST, Charleston, W. Va. 25301

AFFILIATE MEMBERSHIP—\$10.00 PER YEAR

ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP—\$50.00 INITIATION PLUS \$10.00 PER MONTH

PLEASE BILL ME FOR —MEMBERSHIPS AT — EACH

NAME

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CITY/ST. ZIP

PHONE.

—ALL CONTRIBUTIONS TAX DEDUCTABLE

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