# The Demographics of Book Bans

The EveryLibrary Institute is interested in understanding if there are any common demographic characteristics between communities that are experiencing book bans and challenges to intellectual freedom and access to information. To better understand this phenomenon, our research team has looked at demographic data about towns, cities, counties, and school districts to identify patterns and find insights about the areas and populations affected by these actions. This paper presents a new analysis of the demographics and political attitudes of the communities experiencing book bans and challenges.

As PEN America reports, 2022 saw the highest number of attempted bans since the organization began tracking data about censorship. Practically every state has been affected by attempted and successful bans, and some states have followed up with legislation that not only makes it easier to challenge but, in some cases, allows states to take the decision-making away from professionals and gives it to politicians instead.

Our investigators first identified the areas experiencing book bans in 2022 and mapped those areas to US Census definitions by geographic or jurisdictional terms. We disregarded areas that were otherwise unidentifiable within Census data. Then, we applied several demographic characteristics to each community or municipal area. These demographic details included college attainment rates, whiteness of populations, income levels, homeownership rates, labor force participation rates, and political affiliation. We also attempted to apply the Gini Index of Inequality to the communities but were unable to match geographic boundaries with enough accuracy. Our research team compared the demographics of ban areas to the national average to identify any significant differences. These characteristics were analyzed to gain insights into the areas and populations most affected by book bans in the United States.

The findings show that areas affected by book bans tend to have a higher rate of bachelor's degrees than the national average, are whiter than the nation as a whole, and have a higher income and percentage of homeowners than the national average. Topline findings show that these communities:

- Have a higher rate of earned bachelor's degrees than the national average
- Skew whiter than the nation as a whole
- Tend to have a higher income than the national average
- Have a higher percentage of homeowners than the national average
- Have extremely high labor force participation
- Have more registered Republicans than Democrats, but Democratic areas are still targeted heavily

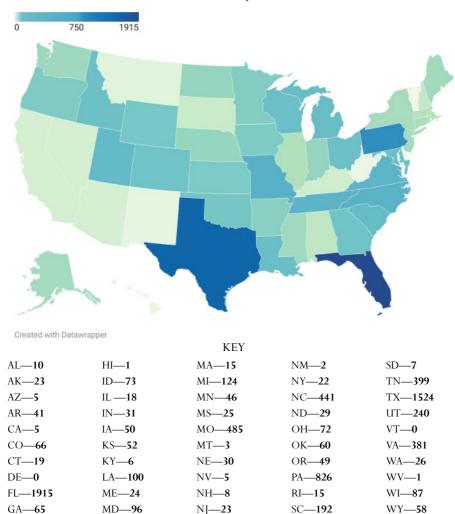
# Where the United States Stands in the Global Book Ban Landscape



The United States' newfound zeal for book bans has placed it in a group with the authoritarian regimes of India, China, Singapore, and Russia. The United States now has a 1.32% higher share of book bans over Russia.

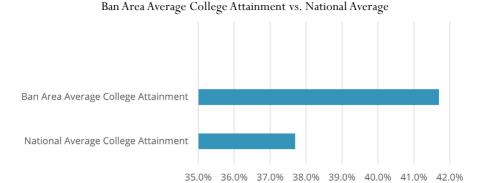
Source: Wordsrated, April 14, 20231

Number of Book Bans by State, 2021-2023



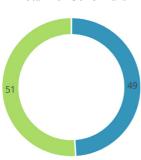
The contenders: Florida leads the nation with the most titles challenged at 1915, while Texas is a close second at 1524. Pennsylvania is third with 826, and Missouri and North Carolina each boast over 400 challenged titles. Tennessee and Virginia trail closely behind with nearly 400 titles each, while Utah, Michigan, and Louisiana each have between 100-300 challenged titles.

# College Attainment - Earned Bachelor's Degrees



A national average of 37.5% of Americans hold bachelor's degrees, versus an average of 41.7% of people in book ban areas.

■ College Attainment

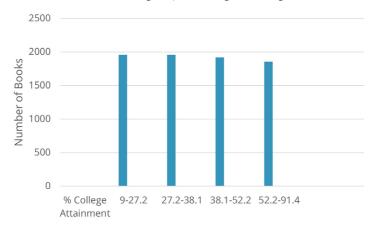


Total Number of Bans

- % Educational Attainment Below National Average
- % Educational Attainment at or Above National Average

If we look a little deeper into the data, we find that nearly half of ban areas have *less* than the national average of bachelor degree attainment.

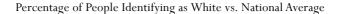
Number of Books Challenged by Percentage of College Attainment

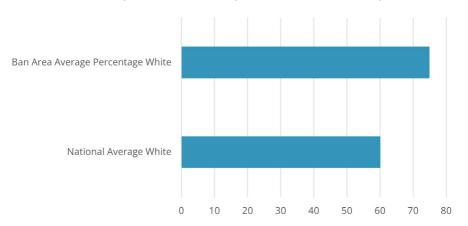


The percentage of bachelor's degree attainment in ban areas ranges from 9% to 91.4%. The number of challenged books declines slightly as the area's college attainment increases – but not by much. This shows that educational attainment is not a bulwark against book challenges.

Studies show that educational attainment affects political engagement. Kien Le and My Nguen, in an international study², found that every additional year of education raises an individual's interest in politics by 6.7%, and increases the individual's self-perceived political knowledge by 8.5%. In other words, as an individual's education increases, they believe that they know and understand more about politics. This false bravado may be a factor in recent studies that show that conservatives disproportionately create and spread online misinformation. Moreover, far-right partisans do not fact-check, nor do they check for accuracy before they share the misinformation. <sup>3</sup>

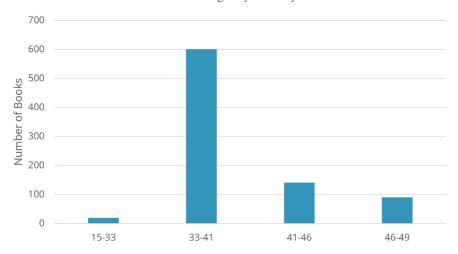
# Whiteness of Communities That Experience Bans and Challenges



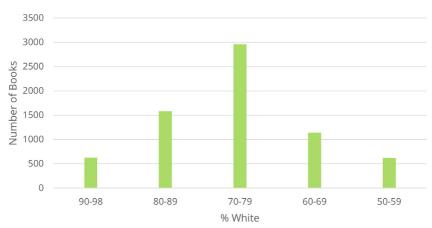


The average percentage of whiteness in areas with book challenges is 75%, versus 61.6% in the nation. Ban area whiteness ranges from 15% in Canutillo, TX to 98% in Maine and Pennsylvania. Areas with minority percentages of whiteness are, on balance, majority Hispanic, and concentrated in the two states with the most bans: Florida and Texas.

# Number of Books Challenged by Minority of Whiteness

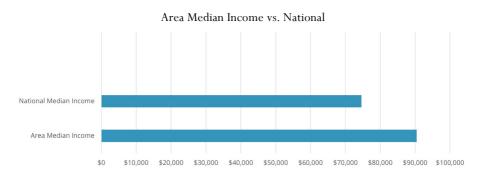


Majority White Areas by # of Books Challenged



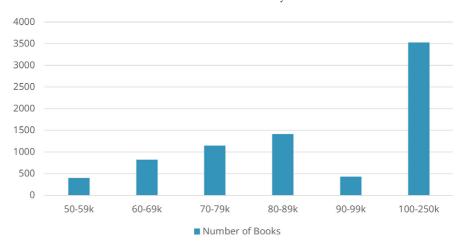
For the areas with a population over 50% white, the highest incidence of book challenges occurred in the areas with 70-79% white population. This includes Clay County, FL, where 627 titles were challenged; Central York School District in York County, PA (430 titles); Collierville School District in Shelby County, TN (326 titles); Indian River County, FL (159 titles) and Eanes School District in Travis County, TX (132 titles).

#### Household Income



Areas where book challenges occurred boast a median income of \$90,448 versus \$74,580 for the nation. Areas where bans occurred have populations whose incomes range from \$34,286 in Marion County, MS, to \$250,001 in Democratic regions of Texas, New Jersey, Upstate New York, Illinois, and Connecticut.

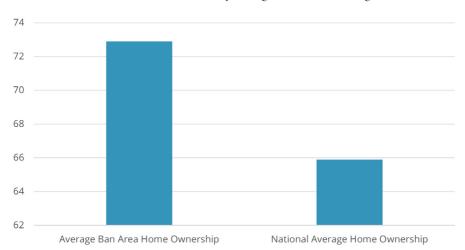
# Number of Books Banned by Income



By far, the greatest number of books were banned in areas where people earn between \$100-\$250,000 per year. This includes places such as Fauquier County, VA, where 124 titles were challenged in 2022; McKinney, TX (283 titles); Wentzville, MO (228 titles); and St. Johns County, FL (113 titles).

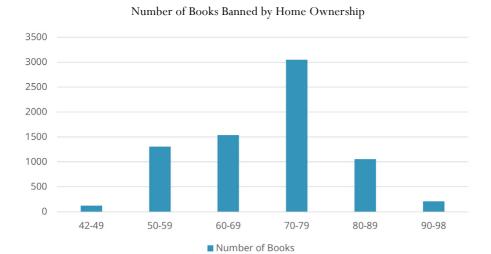
# Home Ownership

### Ban Area Home Ownership Average vs. National Average



People in areas where bans have taken place over-index in home ownership versus the national average. Average ban area home ownership is 72.2%, while the national average is

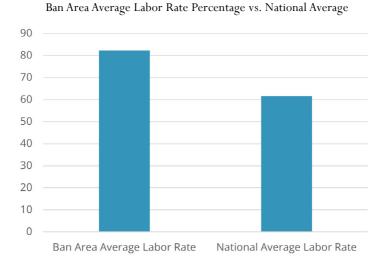
65.9%. In ban areas, home ownership percentages range from 42.6% in Killeen, TX to 98.9% in Jefferson County, KY.



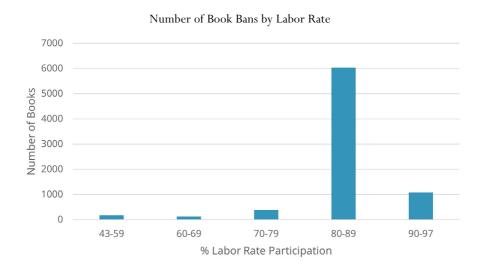
Over 3000 book titles were banned by people living in areas where 70-79% of people own their homes. This includes areas such as Wake County, NC, where 202 titles were challenged in 2021 and 2023; Frederick County, VA (130 titles); Granbury Independent School District in TX (131 titles) and Crawford County, PA (186 titles).

How does home ownership correlate with book banning? Property taxes from homeowners contribute to running public schools and public libraries. According to EveryLibrary, the third vector of a performative or politicized book challenge is "Classic anti-tax and anti-government movements." Generally, the anti-tax movement is as American as a hot dog. It is the cause of the Boston Tea Party, and is a reminder of the power of the people to hold the government accountable. There is absolutely nothing wrong with citizens wanting to know how their taxes will be spent. However, when citizens weaponize their status as a taxpayer, it can lead to a sense of ownership of the entities and services paid for by these taxes. This can give rise to blaming certain individuals or groups; hateful rhetoric; and the urge to control the content and materials that the taxpayer "bought" with "their money."

# Labor Force Participation

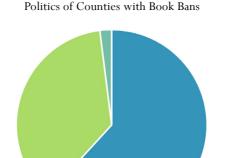


In areas where book bans have taken place, the average employment percentage is 82.3% versus the national average of 61.6%. Ban area employment percentages range from 43.1% in Gila County, AZ to 97% in Jefferson County, KY.



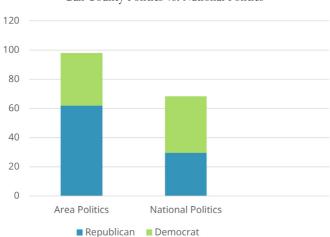
The highest number of book bans occurred in areas with an 80-89% rate of employment. This includes areas such as Lindbergh, MO, where 44 titles were challenged in 2021 and 2022; West De Pere, WI (10 titles); Nampa, ID (23 titles); and Murray City, UT (99 titles).

### Politics and Political Affiliations



■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Too Close to Tell

As a proxy for political affiliation, we looked at voting outcomes for the 2020 Presidential election at the county level. Counties that experienced book challenges consist of nearly 2/3 more Republicans than Democrats, at 62% and 36% respectively.



### Ban County Politics vs. National Politics

In the nation as a whole, registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans 38.8% to 29.4%. Based on voting outcomes of the 2020 election at the county level, the opposite is true of ban counties, where Republicans outnumber Democrats 62% to 36%.

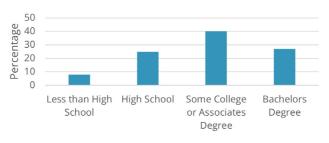
CASE STUDY: Clay County School District in Clay County, FL

Clay County is located in the northeastern part of Florida, along the St. John River. It is a rural county comprised of small towns. Its school district includes 52 schools, from elementary through high school.

Florida has banned more books than any other state, and Clay County leads the state of Florida, with 627. Most of these books have been challenged by one person – Bruce Friedman, a member of the organization No Left Turn, whose mission is "To revive in American education the fundamental discipline of objective thinking by educating, empowering, and engaging students, parents, and community, emphasizing the role of the parent as the primary custodian and authority of their child." In Florida, if a person asks for a book to be reviewed, it is immediately removed from shelves. In defiance of its scornful status as the most ban-happy county in the nation, the Clay School Board is doubling down, and has recently put 181 more titles on the list to be purged, decrying them as "filthy, filthy pornography."

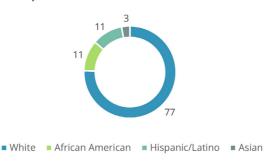
### Clay County School District by the Numbers





Clay School District Parent Educational Attainment

### Clay School District Race/Ethnic Distribution



Clay School District Homeowners vs. Renters



Clay School District Labor Force Participation



■ % Age 16 and Up Working ■ % Age 16 and Up Not Working

### CASE STUDY: North East Independent School District in Bexar County, TX

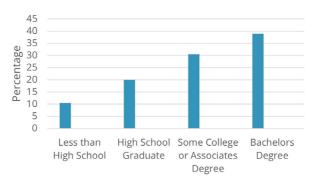
For the areas that are minority white, most books were challenged in areas that are 33-41% white. This includes North East Independent School District in Bexar County, Texas, where a total of 439 titles were challenged in 2021. Bexar County is in South Texas, just down Highway 35 from Texas's capital, Austin. Its county seat is San Antonio, and it is part of the San Antonio-New Braunfels Metropolitan Statistical Area. The North East Independent School District (NEISD) includes 75 schools, from Pre-K through High School.

Late in 2021, NEISD pulled and reviewed 439 books for appropriateness based on a list of titles circulated to school districts by Republican State Representative Matt Krause. Krause, a founder of the Texas Freedom Caucus, issued his book list one month after he declared his intention to run for Texas Attorney General against embattled incumbent Ken Paxton. Krause's list, a 16-page spreadsheet containing 850 titles, was accompanied by a letter demanding that school superintendents in Texas provide him with information on the number of copies of each book existing in their district and at which schools. He also demanded that superintendents inform him of any other titles in their schools that deal with sexual subjects and racial issues that "may make students feel discomfort, guilt, anguish, or any other form of psychological distress." After the review, 119 titles were removed from the shelves in NEISD schools. A report by Hearst News found that NEISD led the state of Texas in the number of book bans. As a result,

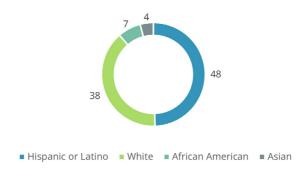
the school district was criticized by the ACLU and its own teacher's union. The books remain off the shelves, and Rep. Krause has never divulged the source of his 16-page spreadsheet.

# North East Independent School District by the Numbers

NEISD Parent Educational Attainment



NEISD Race/Ethnicity Distribution



NEISD % Homeowners vs. Renters



### NEISD Labor Force Participation



■ % Age 16 and Up Working ■ % Age 16 and Up Not Working

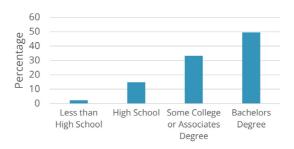
### CASE STUDY: Wentzville School District in St. Charles County, MO

The Wentzville School District is in the third-most populous county in the state of Missouri. The school district includes 22 schools, and is about 45 minutes away from St. Louis. In August, 2022, SB 775<sup>10</sup> went into effect. A particularly virulent law, it calls schools to remove any book considered sexually explicit, and makes breaking the law a class two mis-

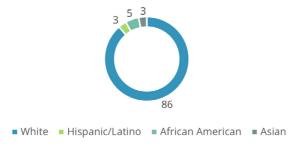
demeanor, carrying a sentence of up to two years in jail and a fine of \$2,000. Following the law's enactment, Wentzville School District's board removed 228 books, over sexual content. The ACLU of Missouri filed suit against the school district on behalf of students and employees, resulting in 200 titles being reinstated to Wentzville school library shelves. 17 books still remain unavailable.<sup>11</sup>

# Wentzville by the Numbers

#### Wentzville School District Parent Educational Attainment



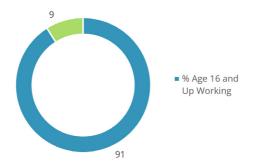
Wentzville School District Race/Ethnic Distribution



### Wentzville School District Homeowners vs. Renters



# Wentzville School District Labor Force Participation



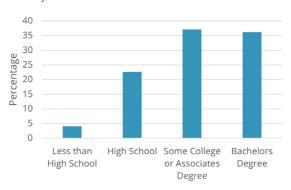
# CASE STUDY: Murray City School District in Salt Lake County, UT

Murray is a suburb of Salt Lake City, located about 15 minutes outside of the city. It is in the core of Salt Lake County. In February, 2021, a third grade student brought a book from

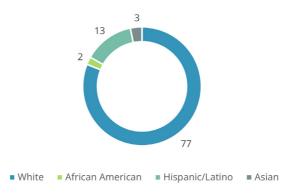
home to read aloud in class. The book, *Call Me Max*, by Kyle Lukoff, is about a transgender boy who answers questions about his identity. Reading the book aloud in class caused a backlash from parents, which then caused the school district to suspend their own program to broaden diversity in their district's literacy choices. <sup>12</sup> Utah Parents United, a group of parents who oppose legislation that "undermines parents in policy and education," <sup>13</sup> reported on a group of 30 parents who "stood up for their beliefs" and sent a list of nearly 100 books to the Murray School Board. The books on the list, in the parents' opinions, are "downright obscene and disgusting, contain graphic descriptions of rape, downplay pedophilia, encourage sexual obsession and pornography addiction, and groom children to question their gender." <sup>14</sup>

# Murray School District by the Numbers

### Murray School District Parent Educational Attainment



#### Murray School District Race/Ethnic Distribution



### Murray School District Homeowners vs. Renters



### Murray School District Labor Force Participation



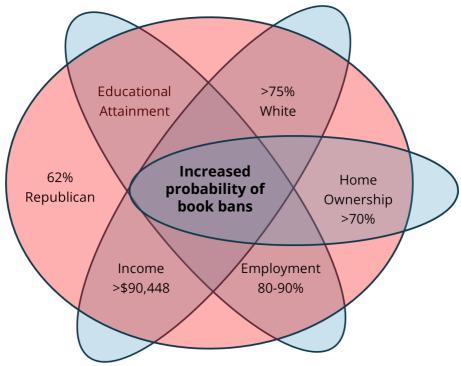
% Age 15 and Up Working% Age 15 and Up Not Working

# The Overlap of Demographics, Attitudes, and Behaviors

# What Does the Demographic Data Teach Us About Book Bans?

Areas that experience book bans can be considered privileged<sup>15</sup> areas. They are overwhelmingly white, rich, educated, and employed. These banning efforts are driven by an organized network of Parent's Rights groups and political entities that claim to protect all children from what they see as threats from groups that support diversity and sex education. This can be tied to concepts like white fragility, white demographic decline and its associated fear, and intolerance of the LGBTQ lifestyle, both religious and otherwise.

Robin DiAngelo's book, *White Fragility*, explains the defensiveness around race that white people exhibit. DiAngelo explains that although white people cannot handle racial discomfort, their defensiveness is weaponized in such a way as to maintain white racial control.<sup>16</sup>



This brings us to the concept of white victimhood, where white Republicans live in the fantasy that they are the ones who are oppressed. In a 2020 public opinion poll from the Public Religion Research Institute, 72% of Republicans completely or mostly agreed with the idea that discrimination against white people had become as big of a problem as discrimination against Black people. Only 22% of Democrats agreed. <sup>17</sup>

White victimhood has its roots in the fight against Reconstruction, and the desperation of whites to cling to power after the Civil War. Sadly, the rhetoric from that era echoes all-too-loudly today, exemplified in the Charlottesville march, when tiki-torch bearing white men chanted about not being 'replaced.' It echoes again when pundits like Tucker Carlson complain of whites being oppressed as a result of too much power being granted to people of color. We hear that familiar echo again when Fox News host Brian Kilmeade rants about minorities 'trying to take down white culture,' and when televangelist Pat Robertson predicts that America would be 'over' when 'people of color rise up and overtake their oppressors.' <sup>18</sup>

It is, in a way, shocking that these statements were made just two years ago. But, two years ago is when book banning began escalating in earnest. It's no wonder that the NAACP views book bans as "an act of policy violence promoting anti-Blackness". As Dr. Phelton Moss asserts, "For years, this country has successfully worked to pass violent laws to maintain a permanent caste system to include an illiterate fraction of Black people through the passage of Jim Crow laws and literacy tests to ensure Black people could never pick up a book — much less read it to know their history. Today's book bans join the growing list of anti-black violence by

a dwindling majority, insistent on keeping Black children from learning the factually accurate history of racism, prejudice, and oppression in America."<sup>19</sup>

Studies show that when whites are prompted to think about losing their position as the majority, it creates a feeling of "status threat", which then impacts their political ideology<sup>20</sup>. For example, a 2014 study by psychologists Maureen A. Craig and Jennifer A. Richeson found that this status threat can lead to a greater endorsement of conservative views. <sup>21</sup> And it doesn't stop at mere views. It goes further, unfortunately, deviating into attitudes that are at odds with the very principles of democracy. 2020 research by Vanderbilt sociology and public policy professor Larry Bartels shows that feelings of ethnic antagonism—that is, perceptions of unfair preferential treatment of immigrants and people of color—drives white Republicans to embrace antidemocratic sentiments. These sentiments are, by now, familiar to us all. They include taking the law into one's own hands, and the approval of political violence to maintain what they consider to be the 'traditional American way of life'. <sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, theirs is a tradition that marginalizes everyone who doesn't think, look, or act exactly like them.

While the Parents' Rights Movement claims to crusade in defense of all children, their true goal is to protect only white cisgender children. As UCLA law professor LaToya Baldwin Clark writes in the Yale Law Journal, "White parents, in particular, fight for resources to reproduce their status—including their racial status—in their children. This racial privilege is valuable not only to children but to the group. All Whites benefit from the work of White parents to control education."<sup>23</sup>

In 2022, Human Rights Campaign noted a 400% surge in anti-LGBT "grooming" content on social media, in the month following Florida's passing of the "Don't Say Gay" bill. The study found that "'Grooming' rhetoric is being spread by a small group of radical extremists as part of a coordinated and concerted effort to attack LGBTQ+ kids, and to rile up extreme members of their base, the only voting bloc they are moving on these issues, ahead of the midterm elections."<sup>24</sup> GLAAD's 2023 Social Media Safety Index found that the increase of hateful anti-LGBTQ rhetoric on social media translates to offline harms.<sup>25</sup> Banning LGBTQ books from schools and libraries is one of those offline harms. A direct example can be seen in Iowa, where *This Book is Gay* was removed from Iowa City Community School Districts after a spate of bomb threats. The bomb threats followed a Twitter blast from Libs of TikTok, saying that the book "promotes gay sex and encouraged the use of sex apps." This Twitter blast also mentioned school districts in Rochester, NY, where a similar bomb threat prompted that school's evacuation.<sup>26</sup>

In a similar set of incidents, PEN America found that the banning of 58 books in Walton County, Florida was based on a misleading "Porn in Schools Report," which was emailed to the county's school superintendent. The report, which originated from the Florida Citizen Alliance, provides a list of books touching on sexual activity, sexual assault, and LGBTQ identities. Even though the criteria to remove these books lack legal arguments that would make them unsuitable for school curriculum, the superintendent removed the books anyway, without actually reading them. This illustrates what PEN calls "An alarming influence of fringe groups on educational censorship." <sup>27</sup>

Research by Paul T. Jaeger, a professor at the Maryland College of Information Studies and others, found that "Censorship is an act of control, driven by a combustible mix of power, privilege, and fear," and that the most important driver of censorship is fear. "[Censorship] is an act of fear perpetuated by the fear that society is changing, the fear that these changes will erode existing privilege and challenge majority beliefs, the fear of people with different cultures and experiences, the fear of having to live in a different world." 28

Based on the demographics of the areas where banning has occurred, these efforts appear as a frenzied attempt for the privileged class to protect themselves and their children from the creeping influence of a feared minority. The fact that book bans do not only affect their own children doesn't seem to matter. In fact, they win if people in their circles are simply made aware of—and kept scared of—these books, even if they are not removed from libraries or curriculum. Now, these items are on an actual list of concerning materials, circulated around the Internet, amplified by social media, causing concern for every parent in the nation. Their goal has been achieved.

# On the Horizon – What Happens Next?

Despite the fact that PEN and ALA both report the highest-ever count of book challenges in 2022, there is no indication that efforts to ban have peaked, or is dying down. On the contrary, efforts are ongoing and continue unabated. This will affect education and librarianship in the following ways:

- A "whitewashing of education," and an "empathy gap"<sup>29</sup> for students: Without access
  to materials and stories about marginalized people, there is a risk that students
  will be exposed to harmful stereotypes and narratives. If students are deprived of
  learning about people and cultures different from their own, they will not learn
  empathy. The implications of this are dire a deeply divided future population
  marked by increased violence.
- Minority populations will be deprived of materials that they can relate to and see themselves reflected in<sup>30</sup>, leading to added marginalization, and opening the door further to racism and hate crimes.<sup>31</sup>
- An increase <sup>32</sup> in librarians fleeing the occupation <sup>33</sup>: With more public library boards and boards of education being given carte blanche to make decisions about what belongs in collections, and some librarians even sustaining ad hominem attacks <sup>34</sup>, or flat-out firing <sup>35</sup> for not toeing the line, librarians will leave public and school libraries. This "brain drain" will result in public libraries being staffed by paraprofessionals and/or less experienced librarians, leaving libraries open to easier control and manipulation tactics by rogue boards. School libraries, if they still exist <sup>36</sup>, will be staffed by parent volunteers, or not at all.
- Public libraries will close: Some public libraries have already been defunded over book banning. We can expect to see more of this as banning continues.

Research from EveryLibrary found that Texans can expect to pay around \$3.6 Million to ban books; Florida's costs come to between \$34,000 and \$135,000 per library or school per year; in Missouri, taxpayers can expect to pay 10% of a school district's per-student expenditures on banning just one book. <sup>38</sup> What a waste of time <sup>39</sup> and money — not only for the professionals employed by schools and libraries, but for tax—paying citizens as well. Nevertheless, this approach has proven successful, even though people opposed to book bans pay taxes as well, and have just as much of a right to voice their opinions about curriculum content and library collections.

# Notes on Our Methodology

We took data on book bans compiled by Dr. Tasslyn Magnusson<sup>40</sup> (available through the EveryLibrary Institute) and distilled it down to the total number of book titles banned per school district, or, if a public library was targeted, per county. Based on this distilled spreadsheet, we searched the National Center for Education Statistics, which provides a Demographics Dashboard based on the US Census for each school district<sup>41</sup>. For bans targeting public libraries, we relied on demographic data from the US Census' County Profiles<sup>42</sup>, which display data gathered from their American Community Survey<sup>43</sup>. In addition, the US Census and the US Bureau of Labor Statistics provided national averages and medians, against which we compared the book ban area data.

The political data was gathered from the county-level outcomes of the 2020 presidential election using an interactive map of the United States published by *USA Today*, which analyzed election data from MIT and Associated Press election results. Although this data pre-dates the 2021 increase in book banning, we use this as a proxy for political party registration data, which is not kept by the US Census. After the data was compiled, we analyzed patterns and trends and teased out commonalities with recent scholarly research and literature.

# Definitions of Demographic Data

- Educational attainment: The percentage of people who have earned bachelor's degrees<sup>44</sup>
- Percentage White: The percentage of people who identify as non-Hispanic white<sup>45</sup>
- Labor Force Participation: The percentage of civilians over the age of 16 who are working<sup>46</sup>
- Income: Median household income<sup>47</sup>
- Homeowner: The percentage of owner-occupied housing<sup>48</sup>
- Politics: County 2020 Presidential Election outcomes by party majority<sup>49</sup>

# A Note on Semantics - Book Bans? Book Challenges?

Some people<sup>50</sup> are quick to note that just because books are *challenged* (i.e. brought to the attention of a school or library board for reconsideration), does not automatically mean that they are *banned* (i.e. removed from a collection or curriculum). However, we view any challenge as an attempt to censor, whether or not that item is removed from circulation. Just because a challenged item may ultimately be retained in a collection does not mean that item was never challenged. Also, some institutions may remove items from shelves while they are under consideration, which for that time keeps them inaccessible, and is therefore censorship. Finally, some institutions may retain challenged items in their collections, but move them to other areas where they are less likely to be encountered. This is also considered censorship, because it makes these items more difficult to find. Therefore, we use the terms "ban" and "challenge" interchangeably in this report, and deem *any* action against a book as censorship, and part of an effort to bring about an outright removal of that material. As such, the dramatic increase in these efforts over the past three years should ring the alarm bell for all Americans concerned about the current and future state of democracy in this country.

#### Number of Books

This report counts the number of individual titles in every book ban effort. The number of challenged individual titles ranges from one to 626. The majority of book challenges in this dataset are only one title. Because of the way we count individual titles, and look at actions against books, our data may be different from organizations such as the ALA<sup>51</sup> or PEN America<sup>52</sup>, who use different criteria to count bans and challenges.

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